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„Collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood: Empirical evidence from Vienna"

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Through their commercial, cultural, and communal spaces, many collaborative housing projects are a driving force for the neighborhood.

Viele Wohnprojekte wirken mit ihren Gewerbe-, Kultur- und Gemeinschaftsflächen als Impuls für den Stadtteil.

Jörn Luft, Montag Stiftung Urbane Räume
(quoted in Nothegger, 2017, p. 154)

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1 Introduction: Collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood

At the beginning of the 21st century, the question of how and where people live has become a central issue again. Hodkinson (2012) even proclaims "The return of the housing question" as rents are rising considerably in nearly all major cities. Among Western European cities, Vienna has a special status when it comes to housing due to the city's large stock of social housing. In the past, governments and municipalities in many countries retreated from the provision of housing and left the domain to the market (Kadi, 2015, p. 259). Vienna, however, has shown effective resistance against wider recommodification trends since the 1980s (ibid.). Nevertheless, in recent years, housing expenditures have increased in Vienna too (Rumpfhuber, 2012; Statistik Austria, 2017b; Rumpfhuber, 2012).

Against this background, self-managed, participatory and community-oriented housing has gained popularity (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 1). Subsumed under the concept 'collaborative housing' (Fromm, 2012), a growing number of projects are being realized in Europe (Tummers, 2016, p. 2023). Vienna, a city with significant population growth (Statistik Austria, 2017a), and, therefore, an increasing housing need, is no exception to this trend. About 30 so-called *Baugruppen*[1] (collaborative housing projects) exist in Vienna, with another 20 being currently in the planning - mainly in new-build urban development areas. Despite this increase, collaborative housing is still a "very marginal phenomenon" (Krokfors, 2012, p. 311). Even countries with a rich history of collaborative housing such as Sweden or Denmark display a rather small share of this housing type if measured against the total housing stock (Fromm, 2012, p. 391). Quantitatively, collaborative housing does not have an essential role but recent developments in the field of self-organization in the housing sector have led to a renewed interest in the topic (Tummers, 2016).

Collaborative housing has recently been the focus of increased attention in the realm of academia, local politics, and, to a certain extent, the general urban population. One explanation for this trend could be the economic crisis 2008/9, which, according to Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 1), might have resulted in a quest for "innovative solutions to provide new affordable housing". Collaborative housing can also be seen as a "qualitative solution for highly committed citizens" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2036) that proves beneficial to both individuals and the urban neighborhoods that projects are located in.

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[1] The term *Baugruppe* (as defined in section 4.1.1) is used throughout this thesis without being translated. A loose, somehow impractical translation, provided by the municipality of Vienna would be: self-build housing co-operatives (taken from Vienna City Administration, Municipal Department 18 (MA 18) - Urban Development and Planning).

The subject of collaborative housing is intrinsically interesting and worthy of study for a number of reasons. It can be seen as a "response to the challenges of living in contemporary Europe (Tummers, 2016, p. 2023) and a form of "contemporary citizenship", because people actively take "the housing and environment situation in their own hand[s]" (Tummers, 2015, p. 65). Furthermore, collaborative housing is discussed with respect to gender equality (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012). The concept is also explored as an opportunity to confront problems in connection with demographic change (Labit, 2015). Another reason that makes collaborative housing a topic of interest is the fact that it is often linked to ecological sustainability due to the aspirations of many self-organized groups for a more sustainable lifestyle (Meltzer, 2000). A similarly important aspect of the concept often addressed in scientific research is the issue of collaborative housing's architecture and whether the physical design can foster the creation of community (Cooper Markus, 2000).

Moreover, policy makers and scholars discuss the mainstreaming of collaborative housing, which is often regarded as nothing but a niche product (Droste, 2015). The idea to establish collaborative housing as an integral part on the housing market stems from the belief that the concept has a positive impact on the neighborhood and that its benefits extend beyond the walls of individual projects (Droste, 2015; Müller, 2015; Ring, 2013; Fromm, 2012). In other words, it is assumed that collaborative housing projects have positive physical and social effects on their surrounding urban environment and that those effects help in creating more sustainable and inclusive cities. However, it is not yet clear what impact collaborative housing can have on the neighborhood, as strong evidence for such claims is still lacking (Tummers, 2016, p. 2031).

There have been relatively few investigations with the purpose of analyzing the role of collaborative housing in urban development, which is why this thesis aspires to make a contribution in this respect. From an urban geographical point of view, it is intended to determine the extent to which collaborative housing can impact its residential environment. The present study fills a gap in the literature by illuminating this issue in the context of Vienna. Literature on the collaborative housing sector in Austria is rather scarce (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 2) and the effects on the neighborhood have not been explored so far. Collaborative housing projects themselves, however, claim the existence of such effects on the neighborhood and, thus, justify the municipal subsidies they receive (Kerbler, 2017, p. 12). The research outcomes of this thesis are highly significant given that current political discourse focuses on the ways in which collaborative housing could be integrated into Vienna's extensive social housing program. In November 2017, for instance, the International Building Exhibition[2] hosted an event with the overarching question: "Could strategies from the Viennese *Siedler* [settler] movement be employed for subsidised housing in the future, too?" (IBA Vienna 2022, 2017).

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[2] The International Building Exhibition 2022, often referred to as 'IBA_Vienna 2022', has its main focus on the issue of 'New Social Housing'.

Based on a structured literature review, this thesis follows a single case-study design, in which qualitative and quantitative methods were combined. The collaborative housing project *Wohnprojekt Wien*, one of Vienna's first *Baugruppen* in the current wave of collaborative housing, serves as the case study for this thesis. The term *Baugruppe,* which is commonly used to refer to the concept of collaborative housing in Vienna, is, in fact, rather problematic, as it is not clearly defined and has slightly different connotations in Germany. Throughout this thesis, the term *Baugruppe* will be used synonymously with the term collaborative housing, which is broadly defined as resident-led housing that is oriented towards collaboration among residents (Vestbro, 2010). The mixed-method approach includes the application of document analyses, participatory observations of events, in-depth interviews with institutional experts, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with residents of the case study project as well as a survey in the wider neighborhood of the project under study.

After the introduction (chapter one), the thesis is composed of four more chapters. Chapter two takes an international look at collaborative housing. First, the reasons behind the re-emergence of collaborative housing are examined (2.1). Second, collaborative housing is conceptualized by exploring the genesis of the concept before the subject matter is defined (2.2). The third section reviews the international literature by clustering it into six different thematic categories (2.3). Chapter two ends by pointing towards gaps in the literature (2.4).

The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used in this thesis. In a first step, the chapter introduces the research questions (3.1). Furthermore, it is explained that the overall structure of the empirical research takes the form of three analysis dimensions: the perspective of the municipality of Vienna, the perspective of collaborative housing residents, and the perspective of a collaborative housing's wider neighborhood (3.2). The chapter then addresses the issue of neighborhood impact (3.3) before it moves on to explain the single-case study design (3.4). In a next step, each of the research methods used are discussed in detail (3.5). The subsequent section focuses on the way results are presented (3.6), before the next section justifies the choice of language and features a reflection on my role as a researcher (3.7). Finally, the chapter ends by addressing the scope of the study and the limitations of this thesis (3.8).

Chapter four is solely concerned with collaborative housing in Vienna. The first section of the chapter provides some background information about the issue under study and Vienna's framework conditions (4.1). Subsequently, the results of the empirical investigations are presented, focusing on the three analysis dimensions (4.2). In a final step, the findings are interpreted and the research questions are answered (4.3). The thesis ends with chapter five, in which a summary of the main findings is provided, conclusions are drawn, and recommendations for *Baugruppen* and policy makers are given.

2 Understanding collaborative housing: An international perspective

An international perspective on the topic of collaborative housing in Vienna is paramount given that Austrian housing research demonstrates "only weak linkages to the theoretically informed international literature in the field of housing and urban studies" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 3). Moreover, Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 2) note that, especially in comparison with social housing, "hardly any academic literature or theory-informed research has so far been published on the collaborative housing sector in Austria". Admittedly, there is some literature on the topic of *Baugruppen*. However, these publications mainly deal with *Baugruppen* in Germany and, as will be shown in section 4.1.1, German *Baugruppen* cannot be transferred one-to-one into the Austrian context. Despite this international perspective, I will always refer to Vienna, and to my case study, when it comes to examples or when the necessity for further research is indicated. The chapter is structured as follows. First, the reasons behind the re-emergence of collaborative housing will be explained. Second, collaborative housing will be conceptualized by looking at the concept's history and by discussing various terms and definitions that exist. Third, I will review the collaborative housing literature. The literature review presents itself in six thematic clusters: (1) advocacy, guides, and case studies; (2) social change; (3) ecological sustainability; (4) emerging topics: financial and legal aspects; (5) architecture and designing community; and (6) neighborhood development. Finally, I will hint at gaps in the research that could provide further insights into the field of collaborative housing.

2.1 The reasons behind the re-emergence of collaborative housing

Collaborative housing is not a new phenomenon but, in fact, has quite a rich history (see 2.2.1 and 4.1.2). The renewed interest of citizens in self-organized housing is particularly noteworthy given that participation in collaborative housing projects is generally seen as rather time-consuming (Tummers, 2016). In addition, participants often have to assume financial responsibility while getting involved with unfamiliar people with whom they want to start a community (Hendrich, 2010). Nevertheless, an increasing number of individuals join forces to build their own communities. This gives rise to the question: What are the reasons behind the re-emergence of collaborative housing?

The motives of being part of an intentional community vary considerably from project to project and the reasons for participation are in fact quite heterogeneous. Müller (2015) identified three main

reasons for participation in what he calls *Baugemeinschaften*[3]: 1) affordable housing, 2) individual housing, and 3) collaborative housing. First, collaborative housing can lead to lower costs when compared to conventional housing. Müller (2015, p. 25) explains that this is a result of the fact that *Baugruppen* often do not cooperate with an investor or a developer. This leads, on the one hand, to greater financial risk and additional expenditure of time for the *Baugruppen* members, but, on the other hand, to more affordable housing projects. While this might hold true in the German context, the situation seems to be somewhat different in Austria. Hendrich (2010, p. 57), for instance, puts forward that cost reductions are more likely in Germany than in Austria. Brandl and Gruber (2014, p. 67) suggest that construction costs could be decreased if it is possible to renounce certain standards. Furthermore, most *Baugruppen* in Vienna cooperate with developers to minimize their risk and finance their projects. Second, *Baugemeinschaften* provide participants with the opportunity to individually design and build their own living spaces. That is, members can adapt apartments to their individual needs and desires, which is almost impossible on the normal housing market (Müller, 2015, p. 26). Taking part in planning processes seems to gain importance, particularly when taking into consideration that people increasingly perceive themselves as individuals who want to realize their own dreams. While building self-determined habitations is commonly seen as a privilege reserved for people building detached houses in either rural or sub-urban areas, collaborative housing can give urbanites the opportunity to do so in urban contexts as well. Third, Müller (2015, p. 27) argues that collaborative housing projects clearly distinguish themselves from conventional projects because the participants get to know each other before moving in. The collaborative planning and building process facilitates close neighborly relationships among the future residents (ibid.).

Hendrich (2010) also makes it clear that the reasons for being an advocate of this type of housing can be numerous. She provides a list with similar reasons and adds the advantage of *Baugruppen* initiators being able to choose their social environment and their neighborhood as well as the realization of overarching objectives (e.g. integration, ecology, etc.) as possible reasons for the participation in collaborative housing projects (Hendrich, 2010, p. 57). The German researchers Fedrowitz and Gailing (2003) also analyzed the driving forces behind the re-emergence of collaborative housing and conclude that an increase in *Baugruppen*-like housing types can be expected in the future. This is due to the fact that collaborative housing is seen as a strategy to cope with the problems that structural change entails (Fedrowitz and Gailing, 2003, p. 32). Some of the words used by Fedrowitz and Gailing to describe this structural transformation are: the emergence of new household types; the changing roles of women in society; the crisis of the bourgeois nuclear family; the demographical developments; the general growth of uncertainties; or the intensifying ecological problems. Tummers

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[3] The term 'B*augemeinschaft*' is synonymous with the term '*Baugruppe*'.

(2016, p. 2024) also indicates that collaborative housing projects "fit in the societal trends of decentralisation, increased self-reliability and demand for participation and custom-made solutions".

The new interest in collaborative housing forms might stem from the idea that the concept can be seen as an answer to current societal developments. The reasons for the re-emergence of the housing type throughout Europe vary considerably and, consequently, so do the projects that are being realized. Droste (2015, p. 86), for instance, reports that the "typology of the 300-plus co-housing projects and approximately twenty new cooperatives that emerged [in Berlin] in the last decade varies greatly". This highlights the necessity to define what is understood by the term collaborative housing.

2.2 Conceptualization of collaborative housing[4]

Before looking in detail at definitions, it must be said that collaborative housing is only one possible term for the housing type that is being discussed in this thesis. The most common term used in the international academic literature is co-housing. This is, however, a very broad term and includes various kinds of housing forms (see 2.2.2 further below). First, this section provides a short glimpse at the history of co-housing to illustrate the contexts in which it developed over time. Second, an overview over the vast realm of co-housing is given. As a final step, it will be clarified what is understood by the term collaborative housing and why it was chosen for this thesis.

2.2.1 The genesis of co-housing

Vestbro and Horelli (2012) elaborately discuss the history of the internationally-used term co-housing in their article "Design for gender equality – the history of cohousing ideas and realities". A look at the development of co-housing over time is necessary as "[t]oday's ideas about cohousing have been influenced by historical examples[5]" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 318). Co-housing can be traced back as early as 1516, when Thomas More published his influential book *Utopia* (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012). More's ideas were taken up some three hundred years later and "advocated by the utopian socialists" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 319). However, the implementation of their ideas proved to be difficult, as many of their ideas were declared illegal. This is why many "European utopians had to migrate to the USA to implement their ideas" (ibid.). Another step towards co-housing as it is known today was "The Grand Domestic Revolution" (Hayden, 1981). This revolution was a movement that

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[4] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

[5] The historical context for Vienna is provided in section 4.1.2.

started in 1868 "when the first demands for housewives to be paid were expressed" and lasted until 1931 (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 321). Hayden (1981, p. 3) calls the women who were part of the movement "material feminists" because they claimed "a complete transformation of the spatial design and material culture of American homes, neighbourhoods and cities". Their ideas resulted in a number of "new forms of organizations in the neighbourhoods that could make the hidden domestic work visible" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 322). Why the material feminists were tremendously important for co-housing today is summed up by Vestbro and Horelli (2012, p. 323) as follows:

> "The material feminists had an impact on the building of central kitchens and collective housing in Europe. In addition, even if their legacy was long forgotten in the later history of cohousing, the publication of the *Grand Domestic Revolution* in 1981 and the participation of Dolores Hayden in the conference on Housing and Building on Women's Conditions in Denmark, at the beginning of the 1980s, had great impact on the New Everyday Life-approach and its expansion within cohousing in several countries."

This shows the indirect impact of the material feminists on co-housing via Dolores Hayden, starting in the late 20th century. The next important step in co-housing history was the development of central kitchens and early collective housing. The idea behind central kitchens was to "'collectivize the maid', by producing urban residential complexes where many households could share meal production" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 323). Such buildings were constructed across Europe; in German-speaking countries they were called *Einküchenhaus* (ibid.). The central kitchen movement ended in 1922 but the "debate about new house forms continued" and the discourse "became soon dominated by the modernists" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 324). It is important to stress in this discussion of co-housing history that the first type of collective housing was "based not on cooperation, but on the division of labour" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 327). Tenants had employed staff and did not do any housekeeping themselves (ibid.). Vestbro and Horelli (2012, p. 327) assume that this also "contributed to the labelling of collective housing as a *special solution for privileged people*" (italics in original). The big step from this form of collective housing to co-housing has its roots in a transdisciplinary project: "The New Everyday Life" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 330). This project developed out of a conference organized by "the Nordic women's network on 'Housing and building on women's conditions'" in 1979 (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 330). The New Everyday Life Project wanted to move away from the "rationalistic industrial and market-oriented urban development that is still dominant today" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 332). The project's outcome was the provision of plans, which became "more congruent with the needs of users than before" (ibid.). Vestbro and Horelli (2012, p. 332) conclude that the New Everyday Life approach "still seems to be valid" today. To sum up, this section investigated the historical development of co-housing and explained why it is important to understand the co-housing of today. It was shown that many features and characteristics have stayed the same over the years, while others changed tremendously. It would, however, be wrong to consider "all generations in the same category without considering the different ambitions or policy

contexts[6]" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2032). Tummers (2016, p. 2023) further writes that "contemporary co-housing is wider than the community-oriented model designed by the Co-housing movement in the 1970s". It is, therefore, essential to conceptualize the co-housing of today and to define the term collaborative housing for this thesis. This will be done in the following section.

2.2.2 Defining the subject matter: Collaborative housing

The previous section showed that community housing projects are not a new phenomenon but have always existed in one form or another. As touched upon previously, collaborative housing is only one out of a large number of terms used for the same concept. Boer (2017), for instance, comments: "Co-housing, collective housing, collaborative housing, co-living, cooperative housing. All different names for one growing housing phenomenon". Naturally this is somewhat exaggerated – cooperative housing, for example, is a relatively established housing type different from collaborative housing[7] - but it shows the terminological confusion that exists in the field. A review of the existing literature brings numerous other terms to light: community-oriented housing, resident-led housing, self-initiated housing, or self-organized intentional community housing, to name a few. The term most often found for the housing type in question is co-housing. Co-housing, however, is challenging to define because it embodies a multitude of types. The term can have various meanings "with a wide array of interpretations among academics as well as laymen" (Krokfors, 2012, p. 309). According to Tummers (2015, p. 69), co-housing "includes a variety of organizational and architectural models" that constitute "a 'family' of types". There is little agreement in the field as to which project types are part of co-housing because the boundaries of the concept are not clear (Tummers, 2015, p. 69). Due to the fact that co-housing is "a concept that defies easy categorization" (Krokfors, 2012, p. 310), a universal definition that accounts for all forms of co-housing initiatives in all countries has not yet been brought forward. The following pages address numerous aspects that seem to be important when conceptualizing the subject matter: the usage of the term in different academic disciplines; the spelling of the concept; the realm of co-housing types; the international terminology; the basic components of the concept; and the meaning of 'co' in co-housing. Finally, a working definition will be provided and it will be explained how the terms are used in this thesis.

Various disciplines are involved in housing studies, including, inter alia: "economics, political science, urban studies, history, social administration, sociology, geography, law and planning" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31). This list also holds true for collaborative housing and brings about the problem that each

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[6] This is also why the inferences drawn from my empirical research are only applicable to the projects of the new wave of collaborative housing in Vienna, excluding its historical predecessors.

[7] Section 4.1.2 discusses how those two housing types clearly overlapped in history but developed into two distinct housing models in Vienna.

"discipline has a different conceptualisation of co-housing" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2032). Even within one scientific sector the concept is often not well defined (ibid.). This leads to "fuzzy conceptualisation[s]" and, thus, to the risk of "comparing apples with oranges" (ibid.). It can be assumed that the unclear boundaries of what counts as co-housing and what does not substantially complicate transdisciplinary research.

What further complicates the conceptualization of co-housing is its spelling. Interestingly, it is not always spelled the same way. Both versions, 'co-housing' and 'cohousing' can be found in the literature. An email question sent to The Cohousing Association of the United States (2017b) yielded that for them, 'cohousing' is the correct term. However, it was also pointed out that they periodically observe the usage of 'co-housing' for the same concept. This demonstrates how difficult it is to define the term. Not only the various disciplines involved define the concept differently; it is not even clear how to spell it; and if spelled differently, the question remains whether the underlying concept changes as well or stays the same. While the terms are often used interchangeably, some academics do differentiate between the version with the hyphen and the one without it. Tummers (2016, p. 2026), for instance, uses "'co-housing' for the wider range of cooperative self-managed housing initiatives and 'cohousing' for the projects based on and belonging to the Cohousing networks". Those cohousing networks (also referred to as movements) that Tummers mentions are based on the cohousing that originally developed in Denmark. The term was coined by the architects Kathryn McCamant and Charles Durrett, who exported the concept, together with the spelling of 'cohousing', to other European countries as well as to the United States. For McCamant and Durrett cohousing has six defining characteristics:

1. Co-developed, co-designed, and co-organized with the group. Genuine and authentic participating process.

2. Extensive common facilities that supplement and facilitate the daily living. Common facilities are perceived as an extension of each household's own private house.

3. Designed to facilitate community interactions (not auto-oriented, but every electric wheelchair, Segway or other personal vehicle necessary to keep the site auto-free except in rare occasions)

4. Completely resident managed

5. No hierarchy in decision making

6. No shared economy

Figure 1: The six defining characteristics to cohousing (Source: cohousingco.com; own illustration)

Those six characteristics – as presented on McCamant and Durrett's website – are likely to apply to a number of community-oriented housing projects. However, when looking at the definition provided by the Cohousing Association of the United States, it becomes clear that 'cohousing' has one distinctive element not shared with 'co-housing':

> "Cohousing is an intentional community of private homes clustered around shared space. Each *attached or single family home* has traditional amenities, including a private kitchen." (The Cohousing Association of the United States, 2017a) (emphasis added)

Contemporary 'co-housing' is often built in the form of urban housing complexes. The definition of 'cohousing' above, however, is problematic as it merely focuses on attached and single-family housing. It completely neglects the vast amount of 'co-housing' projects that are realized in the form of high-rise buildings in urban contexts. 'Cohousing' as a movement, therefore, refers to "a specific model of grouped housing with individual household units and shared spaces" while "[c]ontemporary initiatives in Europe do not necessarily belong to the cohousing movement" and have different characteristics and building types. (Tummers, 2016, p. 2034). This is why some academics in the field expand the definition above and use the term 'co-housing' in a broader sense in order to "include various initiatives of residents groups collectively creating living arrangements that are not easily available on the (local) housing market" (Tummers, 2015, p. 65). The scope of community-oriented housing is broadening and includes a "wide spectrum of approaches from market conformity, to social, organisational and financial experimentation" (Droste, 2015, p. 89). Nevertheless, several authors "continue to use 'cohousing' as a generic term" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2035). The majority, however, use the term 'co-housing', which does not seem to facilitate the conceptualization of the concept. Looking at the definition provided by Droste (2015), it becomes clear that co-housing consists of an entire realm of different housing types. She writes:

> "For the purposes of this article, co-housing includes self-organised building collaboratives, traditional and new cooperatives, and community driven housing within the rental sector. Former squats are included as well as intergenerational projects, women's and 'generation 50+' housing. The housing can be self-built or architect-driven. Many projects are purely dedicated to providing good housing, while others include space for work and neighbourhood facilities." (Droste, 2015, p. 79)

This definition perfectly illustrates, one the one hand, how diverse the field is, and, on the other hand, how many different criteria are used to classify co-housing. Tummers (2015) provides a list with criteria that have been used for the classification of co-housing:

- Target group and residents profile
- The distance to society (alternative to mainstream)
- The degree of participation and self-management
- Community building
- Time and historical context
- The approach to ecology/concept of sustainability
- Architecture and urban planning characteristics (Tummers, 2015, p. 69)

Classifications along these lines are all valid and important. I feel, however, that it is of utmost importance to comment on one criterion specifically: time and historical context. As was shown in the history section above (2.2.1), co-housing was often linked to "utopian experiments" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2033). For this reason, it must be stressed that contemporary co-housing is "pragmatic, rather than utopian" (ibid.). Regardless of the research aims, taking the historical context into consideration is always crucial. Another definition that stresses to what degree the conceptualizations vary is provided by the Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing (*Initiative Gemeinsam Bauen Wohnen*):

> "[Co-housing is] a certain form of a collaborative housing project in which joint cooking and eating take a central role. Originally, this type of housing emerged in the 1960s in Denmark because of the mutual support of families. The sharing of tasks, responsibilities, and space in self-administration should lead to a better reconciliation of family and working life." (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 85) (own translation)

["[Co-housing ist eine] [b]estimmte Form eines gemeinschaftlichen Wohnprojektes, bei dem das gemeinsame Kochen und Essen eine zentrale Rolle spielt. Ursprünglich entstand diese Wohnform in den 1960er-Jahren in Dänemark zur gegenseitigen Unterstützung von Familien. Durch Teilen von Aufgaben, Verantwortungsbereichen und Räumlichkeiten in Selbstverwaltung soll eine bessere Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Familie erlangt werden."] (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 85)

Interestingly, this definition puts the joint cooking and eating at the center of co-housing. Some of the community-oriented housing projects in Vienna fulfil this criterion of joint cooking and eating, while others do not. Does that mean that those projects which do not are not part of contemporary co-housing? According to Fromm (2012, p. 365), the answer is no: The concept of co-housing nowadays also includes the "sister developments on the borders of co-housing, [that share] many traits, but where residents [for instance] do not eat together on a weekly basis" (Fromm, 2012, p. 365). It seems that joint cooking is also not a stringent criterion. Tummers (2016, p. 2034) also includes what Fromm calls "sister developments" into her "realm of co-housing" (see figure 2 on page 12).

As can be seen in the figure below, contemporary co-housing incorporates a wide scope of different housing types. The German term *Baugruppe* can also be found in Tummers's visualization. It must be noted, though, that in this figure, *Baugruppe* refers to German *Baugruppen*, which are owner-occupied and often only take collective action. Viennese *Baugruppen*, on the other hand, would have to move a little more to the right - towards the collective - as most of them are community living projects. A more detailed discussion on the term *Baugruppe*, can be found in section 4.1.1.
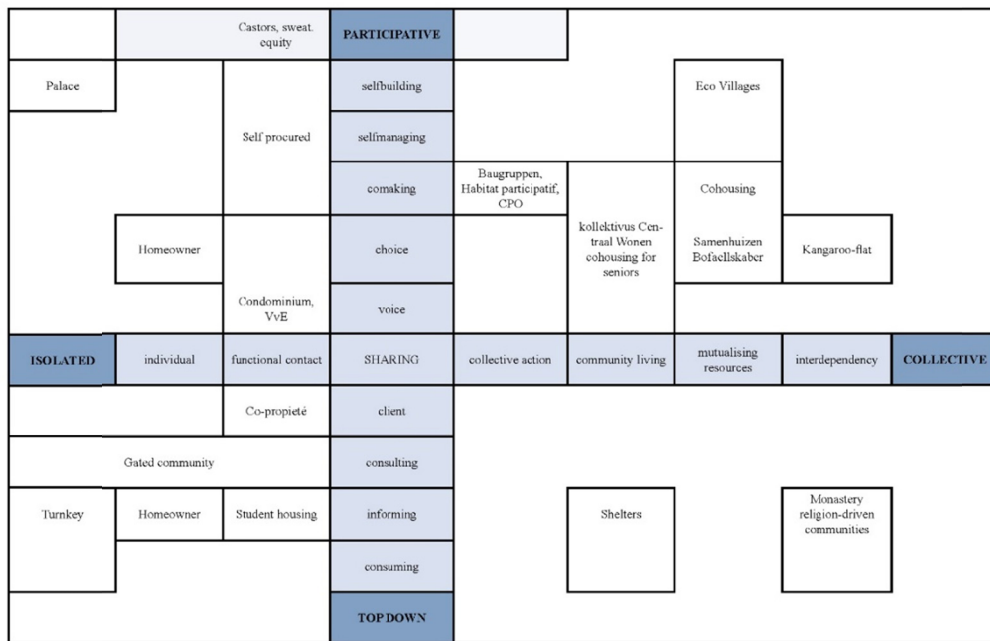
Figure 2: The realm of co-housing from a planning perspective (Source: Tummers, 2015; own illustration)

Moreover, the "realm of co-housing" also shows gated communities. According to Ruiu (2014), the co-housing concept is strictly separate from gated communities as the two models have more dividing than combining elements. This will be more elaborately discussed in section 2.3.6. To sum up, the co-housing model has "wide and fuzzy boundaries" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2024) and what is included in the term is always dependent on the authors and their ideas about the concept. The fact that people name co-housing differently in other languages adds to the difficulty of conceptualizing it. Tummers (2016, p. 2025) reviewed numerous publications on the subject and created a list of the international terminology for collaborative housing (see figure 3).

	French	English	German	Dutch	Spanish
CO	• Habitat groupé • Habitat partagé • Cohabitat • Coopératives d'habitants • Habitat communautaire	• Cohousing • Housing co-op • Intentional communities	• Wohngemeinschaft • Genossenschaften • Wohngruppe (für senioren)	• Samenhuizen (flamand) • Woongroepen (voor ouderen) • Collectief particulier opdrachgeverschap • Centraal wonen	• Viviendas cooperativas
AUTO	• Habitat participatif • Habitat autogéré • Auto-promotion • Auto-construction • Squat	• Self-help housing • Self-managed housing • squat	• Baugruppe • Hausbesetzer	• Zelfbeheer • Bouwen in eigen beheer • Kraken	• Autogestionada • Okupa
ECO	• Ecohabitat • Ecovillages • Ecoquartiers	• Ecohabitat • Eco-village • Eco-districti	• Ökodorf	• Eco-dorp	• Ecobarrio

Figure 3: International terminology for collaborative housing (Source: Tummers, 2016; own illustration)

So far, a number of points have been listed that show how diverse co-housing is, but the question remains: What do the numerous types have in common? Despite the differences of opinion about who belongs to the co-housing family, there appears to be some agreement about its basic components. Bresson and Denèfle (2015, p. 14), for instance, identified "sharing, environmental awareness, and citizen participation" as the three key features of co-housing. Also Tummers (2015, p. 65) notes that while "the housing and planning contexts vary from one country to another, the ideology and intentions of inhabitants of co-housing are remarkably similar". Ruiu (2014, p. 323) explains why this might be the case: "the intention to create a 'community life' often involves the adhesion to a common 'ideological base'". Those assertions suggest the existence of core values that are important to a majority of co-housing projects. By looking at those values, co-housing can be put into a wider social context. Tummers (2016, p. 2026) visualized the interrelationship between co-housing values and larger societal changes that are taking place in many countries (figure 4).
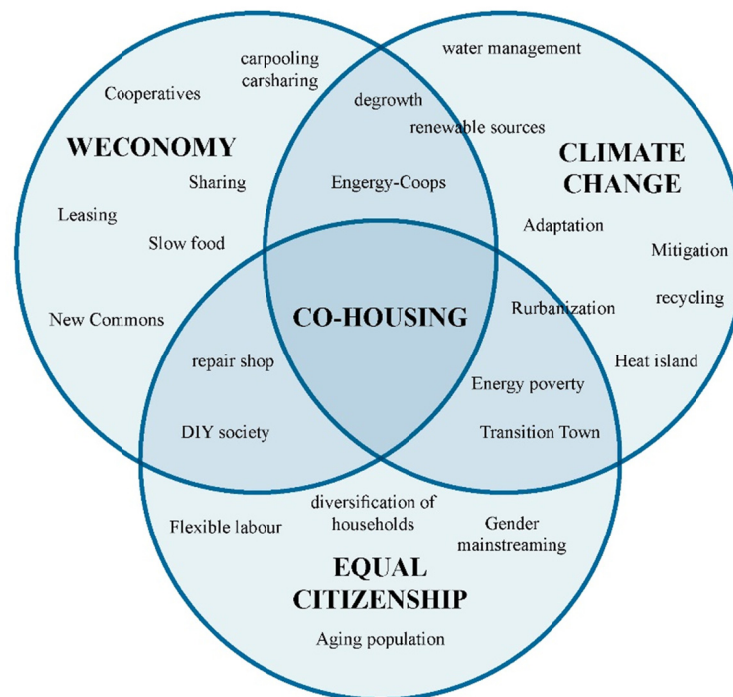
Figure 4: Co-housing as an integrative practice (Source: Tummers, 2016; own illustration)

As the figure above illustrates, co-housing touches upon different fields that seem to gain importance for society at large and for co-housing residents in particular. For many co-housing residents, being a part of such intentional communities means creating

> "otherwise unaffordable or inaccessible services, such as care for very young and ageing persons, gardens, playgrounds and child-friendly environments; healthy and off-grid energy systems, car or equipment pooling, and so on. Co-housing is also a way to establish local identities under globalisation, and to realise new forms of community […] to combat solitude or make room for alternative values". (Tummers, 2016, p. 2027)

Most co-housing initiatives are committed to the values of sharing, living sustainably, or healthy ageing and there seem to be significant "similarities in the discourses of cohousing networks internationally, although the emphasis varies" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2023). Nevertheless, they still differ – as was also shown at the beginning of this chapter – in many other aspects, including, among others: legal form; community organization; or joint cooking.

Drawing on Vestbro's (2010) explanations, co-housing can – in its broadest sense – be defined as "housing with common spaces and shared facilities" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 315). Vestbro and Horelli (2012, p. 315) also note that co-housing is a concept that is "widely [used] in the English-speaking world, but also in Austria, Belgium, Italy and the Czech Republic". Up to now, it was shown that co-housing is used extensively, despite the difficulties that emerge when trying to define it. Yet, another important question in the context of conceptualizing co-housing has so far remained unanswered: What does the 'co' in co-housing stand for? Vestbro and Horelli (2012) explain that the 'co' in co-housing can, in fact, stand for various terms (see figure 5).
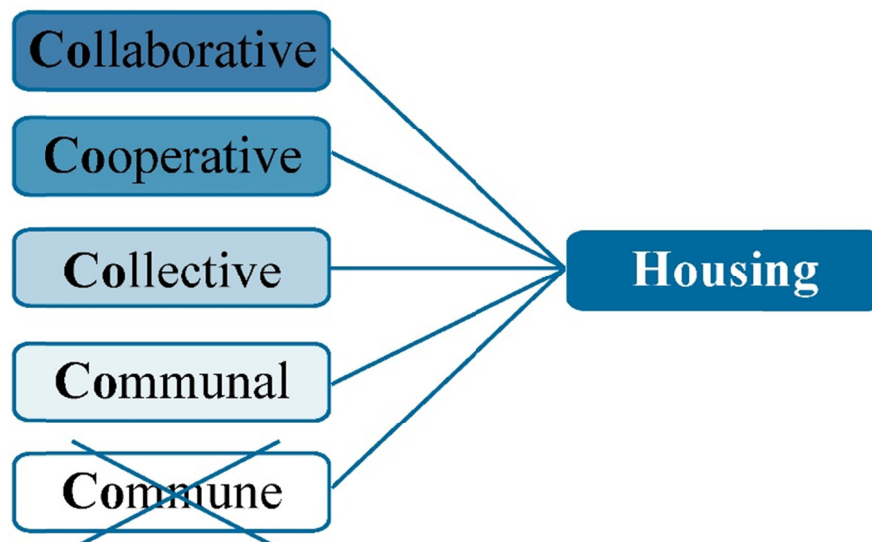
Figure 5: The 'co' in co-housing (Source: based on Vestbro and Horelli, 2012; own illustration)

The figure above shows that co-housing can, for instance, stand for *collaborative* housing, which is used "when referring specifically to housing that is oriented towards collaboration among residents" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 315). Furthermore, co-housing can be understood as an abbreviation for *cooperative* housing. This should, however, be "avoided in this context, since it often refers to the cooperative ownership of housing without common spaces or shared facilities" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 316). Another possible interpretation of the 'co' is *collective*. Vestbro and Horelli (2012, pp. 315–316) recommend using this term if "the emphasis is on the *collective organization* of services" (italics in original). The authors further explain that *communal* housing is "ought to be used, when referring to housing designed to create community (2012, p. 315). The last option for the 'co' in co-

housing is *commune*, which refers to a "communal type of living without individual apartments" (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012, p. 316). The literature, however, makes it unmistakably clear that *communes* are not a type of co-housing because co-housing projects are fitted with individual apartments for its residents.

In this thesis, the term *collaborative* housing will be used for the following reasons. First, I concur with Fromm (2012, p. 364), who perceives the term as "less restrictive" and "wide enough to stretch across all international variations" (Fromm, 2012, p. 364). Second, I also follow Lang and Stoeger (2017) who write:

> "We believe that [collaborative housing] reflects the nature of an emerging housing sector in Austria in which organisations cannot be primarily defined by the traditional principles of the cooperative or cohousing movement, nor by their purely community-led nature. The key concern of organisations and projects in a 'collaborative housing sector' rather seems to be that their housing provision is oriented towards the collaboration of residents among each other (Vestbro, 2010)." (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 2)

The quote above illustrates that collaboration seems to be at the center of a growing housing sector in Austria. It is for those reasons, that I decided that collaborative housing is the adequate term for my research. However, most of the literature I reviewed uses the terms co-housing and collaborative housing interchangeably or it is never quite clear where the authors draw the line. This fuzzy conceptualization of the field is the very reason why I will treat the terms co-housing and collaborative housing as synonyms in the subsequent literature review. In the empirical part, where the focus is on Vienna, I will solely use the term collaborative housing to refer to housing that is oriented towards collaboration among residents (Vestbro, 2010).

2.3   A critical review of collaborative housing research

Academic articles on collaborative housing are brought forth by various academic disciplines and numerous reports are produced by various institutions. This means that the focus of the documents available varies considerably. For instance, a high number of papers published by sociologists focuses on the community aspect of collaborative housing. In other words, sociologists focus on how the everyday life is organized in such intentional communities. In the field of architecture, the focus shifts to the relation between spatial and social architecture while urban planners are mainly concerned with the impact collaborative housing has on the scale of the neighborhood and the city. In addition, there are some non-academic reports and studies often commissioned by municipalities or other organizations associated with the housing market or urban planning. Besides such reports, there is also a substantial amount of publications produced by collaborative housing advocates who focus on

diffusing vital information for interested citizens, like funding models or building plot allocations. It can be seen that to fully understand the field of collaborative housing, a transdisciplinary approach is needed.

The last inventory of collaborative housing literature was produced by Tummers (2016). In her review of collaborative housing literature, she reports that the research of the domain in question can be separated into five larger branches. Her "five clusters of thematics" are (Tummers, 2016, p. 2024): (1) Advocacy; guides and case studies; (2) Social change; (3) Architecture and designing community; (4) Neighborhood development; and (5) Emerging topics: Financial and legal aspects. Following Tummers (2016) with this classification of collaborative housing research, I also separated the literature accordingly. The categorization of the existing research in such thematic clusters helped to systematically analyze the body of literature available. The prevailing benefits of this system were that a) it provided a frame of analysis detached from different planning cultures and definitions in different countries and b) it served as a system that helped the organization of the different discourses that emerge out of the various disciplines involved in collaborative housing research. The subsequent review of the state-of-the-art literature, will be divided into six categories (see figure 6).
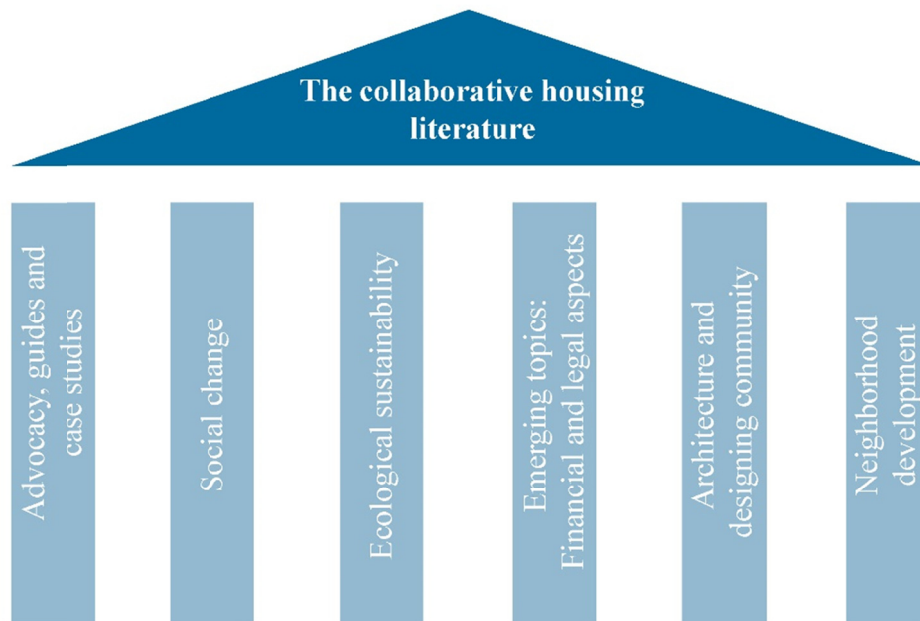
Figure 6: The collaborative housing literature: An overview (own illustration)

The organization of the literature review follows Tummers' cluster organization to a great extent, although I made some small changes. I added a sixth cluster (ecological sustainability) and changed the sequence of occurrence out of practical reasons.

2.3.1 Advocacy, guides and case studies

Much can be learnt about the collaborative housing sector when looking at guides or handbooks. Publications of that sort are often produced by co-housing networks, frequently with the support of architects and planners (Tummers, 2016). Even though they do not classify as academic, the guides contain significant information about the direction collaborative housing is taking (ibid.). Most handbooks seem to stress that the projects are very different from each other. Tummers (2016), however, who analyzed such publications, found that they do seem to share the same problems in the planning phase. The recurrent difficulties she recognized include: "obtaining land, forming a group, planning permission and finance" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2027). The Austrian Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing (2015, p. 3) also published a handbook about the workshops they organized about, for, and with *Baugruppen* in Vienna. At the center of this publication are issues concerning: diversity and interculturality, forms of finance, car sharing, or conflict management. For scientific inquiries, publications like these are essential, given that they often provide "the only 'statistics' as yet available" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2028). Researchers try to solve this by setting up systematic databases that collect "data on size, profile, tenure, and so on" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2028). Furthermore, a relatively large number of case studies exist in the field. Generally speaking, there are many qualitative case studies while quantitative analyses are rather scarce (Tummers, 2016). The – often very positive – claims that are made in qualitative research must be substantiated with "more than empirical evidence in the form of single case studies" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2027). While qualitative research is, without doubt, highly important, quantitative methods may prove useful for the emerging housing sector.

2.3.2 Social change[8]

Western societies are undergoing drastic changes: The emergence of the sharing economy, the issue of equal citizenship, or the increasingly urgent theme of climate change are topics that have gained tremendous importance over the last years (cf. figure 4). In this chapter I discuss three important aspects of social change: (1) gender equality, (2) demographic change, and (3) social innovation – each from a collaborative housing point of view.

Gender equality

Collaborative housing has historically been strongly linked with the idea of gender equality (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012). For some projects, collective housing was a necessary step in order to facilitate the

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[8] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

combination of "gainful employment" and "familial obligations" (Vestbro, 2010). Other initiatives saw it as an opportunity for women to "achieve equal status with men in society" (Vestbro, 2010). Several authors, for instance Sandstedt (2009) or Vestbro (2010), report that a majority of co-housing inhabitants are female. This might be because women profit more from community life (through reduced domestic work or shared responsibilities for children) than men. Tummers (2016, p. 2028) reports that housing projects for and by women "have been initiated since the 1980s and continue to be of interest". Such housing for women can also be found in Vienna. The *Frauenwohnprojekte [ro*sa]* were able to realize three projects in Austria's capital city: *[ro*sa] KalYpso*, *[ro*sa] Donaustadt*, and *[ro*sa] im Elften* (Frauenwohnprojekte [ro*sa], 2017). In those collaborative housing projects, men are always welcome to live with their partners; contracts, however, can only be signed by women (ibid.). A difference concerning gender is also evident in attitudes towards collaborative housing. Men seem to be less open-minded about living in intentional communities than women (Vestbro, 2010). Research about the relationship between co-housing and work is rather scarce (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012), however, Michelson (1993) found that the amount of household work considerably declined in co-housing due to frequent communal dinners[9]. Vestbro and Horelli (2012, p. 332) support this claim by saying that co-housing is able to "shake the traditional patriarchal division of domestic work". Metcalf (2004, p. 100), on the other hand, found that in most intentional communities "traditional gender roles [are] being followed by women and men". Given the close link between emancipation movements and co-housing in history, it can still be argued that the concept was, and still is, to a certain degree an approach to achieve gender equality.

At this point, I want to refer to scientific research that has been conducted about my case study project, the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. Leitner et al. (2015) analyzed the afore-mentioned *Baugruppe* in relation to the three dimensions of sustainability: the ecological, the social, and the economic. The report also discussed the questions of gender and (domestic) work. Regarding that, the authors investigated the gender-specific differences of the division of work. They reached the conclusion that the differences (in comparison: before moving into the project and after) remained the same. Also, the workload of women did not decrease significantly (Leitner et al., 2015, pp. 119–120). Nonetheless, it must be mentioned that the *Wohnprojekt Wien* members pay attention to the allocation of supervisory responsibilities. That is, it is essential for them that leadership roles are taken up by women, so that there is a balance between the two genders (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 120). Furthermore, the members of this collaborative housing project are highly aware of gender topics. This awareness, however, cannot always be put into practice in everyday life (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 121). The writers of this study propose that societal forces affect the topic of gender-specific work to a much greater degree than the

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[9] On a personal note – despite not being a woman – I can say that the communal lunches (called *Mittagstisch*) that I was part of when living in the *Wohnprojekt Wien* had drastically reduced my domestic chores.

organization structures of collaborative housing projects (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 120). The claim that collaborative housing increases gender equality seems unconvincing when looking at Leitner et al.'s (2015) research outcomes.

Demographic change

Collaborative housing might also provide solutions for the increasingly urgent topic of demographic change. The European population is growing older and a rising number of seniors call for housing that fits their needs in old age. According to Eurostat (2016), the "share of the population aged 65 years and over is increasing in every EU Member State". Many within this cohort "reject passivity and solitude [...] and desire social ties and participation" (Labit, 2015, p. 32). It is seniors of this group who seek to live in collaborative housing communities. Moreover, it is not just individuals seeing the advantages of collaborative housing; seniors are also "actively encouraged by public authorities" who promote collaborative housing because of budget constraints that make it difficult for them to provide public services (Labit, 2015, p. 32). Brandl and Gruber (2014, p. 109) claim that collaborative types of housing can postpone the need of care to a later point in life. They argue that this is due to the fact that seniors in collaborative housing projects have easier access to (neighborly) social support systems. This might be beneficial for the state and some policymakers have realized this. The French, for example, advocate intergenerational co-housing to "alleviate the solitude of the elderly and the housing pressure for the young" (Tummers, 2016, pp. 2028–2029). It must be made clear though that collaborative housing is attractive for elderly people "who are comparatively younger [and] more active" (Choi, 2004, p. 1190). Collaborative housing is not for those seniors who require intensive care, or, put differently, it cannot take the place of nursing homes. Choi (2004, p. 1190) elaborates that it "can never be a permanent alternative to housing with professional care" once it is needed. Generally speaking, two options of co-housing are available for seniors: a) projects for seniors only and b) intergenerational projects (Labit, 2015). The latter does not only make sure that seniors get the assistance needed but also allows young families depending on 'grandparents' to "reconcile family life and professional career" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2029). Labit (2015), who summarized both quantitative and qualitative research on the subject, concludes that co-housing can be seen as an "innovative option likely to help people age well" (Labit, 2015, p. 35). Collaborative housing projects seem to provide a "better quality of life and health" for the elderly (ibid.) and might even provide "an economically valid solution to the problem of ageing populations in the context of a welfare state in crisis" (Labit, 2015, p. 42). Collaborative housing in the context of an ageing society is also a topic in Vienna. Freya Brandl, for instance, initiated the project *Kolokation* in the new urban development area near Vienna's main train station. She is convinced that there is a need for collaborative housing among people aged 60 to 80 (Brandl, 2016). Many members of this group are single and they often live in apartments of considerable size (100 – 150 m^2) (ibid.). If seniors living in such apartments would move to

collaborative housing projects, then this means that larger apartments are becoming available for families in the need of adequate housing (see also Mahdavi et al. (2012) in section 2.3.3). In conclusion, it seems that collaborative housing could indeed create a favorable situation for seniors and authorities alike.

Social innovation

Collaborative housing should also be discussed in connection with social innovation, a concept that has recently gained importance. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018) defines the concept as follows: Social innovation

> "can concern conceptual, process or product change, organisational change and changes in financing, and can deal with new relationships with stakeholders and territories".

It must be noted that social innovation has hardly received attention in the field of housing (Czischke, 2013, p. 6). Czischke (2013) is among the first to try to fill this gap in the literature. According to her research, social innovation in housing is mainly characterized by: "Collaboration; value creation; novelty; solidarity […]; improvement of quality of life; and meeting social needs" (Czischke, 2013, p. 6). Regarding collaborative housing, Czischke (2013) holds that social innovation

> "is a common feature in many of these [self-help housing] initiatives, including aspects of self-organisation, building of social capital/social cohesion, affordability and often even higher environmental standards. These initiatives represent innovative solutions in the face of a lack of suitable alternatives and / or resources" (Czischke, 2013, p. 18).

Czischke (2013, p. 16) discusses some enablers that could facilitate social innovation. Among other things, it is mentioned that some actors in the field of housing are more open to innovation and experimentation, which can trigger social innovation. Collaborative housing groups are commonly regarded as such actors and could, therefore, contribute to social innovations in the housing sector. Another aspect that might help the development of social innovations is residents' participation (Czischke, 2013, p. 16). Despite the fact that collaborative housing projects have seemingly great potential for social innovation, there is one major downside: The practices that facilitate social innovation have so far "not been understood as social innovations and therefore lack the potential to be further developed and transferred to other contexts" (Czischke, 2013, p. 19). The role of collaborative housing projects in social innovation in the fields of "housing provision, governance and management" is not clear, as one major question remains unanswered: Is social innovation "something to be triggered or managed by professional organisations, or [is it] something that is evolved primarily by people, with professional organisations 'merely' acting as facilitators"? (Czischke, 2013, p. 19) It can be assumed, therefore, that the issue of social innovation in collaborative housing will be of wider significance in the future.

2.3.3 Ecological sustainability[10]

Sustainability is commonly seen as a triangular concept including economic, social, and ecological sustainability. Collaborative housing can have a positive impact on all three of those dimensions (as was, in part, shown in section 2.3.2 social change). The sharing practices of many co-housing projects, for example, - whether it is a lawn mower or a common kitchen - help residents to save money and improve residents' economic sustainability. The fact that collaborative housing projects often represent intentional communities can be seen as an indicator for social sustainability[11]. While all three aspects of sustainability are equally important, the focus of this section is on co-housing's potential for ecological sustainability.

Several paths can be taken to make housing more environmentally sustainable (Marckmann et al., 2012). Approaches include "improved energy efficiency of buildings and appliances as well as better location of buildings in relation to transport" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 414). Gram-Hanssen (2013), however, found that user practices are as important for ecological sustainability as energy efficiency of technology. She concludes by pointing out that what is needed is "consumers who choose efficient technologies, reduce the number of appliances and think about how they use them" (Gram-Hanssen, 2013, p. 456). This suggests that simply developing technologies further is insufficient if residents do not re-think their everyday practices as well.

It can be claimed that some features common to co-housing lead to a more environmentally-friendly way of living if compared to other, more conventional types of housing. Marckmann et al. (2012, p. 416) identified four reasons why this might be the case:

1) more sustainable technologies built into houses
2) smaller and more compact houses
3) pro-environmental behaviour of residents
4) environmental advantages for one- and two-person households

(Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 416)

The first claim is that co-housing residents are more likely to try out and employ new technologies such as "solar power or composting toilets" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 427). Ring (2013, p. 217) affirms this when she reports that a majority of the projects included in her research demonstrated "[p]articular ecological characteristics". She also discovers that co-housing projects had "integrated new technologies and new standards at a very early stage, long before these were required" (ibid.) This openness towards innovation can be seen as the "most important and direct advantage of co-housing"

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[10] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

[11] Social sustainability is also one out of four criteria that form the basis of Vienna's developer competitions. This issue will be further discussed in section 4.1.3.

(Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 427). Marckmann et al.'s (2012, p. 427) findings, however, also suggest that there are "blind spots with regard to the discussion of technology and sustainability" that occur among co-housing residents. The second claim deals with the assumption that "co-housing communities are generally denser and take up less space in total per resident than other housing" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 414). The authors explain that co-housing does not necessarily result in smaller and more compact houses as the size is very much influenced by "the general cultural norms and ideals of large living space" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 427). Planning cultures also vary from country to country and considerably determine how the projects look at the end (Tummers, 2015). In Belgium, for instance, the authorities are confronted with severe land shortage and, thus, "the support for co-housing is embedded in a discourse of higher densities" (Tummers, 2015, p. 72). It is likely therefore that Belgium fulfils the second claim. In contrast, countries where density is not propagated by policy makers, co-houses might not be smaller than regular dwellings. With regard to size and density, the circumstances under which projects are built are crucial. The generic assertion, therefore, that co-housing projects are comparatively smaller and denser seems slightly exaggerated. Third, co-housing is said to be more sustainable because of "the preference for sustainable everyday routines among residents" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 415). Research indicates that a great number of people want to live a more sustainable life but fail to put their intents into practice (Munasinghe et al., 2009). Collaborative housing, by creating "a space for discussion and mutual support", might have the potential to help residents make their everyday practices more sustainable (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 427). The fourth assumption is that smaller households (one- or two person households) generally need more resources as they have higher levels of energy consumption than bigger households (Marckmann et al., 2012). As a consequence, co-housing would provide smaller households with the opportunity of a more sufficient lifestyle. According to Marckmann et al.'s (2012) study, co-housing has so far not been able to attract small households. This might be of paramount importance in the future as smaller household sizes and the rising number of single-households are general tendencies in Western countries (Jamieson et al., 2009). Worth mentioning in this context is also the amount of net floor space that could be saved by promoting collaborative housing projects. In a research project, Mahdavi et al. (2012, p. 9) illustrate that approximately 3 million m^2 net floor space could be gained in Vienna, if it is assumed that in 2030 10 % of the over 60 year-olds live in collaborative housing forms.

Marckmann et al. (2012, p. 416) deliberately use the word "claims" in respect to the environmental advantages of co-housing because a) "relatively few studies have been made so far on the actual measurable environmental performance of co-housing" and b) "those that exist show ambiguous results". It must further be noted that generalizations about co-housing projects are somewhat problematic. Although many projects have written mission statements, which "refer to living in a pro-active, caring relationship with the environment" (Meltzer, 2000, p. 111) not all of them are close to public transportation. Rural co-houses, for example, provided that residents use cars, would show a

larger ecological footprint when compared to urban dwellings with access to public transportation systems (Marckmann et al., 2012). Furthermore, it is important whether the projects under comparison are "purpose built for the community or are existing buildings that have been retrofitted" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 416). Newly built buildings will naturally always show better results if compared to old buildings. Consequently, it must be argued, that "environmental evaluations should only compare co-housing with similar types of ordinary housing" (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 416). This again highlights the difficulties the term co-housing itself entails (see section 2.2). In conclusion, co-housing has "some environmental advantages" which are mostly due to the "social organization" of the initiatives (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 428). Those advantages are, however, not always as "straightforward" as some publications suggest (Marckmann et al., 2012, p. 427).

At this point, I want to refer to my case study project, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* again. The above-mentioned (2.3.2) study conducted by Leitner et al. (2015), examined the collaborative housing project in relation to the residents CO_2 consumption. Leitner et al.'s (2015) research supports Marckmann et al.'s (2012) first assumption that co-housing projects are more sustainable due to new building technology. The *Wohnprojekt* residents decreased their energy demand for living by 34.5 %, which is mainly due to the energy-efficient building (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 134). The sustainability study about the case study project gives further insights into Marckmann et al.'s (2012) third assumption: co-housing residents live a more environmentally-friendly life. In this respect, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study reveals rather mixed results. In terms of mobility, the research indicates that car usage among residents decreased immensely, while the amount of short-distance flights increased (both compared to before the residents lived in the new project building) (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 134). With regard to nutrition, Leitner et al. (2015, pp. 135–136) report that the *Wohnprojekt* residents have below-average greenhouse gas emissions in comparison to European comparable figures. The nutrition-related greenhouse gas emissions are also significantly below the Austrian average, which, according to the authors of the study, is due to the reduced share of meat in the residents' diet. Leitner et al.'s (2015) study provides further evidence that co-housing residents try to live a more sustainable life and are, in part, successful in doing so. This can, however, not be generalized as projects are fundamentally different from each other.

2.3.4 Emerging topics: Financial and legal aspects

As the heading of this section already indicates, the financial and legal aspects of collaborative housing are relatively new fields of scientific inquiry (Tummers, 2016). Conventional housing differs from collaborative housing because of the latter's "collective nature" (Tummers, 2016, pp. 2031–2032). This issue leads to various questions such as: "[C]an legal instruments secure inbetween spaces as a key-element between private and public?" (ibid.). Proof for problems like this can be obtained

from numerous handbooks and guides provided for (and by) collaborative housing projects (Tummers, 2016).

Furthermore, new legal forms that are emerging around collaborative housing are a topic of interest. The *Mietshäuser Syndikat*, for instance, is an uncommercial association in Germany that supports the construction of co-housing to create affordable housing for the long-term. Recently, an increasing number of collaborative housing projects make use of this legal form. Following Rost (2014), the characteristics and peculiarities of the concept shall shortly be outlined. All collaborative housing groups who realize their projects with the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* do not legally own their building. The ownership lies with a limited corporation[12] (*GmbH*). This limited corporation has two associates (*Gesellschafter*): The group of residents (e.g. organized as an association) and the *Mietshäuser Syndikat*. When it comes to matters concerning property assets (e.g. selling the house, turning apartments into owner-occupied flats, etc.), the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* has a voting right (one vote). The other vote lies with the housing group. As a consequence, it needs both votes if fundamental changes want to be made. Put differently, each of the two members of the limited corporation has a veto right. This, however, is only the case for the afore-mentioned fundamental decisions. All other decisions can be made by the collaborative housing group itself without the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* being involved. The *Mietshäuser Syndikat* can be seen as a control organization. Each individual collaborative housing project founds a limited corporation and the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* is an associate in all of them. It is, thus, the connection between all individual collaborative housing projects for the long term, as limited corporation contracts cannot be cancelled by only one associate. This results in a network of self-organized collaborative housing projects that cannot be used for speculation in the long run. This practice has two major advantages. First, knowledge can be transferred from one project to the other. Second, this enables further opportunities for financing through so-called direct borrowings (*Direktkredite*). These help, among other things, to close the funding gap because some banks accept directly borrowed money as equity capital. The structures of the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* were recently integrated into the Austrian legal framework: The *habiTAT* realizes projects in this form in Austria. The *habiTAT* approach could help with the inaccessibility of *Baugruppen* for lower-income groups and could, therefore, be a valuable contribution to the local collaborative housing sector in Vienna. (Rost, 2014)

Another legal aspect worth mentioning here – particularly in the context of Vienna – is the allocation of tenants. Usually, collaborative housing projects choose their members and the municipality is not involved in this process. Matters are quite different when a Viennese *Baugruppe* decides to realize its

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[12] The legal form of a cooperative is not appropriate for the structure of the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* (Rost, 2014).

project in the form of the renting model[13]. In this case, the *Wohnservice Wien*, an institution responsible for the allocation of social housing apartments, has the right to allocate one third[14] of the *Baugruppen* apartments. Klestorfer (2012, p. 30) explains the allocation regulations in Vienna as follows:

> "Due to the City's large municipal housing stock, its housing department (MA 50; Wiener Wohnen) allocates tenants along official guidelines within all public housing and also, *due to funding regulations, does so for parts of subsidised housing*." (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 30) (emphasis added)

For collaborative housing projects this means that, if they make use of housing subsidies, they must follow this regulation. The only exceptions to this are the subsidy for dormitories as well as the subsidy for owner-occupied homes (Temel, 2009, p. 17). Financial issues have always been important for collaborative housing projects, but the issue seems to gain more significance recently. For many collaborative housing groups it is difficult, especially at an early stage, to obtain an overview of the numerous financial models and legal forms that are eligible (Friedl, 2015, p. 50). The problem in this context is the lack of consultants who are qualified enough to advise groups in those matters (ibid.). The legal and financial aspects of collaborative housing in the Viennese context will more elaborately be discussed in section 4.1.3. This short sketch of problems, however, provides a perfect example for the emerging topics in the field of finance and law.

2.3.5 Architecture and designing community

Another highly relevant topic in collaborative housing research is the issue of architecture. Architects are mainly concerned with the question: "Does physical design affect a sense of community?" (Cooper Markus, 2000). This is a rather important question given that citizens – besides the opportunity to build their own habitations – often participate in collaborative housing projects because they long for a sense of community. Usually, such a sense of community seems to be lacking in cities. This can, of course, also be seen as something positive: The anonymity of the city has an attracting effect for many people, who associate it with freedom and less social control. While this is a legitimate point of view, a growing number of urbanites do not want to live in complete isolation anymore. Architects working in the field of co-housing, therefore, aim to satisfy such aspirations and try to design buildings that provide urban dwellers with the opportunity to live a community-oriented life. Some academic research has been conducted to answer the question stated at the beginning.

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[13] The renting model is one of three possible legal types how *Baugruppen* can integrate themselves into Vienna's social housing structures (see section 4.1.3 for a more detailed discussion of this issue).

[14] Those apartments are referred to as *Anbotswohnungen* in Vienna (see section 4.1.3 for a more detailed discussion of this issue).

Cooper Markus (2000), for instance, analyzed what impact the physical form of six European co-housing projects has on social neighborhood interaction. Her research focused on two aspects: "(1) the site plan of the entire community [...] and (2) the building mass, form, materials, and detailing" (Cooper Markus, 2000, p. 146). The study proposes six tentative hypotheses in which co-housing might contribute to socially supportive housing settings. The first and strongest design feature identified is a shared outdoor space:

> "It seems highly likely that a site-design that incorporates a shared outdoor space bounded in whole, or part, by the dwellings it serves and designed for a great variety of adult and child activities will generate a stronger sense of community than one that does not." (Cooper Markus, 2000, p. 162)

The remaining features focus on, among others: covered shared space in cold climate zones to provide meeting points in winter; site design that provides opportunities for people to meet on their way to parking lots; and the availability of private outdoor space as well as semi-public outdoor space (Cooper Markus, 2000, pp. 162–163). Another study, conducted by Williams (2005), affirms Cooper Markus's suggestion of key design features that support a sense of community. He suggests "proximity to buffer zones; good-quality, accessible, functional, diverse communal spaces with ample opportunity for surveillance; and, finally, private units" to be important elements that influence social interaction (Williams, 2005, p. 222). Tummers (2016, p. 2029) points out that Fromm's dissertation (1991) still "offers the most comprehensive study about architectural features and planning processes of cohousing projects in USA and Northern Europe". In her study, Fromm (1991) discovered that "intermediate spaces" are crucial for well-functioning communities.

Moreover, the architecture of co-housing projects might differ considerably from conventional buildings. Ring (2013, pp. 15–16) found that "within the last fifteen years in Berlin, the largest part of exemplary architecture [...] is to be attributed to self-initiated projects". She further explains that self-initiated projects are specially-tailored solutions that meet the costumers' needs and that this has, in consequence, led to significant changes when it comes to layout. Her results, for instance, show that "floor plans have transformed considerably in comparison to the specifications for social housing standards" (Ring, 2013, pp. 218–219). It could, therefore, be assumed that many people are not completely satisfied with the standard-apartment solutions often found in public housing. Custom-fit solutions have an impact on people's everyday life but also change the everyday work of architects as they have to collaborate much more with non-professional stakeholders: the future residents. The residents' involvement in the planning phase can result in designs that are "less traditional and more creative", also in terms of "wider neighbourhood interaction" (Fromm, 2012, p. 390). The issue of collaborative housing's impact on neighborhood development will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.6   Neighborhood development

The last thematic cluster discusses collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood. Given the purpose of this thesis, I will first take some time to define the term 'neighborhood' before reviewing some of the academic literature currently available.

Concept formation: Neighborhood

In recent years, especially since the late 1990s, the 'neighborhood[15]' has received increased attention again (Schnur, 2012, p. 450). The 'neighborhood' is in numerous European countries at the center regarding social politics, urban development, spatial planning, or social work (Reutlinger et al., 2015, p. 11). This also holds true for the German-speaking area, where numerous programs, projects, and initiatives aim at strengthening local communities in order to counteract various social challenges such as ageing populations, loneliness, poverty, segregation, etc. (Reutlinger et al., 2015, pp. 11–12). Reutlinger et al. (2015, p. 14) looked at the discourses in respect to 'neighborhood' and found that both, academic as well as planning discourses, seem to go along the same line: The 'neighborhood' is suitable for solving a variety of social problems, or, put differently, the 'neighborhood' will "do the job" in times of a reduced welfare state (Reutlinger et al., 2015, p. 14). Although the term 'neighborhood' is omnipresent, the meaning of it is not entirely clear, which leaves the question: What is meant by the term 'neighborhood' in this thesis? When looking at definitions, it becomes evident that each one highlights a different feature of the concept. Kennett and Forrest (2016, p. 715) accurately point out that:

> "[d]ifferent definitions of neighbourhood emphasise varied aspects including evident physical boundaries, local sense of belonging engendered through the routinised daily practices of residents, administrative boundaries or more pragmatic measures such as the size of local populations or the area within walking distance of home." (Kennett and Forrest, 2016, p. 715)

This observation can be justified in the realm of academia but also among laymen. If one was to ask ten neighbors to define their neighborhood, one is very likely to receive just as many different definitions based on quite different criteria. The neighborhood is, so to say, a commonly used word that does not share a common definition. The fact that the concept is unclear in everyday language also has ramifications for researchers, who suggest that the neighborhood is "at best a chaotic concept with a tangential and shifting association to notions of community" (Kennett and Forrest, 2016, p. 715). Despite the concept being "chaotic", it is, for the most part, associated with small-scale units and

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[15] In German the term '*Nachbarschaft*' (neighborhood) is synonymous with '*Quartier*' (district). In Austria, the word '*Grätzl*' is also a common word for the same concept. In my empirical investigations, I treated all three terms as synonyms.

neighborhood assistance (Reutlinger et al., 2015, pp. 20–21). This means that the physical-material perspective is usually congruent with the social perspective (ibid.).

In most academic publications, the 'neighborhood' is first defined in epistemological terms (Hüllemann et al., 2015, p. 23). I refrain from doing so as the difficulties arising from this could not be justified for the little added value it might entail[16]. I will, however, provide one of the 'classic' definitions of 'neighborhood' that is frequently used in German-speaking countries. The definition stems from Bernd Hamm, who defined 'neighborhood' as a "social group that primarily interacts because of its common place of residence" ["soziale Gruppe, die primär wegen der Gemeinsamkeit des Wohnorts interagiert"] (Hamm, 1973, p. 18). Many researchers in the social sciences base their definition of neighborhood on the one above. The following table provides a short overview of some selected definitions:

Term	Definition	Source
Neighborhood	"uniquely linked unit of social/spatial organization between the forces and institutions of the larger society and the localized routines of individuals in their daily lives."	Hunter (1979): 269
Neighborhood	"a population residing in an identifiable section of a city whose members are organized into a general interaction network of formal and informal ties and express their common identification with the area in public symbols."	Schwirian (1983): 84
Neighborhood	"a limited space within a larger urban area where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially."	Hallman (1984): 13
Neighborhood	"Undoubtedly, there is a consensus that the neighbourhood is a ‚social/spatial unit of social organization … larger than a household and smaller than a city‘ (Hunter 1979, 270). But here is where the consensus ends."	Galster (1986): 243
Neighborhood	"key living space through which people get access to material and social resources, across which they pass to reach other opportunities and which symbolizes aspects of the identity of those living there, to themselves and to outsiders."	Healey (1998): 69
Neighborhood	"Quite simply, a neighbourhood is a geographically circumscribed, built environment that people use practically and symbolically."	Blokland (2003): 213

Table 1: Selected definitions of the term 'neighborhood' (Source: based on Schnur, 2012; own illustration)

The definitions found in table 1 illustrate that 'neighborhood' can, on the one hand, be understood as a group that forms itself on the basis of geographical proximity but, on the other hand, also as the social networks or relationships themselves that constitute a neighborhood (Schnur, 2012, p. 452). Most definitions mention a territory that exists between the residences of people living in close proximity: "identifiable section of a city" (Schwirian, 1983, p. 84); "limited space within a larger urban area" (Hallman, 1984, p. 13); or "geographically circumscribed, built environment" (Blokland, 2003, p. 213). Definitions of neighborhood, thus, start with the assumption of a territorial space that could also

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[16] The epistemological definition would have to be provided for the English word 'neighborhood' as well as for the German word '*Nachbarschaft*', which would unnecessarily complicate the concept formation.

be called a container space (Hüllemann et al., 2015, p. 27). To this physical component, a second dimension is added: the social (ibid.). The territory (the built environment) is associated with social relationships that people develop due to their common place of residence (ibid.). The physical neighborhood consists of residential buildings, inner courtyards, open leisure spaces, etc. and is imagined as an absolute space (Hüllemann et al., 2015, p. 28). Absolute space is based on the assumption that subjects and objects (residents, buildings, etc.) and space exist independently from each other (ibid.). The social space of a neighborhood, however, is understood as a relative space. It is a space that constitutes itself between people through their relationships (ibid.). This social space is 'located' within the realm of the physical container space and ends at its borders (ibid.). Hüllemann et al. (2015) argue that thinking along these lines can lead to some hidden pitfalls. One of the problems the authors mention shall be briefly discussed here, as it is also relevant for the empirical analysis of my thesis. One of the criticisms concentrates on the assumption that out of one neighborhood (as the physical built environment) emerges only one network of social ties in which all residents are – or should be – included (Hüllemann et al., 2015, p. 31). This can be seen as a homogenization of the residents as they are all part of the neighborhood (or should be) simply because of their place of residence (ibid.). The differences in their individual social networks are not taken into consideration (ibid.). It can be argued that various different social networks can co-exist within a built environment (Hüllemann et al., 2015, p. 31).

Another issue relevant in the context of 'neighborhood' is the notion of 'community'. The terms 'neighborhood' and 'community' are very much interlaced, which is also made clear in Martin's (2017, p. 78) definition:

> "'Community' may articulate a multiplicity of socio-spatial dynamics, only some of which occur in urban residential districts, or neighbourhoods. The term 'neighbourhood' highlights propinquity as the primary dimension of urban social relations. Interactions and connections among neighbours can take a wide variety of forms, from regular and sustained social interactions and mutual support over time (Cox 1982), to little more than occasional waves, to open hostility and suspicion. [...] Urban community that is based on physical propinquity is best described by the term *neighbourhood*." (Martin, 2017, p. 78) (italics in original).

The connection between 'community' and 'neighborhood' is "a longstanding discussion in the social sciences" (Kennett and Forrest, 2016, p. 715, drawing on Crow and Allan, 1994). In the context of 'neighborhood', 'community' can refer to a group of people that forms due to physical proximity. A so-called 'local community' might be defined as "interlocking social networks of neighborhoods, kinships and friendship" (Crow and Allan, 1994, pp. 178–179). Thomas (1991, p. 19) stresses the importance of social resources and processes in the production of viable (local) communities. Those communities should:

- exist or be designed in a way that brings residents together rather than keeps them apart from one another

- have facilities that promote social contact

- have daily routines that promote interaction between people

- have a variety of 'live' social and recreational networks, as well as those based on mutual aid

- have active organisations of a variety of kinds and purposes that bring people together and which define and represent their ideas and concerns

- allow residents to take on public roles outside the household that are satisfying to themselves and of service to others

(Thomas, 1991, p. 19)

Thomas (1991) illustrates his aspects of community interaction by the use of a ladder (see table below).

Rung	Description
11	Owning and managing local facilities
10	Working with policy-makers
9	Co-operation with other community groups
8	Joining community groups
7	Participating in community activities
6	Informal mutual aid
5	Involvement in informal networks
4	Social contacts; such as at the pub, church or community centre
3	Routine contacts; such as picking the children up from school every day
2	Casual contacts; for example whilst shopping or waiting for the bus
1	Mutual recognition

Table 2: A ladder of community interaction (Source: Thomas, 1991; own illustration)

In this table, the lower rungs (1-6) are the "routine, trivial and taken-for granted aspects of community interaction", which are the foundation for higher rungs (Thomas, 1991, p. 20). The higher rungs (7-11) contain "the more formal organisation of community life" (ibid.).

With these short explanations, I wanted to draw attention to the difficulties that exist in the field of neighborhood (and community) research. In consideration of the above, the term 'neighborhood' is, as a starting point for this thesis, understood as a geographically not clearly identifiable socio-spatial organization based on physical proximity. It includes the built environment and multiple interaction networks of formal and informal ties.

The literature on collaborative housing and the neighborhood

A positive impact on the neighborhood?[17]

It is a common belief that collaborative housing has benefits extending beyond the walls of individual projects (Droste, 2015; Müller, 2015; Fromm, 2012). In relation to this, Droste (2015, p. 89) reports that the literature accentuates that "residents and neighbourhoods appreciate co-housing because of its hybridity, diversity and the openness of the approaches". It is assumed that collaborative housing projects interact spatially and socially with their surrounding urban environment in a positive way. It is this presumed positive impact on the neighborhood that induced some German cities to implement policies to support this alternative way of building and living (Droste, 2015). The municipalities Tübingen and Freiburg, for example, saw co-housing as an opportunity to foster socially inclusive development, and, thus, implemented *Baugruppen* as an urban development tool (Müller, 2015, p. 24). *Baugruppen* can be supported in various ways, for instance through consulting services, cheaper credits, or the exclusive allocation of building plots (Müller, 2015, pp. 4–5). This leads to the questions: Why do municipalities do that and what are their expectations? Schenk (2013) notes that *Baugruppen* are attractive because they combine both private and public interests. On the one hand, collaborative housing projects create affordable, demand-oriented living spaces which residents can identify themselves with, and, on the other hand, collaborative housing projects stand for diverse urban spaces in which living and working is made possible. This already hints at what Müller (2015, p. 38) calls 'non-quantifiable expectations'. He summarized the expectations of municipalities using four categories: (1) re-urbanization; (2) reduced construction costs; (3) family-friendly and individual habitations; and (4) commitment.

First, *Baugruppen* are seen as a contribution to the re-urbanization of cities. Due to the advantages of collaborative housing projects (see point 2 and 3) municipalities imagine it to be a great alternative to suburban lifestyles. Second, municipalities expect that collaborative housing results in reduced costs compared to conventional housing. This argument of building in a more cost-efficient way is seen as an opportunity to prevent an outflow of citizens who would, otherwise, build their houses in cheaper, suburban areas. Third, the concept of collaborative housing is associated with a family-friendly nature. *Baugruppen* members actively participate in the planning of their individual apartments as well as in the planning of possible common spaces, which means that apartments can be designed to cater for various needs. Another advantage in this respect is the existence of a functional community within the project building that allows children to have a carefree childhood. In short, collaborative housing is seen as an urban, child-friendly alternative to single family homes in suburban or rural areas. Finally,

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[17] A minor part of this section was submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

municipalities expect *Baugruppen* residents to show – in contrast to other residents – above-average commitment within the project community as well as in the neighborhood. Tummers (2016, p. 2031) also notes: "The long-term expectation […] is that it will keep residents involved in neighbourhood governance". People living in collaborative housing projects are perceived as being able to help the processes of stabilizing and upgrading a neighborhood. The reasons behind the higher levels of commitment of collaborative housing members are explained through the high level of identification with the projects, which is a result of the participation process. This identification leads to a well-functioning community within the housing project, and, according to city administrations, also to an increased commitment in the project's immediate surroundings. However, municipalities do not specify why a high level of identification leads to above-average commitment in the neighborhood. This lack of clarity could be interpreted as a sign that municipalities are not certain about this connection. Hence, it can be concluded that neighborhood impacts that are created in correlation with collaborative housing have, so far, been reported rather vaguely. (Müller, 2015)

In fact, collaborative housing's impact on its immediate environment has received little academic attention so far, but some publications on the topic are available. Ring (2013, p. 28) presents an elaborate analysis of collaborative housing projects in Berlin based on the question: "[B]y which means, methods, and strategies do Selfmade[18] projects generate what kind of added value?". She identifies 'ten selfmade qualities' and describes – underpinned with examples – how collaborative housing contributes to urban development (Ring, 2013, pp. 28–46). The selfmade qualities, for instance, might serve as a set of criteria to decide "the distribution of grants or support for Selfmade projects, such as the provision of government-owned land" (Ring, 2013, p. 28). The ten qualities are discussed below.

1 Neighborhoods and Urban Interaction

> "Self-initiative helps people to have a sense of identity with and to take responsibility for where they live, from which the entire neighborhood can benefit. Selfmade projects help in creating well functioning neighborhoods and communities whose residents get involved." (Ring, 2013, p. 29)

The first quality of collaborative housing raised in Ring's research focuses on the groups' greater interest in the immediate environment. Her results show that many residents take on "responsibilities that reach far beyond their own buildings or living spaces and create many new possibilities in the neighborhood" (Ring, 2013, p. 29). The examples provided include, among others, a co-housing group that created a plaza area, which is open to the wider neighborhood, or a group which opened a public

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[18] Ring (2013) uses the term 'selfmade' under which she summarizes co-housing projects as well as other initiatives. I, personally, think that 'selfmade' can be misleading as it carries the notion of 'building something with your own hands'. Collaborative housing groups, however, often do not take part in the construction process.

art space. Müller (2015, p. 377) reaches the same conclusion in his research and finds that collaborative housing projects take a more active role in participative processes organized by the municipality and, what is more, they also start more initiatives on their own. Collaborative housing members know each other prior to the beginning of construction, which results in high social capital[19] (Müller, 2015, p. 390). Fromm (2012, p. 388) also notes that collaborative housing residents' participation in the planning process could reinforce their involvement within the project's surrounding area. Tummers (2016, p. 2030) points out that members of collaborative housing projects need to "have a certain level of education and network capabilities". Such social capital can have a positive impact on the neighborhood because the pre-existing social structures facilitate participative processes and, in fact, also support the initiation of such processes (Müller, 2015, p. 390). Müller (2015) adds another advantage of collaborative housing for the neighborhood by reporting that *Baugruppen* require a parceling of the land into small pieces, which, consequently, leads to small-scale, heterogenous urban spaces (Müller, 2015, p. 377).

2 Shared Space, Community, and Social Focus

> "Spaces that are financed, realized, and used together as a group show how community oriented the project is. Shared spaces lead to a better social awareness and interaction with the surrounding neighborhood." (Ring, 2013, p. 31)

Ring's second quality concentrates on collaborative housing and its common spaces. If residents are part of a project in order to lead a more community-oriented life (compared to groups building together solely for economic advantages), then this also has an effect on the neighborhood. Ring (2013, p. 31) points out that "the planned amount of shared space can be a good indicator of the potential the project has for adding to society" (Ring, 2013, p. 31). One of the examples provided has many collective spaces such as a garden, a workshop, a sauna, or a swimming pool. Ruiu (2014, p. 330) also suggests that collaborative housing might increase the "degree of trust among neighbors […] through the participation in common activities and events" (Ruiu, 2014, p. 330). Tummers (2016, pp. 2034–2035) also mentions that "some suburban qualities are brought along [with co-housing], such as gardens, space for children or village-like settings for informal interaction and small-scale enterprises". Another project to support this quality of collaborative housing stresses the social focus: One of the groups rents an entire floor within the house to an association that cares for terminally ill people (Ring, 2013, p. 31). Collaborative housing projects strive for a sense of community and many

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[19] The OECD defines social capital as "'networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups'" (Keeley, 2007, p. 103). Williams (2005, p. 225) adds that local social capital is "the 'glue' which binds people together in a neighborhood and encourages them to cooperate with each other".

also want to have a social focus. This social dimension was also the subject of a conference[20], jointly organized by the Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing Vienna (*Initiative Gemeinsam Bauen Wohnen*) and the Association Collaborative Housing Germany (*Bundesverband Baugemeinschaften*). At the center of the conference were collaborative housing projects that contribute in some way to society at large. Ring (2013) also found a correlation between the social focus and the impact on the neighborhood: "Nearly all of the house communities that have been assessed as having a social focus also have a positive effect on the surrounding neighborhood" (Ring, 2013, p. 215). This finding, while preliminary, suggests that the social focus of a project plays a paramount role in neighborhood impact.

3 Long-Term Affordability

> "[T]he maximization of profits does not play the central role in the development of Selfmade projects, like it does with investor-developed projects. The self-use of spaces removes these spaces from market speculation and in the long term, affordable living and working spaces can be secured." (Ring, 2013, p. 32)

The third quality deals with the fact that many collaborative housing groups remove their living space from a seemingly ever-expanding market for the long term. Co-housing groups often achieve this by turning to alternative models of financing. Many groups regard co-operative associations as an ideal model because it represents a form of collective ownership but also other models gain popularity, for example the *Mietshäuser Syndikat*, which had already been discussed in section 2.3.4 (Ring, 2013).

4 Open and Green Spaces

> "Selfmade projects have created a considerable amount of green space and gardens in the inner city that are shared, sometimes even by the public; spaces that would otherwise not exist. The connections created between the green and surrounding urban space is a resource for the city." (Ring, 2013, p. 37)

The fourth quality focuses on open and green spaces that are created by collaborative housing groups. In Ring's study every single project had created some sort of shared garden space. One of the projects presented in her book developed a large garden space that is open to the wider neighborhood. The co-housing group also offers cost-free activities for the wider neighborhood in the garden (Ring, 2013).

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[20] I attended the conference 'Social Orientation of Collaborative Housing Projects' (*Tagung Soziale Ausrichtung von Baugemeinschaften*) which took place on October 21 and 22, 2016 in Vienna. Videos of the conference can be found under the following link: https://gemeinsam-bauen-wohnen.org/infoabend/tagung-soziale-ausrichtung-von-baugemeinschaften/ (in German language). The second part of the conference took place in September 2017 in Hamburg, Germany.

> "Not only new buildings are created in the context of Selfmade projects. Solutions have been found for the reactivation of culturally and architecturally valuable buildings that would otherwise be unattractive for investors. In this way resources are reused, sustainably developed, and lastingly preserved for the urban community." (Ring, 2013, p. 38)

Ring's fifth quality for urban development discusses the fact that collaborative housing projects do not always have to be built anew. By reactivating existing houses, projects can play a central role in preserving historically important buildings and in bringing new life to them and the larger neighborhood. One of the mentioned examples in Ring's study is Berlin's largest co-housing project *Am Urban*, which reactivates the former hospital in *Berlin-Kreuzberg* (Ring, 2013).

6 Hybrid Concepts

> "A functional mix supports interaction with the surrounding urban community, which is an essential factor for urban vitality and can positively affect the entire district." (Ring, 2013, p. 38)

The sixth quality mentioned by Ring concentrates on collaborative housing projects and the functional mix they can achieve. Traditional developers often only think in two boxes: 'housing real estate' or 'commercial real estate'. Collaborative housing projects, on the contrary, think those two boxes together and build spaces that make hybrid concepts possible. One of Ring's examples, for instance, provides several spaces that are rented to non-members: "a short-term rental apartment, a music room, one café, and one commercial space" (Ring, 2013, p. 39). Müller (2015) supports this claim and says that it seems to be easier for collaborative housing projects to implement a varied functional mixture of utilization in their buildings (Müller, 2015, p. 378). Ring's analysis showed that the main uses in co-housing ground floors are office spaces and studios, while shops and restaurants are less common. Public art spaces, neighborhood meeting places, cafés, or consultation centers were found even less frequently (Ring, 2013, p. 215). Hybrid concepts are generally seen as desirable in urban space and many *Baugruppen* wish to contribute to more lively spaces at street level. Many of them, however, are faced with financing problems, which is "why in many cases [the ground floor] is used for storage, garbage, bicycles or for parking" (Ring, 2013, p. 215).

7 Quality (Re-)Densification

> "Through the development of new building typologies, sites that were unattractive for investors could become the home of new high quality alternatives, with solutions that offer enough open spaces for the residents as well as the urban surroundings. Selfmade projects [also] help residents to have a better sense of identity with the area; and they have reactivated large unused land areas and neglected districts, making them more attractive." (Ring, 2013, p. 41)

Ring's seventh quality centers on the idea that collaborative housing groups might be more interested in "unattractive" sites than market-driven investors and developers. One of the examples in Ring's study highlights the densification process especially well: The project is located on the former 'no man's land', which is a generally rather neglected area in Berlin (Ring, 2013). Collaborative housing projects also contribute to the acceptance of newly-built neighborhoods. On the one hand, they are responsible for a more heterogeneous built environment (including the functional use), and, on the other hand, they develop a network in the neighborhood relatively fast, which makes it possible for them to actively participate more in their new surroundings (Müller, 2015, p. 388). *Baugruppen* members help in giving the neighborhood its own identity, which leads to a wider acceptance among other citizens and possible future residents of the neighborhood (Müller, 2015, p. 390).

8 Custom-Fit Solutions for Every Generation

> "Selfmade projects aim to create solutions that are suited specifically to the needs of the users and that can be adapted over time to suit changing situations. Flexible plans and barrier-free building standards are often realized, which helps to make multigenerational and flexible living models possible." (Ring, 2013, p. 42)

The eighth quality discussed in Ring's book puts collaborative housing's custom-fit solutions at the center. Ring argues that the flexible and individual habitations that are being designed help, for instance, families to realize housing that is tailored to their needs (Ring, 2013). An example provided in the book talks of a project with flexible floor plans: the apartments are designed so that a room can be separated without much trouble (each of the apartments, for example, has two access doors from the start) (Ring, 2013).

9 Investment in Ecological Building

> "Ecological building standards and ecological ways of life are being realized and furthered, even if the short- and mid-term costs are higher. The ecological standards being realized are by far more encompassing than is true of investor projects." (Ring, 2013, p. 43)

The ninth quality of collaborative housing is concerned with sustainability. In her book, Ring highlights that co-housing groups are often pioneers, who like to experiment with new technologies

and that standards in collaborative housing projects often exceed the ones required (Ring, 2013). That the actors involved in collaborative housing activities also think differently when it comes to sustainability was also noticed by Müller (2015). He highlights that the important factor is that *Baugruppen* have a different perspective on such matters in comparison to traditional developers: While traditional developers think more commercially (they are mainly concerned with selling/renting the buildings after completion), *Baugruppen* are not interested in selling the new built houses but in living in them themselves (Müller, 2015, pp. 388–389). The connection between collaborative housing and ecology has already been elaborated on in section 2.3.3. It should be noticed here, however, that the ecological factor also has an impact on the neighborhood.

10 Future-Oriented Solutions and Experimental Models

> "Selfmade projects make experiments in building possible, which would normally not be realized by profit-oriented investors. The status quo is countered by Selfmade projects that [...] forge new ground in the planning, organization, and technical realization of new buildings." (Ring, 2013, p. 45)

Ring's last quality deals with collaborative housing and experimenting. New, future-oriented solutions are provided by the architects of co-housing projects as well as by the residents themselves. The adventuresome solutions that can result from collaborative housing might serve as learning models for future projects (Ring, 2013). In relation to this, Müller (2015, p. 387) mentions that new actors – apart from the traditional investors and developers – are taking part in building the city and that this diversification of developers could also lead to the realization of new concepts; concepts about which traditional developers are usually more skeptical.

To sum up, Ring (2013) provides an extensive list on the added value of Selfmade projects. According to her, the added value can manifest itself socially, ecologically, and economically. Socially, there seems to be a greater interest in the residential environment by people living in such projects. Furthermore, Selfmade projects often have common spaces that are shared with neighbors and a social focus of some sort. Ecologically, Selfmade projects contribute to urban development by realizing green spaces or by developing less attractive building sites. What is more, such projects seem to be more willing to implement better ecological standards into their buildings than conventional developers. Economically, Selfmade projects are interested in hybrid concepts and a functional mix, which might be beneficial to the vibrancy of a neighborhood. While some of Ring's (2013) qualities are easy to measure (e.g. green spaces), others might prove to be not quantifiable (e.g. urban interaction) and, therefore, quite difficult to assess.

In Fromm's (2012) paper "Seeding Community: Collaborative Housing as a Strategy for Social and Neighbourhood Repair", she accentuates that collaborative housing is not a tool to solve a neighborhood's entire social or care problems. It is, however, suggested that it can play "a limited but

important role in neighbourhood stability and repair" (Fromm, 2012, p. 391). Fromm (2012) reports the following impacts collaborative housing can have on a neighborhood:

- Successfully mixing residential incomes
- Stabilizing a vulnerable or marginalized group
- Stabilizing a small neighbourhood block from further deterioration
- Building design that extends a greater openness to the neighbourhood than seen with more conventional housing
- The provision of services, particularly for seniors, that prolongs senior resident independence
- Introducing a different residential population into a building or neighbourhood
- Involvement within communities in volunteerism and local politics

(Fromm, 2012, pp. 387–388)

In addition to the points above, Fromm (2012) also notes that projects' common spaces can be made available to non-group members and that, if there are more projects in one neighborhood, collaboration between them might prove beneficial to the wider neighborhood (Fromm, 2012). Müller (2015, pp. 398–399) adds that, from a municipal perspective, the concept of collaborative housing can have numerous advantages and can lead to small-scale urban structures in a quality that was so far – mainly due to reasons of efficiency – not produced by established actors. The many advantages should, however, not be overestimated:

> "Just like any good neighbour, collaborative communities can be helpful, but limited in their assistance. Even in the best of circumstances, *the primary focus of collaborative housing residents is towards sustaining the community within their site.*" (Fromm, 2012, p. 388) (emphasis added).

To sum up, Fromm's list above, the qualities identified by Ring (2013), and the points made by Müller (2015) show that collaborative housing has great potential for urban development. Despite such findings, it has to be noted that collaborative housing may also have negative effects on neighborhoods. These shall be discussed below.

A negative impact on the neighborhood?

The positive perspective of collaborative housing and the neighborhood was discussed above. It would, however, be naïve to assume that the concept might not have negative sides. Municipalities might encounter problems with collaborative housing in relation to social segregation or gentrification. Droste (2015), for instance, warns that:

> "[i]f cities do not collaborate with this new tenure, it can encourage *a specific form of gated communities and reduce them to middle-class exclusivity*, whereas inclusive forms of governance can lead to a wealth of social innovations that in the end could relieve cities from some of the demands for top-down provision of services." (Droste, 2015, p. 89) (emphasis added)

The risk of collaborative housing to result in a form of gated community is not improbable. It could even be argued that the two are the same (Chiodelli, 2015). So, is collaborative housing different from gated communities? And if so, how do the concepts differ from each other? I already conceptualized collaborative housing and showed the wide variety of the concept (section 2.2). The literature on gated communities provides numerous definitions as well (Ruiu, 2014). For the purpose of this thesis, a gated community is defined as a "subdivision or neighborhood, often surrounded by a barrier, to which entry is restricted to residents and their guests[21]" (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2011). Since both concepts can take various forms, Ruiu (2014, p. 324) stresses that "it is possible that some cohousing can be closer to the gated communities model, and others can be completely different from it" (Ruiu, 2014, p. 324). Generally speaking, literature on both, collaborative housing and gated communities, is almost non-existent (Ruiu, 2014, pp. 320–321). This is why Ruiu looked at "existing literature produced by sociologists, geographers, and architects" (Ruiu, 2014, p. 317) to answer the questions above. She found that co-housing and gated communities have more divergent characteristics than similarities that can be grouped according to different issues such as sense of safety, degree of closure to the outside, or sense of community. Ruiu (2014, p. 329) proposes that gated communities have a stronger focus on safety, while co-housing is more "likely to be built around community and trust". With regard to the degree of closure to the outside, Ruiu (2014, p. 329) states that in collaborative housing, the wider neighborhood often has access to activities or spaces, which is in direct opposition to gated communities. Furthermore, collaborative housing consists of people who want to "build a 'strong' sense of community and a friendly neighborhood through a collaborative and participatory system", while gated communities are not formed out of a longing for community. It must be noted, however, that a sense of community could, while not a gated community's primary aim, be a "secondary result consequent to the proximity of people" (Ruiu, 2014, p. 330). It can be seen that Ruiu (2014) clearly sees co-housing and gated communities as two distinct models that seem to share only some elements. Chiodelli (2015), on the contrary, profoundly disagrees with Ruiu's (2014) assertion. He directly replies to Ruiu's (2014) paper and claims that her "viewpoint suffers from some weaknesses and inaccuracies" (Chiodelli, 2015, p. 2577). He points out that there is not enough proof to suggest that people opt for gated communities for the main reason of safety. Neither, according to Chiodelli (2015, p. 2577), is there strong evidence proving that people become

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[21] For a more detailed conceptualization of 'gated communities' please consult Ruiu (2014).

members of collaborative housing projects because of the sense of community. Another point that Chiodelli (2015, p. 2577) criticizes in Ruiu's (2014) paper is the "fact that the openness of cohousing communal spaces and services to the outside may be more alleged than effective". He insists that there is "no linear correlation between the type of residential community and the degree of openness of communal spaces" (Chiodelli, 2015, p. 2577). The question concerning the difference between co-housing and gated communities remains thus open.

It must be added to this discussion that collaborative housing projects (even if they are not classified as gated communities) are highly exclusionary. The high social capital that co-housing projects often display can result in a positive impact on the neighborhood – as was discussed in the section above. However, Müller (2015, p. 390) also notes that it could have a downside: There might be an overrepresentation of collaborative housing members with regard to participative processes. He points out that such an overrepresentation must be seen critically due to the homogenous composition of *Baugruppen* (Müller, 2015, p. 390). Sociological research verifies that people living in collaborative housing are primarily middle-income households with a high level of education (Bresson and Denèfle, 2015). The homogeneity of co-housing groups is also highlighted in an information letter of a recent project in Vienna. About themselves they write:

> "Co-housing projects such as ours tend to build very homogenous groups because they often constitute themselves through informal networks within relatively privileged social classes. A majority of our current residents speak German as a first language, have white skin, are well-educated, and live in a heterosexual relationship." (Baugruppe Wien (anonym), 2017, p. 2) (own translation)

> ["Wohnprojekte wie das unsere haben die Tendenz, relativ homogene Gruppen zu bilden, weil sie sich oft durch informelle Netzwerke innerhalb relativ privilegierter Gesellschaftsschichten konstituieren. Ein Großteil unserer derzeitigen Bewohner*innen haben deutsche Muttersprache, weiße Hautfarbe, höhere Bildung und leben in heterosexuellen Partnerschaften."] (Baugruppe Wien (anonym), 2017, p. 2)

The information letter quoted above also mentions that they want to address other social groups more directly in the following rounds of enlargement. This also shows that *Baugruppen* projects aim for a mixed-income structure, which is, however, not always easy to achieve. The reason for this is poorer people's lack of financial means. Ruiu (2014, p. 331) summarizes this by saying: Collaborative housing members often form a group and "even if everyone could access, only those who can afford the costs become members". In short, collaborative housing is exclusionary due to the groups' high social capital in often pre-existing networks and because of the high costs that act as access barriers. Despite the groups' aim to create mixed-income projects, collaborative housing projects hold the risk of segregation. Müller (2015, p. 391) concludes in his thesis that it cannot be expected that *Baugruppen* create socially heterogeneous neighborhoods. This is also noted by Ache and Fedrowitz (2012) who, besides their observance of the homogeneity of co-housing groups, also mention that many projects have inclusive intentions such as the integration of social housing, solidarity-based

funding, or the integration of apartments for the disabled (Ache and Fedrowitz, 2012). It can be concluded that scientific proof for "long-term sustainability and community effects remains relatively weak concerning socially weaker groups" (Droste, 2015, p. 80).

The discussion of social segregation also leads to the issue of gentrification. Gentrification is difficult to define and the usage of the term is rather random in the realms of politics and academia, as well as in public debates (Franz, 2015, p. 92). Adding to the difficulty is also the fact that numerous different kinds of gentrification exist by now. Lees (2017, p. 136), for example, lists the following types of contemporary gentrification: creative gentrification; hyper-gentrification; mega gentrification and mega displacement; new-build gentrification; planetary gentrification; rental gentrification; slum gentrification; and super-gentrification. This list perfectly illustrates how broad the gentrification discourse has become. Franz (2015, p. 92) also discusses the concept of gentrification in great detail and notes that "the term 'gentrification' runs the risk of being used for everything and nothing related to socio-spatial or physical changes in cities" (Franz, 2015, p. 92). I believe this to be true in connection with collaborative housing as well and, therefore, define gentrification in its broadest sense, according to the dictionary of human geography, as the "reinvestment of CAPITAL at the urban centre, which is designed to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space" (Johnston, 2000, p. 294) (capital letters in original). Nevertheless, gentrification is part of the academic debate concerning collaborative housing but not much literature has been brought forward so far. The "up-grading" of a neighborhood through the construction of a collaborative housing project can also be understood as the negative impact of gentrification (Ache and Fedrowitz, 2012). While many people comprehend collaborative housing groups as 'gentrifiers', the co-housing members themselves hardly see things that way (Droste, 2015, p. 82). Holm (2010), who focuses his claims on Berlin, insists that *Baugruppen* are by no means neutral when it comes to gentrification. It is mentioned that collaborative housing projects are certainly not the crucial gentrification element in Berlin, as their number of projects is, for this to be the case, simply too small (Holm, 2010). However, they are part of (pre-existing) gentrification processes as they intensify social homogeneity in gentrifying neighborhoods, which could be considered as super-gentrification[22] (Holm, 2010). In some cases, *Baugruppen* can also function as the pioneers of gentrification. This, according to Holm (2010), happens when residents, often displaced from one neighborhood, become the actors of gentrification in another urban area. Research concerning this issue is – as stated at the beginning – rather tentative and generally scarce. Tummers (2016, p. 2036) also says that "the relation between cause and effect in gentrification processes needs to be further established and the experiences of co-housing residents

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[22] Super-gentrification refers to "the re-gentrification of already gentrified inner-city neighborhoods by a new breed of much more wealthy gentrifier (sic!)" (Lees, 2017, p. 136).

themselves have so far not been reported". This statement highlights the need for further scientific inquiry concerning this matter.

This section conceptualized the term 'neighborhood' and showed that collaborative housing is seen as an opportunity for urban development for numerous reasons. However, the concept, as discussed above, might also have negative effects on the neighborhood such as social segregation or gentrification. The potential negative aspects of collaborative housing pose a problem for politicians: In order to move co-housing from niche to mainstream product[23], more evidence for long-term social cohesion is necessary for policy makers to take action (Droste, 2015). This suggests that more academic research is needed in this field.

2.4   Research Gaps

Academic research on collaborative housing is somewhat limited in its scope, especially in Austria (Lang and Stoeger, 2017). The need for further study, therefore, must be addressed for all clusters mentioned in the literature review. On an international level, more information on this type of housing, mostly referred to as co-housing, exists. Nevertheless, "fact finding, systematic comparison and contextualising is still rather scarce" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2032). I will now refer to issues for further scientific studies according to the cluster division used above.

In relation to *cluster 1: advocacy, guides and case studies*, I again refer to the need of quantitative research. So far, many case studies have provided proof for the positive role of collaborative housing in urban development. This evidence must now be underpinned with systematic research because, according to Tummers (2016, p. 2037), "co-housing processes may be relevant for present-day European cities that are struggling to maintain social cohesion". With regard to *cluster 2: social change*, I discussed the topics gender equality, demographic change, and social innovation. More studies concerning gender equality (especially in the new wave of collaborative housing in Vienna) are desirable. I think, however, that one of the more prominent issues of this cluster are the opportunities of collaborative housing for senior citizens. In this respect, Labit (2015, p. 37) identified a number of questions that need to be answered: "What are the advantages and drawbacks of either co-housing exclusively for seniors or the intergenerational model? Which of the two would allow elderly people to live out old age better? What about the question of dependence in very old age in a cohousing context?". This shows the many unresolved problems when it comes to demographic change. Furthermore, social innovation in collaborative housing has not been explored so far and could be an

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[23] Whether collaborative housing is a solution for the mainstream is heavily debated among researchers and policy makers.

interesting research topic in the future. In relation to *cluster 3: ecological sustainability*, Müller (2015, p. 398) refers to the need of gathering data on collaborative housing project's ecological aspects, such as: Which ecological standards that exceed the minimum requirements were voluntarily used by *Baugruppen*? Questions like these seem highly relevant given the fact that studies of co-housing and sustainability are rather scarce and that existing analyses are ambiguous (Cooper Markus, 2000). Further research in *cluster 4: emerging topics: financial and legal aspects* is – as the headline of this section already suggests – going to be highly relevant in the near future. Especially the developments regarding 'new' legal forms such as the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* and their influence on the collaborative housing sector are going to be of interest in the future. With regard to *cluster 5: architecture and designing community*, more research should address questions such as: 'Do co-housing groups develop floor plans that are substantially different to apartments provided by conventional developers?' (Müller, 2015, p. 398), 'What effect does the physical design have on a sense of community?' (Cooper Markus, 2000), or 'How does collaborative housing challenge the traditional work of architects?'. In relation to the final cluster, *cluster 6: neighborhood development*, numerous questions remain. Ache and Fedrowitz (2012) highlight that "more research about the general impact and about critical effects of co-housing-projects in neighbourhoods needs to be done" (Ache and Fedrowitz, 2012). Chiodelli (2015, p. 2577) also stresses the importance of academic evidence for policy decisions:

> "[A]ll the scholars working on cohousing communities could (and should) agree on the following point: since the alleged positive and negative externalities of cohousing settlements […] are not supported by incontrovertible empirical evidence, more research on the matter is needed and, at the same time, more caution is necessary in the field of public policy." (Chiodelli, 2015, p. 2577)

Further research should focus, among other things, on the question of social sustainability: "What will the next generation do with the projects?" (Ring, 2013, p. 42). According to Fromm (2012, pp. 387–388) another question could put collaborative housing communities' involvement in volunteerism and local politics at the center. Müller (2015, p. 397) also suggests a comparison of *Baugruppen* with traditional owner-occupied apartment blocks to further analyze participation processes. For more established communities, research concerning the degree of openness could be vital (Tummers, 2016, p. 2036).

It can be seen that further study of these issues is essential. It is still not clear to "what extent co-housing initiatives de facto contribute to social cohesion and healthy cities" (Tummers, 2016, p. 2024). For this reason, the empirical part of my thesis focuses on what seems to be one of the most relevant issues in the field: the impact of collaborative housing on the neighborhood. The present study fills a gap in the literature by examining this issue in the under-researched context of Vienna.

3   Methodology

This thesis is primarily concerned with collaborative housing's impact on its residential environment and its benefits for urban development in the city of Vienna. The research gaps mentioned at the end of the previous section (2.4) show that the question of how collaborative housing impacts the neighborhood remains open. This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used to answer this question. In view of the importance of scientific research on the scale of the neighborhood – and the international literature review provided in chapter two – research questions were developed (3.1). For a better understanding of the empirical evidence, three analysis dimensions were created (3.2). The methodological approach for the impact on the neighborhood is based on 'neighborhood effects', which measure the impact of a neighborhood on the individual (3.3). To answer the research questions, case study-oriented research (3.4) with a mixed-method approach (3.5) was applied and the written report of the research findings follows van Maanen's (1988) conventions of 'realist tales' (3.6). Thereafter, I justify the choice of language for this thesis and reflect on my role as a researcher (3.7). The methodology chapter ends by pointing towards the limitations of the research project (3.8).

3.1   Research questions

Academic research based on social constructivism does not seek to approach the "objective world" such as critical rationalism; it is rather concerned with interpreting and understanding the social constructions of society (Gebhardt et al., 2011, 96). This results in a greater interest in people's opinions, acts, and perceptions (ibid.). Based on such a social-constructivist perspective on scientific research, the goal of this thesis is to answer the research question:

What impact does collaborative housing have on its residential environment?

In addition to this general research question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

1. What strategy regarding collaborative housing does the municipality of Vienna pursue?

2. What benefits of collaborative housing for urban development are expected by the municipality of Vienna?

3. What role does collaborative housing play within new-build urban development areas in Vienna?

4. What role does collaborative housing play in the context of co-operative/participatory urban development?

5. How do collaborative housing residents regard their relationship with the wider neighborhood?

6. How can collaborative housing projects impact their neighborhood?

7. What strategies of integration and exclusion exist among the collaborative housing members and the external users of common spaces?

8. How are collaborative housing projects perceived by the wider neighborhood?

9. How can collaborative housing projects contribute to the creation of an inclusive local community?

To sum up, the aim of this research project is to investigate the role of collaborative housing in urban development and to provide evidence for a positive impact of collaborative housing on the neighborhood in the context of Vienna.

3.2   Analysis dimensions

The research questions presented above include three perspectives: (1) the municipal perspective; (2) the perspective of collaborative housing residents; and (3) the perspective of a collaborative housing project's wider neighborhood. These analysis dimensions were used to structure the research process and the presentation of results in this thesis. The following table (table 3) provides an overview over the three perspectives, the respective research questions, and the methods used for each perspective.

Perspective	Research Questions	Methods		
Municipality	•What strategy regarding collaborative housing does the municipality of Vienna pursue? •What benefits of collaborative housing for urban development are expected by the municipality of Vienna? •What role does collaborative housing play within new-build urban development areas in Vienna? •What role does collaborative housing play in the context of co-operative/participatory urban development?	Semi-structured in-depth interviews with institutional experts	Document analysis	Participatory observation
Collaborative housing residents	•How do collaborative housing residents regard their relationship with the wider neighborhood? •How can collaborative housing projects impact their neighborhood? •What strategies of integration and exclusion exist among the collaborative housing members and the external users of common spaces?	Semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents Focus group discussions with residents		
Collaborative housing's wider neighborhood	•How are collaborative housing projects perceived by the wider neighborhood? •How can collaborative housing projects contribute to the creation of an inclusive local community?	Semi-standardized exploratory neighborhood survey		

Table 3: Overview of methodology

Given the focus of this research project, the section below briefly discusses the term 'impact' in connection to the neighborhood.

3.3 A note on neighborhood impact

The concept of collaborative housing is perceived as having the possibility to foster social cohesion and create socially inclusive neighborhoods (Droste, 2015). Kennett and Forrest (2016) point at the significance of scientific inquiry on the neighborhood level by saying that:

> "The neighbourhood provides a research vehicle to connect theoretical debates to lived experience, to engage directly with issues of participation, citizenship, division, exclusion and cohesion and with policies formulated by governments and other bodies both nationally and internationally." (Kennett and Forrest, 2016, p. 713)

The thesis at hand is highly significant, as the empirical part puts collaborative housing into the context of the discourses on participation and exclusion and discusses municipal policies in Vienna. The term 'neighborhood' was discussed in detail in section 2.3.6 and a working definition was provided. At the center of this thesis, however, is the 'impact' on a neighborhood.

A considerable amount of literature (from various academic disciplines) focuses on 'neighborhood effects' (also referred to as 'area effects'). Nieszery (2014), for instance, provides a profound overview of both the American and the European discourses in this research field. A 'neighborhood effect' is a "social interaction that influences the behavior or socioeconomic outcome of an individual" (Dietz, 2002, p. 540). Put simply, the research domain focuses on the question: "[D]oes the neighbourhood structure exert an effect on the residents"? (Friedrichs et al., 2003, p. 797). Evidently, scientific inquiries regarding 'neighborhood effects' deal with the impact of the neighborhood on the individual. In this thesis, however, it is the other way around. The research shall provide insights into the impact of the individual (more precise, a group of individuals and their project building) on the neighborhood. In other words, there is a change from 'impact *of* the neighborhood' to 'impact *on* the neighborhood'. While this is clearly not ideal in terms of a profound theoretical embedding, the 'neighborhood effect', as defined in the literature, can still provide a methodological approach for the thesis at hand. Friedrichs et al. (2003, p. 801) explain that there are "two methodological approaches to the measurement of 'neighborhood effects'": (1) neighborhood case studies and (2) statistical analysis of non-experimental, longitudinal databases. The first methodological approach also seems to be useful for the measuring of the impact *on* the neighborhood. Friedrichs et al. (2003, p. 801) define the neighborhood case study approach for the impact *of* the neighborhood as follows: "individuals' attitudes, behaviours, life trajectories and social interrelationships are examined through archival, survey and/or ethnographic methods in one or more neighbourhoods with notable characteristics". Based on this, a neighborhood case study approach for the impact of collaborative housing *on* the neighborhood could be: a group's attitudes, behaviors, and social interrelationships are examined through survey and ethnographic methods in a neighborhood with notable characteristics. The single case study analysis used for this thesis is discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section.

3.4   Single-case study design

A case study can be defined as "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life' context" (Simons, 2009, p. 21). This research project on collaborative housing made use of a single-case study approach. The case chosen for the study is the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, a *Baugruppe* in Vienna's second district[24]. The decision to include only one collaborative housing project in the case study was based on both "substantive criteria" as well as "pragmatic grounds" (Swanborn, 2010).

When taking a look at the substantive criteria used to determine which cases to include, Swanborn (2010) highlights the importance of two principles: Cases should be informative as well as representative. Informative cases are "expected to represent the phenomenon under study quite clearly" (Swanborn, 2010, p. 52). The phenomenon under study – collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood – can best be studied by looking at the *Wohnprojekt Wien* for several reasons. The project under discussion was the first *Baugruppe* of the current wave of collaborative housing activity in Vienna and is, thus, often seen as a role model for other projects. The pioneer role (the project was completed in 2013) makes it, in fact, the only case where the impact on the surrounding area might have manifested itself enough for academic research. This is also mentioned by Swanborn (2010, p. 52) who says that cases should only be included if "the innovation has been implemented for a certain period long enough for the expected effects to materialise". Representative cases are "cases occupying a modal position on putative relevant variables" (Swanborn, 2010, p. 52). As all other recently-built collaborative housing projects in Vienna, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* was built in a new urban development area, which adds to the representativity of the case. Furthermore, like many other projects, the case study project was realized within the realm of Vienna's social housing program. Another common feature the *Wohnprojekt Wien* shares with other collaborative housing groups is its social focus. Many projects have sociopolitical aims and want to make a contribution to society. It can be seen that the selected case study project can be classified as a typical project of the collaborative housing sector in Vienna. The *Wohnprojekt Wien*, therefore, was chosen as a single-case study for the research at hand because it fulfils both of Swanborn's criteria: The case is informative as well as representative.

In addition to the substantive criteria, the decision for a single-case study that only includes the *Wohnprojekt Wien* was also based on pragmatic grounds. Generally, this means that "rather trivial criteria […] determine which cases will be included in the research project[25]" (Swanborn, 2010, p. 52). In my case, the the choice for a single-case study design was supported by the fact that I lived in the

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[24] For a more detailed description of the collaborative housing project *Wohnprojekt Wien*, I refer to section 4.1.4.

[25] Swanborn (2010) explains that in American discourses the term 'convenience sample' is commonly used for this type of reasoning.

Wohnprojekt Wien from June to August 2017[26]. While this had several advantages (e.g. facilitating the recruitment of interview partners) it also meant that I would somehow be limited in my objectivity. It is my strong opinion that it is rather difficult to have several research cases, live in one of them, and still treat them all the same. This is the pragmatic reason that assisted the decision for a single-case study design. I was aware of the fact that my stay at the *Wohnprojekt Wien* might impact my role as a researcher; therefore, I saw it as crucial to reflect on this issue during the entire research process (see section 3.7).

This brief discussion shows that the single-case study was a deliberate choice, based on both substantive as well as pragmatic grounds. While a single-case study is always somewhat limited in its representativity, its empirical findings can still be used to make inferences on a larger scale. It must further be noted that a case study approach is not a method; it is a study design that enables researchers to apply several methods with a focus on one case (Stake, 2005, p. 443). The different scientific methods used in this research project are elaborated below.

3.5   Mixed-method approach

The research questions of this thesis make it necessary to apply a mixed-method approach. Integrating quantitative and qualitative research can be done in numerous ways (Flick, 2014, p. 35). Bryman (2016) established eleven approaches in which quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined. In my case, the reason for the combination of both methods is a pragmatic one: "*Quantitative and qualitative research are combined in order to provide a general picture*" (Bryman, 2016, p. 60) (italics in original). As explained above, the research questions focus on different perspectives. If this thesis was solely based on a qualitative approach, the perspective of a collaborative housing project's wider neighborhood could not have been integrated. Thus, a mixed-method approach was suitable for this research project. The subsequent sections discuss each of the methods used in more detail.

3.5.1   Document analysis and participatory observation

Two methods were used for all three perspectives (cf. table 3): the analysis of documents and the observation of events. The two were used as a complementary strategy to the other (main) methods described below. As mentioned before, academic research on collaborative housing in Vienna is not

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[26] During the research for this thesis, I subscribed to the newsletter of the Initiative for Collaborative Housing and Building. In one of the newsletters I found an advertisement for an apartment in the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, available for three months. As I was very interested in my research topic, I saw this as an ideal opportunity to gain a profound insight into the world of collaborative housing.

readily available. For this reason, it was of utmost importance to gather data from other sources. Numerous documents published by various actors were collected and analyzed from April to September 2017. On the one hand, they were integrated into the state-of-the-art literature review (chapter 2) and, on the other hand, they provided vital information for setting the context of the empirical part (chapter 4). Moreover, I conducted participatory observation in numerous events that had a focus on collaborative housing during the time I worked on this thesis. The complete list, including name, location, and date of each event, can be found in appendix B. The participatory observations were thoroughly documented by taking handwritten notes. The events provided me with first-hand information from members of collaborative housing projects and, at the same time, gave me insights into the current political discourses on the topic. In addition to that, the events enabled me to meet relevant actors in the field, some of which I interviewed at a later stage in the research process.

3.5.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to gather data in order to answer the research questions of the municipal and the residents' perspective (cf. table 3). An in-depth interview is defined as "a one-to-one method of data collection that involves an interviewer and an interviewee discussing specific topics in depth" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 109). This method can also be referred to as "expert interview". Flick (2014, p. 227) explains that in such expert interviews, the "interviewees are of less interest as a (whole) person than their capacities as experts for a certain field of activity". In my research, two groups of experts were interviewed: a) experts in institutions, who "have specific insights and knowledge because of their professional position and expertise" (ibid.) as well as b) members of a collaborative housing project, who can be seen as experts on their project. Both groups were integrated into the thesis representing a group, not an individual single case (Flick, 2014, p. 227). An overview of interviewees (including code and role of interviewee, date, and location) can be found in the appendix C.

Development of research tool

The expert interviewees (group a) were suited to provide information for the municipal perspective. Five semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted before a point of saturation[27] was reached. The interview participants of group a (three males, two females) were recruited via e-mail or personal conversation at events. The members of the collaborative housing project (group b) provide insights into the perspective of collaborative housing members. Five residents were interviewed until a point of

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[27] The point of saturation refers to the time where more data collection does no longer lead to new insights into the research topic.

saturation was reached. The residents were recruited using an adapted version of the "snow ball method" (Romanenkova et al., 2006, p. 63). As a first step, I established contact with one of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* residents, who I knew was suited for my study. As a second step, I asked the resident for the names of other members who might be interested in an interview. The criterion the interviewees had to fulfil was that they should somehow be involved in the project's outside orientation. The snow ball method proofed to be successful while still having a downside: 100 % of the interviewees were female. This might have been related to the fact that women were overrepresented in the "neighborhood networking group" ("*Grätzlvernetzungsgruppe*") of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, the most relevant group regarding the focus of this thesis. All ten interviews were conducted in August and September 2017.

Data collection

For the data collection process, two semi-structured problem-centered interview guides were created (the guides can be found in their entirety in appendix D). The interview guides were developed according to the structure suggested by Hennink et al. (2011): Introduction; opening questions; key questions; and closing questions. The interview guides provided a basic order of the questions I wanted to ask. This order was, however, not always adhered to. In practice, the interview guides were rather used as a check list "to ensure that the main topics have been covered that will answer the research questions" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 117). The questions on the guides were formulated in an open way which allowed interviewees to speak freely and "tell their story in detail" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 119). Each question on the guides also had so so-called "topical probes", which served as reminders for me to ask about points related to the general question (see extract below).

What strategy does the municipality of Vienna pursue regarding *Baugruppen*?
(official *Baugruppen* strategy, lack of mentioning in planning documents)

[Welche Strategie verfolgt die Stadt Wien bezüglich Baugruppen?
(offizielle Baugruppen-Strategie, (Nicht-)Erwähnung in Planungsdokumenten)]

taken from the institutional expert interview guide

The example above also illustrates that the interviews were conducted in German, as all interviewees spoke German as their first language. Each interviewee was asked to sign a declaration of consent before the interview began. The same declaration was used for both the (institutional) experts and the residents. Among other things, it contains a brief description of the research project and asks for permission of the digital recording of the interview (the declaration of consent is also included in appendix E). All ten interviews were conducted by myself and recorded with my smartphone, more

precisely, the app *Diktiergerät 2017* by *smobileTec*. No difficulties were encountered during the data collection process.

Data analysis

After all the interviews were conducted, the digital recordings were manually transcribed with the aid of the transcription program *voicescribe*. This being done, I had a solid basis of 110 pages of interview material for the analysis. This basis was analyzed according to the principles of Mayring's (2010) 'summarizing content analysis'. The goal of this approach is to reduce the material in such a way that the essential content remains and, by means of abstraction, to create a corpus that is still a reflection of the raw material (Mayring, 2010, p. 65). The usage of categories is central to this type of analysis (Mayring, 2010, p. 49). Mayring recommends creating the categories prior to the actual analysis (deductive category definition) rather than creating them out of the material (inductive category definition) (Flick, 2014, p. 430; Mayring, 2010, p. 83). Thus, I created – based on my research questions and in consideration of the current state of research – two separate coding frames (see appendix F). Coding frame A was used to for the analysis of the expert interviews, coding frame B for the resident interviews.

Following Mayring's (2010, p. 68) steps of the 'summarizing content analysis', I proceeded as follows. The first step was to define the analytic units (coding unit, contextual unit, and sequence unit). The minimal text segment that can be put into a category is the sentence (coding unit), while the largest can be the entire answer to one guiding question (contextual unit). The sequence units were defined as follows: The expert interviews (group a) were analyzed successively according to their code number (E 1 for expert interview 1 was analyzed before E 2 and so forth), before the same procedure was repeated for the resident interviews (group b). In a second step, I started to search for passages that transported relevant content. Those were copied into an excel file and each passage was categorized according to the coding frame. As a consequence of this procedure, all irrelevant passages were ignored. Furthermore, this step included copying original quotes into the excel file in a separate column if they seemed to highlight a certain opinion in an exemplary way. Another column served for my personal comments. Subsequently, the original passages were paraphrased. I made sure to use a coherent level of language and grammatical short versions. In a third step, I transformed the paraphrased material into a more abstract language (generalization). In a fourth step, the generalized material was filtered according to its category and the material was reduced for the first time. Paraphrases with similar content and paraphrases not regarded as important were deleted. In a fifth step, the material was reduced once again by summarizing similar phrases and merging statements dealing with the same issue. Finally, the reduced material was copied into word, where I made sure that my report was organized logically by following the structure of the main categories of the coding frame.

3.5.3 Focus group discussions

In addition to the semi-standardized interviews with collaborative housing residents, focus group discussions with 35 *Wohnprojekt Wien* members were conducted. Focus group discussions can be defined as discussions with a small group of people on a certain topic. The method triggers a discussion and "uses the dynamic of developing conversation in the discussion as the central source of knowledge" (Flick, 2014, p. 244). Based on this idea, the focus group discussions took place on September 12, 2017 at the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, where they were part of a general meeting of project members. The procedure was as follows:

1. I introduced myself and the topic of my thesis to participants.

2. Participants formed groups of five or six, which resulted in a total of six groups.

3. Each group received a large poster with two questions that were taken from the interview guide for residents (see appendix D). One question varied from group to group, while the second one was the same for all groups. Each group received the following question:

   > When you compare the self-imposed expectations regarding the neighborhood with the real outcome – what could and what could not be put into practice since you moved into the project?
   >
   > [Wenn Sie die selbstauferlegten Erwartungen in Bezug auf das Quartier mit der Realität vergleichen – was konnte seit Einzug umgesetzt werden und was nicht?]
   >
   > taken from the resident expert interview guide

4. Each group had 20 minutes to discuss both questions and write down their answers on the poster. I engaged in participatory observation at this stage.

5. As a final step each group gave a short presentation about their findings.

The language used by all participants was German. The posters with the answers were collected and transcribed at a later point. The transcriptions of the discussion results were treated in the same way as the material gathered through the semi-standardized interviews and analyzed according to the procedure explained in the section above.

3.5.4 Semi-standardized exploratory survey

To better comprehend the perspective of the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, an exploratory survey using a semi-standardized questionnaire was conducted (the questionnaire can be found in appendix G). The main aim of this research tool was to gather data on the perception of the case study project.

Questionnaire design

The research tool was developed in July 2017. The research questions for the neighborhood perspective (c.f. table 3 in 3.2) were taken as a foundation for the questionnaire. To make those questions feasible and empirically testable, more detailed questions were produced. As a result, the research tool has nine distinctive sections. The questionnaire mainly consists of yes/no questions followed by open questions. The decision to include open questions was based on Scholl's (2015, p. 162) assertion that open questions are recommendable when the range of possible answers is not predictable. Before the actual data collection, the research tool was pre-tested in the field. This led to some minor changes regarding the order and the wording of questions.

Data collection

The data collection took place in August and September 2017 in the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. Overall, 34 people (17 female, 17 male) participated in the survey. All interviews were conducted in German by the author of this thesis. As it was the aim to collect data from people living in the wider neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, the recruitment of participants was conducted in close proximity to the project building. The *Rudolf Bednar Park* in front of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* proved to be an ideal place to recruit participants. The approach to get in contact with possible participants was to ask the following question: "Excuse me, do you live in this area? [Entschuldigung, Wohnen Sie hier in der Gegend?]". If the answer was yes, the person was qualified as a resident of the wider neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. The exact place of residence was also obtained at the end of the interview. This guaranteed that the participant was in fact living in the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt*[28]. The section containing the results of the survey (4.2.3) includes a map of the research area (figure 17).

Another approach used to recruit participants was attending an event in the neighborhood. The thinking behind this was that many local people who live close to the collaborative housing project would be interested in the main topic of the event: Which qualities does the *Nordbahnviertel* need?[29] (for more information about the *Wohnprojekt Wien* neighborhood, please read section 4.1.4). During the survey interviews, a neutral position was taken in order to guarantee that the data collection process remained the same in all interviews. The research tool was a type of paper-and-pencil

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[28] As was explained in section 2.3.6, the 'neighborhood' is, in this thesis, defined as a *geographically not clearly identifiable* socio-spatial organization *based on physical proximity*. This definition justifies the procedure of how survey participants were recruited.

[29] The event took place in the *Nordbahnhalle* (which is close to the *Wohnprojekt Wien*) on September 7, 2017 and discussed what the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt*, the so-called *Nordbahnviertel*, needs in the future. For more information, please visit: https://www.nordbahnhalle.org/events/welche-qualitaeten-braucht-das-nordbahnviertel/.

questionnaire, as participants' answers were recorded by making handwritten notes. After each interview, the questionnaires were consecutively numbered and some time was taken to go through the answers again, so that e.g. missing words could be included. During the entire data collection process the moral principles for academic research recommended in the Belmont Report (1979) were consistently adhered to. In accordance with these, participation in the survey was entirely voluntary and respondents were free to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason. All data received was dealt with confidentiality and no individually identifiable information was collected from any of the respondents (principle of anonymity).

Analysis

The analysis of the collected data was carried out in the program excel. For this purpose, a special data mask was created. Each data set corresponded to one row; each variable corresponded to one column. To fill the mask with data, the answers of the paper-and-pencil questionnaires had to be manually typed into the program. Each questionnaire was already given a number in the field, which served as its identification number. When entering the data into the data mask, each variable was encoded. Highest level of education, for instance, was encoded as follows:

> 0 = data not available | 1 = university degree | 2 = school leaving examination (*Matura*) |
> 3 = below 1+2

All codes were registered in a separate document. The answers to the open questions were first transcribed in order to develop standardized categories (Scholl, 2015, p. 160), which were again encoded using numbers. The descriptive analysis focused on the calculation of frequencies. Graphs were created for each section of the questionnaire. Due to lack of space, most graphs have been put in the appendix (appendix H).

3.6   The presentation of results

The reporting of research findings can be done in various ways. Flick (2014, p. 509) mentions two extremes: the model of Strauss (1987) and the 'tales of the field' approach (van Maanen, 1988). The latter was developed for reporting ethnographic research but can also be applied to other types of qualitative research (Flick, 2014, p. 509). I decided to present my research by using 'realist tales' (van Maanen, 1988), which are characterized by four conventions, whereby I regard only three to be of importance in this thesis:

Convention 1: "[T]he author is absent from the text: observations are reported as facts or documented by using quotations from statements or interviews."

Convention 2: "[E]mphasis in the presentation is laid on the typical forms of what is studied. Therefore, many details are analyzed and presented."

Convention 3: "[T]the viewpoints of the members of a field or interviewees are emphasized in the presentation".

(Flick, 2014, p. 510)

In consideration of these three conventions, I will not refer to myself when presenting the findings of my empirical research. Furthermore, I will provide the reader with many details of my results and, where necessary, I will highlight the viewpoints of the interviewees.

3.7   Language choice and reflexivity

3.7.1   Language choice[30]

There are three main reasons why the thesis at hand is written in English. First, and arguably most importantly, English is the prevailing language in the domain of scientific research (Seidlhofer et al., 2006). In fact, more "than 90 per cent of the journal literature in some scientific domains [is] published in English" (Hyland, 2009, p. 5). I strongly believe that the field of Urban Geography is such a domain. As a consequence, it makes sense to write in English as the "majority of European scientific associations embrace English as the dominant, or indeed sole, language for the exchange of ideas" (Seidlhofer et al., 2006, p. 4, drawing on Crystal, 2003). Hyland (2009, p. 5) even argues that "academics from around the world are now almost compelled to publish in English". Therefore, it can be asserted that the language of academia today is English and that my contribution in form of this thesis will be more helpful to the academic community in this way. Second, it has been found that the field of collaborative housing is starting to cross language barriers, "for example in the first European Conference on Co-housing, held in March 2012." (Tummers, 2016, p. 2032). Lang and Stoeger's (2017) international comparative research on this type of housing (also published in English) highlights this once more. In general, documents available in English facilitate the spread of information that might be relevant for cities around the world. As it is in English, my thesis can reach people outside the German-speaking community, such as Lidewij Tummers, a leading figure in the

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[30] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

field, who I recently met in Vienna[31]. I argue that using English for this thesis is a way of informing more people about the characteristics of collaborative housing in Vienna. Third, I find myself highly qualified to write an academic thesis in English. For the last five years, I studied English at the Department for English and American Studies at the University of Vienna. In the course of this study program I developed considerable language competence skills and was trained in using English for academic purposes. Moreover, I spent an entire semester studying at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) where I sought to perfect my English skills. Another important reason, therefore, why this thesis is written in English, is my own qualification to do so. To sum up, the thesis at hand is not only written in English because of personal reasons and preferences, but also because there are rational and compelling academic arguments to do so.

3.7.2 Reflection

In this part of my thesis, I want to briefly reflect on my role as a researcher. During the research process for my diploma thesis, I was deeply engaged in the topic of collaborative housing in Vienna. When the opportunity to live in my case study presented itself, I did not hesitate and moved into the *Wohnprojekt Wien* for three months. This was an extraordinary experience for me, as I could see what it means to live in a collaborative housing project, but it also meant that I was becoming more involved than a 'normal' researcher might would. The problem, as Droste (2015) puts it, is that

> "there is a danger that researchers who are themselves interested in the success of the sector engage more in lobbying than in scientific enquiry". (Droste, 2015, p. 81)

The danger of my involvement has to do with objectivity: If I lived in a collaborative housing project, could I still be objective? What impact could this have had on my research process and the outcomes? In my case, the overarching advantage of this was that it facilitated the recruitment of interview partners. However, I also noticed some disadvantages. Living there also meant getting to know people on a different level. Many were interested in my research and I found myself wondering what they would say if my results do not meet their expectations. Furthermore, living in the project made me more interested in the idea of living in a collaborative housing project myself in the future. I grew up on the countryside where neighborhood interaction and a sense of community were normal. Through living in a collaborative housing project in Vienna, I could get the best of both worlds (the countryside and the city). So how can I possibly report my findings in an objective way if I am an advocate of this housing form? The answer, I think, is this reflection. Being aware of my position towards the topic and making it transparent in here is the first step to present my findings in a neutral way. Once I am aware

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[31] I met Lidewij Tummers in November, 2017 to show her my case study, the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, and to provide her with general information on collaborative housing in Vienna.

of my situation and how it might impact my research outcomes, I can try to avoid reporting one-sidedly. The fact that the actual analysis of the data only took place months after my stay at the *Wohnprojekt Wien* made it easier to engage in scientific inquiry more than lobbying.

3.8 Study scope and limitations

Despite the collection of a large quantity of high-quality data, the present study has its limitations. Some of the interviewed experts highlighted the necessity to interview additional experts. This opinion might stem from the fact that there is not one person responsible for *Baugruppen* in the administration of the municipality of Vienna. The topic of collaborative housing is an issue that numerous departments are concerned with. As a result, it is rather difficult to research the municipal perspective as there is not only one perspective, but several ones within the city administration. Moreover, the exploratory survey only has 34 participants, which makes it non-representational. Despite its non-representational character, the survey provides some insights into the perception of the collaborative housing project among residents of the wider neighborhood. The findings from this survey could be used for ideas regarding larger standardized surveys in the future. Furthermore, many *Wohnprojekt Wien* members see their project more connected with other initiatives in the area than with individuals who live in close proximity. To provide a picture of a network of active groups in the neighborhood and to examine which role the *Wohnprojekt Wien* plays in it, interviews with other initiatives would be essential. The main reason for the limitations mentioned above is the scope of my diploma thesis. Nonetheless, I would like to stress that, while these limitations exist, the research outcomes of this thesis remain valid and the conclusions drawn are relevant findings for the collaborative housing sector in Vienna.

4   Understanding collaborative housing in Vienna

While the international literature review in chapter two provided a broad overview of the topics that are currently dominating the academic discourse in collaborative housing research, this chapter solely deals with the phenomenon in the context of Vienna. First, some theoretical background information about collaborative housing in Vienna is provided (4.1). Second, the findings of the empirical investigations are presented according to the three analysis dimensions: the municipal perspective; the residents' perspective; and the wider neighborhood's perspective (4.2). Finally, the research questions are answered and the results are interpreted (4.3).

4.1   Theoretical background: Collaborative housing in Vienna

This section presents some theoretical background knowledge which is necessary to understand the phenomenon of collaborative housing in the city of Vienna. First, it is important to discuss the term *Baugruppe* (4.1.1). So far, the terms 'collaborative housing', 'co-housing', and *Baugruppe* have been used synonymously, without having properly defined the latter one. It will be shown that the term is as complicated to conceptualize as the other two. Second, it must be noted that the current predominant approach to the concept of collaborative housing has not emerged as an isolated phenomenon (Müller, 2015, p. 20). It has its origins in various self-organized types of housing and can, as Lang and Stoeger (2017, pp. 10–11) point out, "be traced back to the self-help activities of the cooperative settlers' movement in the 1920s, which triggered important innovations, later mainstreamed in public housing in Vienna". This shows that contemporary collaborative housing cannot be understood without considering its historical roots. Therefore, the developments of Vienna's past are explained in order to make sense of the current situation (4.1.2). Third, Austria's housing policy context is explained, Vienna's culture and legal framework is discussed, and some key policies for urban planning that are relevant for collaborative housing in Vienna are reviewed (4.1.3). Finally, the case study project and the neighborhood it is located in are described (4.1.4).

4.1.1 Towards a definition of the local Baugruppen-model[32]

The word *Baugruppe* is a commonly used term in the German and Austrian collaborative housing discourse; yet, it remains a concept difficult to define precisely. At the term's first mention in this thesis, I provided a translation, which the municipality of Vienna used in one of its publications: "self-build housing co-operative" (Vienna City Administration, Municipal Department 18 (MA 18) - Urban Development and Planning). This translation, however, is somewhat problematic regarding the use of the word 'co-operative'. As will be shown in the next section (4.1.2), collaborative housing (i.e. *Baugruppen*) is nowadays quite different from the well-developed cooperative housing sector in Vienna. Droste (2015, p. 80) gives another translation: "self-organised owner occupying building groups". This definition is also not suitable for Vienna as most *Baugruppen* do not realize owner-occupied projects because collective ownership models are preferred (for a more detailed discussion of the different models see section 4.1.3). It can already be seen that translating the term *Baugruppe* from German to English is rather difficult. It results in long, impractical translations that are often inaccurate. This is why I refrained from using a translation for the term in my thesis. I regard it expedient to have used the German word *Baugruppe* as a synonym for 'collaborative housing' and 'co-housing' up to this point without having explained in detail what is understood by it. The following explanations will provide further insights into the intricacies of the term *Baugruppe* before my own definition of the term is presented.

Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 11) write that the new wave of collaborative housing has clearly been "influenced by the *Baugruppen* movement in Germany" (italics in original). It may, therefore, be assumed that the term itself has also entered the Austrian discourse through Germany. In 2010, Hendrich (2010, p. 44) still noted that all definitions of the term were issued by Germans as there was not much published (and built) in this field in Austria. This is problematic for two reasons. First, as noted above, many German *Baugruppen* are realized using an ownership model while most Viennese *Baugruppen* do not. Second, and more importantly, the new collaborative housing projects in Vienna mostly want to achieve mutual support and living as a community with their *Baugruppen*. In contrast, German *Baugruppen* rarely show such characteristics and people often only join forces to facilitate the acquisition of living space without forming any sort of community after moving in[33]. But also in Germany the term has numerous different definitions. Kläser (2006, p. 90), for instance, explains the complex issue as follows:

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[32] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

[33] This difference between German and Austrian (Viennese) Baugruppen has become quite evident at the conference 'Social Orientation of Collaborative Housing Projects' (*Tagung Soziale Ausrichtung von Baugemeinschaften*) which took place on October 21 and 22, 2016 in Vienna.

"Nowadays, self-organized housing is characterized with the term *Baugruppe*. It serves as a collective term for all building activities that do not only have one single private builder and are not initiated by public and private developers. […] The term contains a heterogeneity, a whole world of initiatives – building is only their least common denominator." (Kläser, 2006, p. 90)

["Das selbstorganisierte Wohnen wird heutzutage mit dem Begriff der *Baugruppe* gekennzeichnet. Er fungiert als Sammelbezeichnung für alle Bautätigkeiten, die weder von einem einzelnen privaten Bauherrn noch auf Initiative eines öffentlichen oder privaten Bauträgers durchgeführt werden. […] Der Begriff birgt Heterogenes, eine ganze Welt an Initiativen – das Bauen ist nur ihr kleinster gemeinsamer Nenner."] (Kläser, 2006, p. 90)

This heterogeneity of projects is also observed by Ring (2013) in her analysis of collaborative housing projects in Berlin. She affirms that the term *Baugruppe* has "mushroomed into every possible form and format" (Ring, 2013, p. 20). Other German terms often used for the same (or a similar) concept are: *Baugemeinschaft*, *Wohnbaugruppe*, or *Bauherrengemeinschaft* (Müller, 2015, p. 18). The usage of the terms is rather arbitrary and there is some terminological confusion concerning what each one encapsulates. Müller (2015) uses the term *Baugemeinschaft* for collaborative housing. He argues that the term *Baugruppe* denotes a joint planning and building process of *separated individual houses* with the same architect (Müller, 2015, p. 19). It must be stressed that such a differentiation is not made in this thesis. The term *Baugruppe* refers, above all, to high-rise apartment buildings (in an urban context) and less to (rural) projects with detached houses. A *Baugemeinschaft* in Müller's (2015, p. 18) understanding is defined as

"a building or an ensemble [of people] that mainly consists of self-used living space and that was realized by the residents in a collaborative and autonomous way and with professional support." (Müller, 2015, p. 18)

["ein Gebäude oder ein Ensemble verwendet, das hauptsächlich aus selbstgenutztem Wohnraum besteht und von den Bewohnern gemeinschaftlich und in Eigenregie mit professioneller Unterstützung baulich umgesetzt worden ist."] (Müller, 2015, p. 18)

This definition is very similar to the one provided by The Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing (2015, p. 84). According to this association, a *Baugemeinschaft* is a

"body of people with the joint goal of creating or renovating living space to use on their own and collaboratively. The *Baugruppe* stands, already from the initiation and planning of the project, for a high degree of autonomy. This self-determination remains during the occupation of the building. The term itself does not say anything about the quality of the community, the legal form, or the ownership form." (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 84)

["Zusammenschluss von Menschen mit dem gemeinsamen Ziel, Wohnraum zu errichten oder zu sanieren, um ihn selbst und gemeinschaftlich zu nutzen. Die *Baugruppe* zeichnet ein hoher Grad an Selbstbestimmung bereits bei der Projektierung und Planung aus, der bis in die Nutzungsphase erhalten bleibt. Der Begriff sagt an sich noch nichts über die Qualität der Gemeinschaft, die Rechts- oder Eigentumsform aus."] (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 84)

Interestingly, this definition is the same for the terms *Baugruppe* and *Baugemeinschaft* in the above-quoted publication. Therefore, I conclude that the two terms (*Baugruppe* and *Baugemeinschaft*) are seen as synonymous in Austria. While both terms can be found in Austrian publications, I claim that the word *Baugruppe* is used to a much higher degree in every day interactions. Due to this prevalence, I chose the term *Baugruppe* out of the two synonyms.

In recent years, there was an increase in *Baugruppen* projects in Vienna and all of them have their own theme and individual aims (Temel, 2017). Various different organizational models exist and "truly self-managed *Baugruppen* have to be distinguished from partnership projects with larger developers and non-profit housing associations" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 11) (emphasis added). Most projects are developed within Vienna's social housing program, in which they can choose between three different legal forms (see 4.1.3). Despite the projects being different from each other, they share one fundamental similarity: All new *Baugruppen* projects that are subsidized by the municipality of Vienna represent some form of co-housing, as all of them go beyond the joint construction process and form an intentional community after the project's completion. In other words, there are no subsidized projects in Vienna which only join forces to build cheaper houses and realize their own housing dreams. In this sense, the term *Baugruppe* is again misleading. Strictly speaking, a *Baugruppe* only refers to the building process and not to the time after the residents moved in (construction group). From the moment of occupation, the term *Wohngruppe* (living group) would be correct. A living group pursues goals beyond joint construction and could theoretically exist without a collective building process (Hendrich, 2010, p. 44).
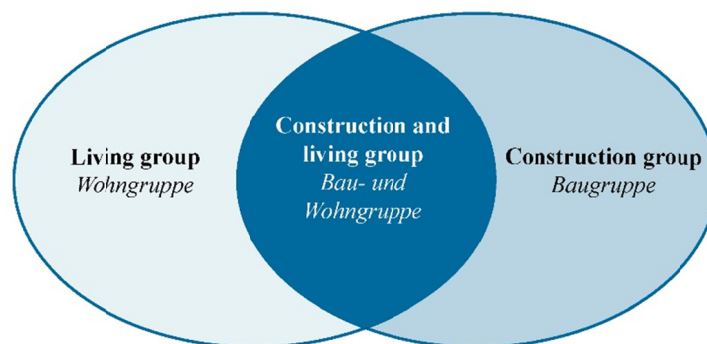
Figure 7: Collaborative housing and its confusing local terminology (Source: Hendrich, 2010; own illustration)

For me, the word *Baugruppe* is predominantly used in Vienna to refer to *Bau- und Wohngruppen* (construction and living groups), while the term *Wohngruppe* (living group) is not as present in the discourse of collaborative housing. The differentiation between construction and living groups leads to another term that is often used in the context of *Baugruppen,* namely *Gemeinschaftliches Wohnen*. When looking at Ring's (2013, p. 19) translations of *Baugruppe*, terms such as "builders group, building collective, or also co-housing" can be found. *Baugruppen* projects that are construction and

living groups can, depending on the underlying definition of co-housing and the perspective one takes, be seen as co-housing projects. A publication by the German Schader-Stiftung affirms that *Baugruppen* can constitute a form of co-housing (Berghäuser, 2013, p. 7). As I have elaborated in section 2.2.2, the term co-housing refers to various types of housing and is not clearly defined. The same is true for *Gemeinschaftliches Wohnen* in the German language, which also stands for a whole spectrum of group housing types (Berghäuser, 2013, p. 7). One major difference between *Gemeinschaftliches Wohnen* and *Baugruppen* is that the first is possible without a collective building process, while the latter term always refers to a joint planning and building process but does not specify the degree of community after moving in. The terms, however, are often used interchangeably, which makes it difficult to say what it is precisely that is meant by those terms. It must be stressed, though, that *Baugruppen* are one way in which *Gemeinschaftliches Leben* can be realized.

This section explained why the term *Baugruppe* is not translated throughout this thesis. In a next step, the complexity of the concept was illustrated. Much like the international (English) terms 'co-housing' or 'collaborative housing', *Baugruppen* are not easy to conceptualize as they have further developed into numerous different forms and formats (Ring, 2013, p. 20). Furthermore, I highlighted the terminological confusion that exists in German-speaking countries (cf. *Baugruppe/ Baugemeinschaft*). The term *Baugruppe*, for instance, is confusing, as it technically only refers to the joint building process but not the time after occupation. In Vienna, however, all new projects pursue goals that go beyond the building process, which makes them construction and living groups (*Bau- und Wohngruppe*). Finally, *Baugruppen* were connected to the concept of co-housing (*Gemeinschaftliches Leben*). While *Gemeinschaftliches Leben* is a much broader concept, the terms *Gemeinschaftliches Leben* and *Baugruppe* are often used synonymously. On the basis of these findings, the new type of *Baugruppen* that is currently being developed in Vienna is, for this thesis, defined as follows:

> *Baugruppen* are collectively owned housing projects realized by a group of people within the social housing system for the purpose of self-occupation. The residents of such projects co-initiate, co-plan, and co-construct their projects (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 11). After the completion of the building, the project is self-organized and autonomous, and its members live in a community-oriented way based on collaboration and mutual support.

I am aware that this definition is much narrower than the one provided by the Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing (2015), yet it is my strong belief that the kind of *Baugruppe* described above best defines the concept for Vienna.

4.1.2 Collaborative housing in Vienna: Historical development

Much has been written about Vienna's rich history of public housing. Among other things, this is what Vienna is famous for: its social housing buildings, the so-called *Gemeindebauten* of the 'Red Vienna'[34] (Bauer, 2006, p. 20). Novy (1993, p. 87) makes it clear that the era of 'Red Vienna' is undoubtedly one of the most spectacular highlights in the world history of residential reformation. The mass movement, however, that preceded the 'Red Vienna' era, remained unnoticed (Novy, 1993, p. 87). Many people felt that their demands were met by neither the market nor the state and, thus, started initiatives that were of cooperative nature (Novy, 1993, p. 88). The "poor people's movement", called settlers' movement (*Siedlerbewegung*), created a real alternative to housing provided by the municipality (Novy, 1993, p. 87). While it has long been forgotten, it is now – in the light of the new wave of self-organized housing projects – becoming important again. This section traces the 'third way' between market and state in the creation of housing.

The very first non-profit housing organizations were founded relatively early in Vienna, namely around 1870 (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 9). Thereafter, "there was a first wave of cooperative housing activity between 1908 and 1912 [but its] impact was very marginal" (ibid.). Lang and Novy (2011, pp. 8–12) identify three main phases in the development of the third housing sector in Vienna, which are presented in the following table:

Period	Red Vienna (1918-1933)	State-centred corporatism (1945-2000)	Liberal governance (since 2000)
Conjunctural moments	• Grassroot housing reform • Municipalization of the settlers' movement	• Nationalisation of housing regulation	• Revision/Liberalisation of national housing legislation
Governance culture of the third housing sector	• Gemeinschaft conditions • Social rationale of governance: reciprocity and participation • homogeneous and value-based membership	• Gesellschaft conditions • bureaucratic rationale of governance: professionalism and hierarchical authority • larger and more diversified membership base	• Gesellschaft conditions • market rationale of governance: efficiency and customer management • heterogeneous and instrumental membership
Dominant type of non-profit housing organisation	• Community cooperatives	• Professional cooperatives	• Limited-profit corporations

Table 4: Periodization of social housing policy in Vienna: The third housing sector
(Source: Lang and Novy, 2011; own illustration)

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[34] The term 'Red Vienna' refers to the years between 1918 and 1934, in which the social democratic party had a political majority. Their politics were characterized by, among other things, immense new construction of social housing buildings: About 65.000 apartments were built during this time.

The community cooperatives of Red Vienna (1918 – 1933)

After WWI and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the settlers' movement "was tackling the urgent housing problem" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 9). The settler's movement arose out of the allotment gardener's movement (*Kleingärtnerbewegung*), which, in turn, goes back to the misery and poverty after WWI (Novy, 1993, p. 77). Kampffmeyer (1922, pp. 719–720) wrote about the developments during this period:

> Due to food scarcity, many people had started cultivating their own food in small gardens on the outskirts of the city. In many cases, the gardeners had to cover quite a distance to get to their fields. Consequently, many of them built small living spaces in order to live there during the summer. Due to the severe housing shortage, many of them were forced to spend the winter in their huts as well.

It was these people, the settlers, who demanded help from the municipality through a series of mass demonstrations (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 9). The settlers' building activities were not legal and harbored the danger of destroying the nice landscape surrounding Vienna (Novy and Förster, 1991). Eventually, the municipality and the settlers reached an agreement: The illegal settlements were to be developed co-operatively with the support of the local government (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 28). From 1918 to 1923, a great number of cooperative settlements were completed (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 30). Lang and Novy (2011, p. 9) find that these "early cooperative housing estates were not just settlements of individual single family houses, but represented a unique space for developing and strengthening a socio-cultural *Gemeinschaft*[35] of settlers". The community cooperatives of the initial stage had brought about their own housing reform with elements such as: an inheritable building right; non-profit, cooperative ownership of the buildings; de-capitalized and in parts de-monetarized work effort; collaborative infrastructure; or self-administration (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 30). A whole new cooperative structure had emerged out of the settler's movement (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 31). Starting in 1924, however, the municipality of Vienna began with the construction of social housing complexes (the so-called *Gemeindebausiedlungen* of 'Red Vienna') without involving the new cooperatives (ibid.) Thus, instead of a self-administration, as it was the case in the settler cooperatives, an external administration was implemented. (ibid.) Eventually, the community cooperatives were "incorporated into 'Red Vienna', a successful bureaucratic model of state-led reformism and top-down housing provision" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 10). Today, the settlers' movement is regarded as an important historical reference, as it "had demonstrated the potential for an unprecedented self-organisation of urban society" (Rumpfhuber, 2016).

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[35] The term *Gemeinschaft*, as understood by Lang and Novy (2011, p. 6), means "resident relations characterized by trust and closeness".

State-centered corporatism and professional housing cooperatives (1945 – 2000)

During WWII, the cooperatives were immensely weakened because their values of self-help and socio-political diversity were not compatible with the politics of Hitler's National Socialist Party (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 105). After the war, 86.875 apartments were uninhabitable, which corresponds to about one fifth of the total housing stock of the time (Csendes and Opll, 2006, p. 585). What was needed, therefore, were enormous amounts of buildings (Novy and Förster, 1991, p. 110). Over time, "cooperative housing was more professionalised and primarily regulated at the national level" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 10). While the cooperatives became more professional, the municipality reduced its production of social housing buildings. This gave the novel professional cooperatives a new role as "allocation tool for public promotion of social housing" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 10). As a consequence, the third sector changed drastically: The cooperatives became larger, "administrative authority replaced self-help organization", and the cooperatives "took on more *Gesellschaft* attributes while *Gemeinschaft* norms were slowly squeezed out" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 11). In other words, close resident relations were replaced by "anonymous member interactions and weaker ties between individuals" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 6). Lang and Novy (2011, p. 11) further explain that, over the years, "professional cooperatives have also broadened their scope of activities to managing different types of housing estates and tenures" and that "buy options for subsidized rental apartments weakens the cooperative principle of collective ownership".

The shift from community cooperatives to professional cooperatives led to the fact that collaborative housing models, especially self-organized and autonomous ones, were not found any longer in Vienna's housing sector. Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 11) report, however, that such projects were realized in the 1970s and 1980s: "Back then, a couple of path-breaking projects were initiated and realised by a small group of architects, such as Ottokar Uhl and Franz Kuzmich. However, apart from a few showcase projects […] the impact of this collaborative housing movement was limited and finally came to an end in the late 1980s". Hendrich (2010, p. 73) reports that only the *Sargfabrik* was founded in the mid-1990s after a planning process of more than ten years. It should also be noted that while the settlers' main reason for self-help was the drastic housing need, the projects of the 1970s/80s predominantly developed out of a need of self-expression.

Towards liberal governance and housing corporations (since 2000)

Except for the limited number of collaborative housing projects mentioned above, the state-centered corporatist housing regime was maintained "until the year 2000 when the central government became a right-conservative one" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 11). The consequence of this was a "major neoliberal revision of housing regulation" (ibid.). While a "complete neo-liberal overhaul of the third housing sector" was not successful, some cooperatives "lost their limited-profit status and a market rationale of governance slowly gained ground" (Lang and Novy, 2011, p. 12). Furthermore, there was

a reduction in the number of non-profit housing associations while, at the same time, the number of limited-profit companies increased. The latter, to Lang and Novy (2011, p. 12), are "usually larger corporations with a number of subsidiaries of different legal form [that] increasingly engage in commercial housing activities besides subsidized housing". It can be said that cooperatives in Vienna "gradually resemble typical corporate organisations" (ibid.). Against this backdrop, a new wave of collaborative housing has started.

To sum up, the historical development shows that Vienna has a long tradition of housing cooperatives and a well-established non-profit housing sector. It was demonstrated that cooperative and collaborative housing were very similar at one point in history, but have, over time, developed in two different directions. Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 2) state in this context: "In the early days, both models were clearly overlapping, but over time, cooperatives have become synonymous with large-scale, top-down housing provision that recent collaborative housing activity is a reaction to". While collaborative housing has not played a significant role since the settlers' movement of the 1920s, contemporary Vienna is now seeing a significant increase in building activity in this sector.

4.1.3   Collaborative housing in Vienna: Conceptual framework

The previous section showed that the new wave of collaborative housing that started around the year 2000 must be seen as a "distinct housing model, separate to present-day cooperative housing" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 2). To understand this new sector of collaborative housing, it is paramount to look at the conditions under which this new housing type has emerged. Thus, this section provides an overview of Austria's housing policy context. From this general discussion, the section moves on to take a closer look at the planning culture and the legal framework in Vienna. Subsequently, it will be shown how *Baugruppen* fit into the city's self-imposed key policies for urban development. Finally, an overview of the various actors involved in the collaborative housing sector is provided.

Austria's housing policy context

The withdrawal of the state and the "impact of neoliberal thought have been less pronounced [in Austria] than in other EU countries" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 9). Particularly noteworthy in this respect is Vienna, with its large stock of decommodified housing: approximately 48 % of Vienna's housing stock (adding up public and subsidized housing) is accessed by the municipality (Rumpfhuber, 2012, p. 27). In such a local environment, and, generally speaking, a pronounced welfare state such as Austria, the "pressure on households to set up collaborative housing projects appears to be lower as compared to more market-driven welfare and housing systems" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 9). For various reasons (cf. section 2.1), however, the number of collaborative housing projects is rising in Austria too. Austria is a federal state in which competencies regarding

housing policy are clearly divided between the central state, its regions, and the municipalities (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 6). This leads to the question: Which state level is responsible for what? Following Lang and Stoeger (2017), Austria's housing policy context will be explained by taking individual looks at the afore-mentioned levels.

The central state level

In Austria, the central government does not play a role in the provision of housing subsidies (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 7). It is, therefore, not surprising that no "housing subsidy scheme targeted at collaborative housing initiatives" has been implemented on this level (ibid.). While collaborative housing has not concerned the central state level yet, the existing central state laws have an impact on collaborative housing projects as they "determine the legal forms which can be taken by collaborative housing initiatives" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 6). Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 6) further point out that regulations on the central state level are "primarily focused on established housing providers and favour conventional housing types". The authors claim that the tenancy law and the ownership law are both problematic for *Baugruppen* due to collaborative housing projects' special needs and collaborative principles (ibid.). In the context of non-profit housing, Temel et al. (2009) note that collaborative housing projects could profit from the established non-profit housing actors by collaborating with them. Collaborations between traditional developers and *Baugruppen* have become quite common in Vienna, which is why this practice is also referred to as the Viennese model (see further below) (Hendrich, 2015, p. 18). The newly elected national government, a coalition between the center-right Conservative Austrian People's Party (*ÖVP*) and the far-right Austrian Freedom Party (*FPÖ*), has announced a revision of some laws that are concerned with housing. In consideration of the law changes made by the last right-conservative central government[36] (2000-2007) and the generally very traditional values and conservative attitudes of the two parties, I highly doubt that any new regulations will be beneficial to the collaborative housing sector.

The regional level

Austria's provinces (the so-called *Bundesländer*) are "fully responsible for designing and running their own housing subsidy schemes, which are co-financed by contributions from the central state budget" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 7). Two types of subsidies exist: Object (*Wohnbauförderung*) and subject subsidies (also housing allowances; demand-side assistance; German: *Wohnbeihilfe*). Object subsidies are often referred to as "brick and mortar subsidies, since they are granted for the promotion of

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[36] More information can be found in section 4.1.2 under the headline "Towards liberal governance and housing corporations (since 2000)".

housing construction or the promotion of housing renewal projects" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31). Subject subsidies "go directly to the individual applicant and serve to gap the difference between affordable housing expenses and market prices" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 32). In contrast to policies run by other Western European countries, Austria's provinces put the emphasis on the provision of supply-side subsidies (object subsidies), while "demand-side assistance [subject subsidies] for low-income tenants plays a minor role" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 7). The provinces are relatively free "in allocating subsidies among housing providers for new projects and in determining the conditions that housing providers must fulfil to obtain subsidies" (ibid.). Naturally, this leads to some variation regarding the respective conditions in each province (ibid.). Collaborative housing initiatives can also receive object subsidies for their projects. The funding criteria, however, "tend to favour standardised types of dwellings, as constructed by large-scale non-profit housing providers" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 8). Moreover, an agreement of the European Monetary Union, the 'Stability and Growth Pact', has a negative impact on Austria's housing subsidy system (ibid.). Due to the pact's requirements, Austria's federal government started to provide less money for provincial housing programs (ibid.). The provinces, consequently, had to cut down their housing subsidy expenditures. Furthermore, since 2008, the "provinces are allowed to divert central state funding to non-housing areas, such as public infrastructure or childcare facilities" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 8). This practice is problematic as it minimizes the "funding opportunities and increases the pressure on collaborative housing initiatives to tap alternative private sources of finance" (ibid.). Vienna[37] grants both subject and object subsidies but with an emphasis on object subsidies (*Wohnbauförderung*). In Vienna the *wohnfonds_wien*, "a division of the city's housing department [MA 50], is in charge of its administration" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31).

The local level

While the provinces are responsible for the allocation of subsidies, the municipal authorities "supply inexpensive building sites" (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 9). Municipalities often pursue the following strategy: They "purchase, re-develop and allocate brownfields to non-profit housing developers and collaborative housing initiatives" (ibid.). The allocation process is often done via developer competitions (see also further below) in order to "maximise public benefits" (ibid.). Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 7) point to the lack of "suitable and inexpensive sites in urban areas" and highlight that "land release by the municipalities appears to be crucial for the success of collaborative housing projects". The provision of land by municipalities is often accompanied by a municipal right to "nominate a share of first (and subsequent) lets" (see also further below). This might lead to tensions among future

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[37] Vienna is an Austrian province as well as a municipality. This means that in this case, the regional and the local level overlap.

residents as part of them do not belong to the collaborative housing group (Temel et al., 2009). Another important factor on the local level is the fact that municipal authorities have a major influence in spatial planning strategies (Wankiewicz, 2015). Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 6) note that such "local decision-making power can, to a certain extent, facilitate collaborative housing initiatives or exert a constraining effect, depending on the willingness of the local political elites". The city of Vienna, for instance, is governed by a coalition between the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*SPÖ*) and the Green Party (*Die Grünen*). In the sub-section 'urban development, housing, and community work' of their intergovernmental agreement from 2015 the following passage can be found:

> "Thus, we agree: […] *Baugruppen* are an innovative supplement to the subsidized housing sector in Vienna. Creation of a suitable legal framework for *Baugruppen*, which yield improvements or provide additional services for their residential environment." (SPÖ Wien and Die Grünen Wien, 2015, pp. 86–87)

> ["Daher vereinbaren wir: […] Baugruppen stellen eine innovative Ergänzung des geförderten Wohnbaus in Wien dar. Schaffung eines geeigneten, rechtlichen Rahmens für Baugruppen, die für das Wohnumfeld Verbesserungen oder Zusatzleistungen erbringen."] (SPÖ Wien and Die Grünen Wien, 2015, pp. 86–87)

It seems that there is some political willingness in Vienna to facilitate the construction of collaborative housing projects. In which planning culture and under which legal conditions collaborative housing projects are realized in Vienna is discussed below.

Planning culture and legal framework in Vienna

Legal frameworks and planning cultures vary immensely from country to country. Tummers (2015, p. 75) points to the importance of this with regard to collaborative housing when she says that the "nature of building law and housing regulations" are factors that should not be ignored. A country's legal framework can have an immense influence on the organization and the legal status of collaborative housing projects. Unlike other cities such as Hamburg for example, Vienna does not have a special housing subsidy for *Baugruppen*. This leads to a situation in where Viennese collaborative housing projects have to integrate themselves into already existing legal structures (Temel, 2015, p. 58).

Planning culture: Social housing and developer competitions

Most collaborative housing projects in Vienna are part of Vienna's social housing program (Temel, 2015, p. 58). In the context of Vienna, social housing "encompasses housing either directly owned and managed by the public authorities [often referred to as municipal or public housing, German: *Gemeindebau*] or housing which is socially bound in exchange for public subsidisation of one form or another [German: *gemeinnütziger Wohnbau*]" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 32). In Vienna, 21 % of housing is provided by limited profit housing associations (*gemeinnütziger Wohnbau*) and 27 % of housing is public housing (*Gemeindebau*) (ibid.). In other words, almost 50 % of Vienna's housing stock is either

owned or subsidized by the municipality. Within the scope of subsidized housing in Vienna, numerous different kinds of projects receive public funding. As explained above (the regional level), Vienna puts the focus of its housing promotion on (object) subsidies (*Wohnbauförderung*), which most *Baugruppen* projects also make use of. Brandl and Gruber (2014, p. 16) explain that the publicly-subsidized housing sector in Vienna is based on a four-pillar-model, which can be seen as an answer to societal developments of the recent past and as a foundation for new ideas and concepts. This four-pillar-tool is called 'housing developer competition' (*Bauträgerwettbewerb*) and can be defined as

> "a [p]rocedure for the allocation of object subsidies obligatory to housing projects larger than 200 units. This competition asks the developers to team up with architects and other planning experts in order to propose a housing project which, if successful, will be granted promotion and building site by the City." (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 30)

The *Bauträgerwettbewerb* was introduced in Vienna in 1995 in order to "introduce market elements to social housing while at the same time raising quality standards" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31). Originally, the tool only had three pillars; the criterion 'social sustainability' was only added recently. In the modified and current version of developer competitions, submissions are judged by an interdisciplinary expert jury (Brandl and Gruber, 2014, p. 87) along the following four criteria:

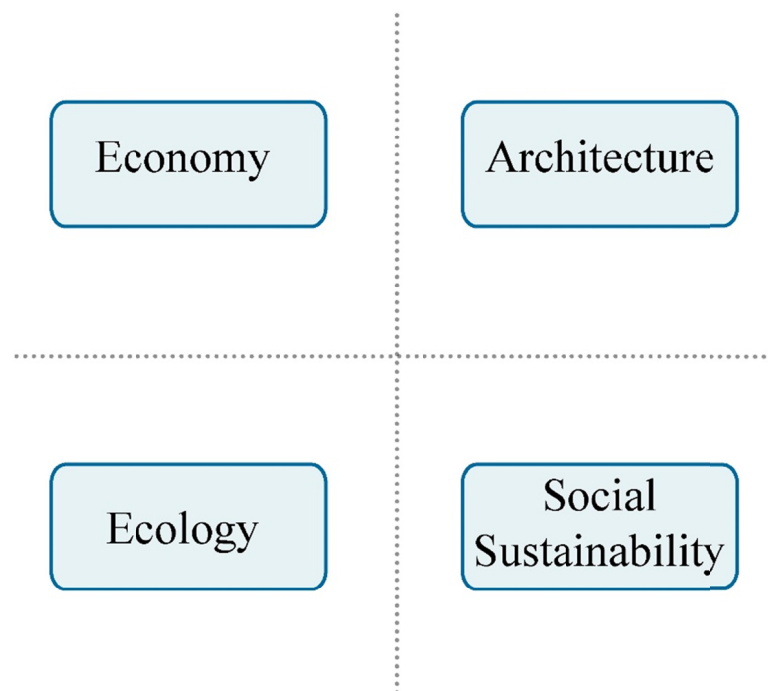*Figure 8: Vienna's developer competitions: A four-pillar-model (Source: wohnfonds_wien, 2017; own illustration)*

The largest share of new housing construction in Vienna is preceded by developer competitions (Brandl and Gruber, 2014, p. 87). Each competition can have a different focus, for instance 'housing for generations' or 'cost-efficient housing' (Wohnservice Wien, 2018). Thus, the tool serves as a

means of securing good quality and affordable housing for Vienna (ibid.). The developer competitions can either be a single-step or a two-step procedure, depending on the type and scope of the development area (Brandl and Gruber, 2014, p. 87). The two-step developer competition is mainly characterized by an approach to planning that goes beyond the individual construction site (Wohnservice Wien, 2018). After the first phase (the conceptual phase), each team develops its project further - together with the jury and in consideration of the other teams (ibid.). Brandl and Gruber (2014, p. 123) argue that the realization of collaborative housing forms within the social housing sector was facilitated by the implementation of the fourth pillar 'social sustainability'. When taking a closer look at 'social sustainability', the following criteria can be found:

(1) Suitability for daily use

(2) Cost-reduction through planning

(3) Collaborative housing

(4) Housing for changing needs (wohnfonds_wien, 2017, p. 5)

The third point, which includes specifications such as 'participation of future residents in the planning process', shows why some limited profit housing associations[38] are interested in working together with *Baugruppen*: It makes it easier for them to fulfil the criterion of 'social sustainability' in such competitions. Collaborative housing initiatives are generally interested in participation processes and often also have a social focus (cf. section 2.3.6).

Collaborative housing within the social housing program: Three legal models[39]

As already pointed out in the section above, collaborative housing initiatives must integrate themselves into the existing legal framework in Vienna. Basically, three legal types of *Baugruppen* are possible: 1) the renting model; 2) the ownership model; and 3) the dormitory model (Temel, 2015, p. 58). Each of the models is explained in more detail below and a visualization of the three models can be found on the next page.

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[38] Since the implementation of the housing developer competition in 1995, limited profit housing associations also have to "compete with commercial developers for housing subsidies" (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31).

[39] Individual parts of this section were submitted as a seminar paper for the course "Bachelorseminar aus Humangeographie: Aktuelle Themen der Stadtgeographie" in the winter term 2016/2017.

The renting model

rents apartments to the individual

Developer → owns → **Baugruppen building** ← inhabit ← Residents Association

has a voice, rents communal areas, etc.

The ownership model

Baugruppen building ← own and inhabit apartments in ← Residents Association

← operates communal areas, etc. ←

The dormitory model

Baugruppen building ← inhabit ← Residents Association

← owner or renter of the whole ←

allocates dormitory apartments to
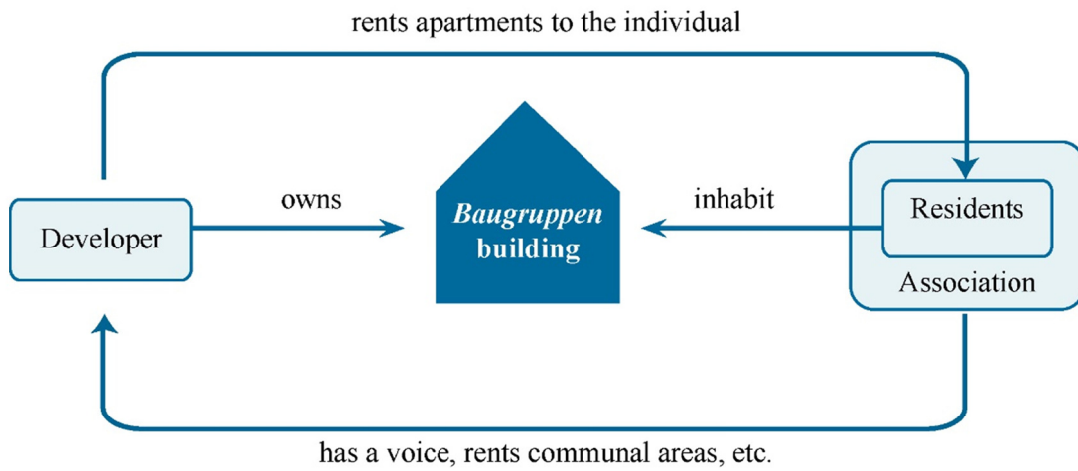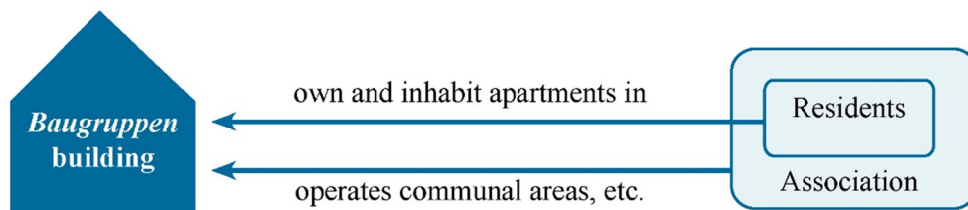
Figure 9: Collaborative housing within Vienna's social housing program: Three legal models
(Source: Temel, 2015; own illustration)

1 The renting model

The renting model is the type closest to traditional cooperative housing (*Genossenschaftswohnungen*). The difference between the *Baugruppen* model and typical cooperative housing is that the residents know each other prior to living in the building. The collaborative building group enters a contract with a developer, who owns the building and rents the individual apartments to the *Baugruppen* residents. The residents form an association (*Verein*) which rents the common spaces (see figure 9 for a visual portrayal of the organizational structure). This model has the advantages that residents minimize their risk and that it is suitable for initiatives who want to develop particularly affordable living spaces. However, the renting model has one major disadvantage: The *Wohnservice Wien* has the right to allocate approximately one third[40] of the apartments due to funding regulations (those apartments are referred to as *Anbotswohnungen* or *Vergabewohnungen*). Therefore, collaborative housing projects that chose the renting model and realized their project within the scope of subsidized housing cannot decide who is going to move into one third of their apartments. This might lead to conflict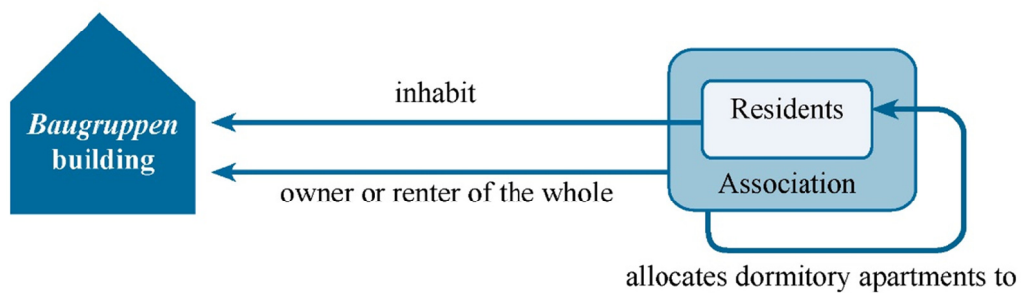s among residents as those allocated by the *Wohnservice* might not be interested in living in a collaborative form of housing. Another drawback of this model could be that participation in the construction phase is somewhat limited compared to *Baugruppen* that use another model. Not all collaborative housing groups, however, regard participation in the planning process as paramount; for some, community and affordability are more important. Examples of *Baugruppen* that chose the renting model in Vienna are: the *[ro*sa]* projects or *Pegasus* in the *Seestadt Aspern*. (Temel, 2015, p. 59)

2 The ownership model

The ownership model is the usual type for *Baugruppen* in Germany while it is less common in Austria. In this model, residents own the individual apartments while the resident association (*Verein*) owns the communal spaces (see figure 9). The ownership model corresponds closely with *Baugruppen* values such as individual responsibility and self-determination. Vienna is still being seen as a "city of tenants[41]" and, thus, favors rental apartments when it comes to granting housing subsidies. This is one reason why the model is not widely spread in Vienna. Should a *Baugruppe* be realized within the scope of subsidized housing and in the form of the ownership model, then the *Wohnservice Wien* has again the right to allocate approximately one third of the apartments (*Anbotswohnungen*). Another reason why almost no projects opt for this model might be the fact that it provides the opportunity for residents to re-rent or re-sell their apartments at a later point in time when the property has undergone an increase in value and they can make a profit. Many *Baugruppen*, however, want to withdraw their

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[40] The number of apartments the *Wohnservice Wien* has at its disposal is calculated according to a pre-determined key, which results in approximately one third of the apartments being allocated by the afore-mentioned institution (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 84).

[41] The rental sector accounts for almost 80% of Vienna's housing stock (Klestorfer, 2012, p. 31).

houses from the market, so that they cannot be used for speculation. Examples of *Baugruppen* in Vienna who used the ownership model are *JAspern* and the *Baugruppe Haberlgasse*. (Temel, 2015, p. 60)

3 The dormitory model

The dormitory model is a special type often referred to as the Viennese model (*Wiener Modell*). It is special as it does not exist in other Austrian provinces, nor in other countries such as Germany or Switzerland. The dormitory model is the typical form for collaborative housing initiatives in Vienna ever since the projects *B.R.O.T.* and *Sargfabrik* used it in the 1990s. These two were the first *Baugruppen* not based on property ownership that used the dormitory model to realize their projects within the scope of Vienna's subsidized housing program. In this model, *Baugruppen* members form an association (*Verein*). This association can either be the owner of the entire building or rent the building from the developer[42] (*Bauträger*). The co-operation with a developer, usually a limited profit housing association, is a distinctive feature of the Viennese model. While such co-operations can have considerable advantages for *Baugruppen* such as risk mitigation or favorable financing conditions, there is also the risk that developers exert too much influence on a project. The collective body of the *Baugruppen* members rents out the individual apartments to its members (see figure 9). The individual apartments in this model are not owned by single owners but by the collective. This collective ownership entails that the control over the individual apartments still lies with the residents as a collective. Hence, speculation with the apartments on the free market is prevented. (Temel, 2015, p. 62)

The dormitory model has several advantages as well as some disadvantages for *Baugruppen*. One advantage is that not only the individual living spaces receive funding, but communal areas are subsidized as well (the individual living spaces, however, receive only the lowest funding) (Temel, 2015, p. 62). Furthermore, there are no *Anbotswohnungen* in this model, meaning that all apartments can be allocated by the collaborative housing group (ibid.). Put differently, the city of Vienna does not have a right to allocate one third of the apartments in this model. Another advantage might be that less parking spaces (*Pflichtstellplätze*) have to be built (Temel, 2015, p. 62). The model's disadvantages are that residents of dormitory model projects do not have tenant protection (*Mieterschutz*) and are not entitled to receive subject subsidies[43] (*Wohnbeihilfe*) (Brandl and Gruber, 2014, p. 127).

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[42] It is also possible that the residents (the association) do not co-operate with a developer and instead become their own developer (Temel, 2015, p. 62). In such a case, the association (*Verein*) might, for liability reasons, not be the best legal form.

[43] This often leads to the implementation of solidarity funds among residents, which shall help to overcome this downside.

There is constant doubt whether the dormitory model should, indeed, be used for collaborative housing projects (Temel, 2015, p. 62). This model, however, is the only way to realize collective ownership within the scope of subsidized housing (ibid.). If *Baugruppen* should, therefore, not make use of the dormitory model, a new funding scheme for collaborative housing projects is needed (ibid.). In addition to the pioneering projects *B.R.O.T.* and *Sargfabrik*, numerous other projects made use of the dormitory model, including *Seestern Aspern*; *LiSA*; and the case study project of this thesis, the *Wohnprojekt Wien*.

The legal form of a cooperative would also work for many *Baugruppen* as most Viennese projects do not build owner-occupied buildings (Hendrich, 2015, p. 18). This legal form constitutes a problem for small-scale *Baugruppen* projects because registered providers such as housing cooperatives are required to constant building activity (Lang and Stoeger, 2017, p. 12). Most collaborative housing groups in Vienna, however, are primarily interested in realizing their own project and not several ones. Recently, a new housing cooperative, called *Die WoGen* (*die Wohnprojekte-Genossenschaft*; the collaborative housing cooperative) has been founded. It is Austria's first and only developer solely focused on realizing collaborative housing projects (Die WoGen, 2018). The cooperative is currently working on its first projects (ibid.). Whether this will lead to the foundation of more new cooperatives on Vienna's housing market is currently not predictable.

Key policies for urban planning in Vienna

The city of Vienna has introduced some key policies for urban planning, which are also relevant for collaborative housing. Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 10) point to the fact that "policy 'lead' themes, such as the 'Smart City' or 'social sustainability' have given legitimacy to ideas of resident participation and community building within the wider promotion of mainstream social housing by the Viennese local government over the last decade". Because 'social sustainability' has already been discussed in connection with developer competitions, this section has a focus on the 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy' and Vienna's urban development plan, the 'STEP 2025', and their connection to collaborative housing.

Smart City Wien Framework Strategy

An increasing number of cities around the globe (e.g. Amsterdam, Dubai, or Singapore) call themselves smart but a universal definition of what this means is not available[44]. The various definitions that have been put forward are all characterized by an emphasis on the minimization of resource usages and the maximization of the quality of life by using information and communications

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[44] For a detailed discussion about the definition of the concept, see Faßmann and Franz (2012, p. 118).

technology as well as mobility management or new forms of participation (Franz, 2012, p. 29; Faßmann and Franz, 2012, pp. 118–120). Vienna has the goal to become a smart city too and, thus, issued a framework strategy, in which it says:

> "It is thus the key goal for 2050 of Smart City Wien to offer optimum quality of living, combined with highest possible resource preservation, for all citizens. This can be achieved through comprehensive innovations." (Vienna City Administration, 2014, p. 16)

According to Franz (2012, p. 33), Vienna's motivation to become a smart city results from the city's population growth as well as the energy and climate situation. The latest available population projections show that Vienna will be home to two million citizens in 2026 (Statistik Austria, 2017a). This gives the construction of new housing a high priority. To ensure good-quality neighborhood development, authorities ought to follow Vienna's smart city framework strategy. The 'Smart City Wien principle' (see figure below) provides a framework with three dimensions for the local approach to the smart city. Those three dimensions will subsequently be used to point out how collaborative housing might contribute to a smarter city.
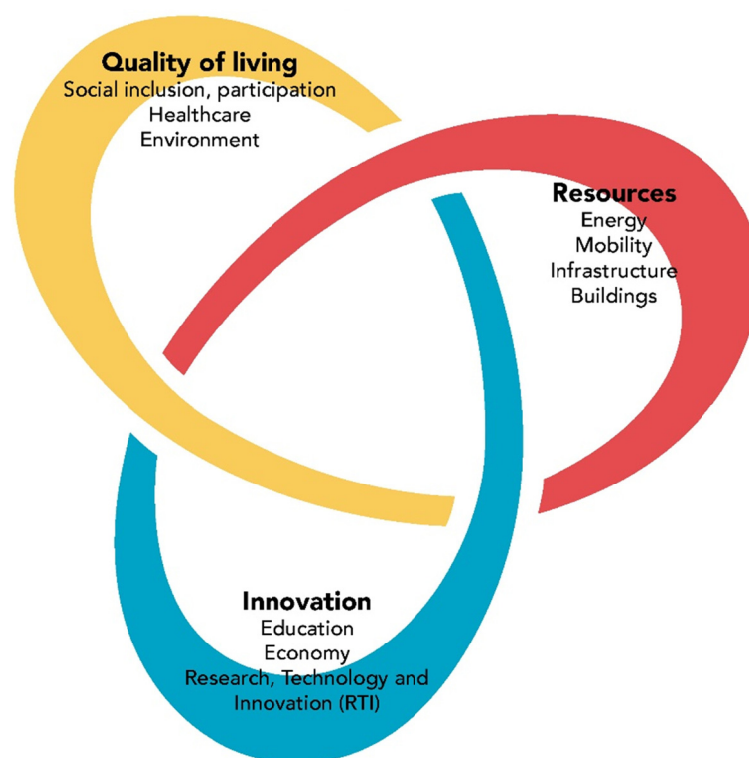
Figure 10: The Smart City Wien principle (Source: Vienna City Administration, 2014; own illustration)

1 Quality of living

In the first dimension 'quality of living', *Baugruppen* might be able to play a role for 'social inclusion' and 'participation'. Social inclusion in the 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy' stands for "an open society and solidarity, good neighborly relations, mutual respect and acceptance" (Vienna City

Administration, 2014, p. 72). Collaborative housing residents form intentional communities in which those features are of paramount importance. Furthermore, collaborative housing residents show above-average commitment in their immediate environment (Temel, 2012, p. 46). They are willing to become active themselves and often integrate hybrid concepts into their projects (ibid.), which has already been elaborately discussed in section 2.3.6. The Viennese smart city approach also includes a step towards more participation possibilities: "Smart City Wien means creating a wider leeway for action for all Viennese" (Vienna City Administration, 2014, p. 89). For most collaborative housing members participation in the building process is imperative because they want to build their projects in a self-determined way (Temel, 2012, p. 46).

2 Resources

With regard to resource usage in the built environment, the 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy' comments that "energy standards, above all with a view to neighbourhoods and urban quarters in combination with new energy supply systems, must be redefined" (Vienna City Administration, 2014, p. 52). The concept of collaborative housing can contribute to this. Many new collaborative projects set themselves the goal to build particularly ecological buildings (Temel, 2012, p. 47). *Baugruppen* could, thus, also serve as pilot projects for the smart city from a technological point of view (ibid.). The issue of ecological sustainability in connection with collaborative housing groups has already been discussed in section 2.3.3.

3 Innovation

The third dimension identified in Vienna's smart city framework is 'innovation' and deals with the topics 'education', 'research, technology, and innovation (RTI)', and 'economy'. While there is no direct link on how collaborative housing can contribute to the objectives identified in this section, there are still some comments that can be made when looking at *Baugruppen* and 'innovation'. First, Temel (2012, p. 47) draws attention to the fact that *Baugruppen* often have a greater focus on innovation (in comparison to conventional housing types) when it comes to building: new floor plans are being realized and the buildings show great flexibility (cf. Ring, 2013, p. 42). Second, *Baugruppen* have the potential to facilitate social innovations, which was already discussed in section 2.3.2. Finally, the mere existence of collaborative housing projects in Austria is already an innovation because they add an element of diversity to the housing sector (Temel, 2012, p. 47).

The strong focus and, indeed, often sole focus on technology in the discussion about smart cities is often criticized (Franz, 2012, p. 29). The fuzzy conceptualization of the concept, however, also has the advantage of making it possible to include a broad range of topics and approaches (Temel, 2012, p. 42). The city of Vienna presents a holistic approach that goes beyond the technological associations of the term. I have shown that collaborative housing might be able to contribute to make Vienna smarter.

STEP 2025: Urban Development Plan Vienna

The 'STEP 2025' is a strategic document that explains which direction Vienna's urban development is supposed to take until the year 2025. It identifies nine basic principles on which the city's development is based (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, pp. 20–25):

A liveable city	A prosperous city
A socially equitable city	An integrated city region
A gender-equitable city	An ecological city
An educating city	A participatory city
A cosmopolitan city	

Table 5: Principles of Vienna's future urban development (Source: STEP 2025; own illustration)

The principle that seems to be most relevant relating to collaborative housing is 'a participatory city'. In this regard, the 'STEP 2025' makes it clear that "Vienna views co-operation with the population as an opportunity to develop optimised and viable urbanistic solutions" (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, p. 25). Furthermore, the document points out that participation does not merely create a higher level of acceptance among citizens but that it also creates better long-term results because citizens demonstrate extensive expertise with respect to their immediate environment (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, p. 30). In other words, the administrative authorities are aware of the added value participation can entail. It is also pointed out that the development of the city is no longer the sole task of a regulatory municipality. Governance is, therefore, understood in the following way:

> "Vienna regards governance as a process that not only entails fine-tuned actions on the part of different political departments and administrative units. Governance also means understanding public institutions and private enterprises, land owners and investors, *organised civil society and individual citizens as stakeholders who have vested interests in determining future developments and are willing to influence these developments through their own commitment*." (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, p. 29) (emphasis added)

With such a definition of governance, the city of Vienna pursues a mixture of top-down and bottom-up development. Collaborative housing projects can also be seen as a mixture between those two types of development. On the one hand, authorities currently provide land for *Baugruppen* projects, while, on the other hand, collaborative groups form bottom-up initiatives. The development of *Baugruppen* projects, thus, perfectly fits Vienna's approach:

"[Vienna's] form of urban development does not define and plan every small detail top-down. Rather, there will be space for individual initiatives of diverse actors, which thus may become "co-producers" of the city (= bottom-up urban development)." (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, p. 51)

To sum up, the 'STEP 2025' portrays participation and bottom-up initiatives as important elements of co-operative urban development and it seems that collaborative housing could play a vital role in 'a participatory Vienna'.

The 'STEP 2025' is a strategic framework document that is not "a standalone document" (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2014, p. 20). The urban development plan must be viewed in connection with other relevant documents the municipality has published. Regarding participation two other important publications exist: The 'Masterplan Participatory Urban Development' (MA 21 - Stadtteilplanung und Flächennutzung, 2017) and the 'Practice Book Participation' (Arbter, 2012).
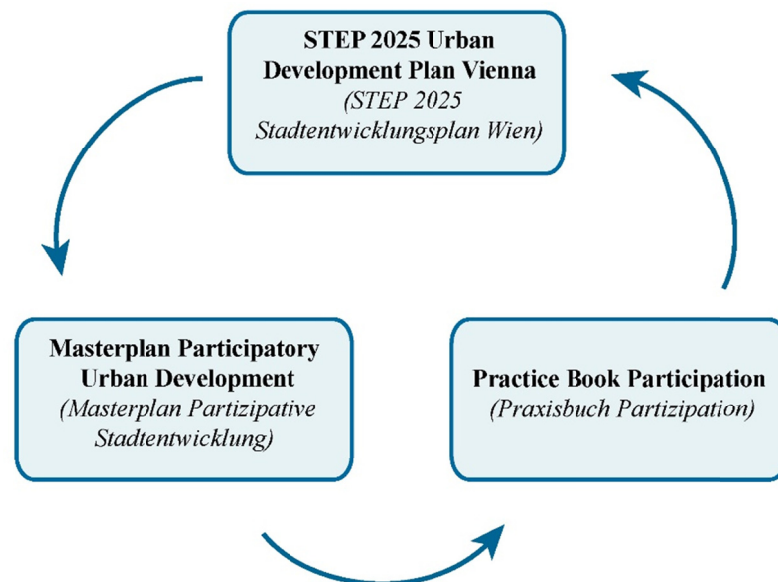
Figure 11: A participatory city: Framework documents (own illustration)

The urban development plan (STEP 2025) contains general objectives and aims and identifies 'a participatory city' as one of the major principles for future urban development. The 'Masterplan Participatory Urban Development' has only been published recently and provides principles and rules for citizen participation in urban development projects (MA 21 - Stadtteilplanung und Flächennutzung, 2017, p. 19). Among other things, this document deals with the target groups of participatory tools. With regard to urban development measures, the masterplan identifies three target groups: (1) residents of the surrounding neighborhoods; (2) local actors; and (3) future residents (MA 21 - Stadtteilplanung und Flächennutzung, 2017, pp. 52–53). Future residents are usually a difficult-to-reach group (ibid.). Collaborative housing groups, however, are founded relatively early (compared

to conventional resident groups) and could, therefore, be the ideal point of contact for such participation processes. The third document available, the 'Practice Book Participation', offers guidance for participation processes and includes specific suggestions for planning and implementing participation concepts (Arbter, 2012, p. 6). The term *Baugruppe* (or similar words for the concept of collaborative housing) cannot be found in any of the three documents, although a specific project – the *Sargfabrik* – is mentioned in the urban development plan. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that collaborative housing could contribute to 'a participatory city' through the willingness of the *Baugruppen* to co-produce the city.

Actors involved in the collaborative housing sector

The following figure was created to give the reader an overview of the actors that play a role in Vienna's collaborative housing sector. The housing sector and the organization of the municipality of Vienna are very complex, which results in the fact that this stakeholder landscape has no claim for completeness.
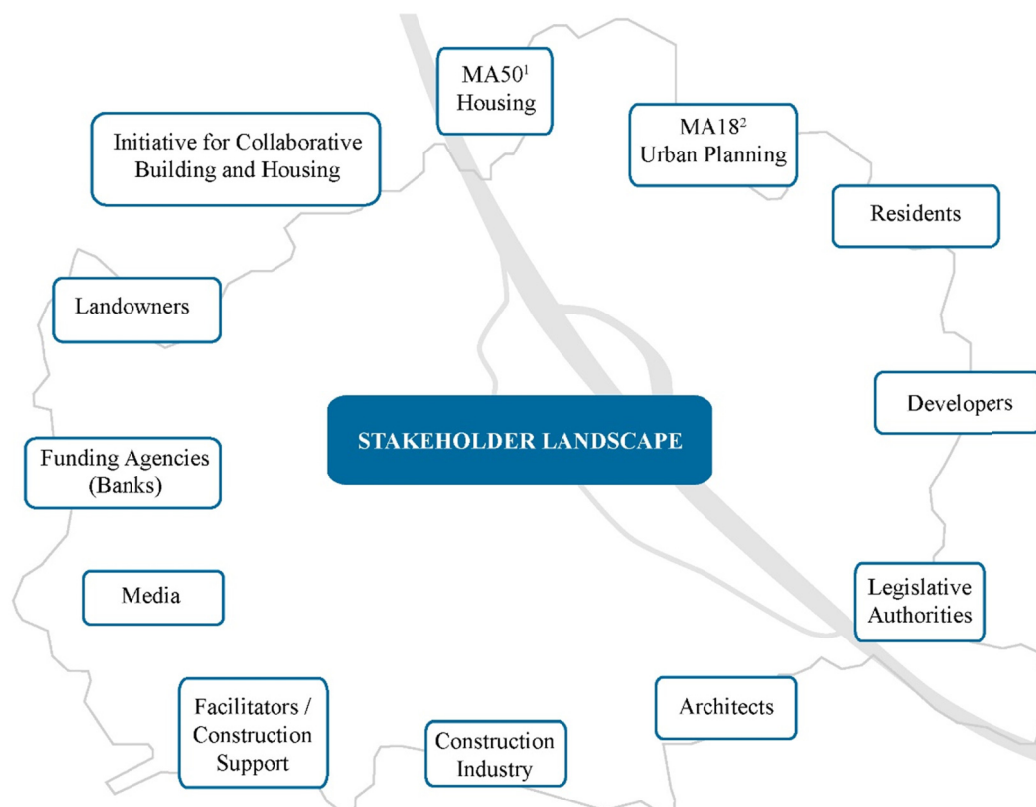
[1] MA50: Magistrat für Wohnbauförderung und Schlichtungsstelle für wohnrechtliche Angelegenheiten
[2] MA18: Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung

Figure 12: Actors involved in the collaborative housing sector in Vienna (own illustration)

4.1.4 Case study project: Geographical location and description

The collaborative housing initiative *Wohnprojekt Wien* serves as a single case study for this thesis. In the collaborative housing discourse, the German term *Wohnprojekt* refers to a building or a group, where collaboration among neighbors is of top priority (Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing, 2015, p. 88). I will start by introducing the project's neighborhood, before I move on to some details about the project itself.

Geographical location: The Nordbahnhofviertel

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* is located in Vienna's second district *Leopoldstadt* in the new, and still unfinished, urban development area *Nordbahnhof* (Northern railway station). The *Nordbahnhof* area is, as its name already suggests, a former railway station, which is now one of Vienna's largest inner-city development areas with a size of approximately 85 hectares (MA 21 - Stadtteilplanung und Flächennutzung, 2015, p. 14). Together with the adjoining urban development area *Nordwestbahnhof* (North-Western railway station), which is situated in Vienna's 20th district *Brigittenau*, the area is going to be home to 32.000 residents (MA 21 - Stadtteilplanung und Flächennutzung, 2014, p. 3). This means that the two of them together (*Nordbahnhof* and *Nordwestbahnhof*) will be larger than the *Seestadt Aspern* (in Vienna's 22nd district *Donaustadt*), which is one of the biggest urban development areas in Europe (Hanke and Huber, 2016, p. 166).

Figure 13: Geographical location: Nordbahnhof and Nordwestbahnhof

The completion of the entire *Nordbahnhof* neighborhood is planned for the year 2025. The collaborative housing project *Wohnprojekt Wien* was part of the *Nordbahnhof's* second construction phase and is situated next to the *Rudolf Bednar Park* in the *Krakauerstraße*.

The case study project Wohnprojekt Wien

In the year 2009, a small group of approximately 15 people founded the *Verein für nachhaltiges Leben* (Association for Sustainable Living) (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). In order to find a suitable building plot and to reduce the legal insecurities that the organization as an association entails, the collaborative housing group decided to co-operate with the non-profit housing developer *Schwarzatal* (Dürr and Kuhn, 2017, p. 55). The non-profit housing developer entered a developer competition of the *wohnfonds_wien* in 2010 for a building plot at the *Nordbahnhof*. On the building plot, two projects were planned: (1) *Wohnen mit scharf!* (by *SUPERBLOCK*) and (2) *Wohnen mit uns!* (by *einszueins achrchitektur*) (Dürr and Kuhn, 2017, p. 54). The second project is the case study project *Wohnprojekt Wien*, which entered the developer competition with the slogan *Wohnen mit uns!* (Living with us!). The following axonometry gives an overview of the two projects.
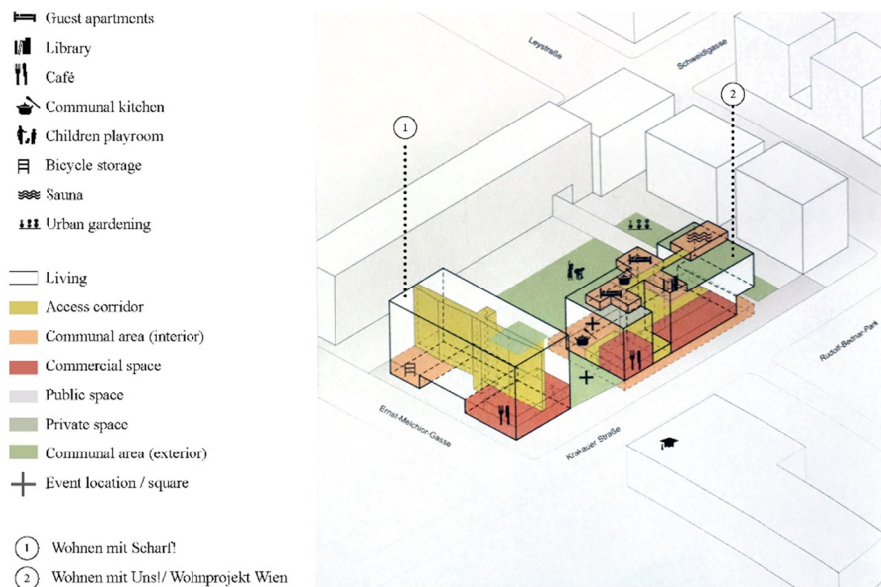
Figure 14: One building plot: Two different projects (Source: Dürr and Kuhn, 2017; own illustration)

The collaborative plan for the building plot won the developer competition and so the construction of the *Wohnprojekt* began in December 2011 (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). This also meant that the core group could be expanded (Dürr and Kuhn, 2017, p. 57). In December 2013, the project building, which is currently home to approximately 65 adults and 35 children, was completed (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). The *Wohnprojekt* has 39 individual apartments (3300 m^2), 700 m^2 communal areas, as well as 350 m^2 commercial spaces (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). The communal areas include: a sauna, a library,

a kitchen, a playroom for children, a roof-top-terrace, a meditation room, a raised-bed garden, a bicycle garage, a repair shop, an event space, a laundry room, and two guest apartments.

Figure 15: The case study project Wohnprojekt Wien (own photograph)

The collaborative housing group pursues aims regarding ecological as well as social sustainability. The ecological sustainability of the project building was already taken into consideration in the architecture of the building (low energy construction) (Leitner et al., 2015, p. 12). Furthermore, the members aim to minimize their ecological footprint by using resources economically (e.g. car sharing, food co-op, etc.) (ibid.). In terms of social sustainability, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* members lead a collaborative lifestyle, in which many activities are undertaken collectively. The project also has a solidarity fund, in which residents can make a monetary contribution depending on their own possibilities (Leitner et al., 2015, pp. 12–13). The fund is used to finance two apartments in the building, which have been made available for people with less financial resources, as well as for other residents in distress or for projects outside of the *Wohnprojekt* (ibid.).

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* is structured according to sociocratic principles. Sociocracy can be defined as follows[45]:

> Sociocracy - also called dynamic governance - is a non-authoritarian organizational operating system that empowers people to make policy within their established domains, fostering better and clearer decisions. (Lozanova, 2014)

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[45] For a more detailed description of sociocracy, I refer to Rüther (2010).

The principle of consent is crucial for the dynamic governance method: A decision is only valid if none of the participants have fundamental objections regarding a decision and if all members have contributed to the decision-making process. According to the sociocratic model of organization, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* is structured in circles (see figure below). Each circle has specific aims that its members want to achieve. In the case of the *Wohnprojekt*, the circles are called work groups (*Arbeitsgruppen*, short *AGs*), which are further divided into sub groups (*Untergruppen*, short *UGs*). In addition, temporary project groups (*Projektgruppen*, short *PGs*) can be created, which can be formed by members of more than one work group. The work groups can take their own decisions in accordance with their aims, their programs, and the overall budget. Each work group sends a member to the leader circle (*Leitungskreis*). The leader circle is comprised of the people sent by the work groups, the work group leaders, and the executive board of the association. The leader circle can give orders to work groups, sub groups and project groups. Furthermore, it can make decisions that exceed the competence of the respective groups. The leader circle is also responsible for the current business performance of the *Wohnprojekt*. Fundamental decisions can only be made by the entire group in so-called *Großgruppentreffen* (large group meetings), which take place approximately every month. The large group of members (*Großgruppe*) elects the executive board (*Vorstand*) of the association and the leaders of the work groups. Legally speaking, the executive board is the authorized body of the association and is responsible for the association's conduct of business. By becoming a member of the association, each resident is bound to work 110 hours per year (ca. 9 h/month) for the collaborative housing project. This work is done in work groups, which result from the project's sociocratic organization. (Leitner et al., 2015, pp. 13–14)

Figure 16: The sociocratic organization of the Wohnprojekt Wien (Source: Leitner et al., 2015; own illustration)

The project building is collectively owned by the residents in form of an association (*Verein für nachhaltiges Leben*) (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). This means that no individual ownership exists in the collaborative housing project (ibid.). The construction of the building was subsidized by the municipality of Vienna in form of a 2.3 million euros loan (Nothegger, 2017, p. 91). The project volume totals roughly 9.9 million euros (Nothegger, 2017, p. 170). The *Wohnprojekt Wien* has won numerous prizes: the *VCÖ-Mobilitätspreis* 2014; the *Österreichischer Staatspreis für Architektur und Nachhaltigkeit* 2014; or the *Lebenszyklus-Award* 2016, to name but a few. For a more detailed description of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, I recommend the informative novel *Sieben Stock Dorf* (Nothegger, 2017), which was written by one of the residents.

4.2 Empirical studies: Collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood

This section deals with the results from the empirical studies, which are presented according to the three analysis dimensions discussed in section 3.2: the municipal perspective (4.2.1); the residents' perspective (4.2.2); and the wider neighborhood's perspective (4.2.3).

4.2.1 The municipal perspective: Findings from qualitative in-depth interviews with experts

This section presents the Viennese municipal perspective on collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood. It is based on the material gathered through qualitative in-depth interviews with experts from various institutions (anonymous list, see appendix). The findings result from a summarizing content analysis that was conducted with the data set. The interviewers' codes are only included for direct quotes or if there are divergent views on the subject matter (E = expert). Ultimately, the outcome of this should help answering the research questions, which will be done in section 4.3, together with other empirical findings. The structure of this report is based on the main categories of the coding frame. First, some general findings on collaborative housing and Vienna are presented. Second, the interviewees comments concerning collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood are summarized. Third, the results regarding *Baugruppen* and urban development are reported before, in a fourth and final step, the interviewees' statements regarding the case study project are presented.

1 General remarks about collaborative housing in Vienna

Self-organization and the citizens of Vienna

Self-organization is not widespread among the Viennese due to the long-lasting political predominance of the social democratic party. The social democratic mindset is traditionally

characterized by a paternalistic mentality of allocation. The municipality's strong role in housing provision has an enormous influence on citizens' attitudes towards self-organization.

> "I am grown up now. Now I need an apartment. Give me one. That's an attitude, especially in Vienna where social housing works very well and where people are also a little spoiled by it." (E1)

> ["Ich bin jetzt erwachsen. Ich brauche jetzt eine Wohnung. Gebt mir eine. Das ist speziell eine Einstellung in Wien wo der soziale Wohnbau sehr gut funktioniert und die Leute auch ein bisschen verwöhnt sind dadurch."] (E1)

Due to the large social housing sector, Vienna's citizens are less willing to assume individual responsibility. This is one reason why self-organization in the housing sector is not widespread in Vienna.

> "In Vienna it has always been more like: What you buy and use concerns you and apart from that you are being managed. Self-organization is not very Viennese. It is a city which has been patronized by well-meaning social democrats for the last 80 years. There is no other way to put it." (E3)

> ["In Wien war eher dieses: Das geht dich was an, was du benützt hast, was du gekauft hast, und ansonsten wirst du verwaltet. Diese Selbstorganisation ist nicht sehr Wienerisch. Das ist einfach eine Stadt die von wohlmeinenden Sozialdemokraten seit 80 Jahren schon auch ein bisschen gegängelt worden ist, man kann es nicht anders sagen."] (E3)

Self-organization in the field of housing has not played a dominant role in Vienna, mainly because the municipality took over the key role in the provision of housing for many decades and is still doing so.

The new wave of collaborative housing in Vienna

Collaborative housing became an official issue for the municipality of Vienna for the first time around the year 2009/10 in connection with the urban development area *Seestadt Aspern*. The 3420 Development AG, an administratively and politically independent long-term actor, is responsible for the development of this area and pushed for the inclusion of *Baugruppen* in the *Seestadt*. The municipality of Vienna is generally rather cautious regarding new developments in urban planning. It was, therefore, not surprising that the authorities were also somewhat skeptical towards *Baugruppen*. Despite some municipal resistance, the 3420 Development AG managed to integrate *Baugruppen* into the planning concept of the *Seestadt Aspern*. Around the same time (2010), the political administration in Vienna changed as well: The sole-rule era of the social democrats (*SPÖ*) came to an end and the party had to form a coalition with the green party (*Die Grünen*). Hence, 'the' municipality of Vienna does not exist because each department (the so-called *Magistratsabteilung*, short MA) is affiliated with one of the two political parties. The distribution of the departments resulted in the fact that the

department for housing (MA 50[46]) is led by the social democrats, while the department responsible for urban development and planning (MA 18[47]) is led by the green party. For the concept of collaborative housing this might have been beneficial because the green party has a fundamentally positive view on *Baugruppen* while the social democrats are more skeptical towards it. In the coalition agreement of 2015 between the *SPÖ* and *Die Grünen*, *Baugruppen* are called an innovative supplement to the subsidized housing sector in Vienna. Does this mean that there is an official *Baugruppen* strategy for the city or for certain urban development areas in particular?

One collaborative housing strategy? Rather two official perspectives

Despite the mentioning of *Baugruppen* in the intergovernmental agreement between the two ruling parties, an official (written) strategy of the municipality concerning collaborative housing does not exist. The approach to the concept is rather ambivalent. On the one hand, there is the perspective of the planning department (MA 18), and, on the other hand, the perspective of the housing department (MA 50). The MA 18 deals with collaborative housing more intensively and always tries to reserve building plots for *Baugruppen* in new urban development areas. The planning department, however, is not as powerful in this respect because it is not responsible for the allocation of building sites. This is the task of the housing department. The MA 50, despite initial skepticism, organizes separate developer competitions for collaborative housing initiatives and, thus, provides building plots for *Baugruppen.* Furthermore, the housing department provides subsidies for the projects realized within the subsidized housing sector. The MA 50, however, approaches the topic of collaborative housing in a less strategic and more critical way. There are three points of criticism from a social democratic point of view: (1) Within the scope of subsidized housing, *Baugruppen* projects are relatively cost-intensive; (2) *Baugruppen* members are often people with higher incomes when compared to the average person living in subsidized housing; (3) some also criticize the creative use of the dormitory model to acquire subsidies without having to let the municipality allocate some of the apartments.

> "There is not a single strategy from the municipality of Vienna but basically two perspectives: the planning and the housing perspective. Those emerge out of the different political and factual questions that arise in this context." (E4)

> ["Es gibt nicht eine Strategie der Stadt Wien, sondern es gibt im Wesentlichen zwei Perspektiven: von der planerischen Seite und von der Wohnbau Seite, die sich einfach durch die verschiedenen politischen und sachlichen Fragen, die es in diesem Kontext gibt, ergeben."] (E4)

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[46] Magistratsabteilung 50 - Wohnbauförderung und Schlichtungsstelle für wohnrechtliche Angelegenheiten

[47] Magistratsabteilung 18 - Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung

A single strategy concerning *Baugruppen* does, therefore, not exist in Vienna. Currently, the municipality follows a demand/supply approach. If there is demand for collaborative housing, the city supplies building sites through separate developer competitions for *Baugruppen*. To determine the need of such competitions, the municipality co-operates with the 'Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing' and organizes developer competitions according to the current demand. This means that collaborative housing projects are not per se planned in every urban development zone.

Developer competitions for Baugruppen

Baugruppen need a separate developer competition as they are not able to compete with traditional developers for two main reasons: (1) time: collaborative building groups mainly consist of laypeople and, therefore, need much more time to discuss the complex issues of the construction sector; (2) finance: for *Baugruppen* it is considerably more difficult to provide financing. A separate developer competition for collaborative housing groups is, therefore, necessary but also requires more resources from the city administration. This additional expenditure can only be justified if *Baugruppen* projects have an added value for the city.

> "The additional expenditure is worth it if it results in an increase in activities. If this is not the case, the city is only supplying a niche sector. So, if *Baugruppen* do not become active and contribute something to social co-existence, then the city wouldn't need to bother with them." (E2)

> ["Wenn der Mehraufwand auch zurückkommt durch ein Plus an Aktivität, dann zahlt sich das aus. Ansonsten macht man eigentlich nur eine Nischenversorgung. Also wenn die *Baugruppen* dann nicht aktiv werden und etwas einbringen ins Zusammenleben, dann braucht man sich das als Stadt eigentlich nicht antun."] (E2)

This raises the question: What exactly does the municipality of Vienna expect of *Baugruppen* projects?

Municipal expectations of collaborative housing projects

The municipal expectations of collaborative housing projects are not very specific. Primarily, the city demands that the *Baugruppe* meets the criteria under which subsidies were granted (the issue of subsidies is also discussed further below). On a secondary level, the authorities expect some sort of added value.

> "That there are activities in the neighborhood, that they radiate, that there is commitment, that there are mixed uses – those are the expectations." (E4)

> ["Dass es Aktivitäten im Viertel gibt, dass sie da Ausstrahlen, dass es Engagement gibt, dass es gewisse Nutzungsangebote gibt - das sind die Erwartungen."] (E4)

This added value can take various forms but can basically be divided into two types: (1) the physical impact; and (2) the social impact (both impacts are discussed further below). First, the physical impact can, to a certain degree, be controlled via developer competitions. Those are always adapted for the specific area and so the city can impose additional conditions regarding the architectural uses of buildings according to the overall goals of the master plan. In the *Seestadt Aspern*, for instance, the *Baugruppen* were required to integrate a utilization on the ground floor that allows for interaction with the surrounding neighborhood. *Baugruppen*, therefore, often have a mixed functional ground floor (e.g. commercial spaces and communal areas). Second, the municipality does not have a direct possibility to exert influence on a collaborative housing's social impact. However, *Baugruppen* showing socio-political commitment are more likely to win developer competitions because the added value for society is rather clear (fourth pillar: social sustainability). In the first phase of urban development in the *Seestadt Aspern*, the city tried to indirectly influence the social impact of *Baugruppen* by clustering them on one construction field. The idea behind this was to create a cell in the pioneer phase of the development area which is active and able to take action itself. Therefore, authorities expect *Baugruppen* to be generally more interested in their environment and to take action by initiating activities or events for the wider neighborhood that ultimately make the urban quarter livelier. But do these expectations justify the subsidies *Baugruppen* receive?

Subsidies for Baugruppen within the scope of the social housing system

Baugruppen can, but do not have to, be realized within the scope of Vienna's subsidized housing program. Outside the municipal program, it is rather difficult for collaborative housing groups to acquire adequate building sites. Projects that are realized within the social housing program must participate in developer competitions to receive building plots. Those *Baugruppen* that are successful in the competition, are then also eligible for municipal subsidies. Subsidies granted within the social housing program are loans with favorable conditions that must be repaid after a certain amount of time. Those subsidies have three advantages for *Baugruppen*: (1) the loans carry a fixed interest rate of 1 %, which means that costs can be reliably calculated; (2) the repayment of the loan only starts after all other bank loans have been repaid, which means that some of the financial burden is shifted to the future and can, ideally, be distributed among more generations of residents; (3) a subsidy from the municipality facilitates further financing from banks. Since there is no special subsidy scheme for collaborative housing projects, the amount of the subsidy is dependent on the subsidy model chosen by the *Baugruppe* (cf. figure 9) and the size of the project (calculations are made according to the amount of square meters). All in all, the subsidies granted to *Baugruppen* are approximately the same as the ones granted to conventional non-profit developers within the field of social housing. It is also seen as legitimate for the amount of the subsidy to be smaller in comparison to a 'normal' subsidized housing project, given that the municipality does not get to allocate one third of the apartments if a *Baugruppe*

is realized in the dormitory model. The dormitory model, which is used by an increasing number of Viennese projects, was first applied for the collaborative housing initiatives *B.R.O.T.* and *Sargfabrik* in the 1980/90s. The solution of subsidizing *Baugruppen* by applying the dormitory regulations works well but is not a perfect solution. With the new wave of collaborative housing activity, the municipality could provide a better legal framework for *Baugruppen* projects. The likelihood of this cannot be assessed at present.

The necessity of subsidies for *Baugruppen* is a controversial issue. One opinion is that many residents could not afford to take part in collaborative housing projects without them being subsidized by the city (E1). Another point of view is that some *Baugruppen* do not need municipal subsidies (E2). Projects realized outside the social housing sector would, however, still need some support from the municipality in the form of options on building plots (ibid.). Such options on land could reduce the municipal spending on housing and still allow the development of a collaborative housing sector (ibid.). In contrast to this, another point of view is that further subsidies could be granted for *Baugruppen* projects, which renounce individual private space and instead build space that can be used collectively, and which is, to some extent, also accessible by the neighborhood (E3). Another argument in favor of subsidies for *Baugruppen* is that there are other types of subsidized housing projects in a similar price range within the social housing program that also receive loans, despite them lacking the added value of collaborative housing projects (E4).

> "There are many other subsidized housing projects in the same price range, which do not have the advantages of *Baugruppen* projects – and those are subsidized too. So there really is no argument against the subsidization of *Baugruppen*." (E4)

> ["Es gibt viele andere geförderte Wohnbauten, die sich in einem ähnlichen Preisbereich bewegen, aber auch nicht die Vorteile von *Baugruppen*-Projekten haben – und die werden auch gefördert. Es gibt also wirklich kein Argument gegen die Förderung von *Baugruppen*."] (E4)

Collaborative housing currently accounts for less than one per cent of the subsidized housing segment. In consideration of the small size of the sector it is not necessary to think about whether *Baugruppen* should be subsidized (E4).

The future of collaborative housing in Vienna

In many new urban development areas, it is currently common practice to provide building plots for collaborative housing projects and allocate those via special developer competitions. The practice of allocating subsidies and building plots, however, is by no means secured for the future. In which direction the collaborative housing sector will develop is dependent on the composition of the next local government (the next elections are in 2020) as well as on the topics that are going to be emphasized within the planning department. One of the questions that will play a major role affects social housing in general and, therefore, also has an impact on collaborative housing: How can the city

achieve low land prices? This question must be solved in order to secure the subsidized housing sector as a whole, including *Baugruppen*. Moreover, Vienna's smart city concept is increasingly regarded in technological terms while the efficient usage of spatial resources is not as present. If collaborative housing is understood as contributing positively to the smart city concept, the sector might receive more attention in the future. From a municipal perspective, *Baugruppen* proved themselves worthwhile but the continuous evaluation of the concept is important (E2).

Collaborative housing as a driver of innovation?

The Viennese housing sector has a very positive reputation but, at the same time, is also criticized for not being innovative. The social housing sector is dominated by relatively large actors that have existed for a long time. This is mainly due to two reasons. First, the municipality plays a big role in social housing. This is a major advantage of Vienna compared to other European countries. Nevertheless, the foundation of new actors within this sector (or outside of it) would make the sector more innovative. *Baugruppen* are already new actors that bring an element of innovation into the system. They are, however, only short-term actors as they stop their building activity after their own house is completed. Second, the cooperative law has never been revised in Austria. This makes the foundation of new cooperatives somewhat difficult and is another reason why no new actors enter the field. With regard to innovation, the sector could profit more from new long-term actors such as housing cooperatives than from short-term actors like *Baugruppen*. Recently, the first housing cooperative after decades has been founded: *die Wogen*, a cooperative specialized in collaborative housing. More cooperatives like this would accelerate innovation in the field. Looking at other countries (e.g. Switzerland or Germany), in which the cooperative law had been revised in the past, shows that many new actors have established themselves on the market. In the afore-mentioned countries, the new actors help in minimizing some of the negative aspects of collaborative building projects. In Switzerland, for example, housing cooperatives that realize collaborative housing projects are not only focused on one project like Viennese *Baugruppen* but rather focus on several projects, which tend to be bigger. This glance at other countries shows that collaborative housing has great potential to bring new elements of innovation into the subsidized housing sector. The likeliness of developments such as those in Switzerland cannot be foreseen as much depends on political goodwill and the participation demands of citizens.

2 Collaborative housing and the impact on the neighborhood

General remarks

The *Sargfabrik*, one of Vienna's oldest collaborative housing projects, has a substantial impact on its neighborhood. Many of the new *Baugruppen* use this project from the 1990s as a reference. The socio-political claims raised by the new projects are, however, somewhat smaller than those of the *Sargfabrik*, which might also be due to current framework conditions (e.g. public subsidies for cultural institutions are not available anymore). This results in less pronounced impacts when compared to the pioneering project. Nevertheless, most new *Baugruppen* projects in Vienna aim at having an impact on their surrounding area and succeed in this respect to some extent. The newly-funded cooperative *die WoGen*, for instance, only realizes projects that fulfil four criteria, one of them being that the project group must integrate an aspect that goes beyond their own project. In what ways *Baugruppen* have effects on their immediate environment is depending on the projects' size and functional uses as well as on the neighborhood itself in which they are located.

A guaranteed impact on the neighborhood?

Not all *Baugruppen* want to have an impact on the surrounding area as not all the projects have the same self-conception. In Vienna, many collaborative housing groups regard the impact on the neighborhood as important at the start of their project. Those aspirations, however, cannot be guaranteed for a longer period of time. To guarantee a long-lasting impact on the neighborhood, projects would need to sign contracts or authorities would have to pass legal requirements that *Baugruppen* would have to fulfil. This, however, is not seen as an expedient or reasonable solution. Whether the impact on the neighborhood lasts for longer, thus, depends on the organization of the *Baugruppen* project and its members. Collaborative housing groups are often organized as associations, which have specific aims formulated in their bylaws (*Statuten*). If the impact on the neighborhood is mentioned in the bylaws, then there is some sort of pressure for the group to act according to those in the long run too. However, there is a danger that the impact on the neighborhood is dependent on a number of project members and their personal commitment and time resources. At the beginning of a collaborative building project, it is important to have some people who regard the impact on the neighborhood as essential. It is then crucial that the initiators of such groups 'institutionalize' their commitment, which means that they must include other members and hand over some of their responsibilities. While the added value of *Baugruppen* cannot be agreed upon by contract or prescribed by a decree, most collaborative housing projects affect their neighborhood in some way or another because of their fundamental orientation.

"When one refers to THE Baugruppen – those do not exist. There are some who want to design and build their building themselves and then live there and that's it. And there are others who say: We want to live a life that is different than if we were to move into a normal house; we want to be active; we want to make a difference in society. And those collaborative housing groups also do not stop, they keep going." (E2)

["Wenn man so sagt DIE Baugruppen – die gibt es nicht. Es gibt welche die wollen selbst ihr Haus bauen und selbst gestalten und dann wohnen sie dort und das wars. Und es gibt andere, die sagen: Wir wollen eigentlich ein Leben leben, dass anders ist als wenn wir in ein normales Haus ziehen würden; wir wollen etwas tun; wir wollen in der Gesellschaft etwas bewegen. Und diese Projekte hören auch nicht auf, die tun weiter."] (E2)

Those projects realized at the beginning of the current wave of collaborative housing activity (the *Wohnprojekt Wien* or the first *Baugruppen* in the *Seestadt Aspern*) all have a great impact on their neighborhood. The section below discusses their impact in more detail. It is still too early for an assessment of more recent projects.

Positive effects on the neighborhood

Not all collaborative housing projects have an added value for their neighborhood but in many cases, they do affect their surrounding area in a positive way. First, *Baugruppen* have an impact on the atmosphere of a neighborhood. This effect cannot be measured, nor can it be purchased by the municipality. One interviewee appeals to the city:

"Use the current demand for this new living, working, and organizational model. Use the power that affects your neighborhoods. Use the constructive spirit of those people and make use of the preliminary work they are doing behind closed doors by constructing their *Baugruppen* projects – that creates an added value regarding the atmosphere which cannot be bought." (E3)

["Nutze die momentane Nachfrage nach diesem neuen Wohn-, Arbeits- und Organisationsmodell. Nutze die Kraft, die in deine Quartiere hineinwirkt. Nutze den konstruktiven Spirit solcher Leute und die Vorarbeit, die sie unbezahlt hinter verschlossenen Türen in diesem Aufstellen der Baugruppe leisten - das schafft atmosphärisch solchen Mehrwert, den kann man nicht einmal kaufen."] (E3)

Furthermore, collaborative housing groups are co-producing the city. They are actively planning and designing their own building, which, presumably, is why they care more about it, compared to residents in more conventional housing types. What is more, collaborative housing groups also care more about their neighborhood and are also willing to contribute to its improvement. *Baugruppen* constitute added value for their neighborhoods because people do not only live there; they also create a positive environment through offering infrastructure and activities. Simply put, collaborative housing projects have social and physical effects on a neighborhood.

Social impact

Collaborative building projects have added value for the city on a social level. *Baugruppen* participants are interested in their neighborhood and in actively trying to improve it. They are committed to turn their project into a place that exudes openness and that has an activating effect on its surroundings.

> "There are *Baugruppen* who have an outside orientation and who say: We organize initiatives, we found something, we include the neighborhood, we offer something." (E2)

> ["Es gibt Baugruppen, die nach Außen gehen und sagen: wir machen Initiativen, wir gründen was, wir holen die Nachbarn herein, wir bieten was an."] (E2)

Collaborative housing groups create social value by addressing external non-members in several ways. Examples include: organizing initiatives such as clothes swap meetings; children's groups; music events; or collaborating with socio-political actors. Collaborative housing projects often have positive social effects on the neighborhood, simply because the people participating in such projects are socially more active. They are aware that their project will not save the world, but they regard it as an opportunity to make a small contribution. Projects that have spaces at their disposal can affect their neighborhood even more.

Physical impact

Making space available for the neighborhood can be referred to as the physical impact of *Baugruppen*.

> "Many Baugruppen say: Let's create space for diverse encounters and meetings." (E3)

> ["Viele Baugruppen sagen: Da schaffen wir doch Raum für vielfältige Treff- und Begegnungsmöglichkeiten."] (E3)

Collaborative building groups are interested in creating lively ground floor areas. Naturally, this is something that the neighborhood profits from. *Baugruppen* often create commercial spaces in areas where they would not exist if those spaces were rented out on the normal market. Collaborative housing groups are not business-oriented companies that are driven by the idea of making the most profit. Their motivation lies elsewhere: They want to create opportunities for encounters, for both the members of the group and the wider neighborhood. Examples of such spaces are: cafés, event locations, ateliers, co-working spaces, spaces for cultural events, bicycle repair shops, etc. Both, the physical and the social impact of *Baugruppen*, make them especially interesting for urban development areas (see category 3 below).

Community

The question whether the positive effects described above can also contribute to creating inclusive local communities is rather controversial. The answers to the question can be divided into two categories: 'yes' and 'yes, to some extent'.

Opinion 1: Yes, *Baugruppen* contribute to the creation of an inclusive local community

Baugruppen have great potential to add to the creation of a local community. They want to actively contribute something that brings people together so that neighborly relations can be generated (a sense of local community) (E2). Collaborative housing projects make a neighborhood more inclusive because of the physical and social impact they exert (E3).

Opinion 2: Yes, *Baugruppen* contribute to the creation of an inclusive local community but only in a limited way

To some extent, *Baugruppen* contribute to form a local community through their social and physical impact (E4). But whatever they offer, it is only a certain target group that is reached by them and not the entire neighborhood (ibid.). Offering activities that appeal to all population groups is, however, almost impossible (ibid.).

> "I think that those outward-oriented activities only reach a certain target group and not the entire neighborhood. But that is probably also inevitable. So, to a certain degree *Baugruppen* contribute to a neighborhood community, but not like the village church in former times." (E4)

> ["Ich glaube, dass diese nach außen orientierten Aktivitäten auch immer nur eine gewisse Zielgruppe erreichen und nicht das Grätzl insgesamt aber das ist wahrscheinlich auch unvermeidbar. Also in einem gewissen Ausmaß tragen *Baugruppen* schon zu einer Grätzl-Gemeinschaft bei, aber es ist jetzt nicht wie früher die Kirche im Dorf."] (E4)

Baugruppen only contribute to inclusive urban communities to a limited degree because the collaborative housing members are not too present in other community groups (E5). This is due to the fact that they are busy with their own project (ibid.). Collaborative housing members also do not need as much contact with non-members as they have abundant social relations within their project group (ibid.). While *Baugruppen* do have physical and social impacts, they are not concerned with community networking because they are too inward-looking to fulfil this task (ibid.). The task of creating a neighborhood community, therefore, stays with neighborhood management institutions (if such actors exist) (E5). The inside orientation of *Baugruppen* projects is also one of the most criticized points of the concept.

Negative effects on the neighborhood?

All negative effects of collaborative housing in Vienna are hypothetical assumptions. They have not been observed in Vienna yet and would also not be particularly problematic because only very few

projects exist so far (E4). Generally speaking, three negative effects of the concept can be identified: (1) inside orientation; (2) social exclusivity; and (3) social imbalance. First, *Baugruppen*, through the process of forming a group, automatically turn their back on other people. They naturally have an inside orientation as they would otherwise not form a group. This inside orientation entails the risk of them becoming social islands within a neighborhood. This is predominantly so for *Baugruppen* realized as ownership projects. This inside orientation is, however, often accompanied by a simultaneous outside orientation (physical and social impacts). This counter phenomenon minimizes the risk of collaborative housing projects becoming social islands. Second, *Baugruppen* are, in comparison to the average housing form, somewhat more expensive. This could lead to participation in collaborative housing projects only being possible for people from higher social classes. Such social exclusivity of individual projects could lead to social segregation within a neighborhood. The exclusivity of projects is, however, not a problem as long as other housing types are still produced and as long as not all *Baugruppen* projects are concentrated in one area of a neighborhood. Also, many *Baugruppen* actively want to integrate people from lower social classes and find creative solutions for this. Third, *Baugruppen* might lead to social imbalance because of their special power of articulation. Collaborative housing groups are organized groups that mostly consist of people who are able to communicate effectively. The fact that they already form a group makes it easier for them to appear as a single unit, compared to traditional residents who might not know each other and who are not organized. *Baugruppen* might use this to gain advantages. This might be even more relevant in urban development areas where the urban fabric and the organization of the area (bus routes, etc.) are still up for discussion.

3 Collaborative housing in urban development areas in Vienna

Most of the new *Baugruppen* projects in Vienna are being realized in urban development areas. This is mainly due to the availability of building plots. It is much easier for *Baugruppen* to receive land in new urban development areas. Whether building sites are reserved for collaborative housing projects (separate developer competitions) depends on the landowner. If the city is the landowner, it is easy to give some of it to *Baugruppen*. If the landowner, however, is a non-public actor who intends to make commercial use of the property, there might not be any building sites for *Baugruppen*. Non-public actors do not see a point in negotiating with collaborative housing groups when they can also negotiate with traditional developers, who act more professionally. The city, on the other hand, does see a point in giving land to *Baugruppen*. Social sustainability plays a major role in Vienna's social housing program and the municipality understands that *Baugruppen* projects can contribute to their goal of creating mixed urban quarters. Furthermore, new urban development areas are always running the risk of becoming dormitory neighborhoods where people only live but do not work or spend their leisure time. *Baugruppen* might be able to compensate such developments to some extent. Given that the

municipality also sees some advantages of having collaborative housing groups in those areas, could it be that collaborative housing projects are implemented as urban development tools?

> "I think it is an exaggeration to regard *Baugruppen* as a tool. They are an aspect that can bring additional quality. I would rather see them as a spice: They can make the difference."

> ["Ich halte es für übertrieben *Baugruppen* als Instrument zu sehen. Das ist ein zusätzlicher Aspekt, der Qualitäten bringen kann. Ich würde es eher als Gewürz sehen: Es kann den Unterschied ausmachen."] (E2)

Thus, *Baugruppen* in Vienna are not regarded as urban development tools but what role do they play in new urban development areas?

Baugruppen and the planning process of urban development areas

Collaborative housing projects do not play a special role in the planning process of urban development areas because the planning process takes place rather early. Most collaborative housing groups are formed after the planning concept for the area is completed. Hence, *Baugruppen* are involved in the planning of urban development areas just like other citizens: through public participation processes. In practice, *Baugruppen* members, however, show more interest in participation processes and are more likely to take part in them. While they are actively more involved, they do not have any legal claims for participation. *Baugruppen* should also not receive special attention in participation procedures as these should always represent the entire population that can participate in them. If collaborative housing members are overrepresented, it means that one population group is overrepresented, which might also lead to an imbalance.

> "I think that the potential for a neighborhood ultimately lies more in the utilization phase than in the planning stage." (E4)

> ["Ich glaube schlussendlich liegt das Potential für den Stadtteil eher in der Nutzungs- als in der Planungsphase."] (E4)

While *Baugruppen* are not relevant for the initial planning of urban development areas, they receive more attention at a later stage. In many urban development zones, neighborhood management institutions are installed. For those, *Baugruppen* are more relevant as they can be reached relatively early, compared to people moving into conventional buildings. Traditional developers often only allocate their apartments shortly before the buildings are finished or do not give the future resident list to the neighborhood management. In the *Seestadt Aspern*, the *Baugruppen* were crucial because a neighborhood management had already existed but did not have a counterpart. In principle, *Baugruppen* are an early group to contact. It should, however, not be forgotten that the people engaged in collaborative housing realize their projects parallel to their occupational and familial obligations. This is already time and energy consuming. If then, in addition to their private lives and their project

building, they are further asked to concern themselves with topics beyond that, they might simply be overwhelmed by that. To sum up, *Baugruppen* are not involved in the planning process of urban development areas as they form too late to play a role in this respect. They are, however, available at an earlier stage than other residents, which might be beneficial to neighborhood managements. Given that collaborative housing members are laypeople developing their projects in parallel to their normal lives, further involvement in the organization of new urban development areas might lead to people being overstrained.

The role of Baugruppen in new urban development areas

There is an ongoing discussion about new urban development areas and some of their characteristics in the field of urban planning and its related disciplines. The criticism focuses on: monofunctionality, quality of public space, quality of architecture, and the mixture of resident groups. In connection to these topics, *Baugruppen* may produce notable improvements. Collaborative housing projects make an urban development area more diverse, which is an added value itself. Moreover, *Baugruppen* also have the advantage of members assuming more responsibility for themselves and others. Knowing each other prior to moving in results in less conflict and, therefore, reduces public expenditures (e.g. less police deployments).

Urban development areas develop over time. Hence, they lack some of the infrastructure in the initial stages. *Baugruppen* are expected to counterbalance some of the lacks when they settle in.

> "As it was clear that not all services can be provided in the first stage, we assumed that *Baugruppen*, who are able to build and organize their own house, are also able to settle into an area and compensate for things that are still missing." (E2)

> ["Weil klar war, dass man nicht alles anbieten kann in der ersten Phase sind wir davon ausgegangen, dass *Baugruppen*, die in der Lage sind selbst ein Haus zu organisieren und zu errichten, auch in der Lage sind sich im Umfeld einzurichten und Dinge auszugleichen, die noch fehlen."] (E2)

This assumption is made because collaborative housing groups are actors that already function as a group. The organization as a collective facilitates the process of taking action. *Baugruppen* mostly contribute to improving a new urban development area by creating mixed-use ground floor zones, which are accessible for the wider neighborhood. In that respect, *Baugruppen* often create microeconomic business structures that would otherwise not exist. They are not primarily profit-oriented like other investors, which leads to small commercial spaces from which the neighborhood can profit. By doing so, they accelerate the process of turning a new residence zone into a lively neighborhood.

"…that is much easier with a *Baugruppe* because those are people who have a predominant approach along the lines: The organization of my immediate surroundings – yes, that concerns me, too." (E3)

["…das geht mit einer *Baugruppe* so viel leichter, weil das Leute sind, die vom Ansatz her überwiegend sagen: Gestaltung meines Lebensumfelds - jawohl das geht mich auch was an."] (E3)

In other words, one of the added values of *Baugruppen* in urban development zones is that they help in creating urban life. Besides that, collaborative housing groups can act as nodal points for other groups or individuals who want to participate more actively or who want to co-operate with the project. *Baugruppen* often provide space where neighbors can meet to discuss what the area lacks and how improvements can be put into practice.

"The potential of *Baugruppen* is that they constitute 'something' where civil society can be active and where people do not merely act as consumers. That's I think the potential added value." (E2)

["Das Potential liegt darin, dass *Baugruppen* etwas darstellen wo Gesellschaft aktiv sein kann und nicht nur Konsument. Das ist glaube ich der potentielle Mehrwert."] (E2)

Baugruppen in the context of participatory urban development

In general, *Baugruppen* fit well into the context of participatory urban development. However, this is a developing process, in which Vienna is still at an early stage. A 'culture of participation' has never fully developed in Vienna and the degree of self-organization is relatively low, especially compared to other cities such as Hamburg or Berlin. In recent years, however, citizen participation has also become increasingly important in Vienna. This is not surprising as citizen participation is a demand from the green party, which has been part of the government since 2010.

"There are parts of the red/green coalition (and the members of the green party for sure) who know that we have to redefine 'participation' in Vienna, that it is not just a little bit of informing and giving people a say. It is about actually giving participation a new role and maybe this also includes transferring parts of the responsibility to the citizens." (E3)

["Es gibt Teile von Rot/Grün (und Grüne auf jeden Fall), die wissen wir müssen 'Partizipation' in Wien neu definieren. Da geht es nicht nur um ein bisschen informieren und ein bisschen mitspielen lassen, sondern darum der Partizipation wirklich eine andere Rolle zu geben und darum den BürgerInnen vielleicht auch einen Teil der Verantwortung zu übergeben."] (E3)

The municipality is currently working on re-defining the old word 'participation' and has thought about which kind of participation the city wants to promote. This means that participation will also be important in the future, provided that the green party remains a part of the next city government. Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done. After all, participation is a two-way street; it also needs citizens who want to become active.

> "It needs both sides. The city cannot just say: We would now like to introduce participatory planning. Because this also requires citizens on the other side, who have such claims and make use of it." (E4)

> ["Es braucht ja beide Seiten. Also es kann nicht die Stadt sagen: Wir würden jetzt gern partizipativ planen. Weil es braucht auf der anderen Seite ja auch BürgerInnen, die das einfordern und auch in Anspruch nehmen."] (E4)

Collaborative housing is about active reflected people who claim participation in urban development. Integrating the concept into the social housing sector means providing the citizens with two possibilities. On the one hand, they can be consumers (public housing and conventional subsidized housing), and, on the other hand, they can become co-producers of the urban fabric in the form of *Baugruppen*.

4 Remarks about the case study

The Wohnprojekt Wien's added value

Asked about the added value of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, the physical impact of the project is highlighted. One of these aspects is the *Salon*, a small café on the ground floor of the building.

> "In a new urban development area that is something special because it takes some time until cafés and restaurants settle in (at least those with a profit-oriented approach). Usually, that takes some time and it has been boring for some time already." (E3)

> ["In einem Neubaugebiet ist ja das etwas ganz Besonderes, weil bis die andere Gastronomie (in einem bisschen rentableren Sinne) eintrifft, da muss man meistens warten - da war es schon eine ganze Zeit langweilig."] (E3)

Furthermore, the event location of the project (the so-called *Flexraum*) was reported to have significant added value. Many events take place in it and people have the opportunity to meet each other and exchange information. The neighborhood management, for instance, was also able to organize some information events there without being charged by the project. The *Baugruppe* had already established contact with the neighborhood management before construction of their project had begun. The project is also openly accessible, meaning there are no fences, which influences the atmosphere of the neighborhood. Furthermore, the transparency of the entire ground floor and the fact that the bicycle storage is located at the back of the building were emphasized. The *Wohnprojekt* further impacts its surrounding area by cultivating the space around the trees in front of the building. While the project did not initiate this activity, they instantly took part in it and have been fulfilling this task ever since. Moreover, on a social level, residents' positive attitude towards the multiple usage of the neighboring school premises was reported.

Creating a community?

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* members do not participate in other community groups within the neighborhood. While the project does offer space for events, it does not organize regular low-threshold activities, which could help in establishing a closer neighborhood network.

Perception of the neighborhood

The *Baugruppe* is perceived in different ways by the neighborhood. The *Wohnprojekt* reaches the people who are interested:

> "Those people who show a little interest in such things are aware of the project. People who do not conduct extra research or so might not even know about it." (E5)

> ["Für die Leute, die sich ein bisschen für solche Dinge interessieren, die kennen das Projekt. Diejenigen die da nicht extra recherchieren oder so, die nehmen das gar nicht so wahr."] (E5)

Therefore, many people living in the wider neighborhood do not know about the *Wohnprojekt Wien* and many know the *Salon* while not knowing about the project. Some see the project very critically and perceive it as elitist. Others, however, value the project, especially the *Salon*.

The Nordbahnhof neighborhood: Future collaborative housing developments

New *Baugruppen* will play a role in the future development of the *Nordbahnhof* area. Whether this will be simple is subject to debate. On the one hand, the establishment of new *Baugruppen* will be easy because the second district is currently governed by the green party (E3). On the other hand, the establishment of new *Baugruppen* is also problematic because the city has less influence in this urban development area since the landowner had sold the land relatively early to a private consortium (E4). How willing the landowners are to collaborate with *Baugruppen* is unknown at this point.

4.2.2 The residents' perspective: Findings from qualitative in-depth interviews with residents

This section presents the perspective of residents living in a collaborative housing project and their opinions on how their project impacts the neighborhood. The findings result from a summarizing content analysis that was conducted with the material gathered through qualitative in-depth interviews with residents of the case study project *Wohnprojekt Wien* (anonymous list see appendix C) as well as through focus group discussions with members of the same project. As with the expert interview set, this section merely presents the findings from the empirical field work. The discussion of the results follows in section 4.3. The structure of this report is based on the main categories of the coding frame. The interviewees' codes have only been added to direct quotes (R = resident; FG = focus group). First, the case study's general organization regarding neighborhood impact is presented. Second, the

neighborhood impact is described in more detail and the question of community is addressed. Third, results regarding the project's involvement in urban development processes are summarized. Finally, the report deals with the self-reflection of interviewees and presents a future outlook for the project and its impact on the neighborhood.

1 The project's organization regarding neighborhood impact

The Wohnprojekt Wien's aims regarding neighborhood impact

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* always had the aim to positively impact its neighborhood. The impact is mentioned in the project's guidelines, the so-called *Vision*, where it says that the project wants to be an integral part of the neighborhood. The aim to positively affect the neighborhood is also part of the project's strategic orientation towards a sustainable lifestyle. In this respect, the *Wohnprojekt* is also open for cooperation and contacts. However, specific aims for the impact on the neighborhood were never formulated and there is no detailed masterplan that is being followed. While there always was a positive attitude towards the wider neighborhood and the willingness to be open for external people, it was never quite clear what this positive impact should be. Therefore, there are various opinions on the issue of neighborhood impact among the project members. Broadly speaking, two opinions exist: On the one hand, there are residents who see the impact as a sociopolitical task to bring about changes in society. On the other hand, there are residents who care more about their private space being intruded and rather focus on the perpetuation of the member community. Thus, there always is a field of tension between the project's internal and external orientation.

> "This is always a field of tension: external effects vs. a good life on the inside. That's also an issue of resources and not all members share the aspiration to have external effects." (FG3)

> ["Das ist immer ein Spannungsfeld: nach Außen wirken vs. Innen gut leben. Das ist auch eine Ressourcenfrage und nicht alle teilen das nach Außen wirken."] (FG3)

Not all members of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* advocate the project's outside orientation. The ones interviewed, however, all support such endeavors and are sure that their project has added value that goes beyond their own building, especially when compared to other subsidized housing projects (e.g. conventional cooperative housing projects). The aims, as understood by the residents who support the project's outside orientation, can be summarized as follows:

- including external people and giving them an understanding of the project's guidelines and values
- organizing initiatives/events for and with the neighborhood to create a livelier neighborhood
- conveying the project's attitude towards ecological sustainability to external people.

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- showing that other forms of living are possible and to convey the project's collaborative approach
- being non-exclusionary; having an open approach towards the wider neighborhood and a kind of 'curiosity' about the neighborhood's fellow residents
- having an impact on society regarding sociopolitical issues (not merely influencing the *Nordbahnhof* neighborhood)

It was highlighted that the impact on the neighborhood is still work-in-progress. One resident put it as follows:

> "It was just like: Let's see what happens. We have a positive approach and are open towards the people. But this is a slow development – we never said we have to reach something in a certain period of time or that there is something we have to reach no matter what. It was simply one of our sub-goals to be an integral part of the neighborhood." (R1)

> ["Das war einfach so: Wir schauen was passiert und was kommt. Wir gehen mit einer positiven Einstellung hinaus und sind offen für die Leute. Das ist jedoch eine langsame Entwicklung - wir haben nie gesagt wir müssen bis zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt etwas erreichen oder dass wir irgendetwas unbedingt erreichen wollen, sondern es war einfach die Teilzielsetzung, dass wir ein Teil vom Grätzl sind."] (R1)

To sum up, the case study's aims regarding neighborhood impact are rather vague. The overall aim, however, has always been to assure that the project is not cut-off from its surrounding area and that it is an integral part of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood impact and how it is organized

In the initial phase of the project, the group was more concerned with itself than with its outside orientation, since the entire administration of the project had to be set up first. This included long discussion processes about general organizational issues. This phase was very intense and demanding for the members, which is why the impact on the neighborhood was somehow neglected at this stage. The neighborhood networking group, for instance, was only founded at a later point.

As mentioned above, not all members are interested in the issue of the project's neighborhood impact. All members have their own personal fields of interests and the topic of the neighborhood is covered by some of them.

"Our collaborative housing project is characterized by the fact that we appreciate diversity […] and that is also why not all of us are going to take the same view. I, for one, think that it is important that we do not only live better, but that we also contribute something to the neighborhood. And not only the neighborhood, but also for certain groups of our society – of course it will always only be a small part but making a contribution is important to me." (R5)

["Unser Wohnprojekt zeichnet sich auch dadurch aus, dass wir Diversität schätzen […] und deswegen werden wir auch sicher nicht alle dieselbe Meinung vertreten. Ich bin jedenfalls der Meinung, dass es wichtig ist, dass wir nicht nur schöner wohnen, sondern dass wir auch etwas beitragen für das Grätzl. Und nicht nur die Nachbarschaft, sondern auch für bestimmte Gruppen der Gesellschaft - natürlich wirds immer nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt sein, aber dieses auch was beitragen ist mir halt einfach wichtig."] (R5)

In respect to the members' activity for the neighborhood, it must be differentiated between three levels: (1) members who are active and initiate events; (2) members who support the events being organized in some way or another (e.g. by baking a cake); and (3) members who participate in the events taking place. It is being estimated that more than 50 % of the project members are active on one of these three levels.

The project's sociocratic governance model results in several groups that are concerned with the impact on the neighborhood. The two most often associated with the project's outside orientation are the solidarity group (*UG Solidarität*) and the neighborhood networking group (*UG Grätzl-vernetzungsgruppe*). The solidarity group was already planned by the founders of the project and existed before the construction of the building had begun. The group understands itself as being responsible for solidarity within the project but also to show solidarity within society. The neighborhood networking group came into existence after the members had moved into their building. The group has regular meetings and has recently become more organized than it was before, so that more activities are being expected. While those two groups are the obvious ones concerned with the project's impact on the neighborhood/society, the project's outside orientation is also an issue in other groups. The group for ecological sustainability (*UG Ökologie*), for instance, has thought about how their experiences concerning the topic can also be made available for external people living in the neighborhood. The groups also do not work independently but co-operate with each other. In the example about ecological sustainability, this led to a collaboration between the ecology group, the solidarity group and the neighborhood networking group. Together they organized an event about the shelf-life of groceries. Project members are often part of several groups, which leads to certain overlaps and facilitates such activities.

Generally speaking, the organization of the *Wohnprojekt* is rather professional. Each group has some general aims and the members are also asked to periodically report the developments to the entire group. The groups can act independently according to their overall orientation. If, however, a group wants to start a bigger initiative where more resources are needed, the leader circle (*Leitungskreis*) must be involved. While the organization is rather professional, the *Wohnprojekt* does not have a

marketing department like professional companies. Therefore, initiatives that are organized are not advertised on a large scale. The project's main channels of information distribution are Facebook and an email newsletter. The project does not have the resources to address people directly and invite them to events. The main approach could be called 'word-of-mouth advertising' and initiatives are seen as something that can develop slowly.

> "It is a major challenge to make all of that known and we do not have so many resources. But that is an organic development I would say […] We have all the time in the world. Hopefully, we will still live here in 25 years and a lot can develop during that time." (R5)

> ["Das ist schon auch a ziemlicher Auftrag das alles bekannt zu machen und wir haben nicht so viele Ressourcen. Aber das entwickelt sich organisch würde ich sagen. […] Wir haben ja jede Zeit der Welt. Wir werden hoffentlich in 25 Jahren auch noch da wohnen und da kann sich ja noch einiges entwickeln."] (R5)

In principle, there is also a clear distinction whether something is done on behalf of the project or as a private citizen. If members want to act on behalf of the project, they must coordinate themselves with the other members, especially concerning sociopolitical activities. Many good ideas concerning neighborhood impact exist and are developed in the *Wohnprojekt*. However, they are often not being realized due to other project-related obligations. Much is demanded from the members and so ideas in connection with the neighborhood are often not implemented due to time issues. So far, it has been established that members often do not have time for neighborhood impact activities or are generally not interested in this topic. This leads to the question: What are the strategies of the project to prevent becoming a 'social island'?

Strategies of inclusion and exclusion

Finding the balance between inclusion and exclusion is a difficult task and relates to the field of tension between inside and outside orientation. On the one hand, the project wants to be open but, on the other hand, there is also a strong need for privacy. This issue also led to conflict at the beginning of the project, especially in connection with guided tours through the building. The project group shows their building to people by offering tours. For this, the project has started a professional inquiry management for people interested in the project. This is also seen as an opportunity for people to get in contact with the project. Many people have visited the project and were given tours by members. In the initial stage this did not always go smoothly:

> "There have been residents who showed the sauna to a tour group although it was being used by other project members at that time…this led to strong protests." (R2)

> ["Es gab Leute die haben Menschen in die Sauna geführt obwohl sie benützt wurde…da gab es schon heftige Proteste."] (R2)

Problems like these were solved by starting a discussion process within the project. A new sub-group was formed who dealt with the topic 'public/private'. A solution was reached by implementing rules for guided tours. The rules include, for instance, a limitation of possible tours per month or the fact that visitors are not allowed to take photographs with people in it.

The *Wohnprojekt* also participated in the event 'Open House', where people from the neighborhood could visit their building. This was also not accepted by everyone:

> "After the first 'Open House' there were a lot of voices in the house, who said: We don't want that. Why are people coming all the time to see our house? That is my private space. We then started a process where we said: Some of us think it is utterly important that what we do here does not take place on an island but that it is an attempt to make a difference, socio-politically speaking. And that also means that we let other people in, and, at least, explain to them what we do here or what is important to us." (R3)

> ["Nach dem ersten open-house gab es ganz viele Stimmen aus dem Haus, die gesagt haben: wir wollen das nicht. Warum kommen da ständig Leute das Haus anschauen? Das ist mein privater Raum. Wir haben dann einen Prozess gemacht wo wir gesagt haben: Einige sehen das als sehr wichtig an, dass das was wir hier machen nicht auf der Insel stattfindet, sondern dass es ein Versuch ist gesellschaftspolitisch etwas zu bewegen. Und das bedeutet auch, dass wir andere Menschen hier reinlassen und zumindest erklären was wir hier tun oder was uns wichtig ist."] (R3)

Being open for the neighborhood is also problematic in terms of theft. A considerable number of bikes, for example, had been stolen at the beginning of the project. Another strategy of the *Wohnprojekt* members is to proactively approach external people within the building and talk to them.

A strategy to include the neighborhood is that the project is a platform where everyone can participate if wanted because nobody is explicitly excluded. In terms of inclusion, the *Wohnprojekt* is much more open if compared to a conventional subsidized housing project. One of the interviewees compares the project to a soccer club:

> "If I also want to play soccer, then I can join in. And with us it is similar: Somebody who also enjoys doing things we do, then this person is welcome at events. And when a person is not interested in what we are doing, then this person will not come to us." (R4)

> ["Wenn ich auch Fußball spielen will, kann ich dazukommen. Und so ähnlich ist das bei uns: Jemand der auch gerne tut was wir tun, der ist bei Veranstaltungen willkommen. Und wenn jemanden das was wir tun nicht interessiert, dann wird er nicht zu uns kommen."] (R4)

Another strategy is the sharing of space. The project rents its event location and shares the communal kitchen with non-members. The project wants to be inclusive and the strategy to assure this can be summed up as follows:

> "We want to be open for all people and that's why we have the *Salon*, the neighborhood networking group, and the solidarity group – and those are our strategies that prevent us from becoming an island." (R1)

> ["Wir wollen offen sein für alle und deswegen gibt es auch den *Salon*, die UG Grätzl und die UG Solidarität - und das sind die Strategien um keine Insel zu werden."] (R1)

But do those strategies lead to a long-term impact on the neighborhood? According to the residents, the *Wohnprojekt* groups are the tools that lead to continuity and long-term inclusion of external neighbors.

> "The groups are not depending on one or two individuals but are *Wohnprojekt* projects. Insofar, there will always be people – when some cease to be engaged, others will take their place. Thus, the *Wohnprojekt* demonstrates stability, I think." (R1)

> ["Die Gruppen hängen nicht an einer oder zwei Privatperson, sondern das sind *Wohnprojekt*-Projekte. Insofern wird es immer Leute geben - wenn die einen aufhören, dann werden andere kommen. So sichert das Wohnprojekt glaube ich schon eine Beständigkeit."] (R1)

Due to the fact that there are not only private individuals, but an entire body of people involved, the *Wohnprojekt* ensures a long-term impact on the neighborhood.

2 The project's impact on the neighborhood and its contribution to a sense of community

The impact on the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* can be divided in three different categories: (1) impact through physical space; (2) impact due to being a member of a network of local actors; and (3) impact on the individual level. All three categories have fuzzy boundaries and clearly overlap at some points.

Impact through physical space

The case study project affects the neighborhood by providing physical space for activities. That the physical space should have an impact on the neighborhood had already been taken into consideration in the design of the building. The project's event location, the so-called *Flexraum* (flexible room), provides space for hosting all kinds of events (Christmas markets, children concerts, etc.). The *Flexraum* has a tiered pricing system, so that groups from the neighborhood who organize something for the neighborhood can either rent the room for free or at a lower price. Private institutions holding seminars, on the other hand, must pay a higher fee. Other communal spaces are also shared with the wider neighborhood. The project's meditation room is used for yoga lessons, which are instructed by an external teacher once per week. The yoga classes are taken by some people living in the building. Most participants, however, are external people living in the wider neighborhood of the project.

Regarding the open space, the project building is explicitly designed to be open. It does not have any fences and a passage was opened for other citizens to walk through. The 'public space' that is thereby created also leads to some negative feelings among project members. Furthermore, the communal kitchen and the entrance area are open and visible, which often leads to contact with external neighbors.

> "One can look very well into our communal areas. There are always people coming by who ask what we are doing here. That makes interaction certainly easier […] other buildings have garden apartments there." (R1)

> ["Man sieht gut in die Gemeinschaftsräume rein und es kommen immer welche vorbei und fragen was wir da machen. Das macht die Interaktion auf jeden Fall einfacher […] andere Häuser haben da ihre Gartenwohnungen"]. (R1)

The integration of commercial spaces on the ground floor also impacts the neighborhood. The *Salon am Park*, the café located in the ground floor of the *Wohnprojekt*, plays the most important role in this respect. Whether the *Salon* is part of the project is a rather complex issue. Many *Wohnprojekt* members did not want the association to run a café due to the amount of work and for financial reasons. This is why the *Salon* started out as a private initiative founded by 8 residents living in the *Wohnprojekt*. Legally speaking it is a limited corporation (*GmbH*) which is financially de-coupled from the *Wohnprojekt* association. The founders used their private money to fund the café and it is only them who can be hold financially responsible. However, the *Wohnprojekt* does support the *Salon* in two ways. First, the *Salon* owners pay a lower rent for the commercial space than other actors would pay for renting the place. Second, the residents of the *Wohnprojekt* who work at the café do so for the project, or in other words: they can deduct their *Salon* hours from the 110 hours that should be worked for the project per year. This was, however, preceded by a long discussion within the project community and not clear from the very beginning. The founders of the *Salon* run the café next to their vocational activities and always wanted to create a space for the project but also for the people from the wider neighborhood.

> "The Salon does not act on behalf of the *Wohnprojekt*. We very much welcome the fact that somebody fulfils exactly the function we want to have towards neighborhood networking, but they do not have an explicit instruction." (R4)

> ["Der Salon agiert nicht im Auftrag des *Wohnprojekts*. Es ist uns sehr willkommen, dass jemand genau diese Funktionen die wir haben möchten Richtung Grätzlvernetzung, aber sie haben keinen expliziten Auftrag."] (R4)

The *Salon* is a space for members and non-members alike with clear opening hours. It is open to the general public and fulfils several functions: It is a small local supplier (*Greissler*), a café, as well as an organizer of events. It is described as a neutral space, where everybody can come to drink coffee and get in contact with members of the project or other residents from the neighborhood. It is the only low-threshold access to the *Wohnprojekt* and central to the outward orientation of the project.

"It is not conflict-free that the *Salon* still needs support. But what the *Salon* contributes to the house and the neighborhood is so much more I would say. […] It is a very important gate to the outside and the inside – simply an awesome communication hub. And what the staff members contribute is very important for the networking in the neighborhood – in there people talk to each other, nowhere as much as in there." (R5)

["Es ist nicht konfliktfrei, dass der *Salon* immer noch Mitunterstützung braucht. Aber das was der *Salon* zum Haus und zur Nachbarschaft beitragt ist ja ein Vielfaches würde ich sagen. […] Der ist ein ganz wichtiges Tor nach Außen und nach Innen - einfach eine Kommunikationsdrehscheibe der Sonderklasse. Und auch was die MitarbeiterInnen da leisten, das ist für diese Grätzlvernetzung ganz wichtig - dort unten wird miteinander geredet, also nirgendwo wird so viel miteinander geredet wie dort."] (R5)

To sum up, the physical impact on the neighborhood consists of: The event location (*Flexraum*); the open architecture of the building; and the commercial spaces, especially the *Salon*. The existence of such physical spaces might also affect the atmosphere of the *Nordbahnhof* area by making it livelier.

Impact due to being a member of a network of local actors

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* impacts the neighborhood by being part of a network of local actors. From its start, the project was trying to establish contact with other local actors (*Gebietsbetreuung*, *Integrationshaus*, *Stuwerviertelverein*, etc.). The project made itself known and positioned itself as a nodal point in the network of the neighborhood. The solidarity group and the neighborhood networking group are mainly the ones to fulfil this networking function. Residents of the wider neighborhood are also active and open and so the *Wohnprojekt* is not the only actor in the area who wants to get in contact with other initiatives. The project has the potential to fulfil a hub function for neighborhood actors. The project's potential as such has been demonstrated during the refugee crisis in 2015 where the *Wohnprojekt* functioned as the local hub for refugee support. The project functioned as a place where clothing and other items were collected. This created short distances for neighbors who also wanted to help and provided a platform for neighbors who wanted to become more active. Due to the fact that some residents of the *Wohnprojekt* work professionally in the field of migration, it was easy for the project to find the right access to existing structures and organizations. Furthermore, the money gathered through events has been used to organize German language courses for female refugees. This was another way in which the *Wohnprojekt* established contact with actors such as the *Diakonie* or the *Caritas*. The language courses took place in the communal kitchen of the project. Through the German courses, the *Wohnprojekt* did not only become known as a local actor but also beyond the borders of their own neighborhood. Another example is the project's co-operation with a local bookshop. The bookshop sold books in the *Salon*, where books could be ordered and were then delivered to the *Wohnprojekt*. This initiative is theoretically open for the wider neighborhood. However, only few non-members know about it.

As mentioned above, one of the project's aims is to impact the neighborhood in terms of ecological sustainability. The project runs its own food co-op (food cooperative) where the purchasing of food

products is done collectively. In this respect, the project co-operates with local farmers and distributors for the acquisition of organic and locally grown products. The plan was to open the food co-op for the wider neighborhood. This, however, turned out to be rather complicated due to problems with the access to the building. The food co-op does not have opening hours and the entrance to the storage is only possible via the *Wohnprojekt* building. External users would need a key to the *Wohnprojekt*, which would give them access to the rest of the house as well. Currently, some people from the wider neighborhood are part of the food co-op because they know people from the house with whom they arrange the pick-up of products. This, however, only works for a certain number of people. In order to open the food co-op for the wider neighborhood, the project would need to find a solution for the access problem. Furthermore, the group must have the resources to administer a larger food co-op. Another way in which the project acts as a nodal point regarding ecological sustainability is the reception of boxes that contain fresh vegetables, the so-called *GELA-Kistl*. The box is delivered by a company that stands for solidarity in agriculture, which unloads the boxes at the *Salon*. This service is also available to people from the neighborhood, who can then pick up their box at the café. Currently, about 50 % of the people obtaining boxes are living in the project's wider neighborhood.

The *Wohnprojekt* also contributes to a local actor network by being a platform where ideas can be multiplied. Within the project community many topics are being discussed, which leads to an active exchange of ideas (see also the section on urban development on this issue). The *Wohnprojekt Wien* as an actor in a network of local players is still in its infancy. With time, the role of the project in this respect shall be strengthened – but "those things take time" (R3) ["Diese Dinge brauchen Zeit"] (R3).

Impact on the individual level

The case study project has an impact on the neighborhood on an individual level. It was planned to open the project to external people by giving them the possibility to become members (membership without living). This, however, has so far not been realized as the project members are faced with some difficulties in this respect. The idea was that people who are members of the association but are not living in the building could use the project's repair shop and the sauna. The problem, however, is the access to the building: Do those people need keys? Or if not, who lets them into the building? The group also does not know what their benefit of such memberships would be. Also, if the users of those spaces were members of the association, they would also have to be invited to meetings, which gives rise to many more questions: What would be discussed in those meetings? Would they have a voting right? Could they also be elected? Those are further questions that must be addressed.

"We wanted to have a membership without living [in the *Wohnprojekt*] but that is also something we haven't succeeded in yet. It would need a new group that comes together and thinks about: What does a membership without living mean? How much should the membership fee be? What are the advantages of being a member? Whereby we also don't know what we get out of this." (R2)

["Diese Mitgliedschaft ohne wohnen [im *Wohnprojekt*] hätten wir uns gewünscht, aber das ist auch so etwas, das wir nicht auf die Reihe bekommen. Da bräuchte es halt wieder einmal eine Gruppe, die sagt wir setzten uns mal hin und überlegen uns: Was bedeutet eigentlich Mitgliedschaft ohne wohnen? Was soll das für ein Mitgliedsbeitrag sein? Was haben die davon, dass die Mitglied sind? Wobei wir da ja auch selber nicht wissen was der Profit für uns ist."] (R2)

The project also offers communal lunches, where each person can pay a certain price for a meal and, in return, is asked to cook approximately two times per month for the other participants. This is mainly used by the architecture company that is located within the project building as well as by residents who also work within the building. The communal lunch was open to the neighborhood in the past. Some external members have participated but stopped doing so after a short period of time. Currently, the communal lunches are closed for individual external neighbors due to the fact that the communal lunch has its limits and that there are already many registrations from within the project (residents together with employees of the architecture company).

On the individual level, the project also impacts the neighborhood by organizing initiatives and events. One of the largest events organized by the *Wohnprojekt* is the so-called *Soliflohmarkt* (solidarity flea market). This flea market takes place once a year and is organized by the project's solidarity group. It always has a certain goal for what the profit is going to be used for (e.g. German language courses for female refugees). At the same time, the project also tries to reach the neighborhood residents with this event and attracts people of all ages with it. The flea market always offers a diverse program of entertainment as well as foods and drinks. Besides this large event, the project organizes several smaller ones throughout the year. These include discussions, lectures, movie presentations, and much more besides. Many of those events have a (socio-)political background. Currently in the planning is an event where the wider neighborhood comes together to eat and celebrate (*Lange Tafel*). Often, events are organized by the *Wohnprojekt* community, who then also makes up most of the participants. As the project wants more people to participate, the *Lange Tafel* event is organized in collaboration with residents from the wider neighborhood.

Another initiative by the *Wohnprojekt Wien* is a regular newsletter that informs people about the events in the *Nordbahnhof* neighborhood. The newsletter includes general events by the project, events in the *Salon*, or events that merely take place in the project's premises. What is more, the newsletter also contains external events (e.g. events that have to do with the still-ongoing urban development of the neighborhood). Moreover, the newsletter includes events that have to do with ecological sustainability or other socio-political issues in general that are important to the collaborative housing group.

How do these three types of impact influence the sense of community within the Nordbahnhof neighborhood?

The above-mentioned impacts lead to the question of who is being reached by them and ultimately poses the question: Do the effects of the project influence the sense of community within the neighborhood? The answers to these questions are very diverse. Who is reached by events depends on the type of impact. Some of the events (e.g. lectures, discussions, etc.) attract rather educated people, while other events such as the flea market attract various groups of the population. Generally, the project members feel that it is difficult to mobilize people and that much is dependent on other factors such as the weather. In principle, project members have rather divided positions on the community question.

Some think that the *Wohnprojekt* only reaches a certain group of the neighborhood population and that it, therefore, does not affect the sense of community in the neighborhood.

> "The *Salon* customers are reached. Who is that? That's the – if I may say so – bobo (bourgeois Bohemian) class. The others we do not really reach." (R2)

> ["Das *Salon*-Klientel wird halt erreicht. Wer ist das? Das ist die - ich sag' mal – Bobo-Schicht. Die anderen werden eigentlich nicht wirklich erreicht."] (R2)

People with a migration background and people from lower social classes, for instance, do not visit the Salon. This might also be due to the fact that the Salon offers organic products, which naturally tend to be more expensive. Some project members criticize that the *Wohnprojekt* events are too intellectual or political and, therefore, exclude other groups of the population. This has also been a topic of discussion in the neighborhood networking group, which shows the willingness to organize more events with a lower-threshold to cater for all groups of the neighborhood. Furthermore, it is criticized that a sense of community that goes beyond the project does not exist. The *Wohnprojekt*, for instance, shares the raised-bed gardens with the neighboring house. The two buildings entered the developer competition together (see section 4.1.4) and the gardens were collaboratively developed. Despite the organization of garden parties, a sense of community does not really exist.

> "We have a garden party at the raised-bed gardens once a year and there are two tables: The members of the *Wohnprojekt* sit at one table and the people from the neighboring house on the other one. […] somehow, it is still a little difficult for a community to develop." (R2)

> ["Wir haben einmal im Jahr bei den Hochbeeten ein Gartenfest und da gibt es dann zwei Tische: An einem sitzen die Leute vom *Wohnprojekt* und am anderen sitzen die vom Nachbarhaus. […] irgendwie ist es noch schwierig, dass da jetzt wirklich Gemeinschaft entsteht."] (R2)

Generally, given the fact that the two buildings entered the developer competition together, there is little exchange between the two houses.

Other project members have a different approach to the sense of community and think that the *Wohnprojekt* makes a contribution in this respect. The *Wohnprojekt*, unlike a public administration, must not have the aim to reach every group of the population. After all, not all social groups want to intermix with other social groups. In this understanding, the project contributes to a sense of community in the neighborhood as it is a platform, which is willing to accept new people. Projects like these will never have connections to the entire neighborhood as this is not even possible. And this always has to be seen in comparison to a conventional housing project (e.g. cooperative housing):

> "If somebody lives in normal cooperative housing project: What does this person do? How many people does he know in his surrounding area? What does he do? Maybe nothing. […] I think that we also reach unprivileged groups of society and we do not exclude anyone. But our offerings might also not be interesting for everyone." (R4)

> ["Wenn jemand in einem normalen Genossenschaftsbau wohnt: Was macht diese Person? Wie viele Personen kennt der im Umfeld? Was tut der? Vielleicht gar nichts. […] Ich glaube, dass wir gesellschaftlich nicht so privilegierte Gruppen auch immer wieder ansprechen und wir schließen niemanden aus. Aber unser Angebot ist vielleicht auch nicht für alle interessant."] (R4)

The project has a higher density of social contacts than conventional housing projects and, thus, contributes to a sense of community for those people who want to be a part of it. Thinking along these lines, the *Salon* also contributes to the sense of community in the neighborhood. The café barely has walk-in customers, which means most of the costumers are regulars. Among these regular customers much social interaction takes place.

> "We hardly have walk-in customers. […] Most of the customers are regulars and of course there is lively exchange. Also friendships have developed…and people just know each other – and there are still new people joining in." (R1)

> ["Wir haben kaum Laufkundschaft. […] Das meiste sind Stammkunden und natürlich ist da der totale Austausch. Da sind auch schon Freundschaften entstanden…und da kennen sich die Leute - und es kommen immer neue Leute trotzdem dazu."] (R1)

Some of the events organized by *Wohnprojekt* also strengthen the community aspect. The project (more specifically, the solidarity group and the neighborhood networking group), has organized events, together with another local actor (the *Integrationshaus*), where people were invited to talk to each other about various topics. In one of those events, which took place on the street outside of the project building, a speed-dating-like event was organized, in which people were asked to talk to another person about their neighborhood (the park, what they wanted to change if they could, etc.).

The possibility for the wider neighborhood to rent some of the spaces also contributes to a sense of community. The *Flexraum* is meant to be a space for integration and dialogue. Integration needs physical space to take place. It needs spaces that are not only available to a certain group of the population. Whether the *Flexraum* will be understood as such a space remains to be seen. However, two examples were mentioned that suggest it could. The *Flexraum* hosted a Turkish children's concert

and a big birthday party for an African family. Both groups probably heard about the location through word-of-mouth advertising. The project members, therefore, think that it may take more time to reach a larger number of people.

> "I think we are self-critical and we know that we cannot immediately reach the entire diverse urban population, but with time that might change." (R5)

> ["Wir sind glaub ich selbstkritisch und wissen, dass wir nicht sofort die ganze diverse Stadtbevölkerung erreichen, aber mit der Zeit ändert sich das vielleicht noch."] (R5)

3 The Wohnprojekt Wien and urban development

In terms of residents, the *Wohnprojekt* wanted to achieve a mixed-income composition. This was not easy as it is a middle-class project that is relatively expensive. Due to that, the members decided to include two solidarity apartments, which means that the people living in those apartments did not have to pay an equity share and are also paying a lower rent. This is financed by the other residents. Naturally, this does not affect urban development in any significant way but still made a small contribution to prevent social segregation.

Before the project was built in the new urban development area *Nordbahnhof*, the *Wohnprojekt* was part of an official public participation process. The *Wohnprojekt* – in collaboration with the citizens' initiative *Lebenswerter Nordbahnhof* (Livable Northern Railway Neighborhood) – was asked for an individual interview at the beginning of the process. Later in the participation process, the *Wohnprojekt* could send one person who was guaranteed to be able to participate. The rest of the participants were determined by the drawing of lots. The fact that many project members were willing to participate, led to the fact that about 10 *Wohnprojekt* members took part in the process. The residents' participation in the process also counted as work hours for the project.

Now that the project is built, the *Wohnprojekt* carries on being interested in the urban development processes that are still taking place. The activities in this respect, however, are not exclusively organized by the project. Rather, there is a close co-operation with the citizens' initiative *Lebenswerter Nordbahnhof*. The initiative is very active regarding the current development processes and some residents are also part of the initiative.

> "We also have some experience because we already live here. That is also why I think it is good that we can be a part of those initiatives. But that's diffusing – that is not exclusively the *Wohnprojekt*." (R1)

> ["Wir haben halt auch schon Erfahrung, weil wir hier leben. Deswegen ist das glaube ich sehr gut, dass wir das einbringen können in diesen Initiativen. Aber das vermischt sich eben schon - das ist nicht *Wohnprojekt* exklusiv."] (R1)

The initiative organizes regular so-called *Nordbahnhofvorlesungen* (Northern Railway Neighborhood Lectures) in which various topics are discussed: future developments, guiding principles for the area, which developers acquired which building plots, and so on. These lectures take place in the *Wohnprojekt Wien* – free of charge.

> "That is a close cooperation. The lectures are taking place in the *Wohnprojekt*, we participate, and we multiply." (R5)

> ["Das ist eine enge Kooperation. Die Vorlesungen finden im *Wohnprojekt* statt, wir nehmen teil und wir multiplizieren."] (R5)

These lectures are organized by the citizens' initiative and take place on the premises of the Wohnprojekt Wien. This also leads to the fact that many residents (who are not members of the citizens' initiative) attend those lectures and inform themselves about current developments. What is more, those attendees then function as multipliers and transport the information to other people.

It was also mentioned that the project shapes the social fabric of the area and provides a point for orientation in people's mental maps. Such points are considered especially important in new urban development areas.

4 Self-evaluation and reflections

Perception of the Wohnprojekt Wien

Asked about how the project is perceived by people from the wider neighborhood, project members report a rather mixed perception of the *Wohnprojekt*.

> "I think we are perceived in mixed ways. But I do not have the feeling that we are an oasis which is frowned at by everyone." (R2)

> ["Ich glaube, dass das gemischt ist wie wir hier aufgefasst werden. Aber ich habe jetzt nicht das Gefühl, dass wir eine Oase sind, die alle nur schief anschauen."] (R2)

The following list sums up the various ways in which the project is perceived by the wider neighborhood – according to the *Wohnprojekt Wien* members:

1. *You live in this great house?*
   Many people from the wider neighborhood are curious and want to find out more about the project.
2. *It's the group where everybody loves each other*
   Some people do not have enough information about the project and see it as a commune.
3. *It is a group of super left, politically-correct people, who are out of touch with reality*

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Some people perceive the project as a group of hippies whose only goal is to live in harmony with nature.

4. *The Wohnprojekt is an alternative to my form of living*

   Some people from the wider neighborhood see the project as an alternative to their way of living. Some would want to live like that or even in the *Wohnprojekt* itself.

5. *The project is OK but for me it would be too much*

   Some people generally have a positive attitude towards the project but could not be part of it as it would be too much for them.

6. *I feel disturbed by the Wohnprojekt and by the noise their events create*

   Neighbors living in the immediate surroundings of the project might feel disturbed by the noise of the events that take place in the building.

7. *I envy those people because I am not a part of the community*

   Some people might be jealous because they themselves live isolated although they would also want to be part of a community.

8. *The Wohnprojekt and the Salon are important for the atmosphere in the neighborhood*

   Some people value the project, especially the *Salon*, and regard it as important for the livelihood of the neighborhood.

<div align="right">partly taken from FG5 and expanded by statements from R1-R5</div>

Project members and their relationship with the neighborhood

Some interviewees reported that their relationship with the city has changed through being a member of the project. Communication is an important part of the *Wohnprojekt* structure. This also influenced people and made them, to some extent, more communicative. They find themselves more open towards the people living in their immediate surroundings. The experience of being part of a *Baugruppe* made members realize how much power civil society can have.

> "I am now much more aware of what one can contribute and what power one can have as a group or initiative. That one can dare to do something and that one is also heard." (R5)

> ["Es ist mir jetzt viel bewusster was man eigentlich beitragen kann und was man auch für Macht hat als Gruppe oder als Initiative. Dass man sich auch ruhig etwas trauen kann und dass man auch Gehör findet."] (R5)

The project members think that the fact that they already form a group facilitates having a voice and making their opinions heard.

Reflections on the project's performance regarding its impact on the neighborhood

The *Wohnprojekt* members' self-evaluation regarding neighborhood impact yields mixed results. The project's outside orientation has positive and negative aspects. Some members see more potential for

neighborhood impact and are not satisfied with the status-quo. Issues that are seen as negative have been summed up in the following list:

- Sports activities in the neighborhood were planned but have not been realized so far.
- There is much less contact with the people living in the neighboring house (*Wohnen mit Scharf!*).
- Some topics do not meet a broad response from the neighborhood (e.g. ecological sustainability).
- The flea market organized by the solidarity group could be more popular and attended by more neighbors.
- A regular repair workshop for bikes was planned but not realized so far.
- Repair workshop meetings were planned but not realized so far.
- The car pool was meant to be opened to the neighborhood (in progress).

Many project members perceive the *Wohnprojekt's* outside orientation as rather positive. The project is seen as a nodal point for other neighbors to connect to the group. Particularly, the events taking place in the *Flexraum* provide numerous possibilities for the neighborhood to get in touch with project members and other people living in the *Nordbahnhof* area. Furthermore, the food co-op and the initiative with the vegetable boxes are seen as contributing to the project's positive neighborhood impact. Some of the events and initiatives are also perceived as being successful: concerts, language courses for female refugees, solidarity flea market, Christmas market, workshops, children's theater, *Nikolaus* event.

The *Salon* is also a space where project members and neighbors meet. It has become a meeting point for families who also enjoy the playground behind the house. Some members even think that the expectations regarding neighborhood impact have surpassed all expectations due to the fact that many people come and visit the project. The *Wohnprojekt* is seen as a "dense network in the social fabric of society" ["verdichtetes Netz im sozialen Gefüge der Gesellschaft"] that is open for the neighborhood. This openness alone affects the impact on the neighborhood and is much more than most conventional housing projects offer.

"After three and a half years I would say: We are a house that is open enough. We are not an island just because we are not open for everybody at all times. In my perception, we are an open house with our limitations. We have many opportunities that we make good use of and maybe we could do even more – but we also don't have to ask too much of us. We all have families and almost all of us work outside the house and then one cannot change the world. But I think we contribute enough and we want to do even more. We are moving in the right direction." (R5)

["Nach dreieinhalb Jahren würde ich sagen: Wir sind ein genug-offenes Haus. Wir sind jetzt nicht weil wir nicht jederzeit jeden hereinlassen eine Insel. In meiner Wahrnehmung sind wir ein offenes Haus mit unseren Einschränkungen halt. Wir haben viele Möglichkeiten, die wir gut nutzen und vielleicht können wir noch mehr – aber wir müssen auch nicht so viel von uns verlangen. Wir haben alle Familien und wir arbeiten auch fast alle außer Haus und da kann man nicht die Welt verändern. Aber ich glaube wir tragen genug bei und wir wollen noch mehr. Wir bewegen uns in die richtige Richtung."] (R5)

The Future of the Wohnprojekt Wien's outside orientation

There are no big plans for the outside orientation of the case study project. Some members are quite satisfied with the current balance between inside and outside orientation. One topic that will be discussed in this respect is the one of sociopolitical statements. This will be a time-consuming process, but the project members do not feel any time pressure. The same is true for future events and initiatives. Some ideas for projects exist and those are going to be developed at a moderate pace. In the case that more *Baugruppen* realize their projects in the same neighborhood, the *Wohnprojekt Wien* would like to collaborate with them.

4.2.3 The wider neighborhood's perspective: Findings from an exploratory survey

This section deals with the results of the semi-standardized exploratory survey that was conducted in the neighborhood of the case study project. The non-representative survey serves to understand the perspective of the *Wohnprojekt Wien's* wider neighborhood. This section merely presents the results the survey produced. A discussion of the findings with regard to the research questions can be found in section 4.3. Due to lack of space, I decided to include only the most relevant graphs and figures in this report (for more visualizations of the data, please see appendix H). I will start by making some general remarks about the survey sample, before moving on to the presentation of the results the content questions produced.

General remarks about the survey sample

Overall, 34 people between the age of 26 and 66 were interviewed. The 17 female and 17 male participants had an average age of 42 years. The majority of the sample (23 people) had a university degree (67.65 %). Six participants (17.65 %) had a 'Matura', which is the Austrian equivalent to a high school degree. Four people (11.76 %) had a formal education below 'Matura' level and one

person did not want to provide this information. From the 34 people who took part in the survey, 28 spoke German as their first language (82.35 %), while the rest (6 people, corresponding to 17.65 % of the sample) identified another language as their mother tongue. As the place of residence is of particular importance for this survey, the participants' places of residence have been visualized in a map (see figure below). Interestingly, 41.18 % of the people interviewed lived in the *Vorgartenstraße*[48].
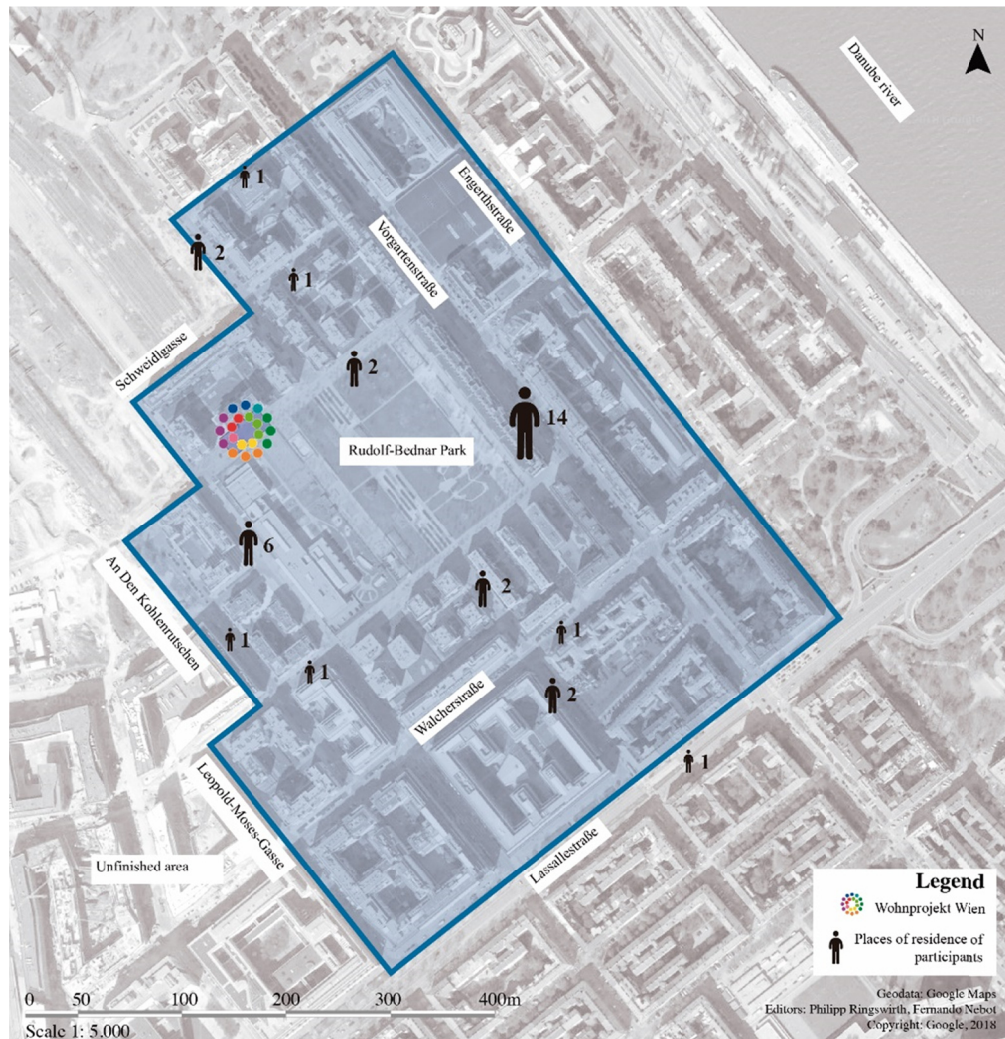

Figure 17: Neighborhood survey: Participants' places of residence (own illustration)

Results of the questionnaire's content questions

The presentation of the survey results follows the general structure of the questionnaire.

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[48] An explanation for this might be the proximity of the *Vorgartenstraße* to the *Rudolf Bednar Park*, where most of the interviews were conducted as well as the fact that the *Vorgartenstraße* is a main street in the area.

Section 1: Awareness of collaborative housing

The questionnaire started with the general question: *Have you ever heard of Baugruppen or collaborative housing?* Overall, the level of awareness of the participant group is relatively high. Almost 80 % (27/34) had heard about *Baugruppen* and/or the concept of collaborative housing before.

Section 2: Knowledge about case study project

This section of the questionnaire started with the question: *Do you know the Wohnprojekt Wien?* The result is that 82.35 % of the participants knew the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. One person did not know the terms *Baugruppe* or collaborative housing but still knew about the existence of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. Moreover, those who knew about the *Wohnprojekt Wien* were asked: *What do you know about the project?* This resulted in very diverse answers from 27 participants. Given the open format of the question, participants had the opportunity to provide multiple responses. To illustrate the range of replies, I built nine categories out of the collected answers (see figure below).
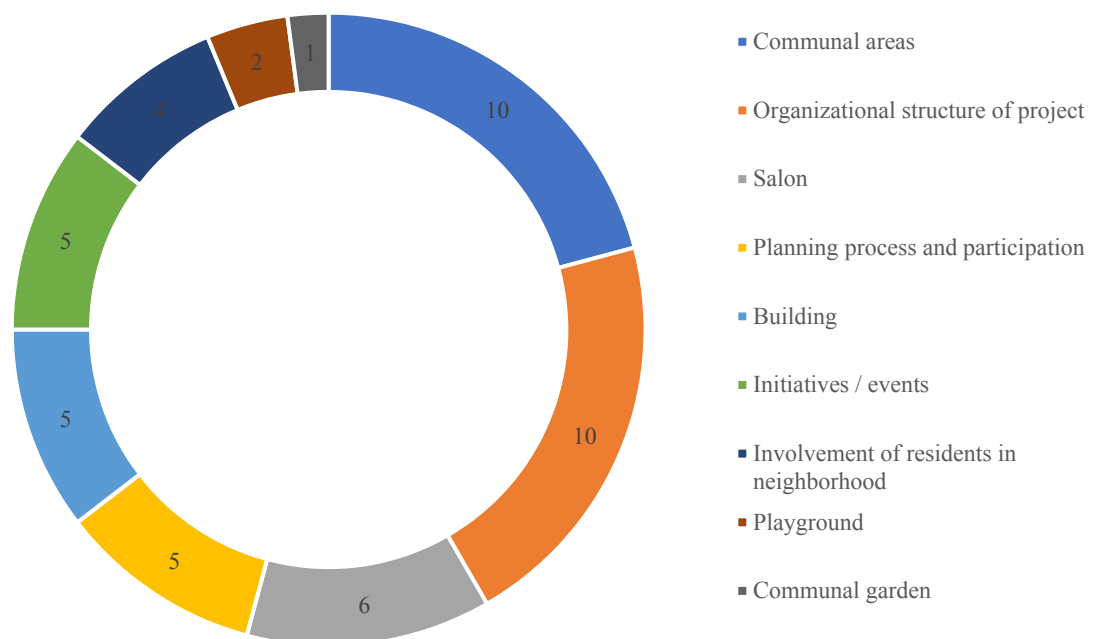

Figure 18: The neighborhood's knowledge concerning the Wohnprojekt Wien (own illustration)

The donut-shaped chart shows the participants knowledge about the *Baugruppen* project. The fact that the *Wohnprojekt Wien* has communal areas was mentioned by ten people. Ten participants stated that they knew about the project's organizational structure. The *Salon*, the small café of the *Baugruppe*, was mentioned six times. Five people indicated to have knowledge about the collaborative housing's planning process and the fact that the *Baugruppen* members had the opportunity to participate in it. It

was indicated five times that it is mainly the building itself that is known. Events and/or initiatives by the *Wohnprojekt* were mentioned five times as well. Four participants said that they know about the *Baugruppen* residents' involvement in the neighborhood and two knew about the possibilities for children to play near the *Baugruppe* (playground). The collaborative housing project's communal garden was also mentioned once.

Section 3: Opinions on the case study project

The third question asked was: *What is your opinion of the Wohnprojekt Wien?* This was an open question, so multiple responses were possible. In total, 24 participants answered the question. 87.50 % of those responders expressed a positive opinion about the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. None of them had an explicitly negative opinion of the project. Some participants (8/24) expressed skepticism regarding the collaborative housing project. Answers included comments relating to subsidies the project received, the homogenous composition of the group, the strict rules (work hours per month), and the danger of emotional distress for the residents. Furthermore, three people (3/24) mentioned the high costs of such a project.

Section 4: The Salon am Park

The questions in this rubric dealt with the *Salon am Park*, the café inside the *Wohnprojekt*. The first question asked was: *Do you know the Salon am Park?* The entire survey sample (34/34) could answer this question with a yes. The subsequent question was: *Have you ever visited the Salon?* Most participants (24/34) reported that they had visited the Salon before. The approximately 30 % of participants who had not been to the café were further asked why this was the case. Two out of those ten people did not specify why, while the rest mentioned the following reasons: other cafés/bars are more appealing (3/8); no interest and/or time (4/8); the *Salon* is too far from the place of residence (1/8).

Figure 19: The Salon am Park (Source: imgraetzl.at)

Section 5: Initiatives/events of the project

This section dealt with the initiatives and events of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. The first question was: *Have you ever heard about events or initiatives of the project?* Exactly 50 % of the participants answered this question with yes. Those 17 people (50 %) who had heard about events or initiatives of the *Wohnprojekt* were asked: *Have you ever participated in any of those events/initiatives?* The result was that 41.18 % of participants (7/17) had taken part in a *Wohnprojekt* event or in an initiative. Overall, this means that approximately 21 % of the entire sample (34 people) participated in an event or an initiative. In this respect, it is important to mention that 7 of the 34 survey interviews were conducted at an event in the *Nordbahnhof* neighborhood[49]. From the seven participants asked at this event, five had participated in an event/initiative of the *Wohnprojekt*. The seven participants who participated in an event or initiative were asked to name the event(s) they participated in. They named the following: the refugee initiative; the flea market; events about urban development processes; *Nordbahnhof* lectures; concerts; and events in the *Flexraum*. Those participants who had heard of events/initiatives but had not participated in any of them were asked why this was the case. The reasons mainly had to do with time issues (4 mentions) or with lack of interest in the topic of the events (3 mentions).

Section 6: Impact of activities on the neighborhood

The 17 participants who had heard about events or initiatives organized by the *Wohnprojekt Wien* were further asked: *What impact do these activities have on the neighborhood?* 13 of the 17 people asked think that the activities have a positive impact on the *Nordbahnhof* neighborhood. None of the responders thought that the activities have a negative effect and four people did not provide an answer to this question. The 76.47 % of participants (13/17) were asked to specify why they thought the initiatives/events have a positive impact on the neighborhood. Due to the open format of the question, participants could give several answers. Eight participants mentioned that the activities have a positive impact because they provide opportunities to meet people and give them a possibility for networking. Three participants stated that the events/initiatives make the neighborhood livelier and two mentioned that they are seen as a positive contribution to a sense of community in the area.

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[49] The event 'Which qualities does the *Nordbahnviertel* need?' took place in the *Nordbahnhalle* (which is close to the *Wohnprojekt Wien*) on September 7, 2017 and discussed what the neighborhood of the *Wohnprojekt*, the so-called *Nordbahnviertel*, needs in the future.

Section 7: Influence on relations and communication of people living in the neighborhood

In this rubric, the 34 participants were asked: *Does the Wohnprojekt Wien and its activities affect the relations and the communication of the people living in the neighborhood?* 64.71 % (22/34) answered this question with yes. 5.88 % (2/34) answered this question with no, and the rest (29.41 %) of the participants did not answer this question. One of the two participants who thinks that the *Wohnprojekt* does not affect the relations and the communication of the people living in the *Nordbahnhof* area provided a reason: to have an impact on relations and communication, the project is not active enough in the neighborhood (e.g. none of the members participate in the *Nordbahnvierteltreff*). The 22 participants who answered the question with yes were asked why they think that the project affects the relations and the communication of the people. The reasons why they think so can mainly be divided into two categories: The *Salon* was mentioned 10 times and the *Wohnprojekt* being a place for meeting people and/or networking was mentioned 9 times.

Section 8: Impact on the vibrancy of the neighborhood

The eighth question asked was: *Does the Wohnprojekt Wien contribute to making the Nordbahnhof neighborhood a livelier urban area?* 67.65 % of the participants (23/34) think that this is the case, while 14.71 % of them (5/34) answered that this is not the case. 17.65 % (6/34) did not answer this question. The 23 participants who indicated that the *Wohnprojekt* has an impact on the vibrancy of the neighborhood were further asked how the project contributes to this. In this respect, the *Salon* was mentioned 8 times and the project's events 2 times.

Section 9: Openness towards the neighborhood

The last question asked was: *Is the Wohnprojekt Wien open and welcoming towards its neighborhood?* 76.47 % of participants (26/34) answered this question with a yes. 11.76 % of the people asked (4/34) regard the project as not open and welcoming towards its neighborhood and three participants (8.82 %) had mixed feelings regarding the project's openness. One person did not provide an answer to this question. Participants were further asked to give reasons for their answers. Those participants who regard the project as open gave the following reasons for why they think so (participants could provide more than one reason). The *Salon* was mentioned nine times as a reason for the openness of the project. The events organized by the *Wohnprojekt* or the event location itself were mentioned 7 times. The friendliness of the residents (6 mentions) as well as the open space and the architecture of the building (5 mentions) were also seen as reasons for the project being welcoming towards people from the wider neighborhood. Two participants also mentioned that the project has an impact on the atmosphere of the neighborhood. Some of the responders who think that the *Wohnprojekt* is not open towards external people (4/34) and those who have mixed feelings about the issue (3/34) justified their

opinion. The following reasons were mentioned: strong opinions of project members/people with same values are more welcome (1/34); perceived privacy of the project in the initial stage (1/34); project mainly attracts a certain group of the population (1/34).

4.3 Discussion of empirical results

The previous section (4.2) presented the findings from the empirical field work by following the three analysis dimensions. The results for the municipal perspective were reported before the findings concerning the collaborative housing residents' perspective, while the perspective of a collaborative housing project's wider neighborhood was presented last. Drawing on these reports, the present section answers the research questions and interprets the findings. The discussion of the empirical results is structured according to the analysis dimensions: the municipal (4.3.1), the residents' (4.3.2), and the wider neighborhood's (4.3.3) perspective.

4.3.1 The municipal perspective

What strategy regarding collaborative housing does the municipality of Vienna pursue?

It is crucial to note that the city of Vienna is not unified. The local government is formed by a coalition between the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*SPÖ*) and the Green Party (*Die Grünen*). Although the intergovernmental agreement between the two parties mentions *Baugruppen* as an innovative contribution to the field of social housing, a single strategy for collaborative housing does not exist. Due to the different ideologies of the two parties, two different perspectives on the concept prevail. The main municipal actors regarding collaborative housing are the planning department (MA 18) and the housing department (MA 50). The planning department, managed by the green party, has a favorable view on *Baugruppen*, while the housing department, which is managed by the social democrats, seems to be rather reluctant towards the concept. Despite some skepticism, the housing department provides subsidies for collaborative housing projects within the social housing program (a separate subsidy scheme for collaborative housing does not exist). Municipal subsidies, in the form of loans, are granted to the successful participants of developer competitions. The city of Vienna organizes separate developer competitions for *Baugruppen* as they are not competitive with conventional developers due to organizational and financial reasons. The necessity of monetary subsidies for *Baugruppen* is heavily debated due to some characteristics of the concept (high costs; dominance of middle-income groups). Undisputed, however, is the fact that *Baugruppen* rely on the municipality in terms of land acquisition, as it is rather difficult for collaborative building groups to obtain building plots on the normal market. The municipality currently deals with collaborative

housing by applying a supply/demand approach: If there is demand for collaborative housing projects, the city organizes separate developer competitions for *Baugruppen*. Winning projects are provided with building plots and monetary subsidies.

What benefits of collaborative housing for urban development are expected by the municipality of Vienna?

Separate developer competitions for *Baugruppen* lead to additional expenditures on the side of the city. The municipality, therefore, expects an added value from collaborative housing projects. According to experts, the expected benefits for urban development are rather unspecific but can generally be divided into two types: (1) benefits regarding the physical impact (e.g. development of a hybrid ground floor zone); and (2) benefits regarding the social impact (e.g. organization of neighborhood events). The municipality has some power to influence the physical impact of *Baugruppen* projects through developer competitions. An additional condition in a competition might be the integration of a ground floor space that is accessible by the public. The city does not have a direct influence on the social impact of *Baugruppen* projects. However, due to the social sustainability pillar, as one out of four pillars in developer competitions, projects showing a clear socio-political commitment are more probable to succeed in such competitions. Even though the municipality has some steering capabilities regarding the effects of *Baugruppen*, a long-lasting impact cannot be guaranteed. To sum up, collaborative housing groups are expected to have some benefit for urban development in the form of physical and/or social effects. The city justifies those expectations due to the additional expenditures that result from the separate developer competitions. According to Müller's categorization of municipal expectations (2015, p. 42), the expectations of the city of Vienna can be classified as 'commitment': It is assumed that collaborative housing members show above-average commitment in their living environment. In his attempt to structure municipal expectations, Müller lists three more types: re-urbanization; reduced construction costs; as well as family-friendly and individual habitations (ibid.). The empirical results of this thesis suggest that these do not play a role for the authorities in Vienna.

What role does collaborative housing play within new-build urban development areas in Vienna?

In Vienna, the majority of recently built collaborative housing projects can be found in urban development areas. The availability of building plots in those areas is the main reason for this trend. It has become a common practice for the municipality to allocate a number of building plots in such development areas to *Baugruppen*. This means, however, that collaborative housing projects are not a fixed component in the planning of new development areas in Vienna. If there is demand for *Baugruppen*, the question of whether building sites will be made available for them is dependent on

the land owner. If the land of a development area is owned by the city, the allocation of building plots to collaborative housing groups is more probable than if a private investor owns the land. For non-public actors, who are often driven by profit interests, *Baugruppen* are less attractive partners mainly because of their time-consuming decision-making processes and the difficulties they often encounter relating to finance. From the municipal perspective, *Baugruppen* can have positive long-term advantages that might justify giving land to them. New urban development areas are often criticized with respect to: Monofunctionality, the quality of public spaces, the quality of the architecture, or the mixture of resident groups. The concept of collaborative housing is perceived as having the possibility to compensate negative developments regarding urban development to some extent. One of the advantages of *Baugruppen* is that they often develop hybrid concepts that integrate housing, working, and leisure opportunities. They are often interested in creating mixed-use ground floor zones that are partially accessible by the people living in the wider neighborhood. Especially in new urban development areas, which often lack certain types of infrastructure in initial stages, *Baugruppen* can contribute to prevent areas of becoming dormitory neighborhoods. Furthermore, profit-oriented investors often do not settle into development areas in the first stages. Collaborative housing groups, however, often create microeconomic business structures in this stage, as they are not purely driven by financial motivations. This supports the creation of vibrant urban neighborhoods. Moreover, the fact that *Baugruppen* already form a community prior to moving in results in less conflict among residents and makes it easier for them to become active in their surroundings. In the *Seestadt Aspern*, for instance, a rather peripheral development area in Vienna, *Baugruppen* were deliberately clustered on one building plot as the officials wanted to create a hub that could easily take action. The literature (e.g. Müller, 2015) discusses *Baugruppen* as a tool for urban development. Collaborative housing projects in Vienna, however, are not seen as such. The municipality acknowledges that such projects can have an added value in new urban development areas. However, *Baugruppen* are not used as a tool because for this to be the case the city would have to become more active instead of merely engaged in satisfying the current demand.

Regarding the planning process of urban development areas, *Baugruppen* do not play an exceptional role. Collaborative housing groups form relatively early, but usually after the planning concept for an area is completed, and, thus, too late for an involvement in urban planning. Such an early participation is also not seen as expedient because *Baugruppen* members develop their projects parallel to their professional and familial responsibilities. Such early participation would impose extra pressure on those citizens, who are rather active already. Therefore, *Baugruppen* are involved in urban development processes just like other citizens: Through the individual involvement of people in public participation processes. In practice, however, it seems that collaborative housing members are more interested in such processes than other groups of society. This was also noticed by Müller (2015, p. 377). The fact that *Baugruppen* form relatively early, especially in comparison with more

conventional housing groups, can be beneficial to neighborhood managements, which then have the possibility to establish contact with future residents. The fact that collaborative housing groups already form a community means that they are more powerful than other future residents, who might not even be selected at that point. Neighborhood managements are advised to be cautious not to give privileges to this one group of future residents. What is more, projects in unfinished areas can also function as hubs for active people who want to influence future developments in the neighborhood. In this respect, *Baugruppen* often provide the physical space for meetings that deal with issues concerning urban development. The high level of activity among collaborative housing members themselves might lead to an increase in commitment regarding urban development processes. The inhabitants of *Baugruppen* can further function as multipliers of the information obtained at meetings in their building by providing other people from the wider neighborhood with details.

What role does collaborative housing play in the context of co-operative/participatory urban development?

The degree of self-organization in Vienna is relatively low – especially in comparison with cities such as Hamburg or Berlin. The long-lasting political predominance of the social democratic party, and, as a result, the municipal's strong role in the housing sector, are the main reasons for this. Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 9) put it as follows: "[V]alues of collaboration and cooperation have been somewhat 'buried' by the traditional idea of paternalism, which foregrounds the role of the state in regulating the housing markets and in determining the housing standards". According to experts, these local circumstances do not provide the necessity for citizens to assume individual responsibility. However, in recent years, citizen participation has gained significance in Vienna as well. This might be a result of the green party's role in the local government. A process to re-define participation has been initiated but is still at an early stage. In Vienna's urban development plan, the 'STEP 2025', the municipality clearly states that the city of Vienna wants to be 'a participatory city' with opportunities for citizens to become co-producers of the built environment (see 4.1.3). Another key policy for urban planning is the 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy', the Viennese approach to the smart city. This local framework also supports measures leading to more participation (see also 4.1.3). In theory, therefore, the municipality seems to support participation and the citizen's involvement in urban development. In practice, however, the collaborative housing sector lacks the necessary legal framework to come to full fruition. The foundation of new cooperatives, for instance, is rather complicated due to the fact that the cooperative law has never been revised in Austria. In other countries (e.g. Switzerland, Germany) changes have been made, so that new and small actors (in the form of cooperatives) can enter the field. These findings are in line with Lang and Stoeger (2017, p. 15), who, consequently, call for a "legislative revision in favour of smaller cooperatives" in Vienna. Such a revision could lead to more innovation within Vienna's social housing sector and, thus, to more

possibilities for citizens to participate in the creation of their city. Besides improved framework conditions, collaborative housing also needs active citizens who claim participation. In recent years, collaborative housing groups have demonstrated a sincere willingness to participate in urban development. An increasing number of people have participated in co-producing the city by planning and designing their own buildings. This suggests that collaborative housing could play a major role in the context of co-operative/participatory urban development in the future.

4.3.2 The residents' perspective

How do collaborative housing residents regard their relationship with the wider neighborhood?

The answer to this question is based on the single case of the *Wohnprojekt Wien*, which is why the findings must be interpreted with caution. It has been established that not all *Baugruppen* projects want to have an impact on the neighborhood. However, many of the new collaborative housing projects are developed within the realm of social housing, and, as explained above, those with clear sociopolitical aims are more likely to win developer competitions. The literature also suggests that there is a positive correlation between a project's social focus and its impact on the neighborhood (Ring, 2013, p. 215). Many Viennese *Baugruppen* see the pioneer project *Sargfabrik*, which has a rather strong impact on its surroundings, as a role model. The participatory observation of the conference 'Social Orientation of Collaborative Housing Projects' confirmed that many Viennese projects have such a social focus. Due to those reasons, the results of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study can be seen as an indication for the developments in Vienna's collaborative housing sector as a whole.

The *Wohnprojekt Wien* generally intends to be open for external people, which manifests itself clearly in its architecture. For instance, a space for events that is open to the outside has been integrated into the concept of the building from the beginning. The *Wohnprojekt* wants to be an integral part of the neighborhood, rather than a project that is cut-off from its surrounding area. There is, however, a field of tension among residents as not all members support the project's outside orientation. While some residents rather focus on the community within the project, other residents want the project to have an added value for society and understand their project as a sociopolitical initiative. The members showing commitment to their surrounding area are organized in groups. This organization, together with the fact that the openness of the project is mentioned in the project's self-imposed guidelines, shall assure that the outside orientation is maintained over a longer period of time. Despite the overall aim of being a part of the neighborhood, no specific aims regarding the project's impact on the neighborhood have been formulated. The issue is rather seen as something that can develop over time. The *Wohnprojekt Wien* members regard their relationship with the neighborhood as 'open enough': While their house is not always open to the public, they do not form a 'social island' either. They see themselves as a platform that is open for other people and initiatives. The impact on the neighborhood

(or on society at large) is seen in comparison to other subsidized housing projects such as conventional cooperative housing. In this respect, the case study project perceives itself as much more open than those types of housing.

According to these findings, it could be inferred that Viennese *Baugruppen* generally have a positive attitude towards their immediate surroundings. It could further be hypothesized that collaborative housing groups think about the openness of their project when it comes to the architecture of the building. Besides the physical impact, which might be planned due to developer competitions, projects may not further define what kind of positive impact they want to have. The outside orientation of the project seems, at first, to be dependent on some individual members. However, the internal organization of *Baugruppen* projects, together with their self-imposed guidelines, might put the entire group in charge of the outside orientation, so that it is more likely that initial aspirations regarding neighborhood impact are maintained.

How can collaborative housing projects impact their neighborhood?

Not all *Baugruppen* projects want to have an outside orientation. In those that do, the impact on the neighborhood is dependent on the size as well as on the architecture and the functional uses of the project. Based on the findings of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study, it could conceivably be hypothesized that collaborative housing projects can affect their surrounding areas on three different levels. Those three levels of neighborhood impact have been illustrated in the following Venn diagram:
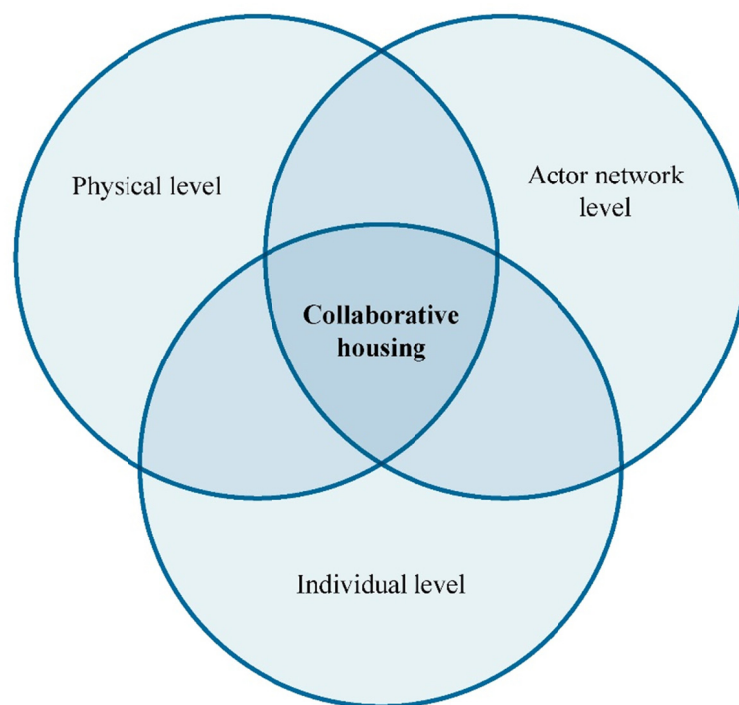
Figure 20: Levels of neighborhood impact (own illustration)

Evidently, the three types of neighborhood impact overlap at some points. For instance, effects on the actor network level and the individual level might only be made possible by the existence of physical spaces that are meant to be shared with external people.

Impact on the physical level

Collaborative housing groups often think about the physical impact on the neighborhood prior to construction and incorporate their ideas in the planning of the project building (e.g. integration of an event location that is accessible by a separate entrance). The role of developer competitions should not be underestimated in this respect. Through those, the municipality has the power to set rules regarding the architecture of the buildings. Through additional conditions in developer competitions, collaborative housing groups may see themselves obliged to integrate spaces that can be used by the wider neighborhood. Physical spaces that are shared with the neighborhood might also have tiered rent systems, so that groups from the area can use it for free or at a lower price. Furthermore, collaborative housing projects can have an impact on their neighborhood through their open architecture and the open space design. This aspect supposedly leads to an increase in social interaction between project members and people from the wider neighborhood. Moreover, the integration of hybrid ground floor concepts and greater functional mix influences the physical level. *Baugruppen* can incorporate commercial spaces such as offices into their buildings which might result in livelier ground floor zones. Commercial spaces that are also accessible by the neighborhood such as cafés, for example, might serve as low-threshold access points for people from the neighborhood. Such places might develop into meeting places for residents and external people and, thus, increase the amount of social contact. The sharing of communal spaces, the integration of hybrid ground floor concepts, as well as the open space design and the open architecture of collaborative housing projects might have a positive effect on the atmosphere of a neighborhood.

Impact on the actor network level

Collaborative housing projects might impact the neighborhood by becoming an actor in a local network of organizations. Many Viennese *Baugruppen* have a social focus and perceive themselves as initiatives with sociopolitical claims. To fulfil their aims in this respect, they might want to become a platform which other organizations (and individuals) can collaborate with. The already existing intentional community that is formed by residents facilitates taking action according to their aims. They have the potential to develop a hub function for local actors of the network as they may have certain spaces that can be used by external organizations. This might be especially relevant when projects are involved in urban development processes. *Baugruppen* are already functioning collective bodies, which are organized in a much better way than other individuals, making networking easier. If projects are open for new people, then this can be seen as an opportunity for urban planning.

Impact on the individual level

Baugruppen can also have an impact on individual people living in the wider neighborhood. Needless to say, the other two levels may affect residents on an individual basis too. There are some aspects, however, which are better discussed when de-coupled from the other two. Collaborative housing groups might open their association for external people who do not live in the building. Extra memberships could provide people from the neighborhood with access to projects' communal areas. Based on the findings from the case study, such memberships bring about a variety of questions that need to be answered (e.g. How can external members get access to the building?). Moreover, collaborative housing groups might organize events for, and in collaboration with, the neighborhood. Those might often have sociopolitical backgrounds but could also promote a feeling of togetherness and peaceful co-existence in the residential area. Finally, *Baugruppen* can also function as information points. Besides the information individuals can obtain from visiting events or commercial spaces, collaborative housing groups might also be interested in other information channels. E-mail newsletters, for instance, could help informing external residents about events and other current (sociopolitical) topics relevant to the area and/or the project group. Such practices could strengthen a feeling of togetherness in a neighborhood.

What strategies of integration and exclusion exist among the collaborative housing members and the external users of common spaces?

Openness vs. privacy

On the one hand, many collaborative housing groups want to be open towards the neighborhood, so that they do not become 'social islands'. On the other hand, however, there is also a strong need for privacy among residents of *Baugruppen* projects. A collaborative housing building can also not be entirely open per se, as this leads to problems such as theft. To achieve a balance between inside and outside orientation, *Baugruppen* need strategies of inclusion as well as exclusion.

Strategies of exclusion

Based on the case study findings, there seem to be two strategies of exclusion: implementing clear rules for access and actively reaching out to strangers within the building. The latter strategy involves project members talking to people they do not know, if they are encountered on the premises. Such active outreach might reduce theft. The other strategy involves the implementation of clear rules. Such rules make it clear when, where, how, and in the company of whom, groups of external people are allowed to enter the building.

Strategies of inclusion

According to the results of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study, there are several strategies of inclusion collaborative housing groups can apply to prevent seclusion. First, the sharing of spaces prevents being cut-off from the surroundings. As mentioned above, clear rules are crucial for this to be a successful strategy. Second, integrating commercial spaces such as cafés might be particularly helpful to remain open, as they provide low-threshold access to the project. The third strategy involves the organizational structure of *Baugruppen*. Those members of the project group, who are interested in the issue of outside orientation, may form a group. This group of people is then responsible for the maintenance of the project's openness. The organization of such a 'neighborhood group' within the larger project group has the advantage that the openness of the project is no longer dependent on individuals. It might also lead to continuity and, hence, the long-term inclusion of external neighbors.

4.3.3 The wider neighborhood's perspective

How are collaborative housing projects perceived by the wider neighborhood?

It is important to bear in mind that the answer to this question is based on a non-representational exploratory neighborhood survey and that its interpretations must be treated with caution. According to the findings of the survey, collaborative housing projects seem, indeed, to be known by the people living in the wider neighborhood. This result, therefore, correlates with a representational survey which found that collaborative housing is relatively well-known among the Viennese (Brandl and Gruber, 2014, p. 102). Furthermore, the exploratory survey suggests that non-members living in the surrounding area of projects have a positive perception of those. Although there might be some skepticism towards collaborative housing groups in relation to subsidies or high costs, the concept does not seem to evoke any negative associations. Based on the survey results, projects seem to be best known for their communal and commercial areas as well as for their organizational structures (e.g. governance model, participation in planning, etc.). Some interviewees of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study mentioned that the café located in their building has a great impact on the immediate surroundings. This might be true when looking at the survey results: 100 % of participants knew about the existence of the café in the *Wohnprojekt*. From this, it could be inferred that commercial spaces with a low threshold contribute considerably to how collaborative housing projects are perceived by the wider neighborhood. *Baugruppen* seem to be less well-known for their events and initiatives and participation in such seems to be rather low. The reason for that could be the fact that collaborative building groups do not have the means to advertise on a large scale but rather rely on word-to-mouth advertising and, therefore, do not reach a large number of people. Another reason for the low participation rate might be the fact that events are often related to sociopolitical issues and attract only a rather well-educated middle-class. Based on the neighborhood survey results, it could further be

hypothesized that citizens who are already active and interested in their surroundings (in the survey, those who were interviewed at the event), seem to be more aware of collaborative housing projects and more prone to participate in their events. Events are regarded as having a positive impact on the neighborhood because they serve as opportunities for people to meet (networking), make the neighborhood livelier, and contribute to a sense of community within the area. Both commercial spaces and events seem to contribute to the vibrancy of the neighborhood. Collaborative housing projects are perceived as open, which seems to be due to: commercial spaces, events, the attitude of residents, the open space design, and the quality of the architecture. The survey findings appear to be consistent with the opinions of the residents interviewed about the *Wohnprojekt Wien*. In general, therefore, it seems that while some people have mixed feelings about collaborative housing projects, the majority seem to have a positive view on *Baugruppen*.

How can collaborative housing projects contribute to the creation of an inclusive local community?

The potential of collaborative housing projects to create inclusive local communities lies in the eye of the beholder. The findings of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study suggest that whether the project contributes to a sense of community strongly depends on the definition of the term 'local community'. On the one hand, some residents regard the project as not contributing to an inclusive local community because it does not reach all population groups. One of the arguments in this respect, for instance, is that the project excludes people with a low degree of formal education because the project's events are rather intellectual and concerned with sociopolitical issues, and, therefore, do not provide a low-threshold access. On the other hand, there are residents who are also aware of the unintended exclusion of some social groups but who think that the project still contributes to an inclusive local community because the project is an open platform where nobody is intentionally excluded. According to interviewees, collaborative housing projects will never reach the entire population of a neighborhood but contribute to a sense of community for those people who want to be a part of their network. This relates to Hüllemann et al. (2015, p. 31) who point out that not only one network of social ties can emerge within a neighborhood but that various social networks can co-exist in an area. In this sense, a collaborative housing project might be one network of social ties within a larger local community. Whether collaborative housing projects strengthen a sense of community in a neighborhood can further be explored by drawing on Thomas' (1991, p. 19) ladder of community interaction (c.f. table 2 in 2.3.6). Based on the *Wohnprojekt Wien* study, it can be assumed that collaborative housing projects can impact community interaction in the following ways (Thomas, 1991, p. 20):

- *Baugruppen* can facilitate casual contacts.
  (Example: The *Salon* of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* fulfils the function of a small local supplier where casual contacts can occur whilst shopping.)

- *Baugruppen* can allow for routine contacts.
  (Example: The *Wohnprojekt Wien* stores vegetable boxes for people from the neighborhood, who then pick up their boxes on a regular basis.)

- *Baugruppen* can provide possibilities for social contacts.
  (Example: Most customers of the *Salon* of the *Wohnprojekt Wien* are regulars, which can lead to an increase in social interaction.)

- *Baugruppen* can be involved in informal networks.
  (Example: The *Wohnprojekt Wien* facilitates becoming active by providing opportunities for people to participate in their network.)

- *Baugruppen* can facilitate the participation in community activities.
  (Example: The *Wohnprojekt Wien* rents communal spaces to external people and organizes events for the neighborhood (in collaboration with external people) itself.)

- *Baugruppen* can help people from the neighborhood to join community groups.
  (Example: The *Wohnprojekt Wien* is open for new people but also informs residents from the wider neighborhood about other community groups and their activities.)

The findings from the exploratory neighborhood survey strengthen these assumptions. More than half of the participants assume that the *Wohnprojekt Wien* influences the relations and communications of people living in the neighborhood. The project's effect on a sense of community is mainly believed to result from the *Salon* and the fact that the *Wohnprojekt* provides a place for meeting and networking. In general, therefore, it seems that collaborative housing projects help in creating inclusive local communities, despite never reaching the entire neighborhood population.

5 Conclusion

This thesis set out to, on the one hand, explore the role of collaborative housing in the under-researched context of Vienna and, on the other hand, investigate the impact of collaborative housing projects on the neighborhood. Based on an international literature review, a single-case study design, in combination with a mixed-method approach, was applied. The empirical research was designed to investigate three different perspectives on the issue of collaborative housing and the effects it can have on its residential environment. The three perspectives, (1) the municipal, (2) the residents', and (3) the wider neighborhood's perspective, served as analysis dimensions to better interpret the study results. Some of the key findings of the research shall be summarized below.

The empirical investigations on the level of the municipality yielded several significant findings. First, the city of Vienna does not have a coherent strategy concerning collaborative housing. Despite *Baugruppen* being explicitly mentioned as an innovative contribution to the social housing sector in the intergovernmental agreement between the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*SPÖ*) and the Green Party (*Die Grünen*), a strong political commitment seems to be lacking. The current municipal strategy towards collaborative housing is characterized by a supply/demand approach: Increasing demand for building plots induces the city to organize separate developer competitions for *Baugruppen,* through which building sites are then allocated to winning projects. As no separate subsidy scheme for collaborative housing exists, the city of Vienna grants monetary subsidies in the form of loans to projects that integrate themselves into Vienna's existing social housing framework. Within this system, the dormitory model developed into an often-used legal form of *Baugruppen* to acquire subsidies without the municipality having the right to allocate one third of apartments (as is common practice with conventional non-profit housing). The subsidization of *Baugruppen* is a controversial issue, as projects are characterized by rather high costs and inhabitants who are mainly middle class.

Second, the municipality of Vienna has some expectations regarding the benefits of collaborative housing. An added value from subsidized *Baugruppen* is presumed in return for the additional expenditures the city is faced with through the organization of separate developer competitions. The municipality of Vienna expects, in return, that collaborative housing projects show increased commitment regarding their neighborhood. This commitment is expected to manifest itself either physically (e.g. through hybrid ground floor zones) or socially (e.g. through the organization of events). While authorities can exert influence on the physical impact through additional conditions in developer competitions, the social impact is entirely left to *Baugruppen* themselves. Nevertheless, the social sustainability pillar in developer competitions favors projects with a clear social orientation. Despite these 'steering capabilities', a persistent impact on the neighborhood cannot be guaranteed.

Third, in Vienna, many contemporary collaborative housing projects are, due to the availability of building plots, being realized in new urban development areas. They are, however, not a fixed constituent in such areas but are only planned according to current demand. In other words, Viennese *Baugruppen* are not used as an urban development tool, as the city merely meets the actual demand and does not take an active role by promoting the concept. The decision whether building plots in development areas are allocated to collaborative housing groups is further dependent on the owners of the land. Private investors might be less interested in working with *Baugruppen* as negotiations with groups of citizens tend to last longer and be more complicated than with conventional professional developers. The municipality, on the other hand, views *Baugruppen* as a positive addition in urban development areas due to their benefits (e.g. physical and social impact). Collaborative housing groups have a strong interest in creating hybrid ground floor zones with a mixed functional use and, thus, often create spaces that are accessible for other people living in the area. *Baugruppen* often have non-profit oriented approaches and create microeconomic business structures at a stage when profit-driven investors are absent. They are, therefore, also seen as contributing to the creation of vibrant urban neighborhoods. Regarding the planning of urban development areas, collaborative housing groups do not play a special role. Their involvement is limited to public participation processes, in which *Baugruppen* members, however, seem to show greater interest in comparison to other citizens. A greater role in urban planning might constitute an additional burden on collaborative housing groups, who develop their projects parallel to their professional and familial responsibilities. Further involvement is, therefore, not seen as expedient. The early formation of *Baugruppen*, however, might be relevant to neighborhood management systems in urban development areas, as it provides them with the opportunity to establish contact with future residents.

Fourth, self-organization in the housing sector has not played a major role in Vienna so far. The long-lasting political predominance of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*SPÖ*) and its investments in large social housing programs over the past have resulted in a rather low degree of self-organization in Vienna. However, an increasing number of people have recently engaged in the co-creation of the city by taking part in collaborative housing initiatives. Politically, the Green Party's (*Die Grünen*) involvement in the local government might have led to an increased awareness of the issues of participation and self-organization. A review of some key policy documents of the city of Vienna ('STEP 2025' - Urban Development Plan Vienna; 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy') has shown that there is theoretical support for participation and co-creation in the development of the urban fabric. *Baugruppen* might even be an opportunity to reach some of the goals mentioned in these framework documents. In practice, however, the legal framework is not ideal for citizens to act accordingly as it favors large, established actors. The cooperative law, for instance, has never been revised in Austria, unlike in other European countries. This makes the foundation of small

cooperatives rather difficult and complicates the emergence of new actors in the field of collaborative housing.

Research on the perspective of the residents brought significant insights into collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood. Within *Baugruppen* communities, the outside orientation of projects is not uncontentious. There seems to be a field of tension among residents, as not all group members want their project to have an impact on the neighborhood. While there might be a preliminary agreement to 'be open to the neighborhood', the extent of what this means is often unclear. Furthermore, research has shown that the outside orientation of collaborative housing projects and its maintenance over time might be dependent on the internal organization of groups. If the openness of a project is part of the organizational structure and not dependent on individuals, projects might be more likely to prevent seclusion in the long term. One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that a collaborative housing project's impact on the neighborhood can occur on three, to some degree overlapping, levels: (1) impact on the physical level, (2) impact on the actor network level, and (3) impact on the individual level.

First, *Baugruppen* show some effects on a physical level. Many collaborative housing projects have communal spaces, which are shared with people living in the wider neighborhood. *Baugruppen* can establish a tiered pricing system for the renting of those spaces, so that the neighborhood can profit from cheaper conditions. Furthermore, collaborative housing projects are often interested in creating lively ground floor zones and a greater functional mix. Especially commercial spaces such as cafés seem to be a low-threshold access for external people. Generally, the open space design and the open architecture of many collaborative housing projects is seen as contributing to a positive physical impact that might even have positive effects on the atmosphere of a neighborhood.

Second, many *Baugruppen* see themselves as initiatives with a social focus, which leads to them becoming active in a network of (local) actors. Projects with a strong outside orientation want to connect with other actors in order to generate synergy effects. This can involve the organization of joint events or general collaboration to realize sociopolitical aims. On the scale of the neighborhood, collaborative housing projects might develop a hub function for other actors of the local network because of the communal spaces that can be used by external organizations.

Third, besides the use of communal areas or the visiting of commercial spaces, there are other ways in which *Baugruppen* might affect individuals. People from the neighborhood might become members of a project without living there or receive information by subscribing to a project's newsletter. Moreover, collaborative housing projects are committed to organizing events for, and in collaboration with, external residents. People living in the surrounding area, therefore, can profit from attending those events or from getting involved in the organization of such.

The investigations on the perspective of the wider neighborhood showed that collaborative housing projects are mainly perceived positively by people living in their immediate surroundings. The results show that commercial spaces with a low threshold contribute considerably to the positive perception of *Baugruppen*. Events organized by projects seem to play a minor role for people living in the neighborhood, although citizens who are generally rather active and interested in their surroundings are more likely to participate in such. People from the neighborhood regard the events organized as having positive effects because they provide opportunities to meet people, make the neighborhood livelier, and contribute to a sense of community within the area. *Baugruppen* might, indeed, create opportunities for people to develop a sense of community. Regarding the question of collaborative housing's potential to create inclusive local communities, it was found that much is dependent on the definition of the term community. On the one hand, an inclusive local community can be defined as a network of weak social ties that exists between the sum of people living in a certain neighborhood. In this respect, collaborative housing projects assist in creating such a community to some degree. Projects' commercial areas, for instance, can facilitate casual, routine, and social contacts among residents from the wider neighborhood and the project members. However, the entirety of local residents will never be reached by a collaborative housing project even when the project group does not deliberately exclude anyone. On the other hand, a community can be defined as one network of social ties within a larger community (Hüllemann et al., 2015). In this understanding, a local community is comprised of several smaller networks. A collaborative housing group is a network of social ties that exists next to other networks of social ties. In other words, *Baugruppen* are only one of the numerous networks, which together comprise the larger local community. The fact that collaborative housing groups are open for other people, hence inclusive, means that those who want to be a part of their community can join the network. Following this argumentation leads to the conclusion that collaborative housing can contribute to a sense of community within a neighborhood (to an unspecified degree).

Overall, this thesis strengthens the idea that collaborative housing has a positive impact on its residential environment. The threat of collaborative housing projects segregating into islands of community within their neighborhoods does not seem to be present in Vienna at the time. The phenomenon of projects' outside orientation seems to minimize this risk. Fromm's (2012, p. 388) assertion that even "in the best of circumstances, the primary focus of collaborative housing residents is towards sustaining the community within their site" might be true. However, if the projects' secondary goal is to impact their surrounding and be open to the neighborhood, then the concept might prove beneficial for urban neighborhoods. The concept, therefore, should not be overvalued but its potential should also not be ignored.

The findings of this thesis have important implications for policy makers. A key priority should be to revise the cooperative law to facilitate the foundation of new cooperatives, which might bring

innovation into the field of collaborative housing. Moreover, according to the intergovernmental agreement between the two leading parties, *Baugruppen* are a valuable addition to Vienna's housing sector. Furthermore, collaborative housing can be an opportunity to realize some goals of the 'Smart City Wien Framework Strategy'. On top of that, the 'STEP 2025', Vienna's urban development plan, defines the city as, among other things, 'a participatory city', which wants to provide opportunities for citizens to become co-producers of the urban fabric. Based on these documents, the municipality of Vienna should endorse collaborative housing more actively. This could be done in two ways.

First, an official strategic framework concerning collaborative housing should be developed. This might include an official definition of what is understood under collaborative housing as well as a typology of the different types of collaborative housing the city wants to support. Furthermore, an official policy paper might include standards for collaborative housing projects in new urban development areas, so that a certain amount of building plots must be given to collaborative housing groups, even if the land is owned by private investors. The development of such a strategic framework should include experts from the municipality of Vienna as well as experts from the collaborative housing sector (e.g. from the Initiative for Collaborative Building and Housing).

Second, the city of Vienna should include collaborative housing as an integral element into its social housing policy. This would mean that Vienna's social housing program provides citizens with a choice between being consumers and being co-creators. The co-creation in the form of collaborative housing projects might occur in two legal forms: a) the renting model or b) a newly developed collaborative housing model. The ownership model is not seen as suitable for collaborative housing projects, as the ideas of collaboration often only last one generation before the apartments are used for speculation on the real estate market. The renting model could stay in its current form, with one advancement. One third of apartments should still be allocated by the city, but people applying for social housing apartments should be able to make a deliberate choice for collaborative housing, so that future residents fit into this form of living. Also, the allocation of the people who show interest in this form of living should take place as early as possible, in order to give them the opportunity to participate in the planning process. The second legal form could be a new collaborative housing model, which is based on the currently often-used dormitory model. The development of such a legal model should also be conducted by experts from the municipality and the collaborative housing sector. In this model, collaborative housing groups could still allocate all apartments by themselves. In return, however, collaborative housing groups would have to commit to an added value for the neighborhood. The implementation of a separate subsidy scheme for *Baugruppen* would create legal certainty for project groups and strengthen the idea of the impact on the neighborhood.

Based on the empirical findings of this thesis, the following recommendations could be given to collaborative housing projects that want to impact their residential environment. First, the outside orientation of the project should be a topic of debate within the project community as early as possible.

Thinking along the three impact levels suggested in this thesis might facilitate this process. Project groups might ask themselves: (1) How should the physical structure of our project impact the neighborhood? (2) With whom do we want to collaborate within the local network of actors? Which sociopolitical aims do we want to transport to the outside? (3) What impact do we want to have on individual people living in the wider neighborhood? Some of these questions are important to answer at an early stage, so that they can be considered in the architecture of the building. It might prove beneficial to discuss sociopolitical aims and the outside orientation at an early stage, so that a consensus is established within the project community. Second, once the impact on the neighborhood is discussed, the outside orientation should be integrated into the project's official guidelines. Third, the organization of the neighborhood impact should be discussed. Creating a group within the project community that is responsible for the project's outside orientation could lead to a long-term effect on the neighborhood. Fourth, collaborative housing groups should exercise a 'controlled openness'. As project buildings cannot be open at all times, they need clear rules for the inclusion and exclusion of external people. Fifth, the integration of low threshold spaces such as cafés seems to be beneficial for both the project community itself as well as for a project's openness to the public. Finally, communal areas should have tiered pricing systems, so that people and organizations from the neighborhood benefit from it.

The present thesis is the only empirical investigation on collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood in the context of Vienna. The tentative evidence suggests that municipal subsidies for collaborative housing projects are justifiable due to the added value of collaborative housing projects. The generalizability of the results obtained, however, is subject to certain limitations. Many assumptions, for instance, are only based on a single case study and the small sample size of the neighborhood survey did not allow for a representational picture of the wider neighborhood's perspective. Despite the survey's exploratory nature and the single case study design, the thesis offers valuable insights into Vienna's collaborative housing sector. Further research will have to verify the inferences made in this thesis. In the future, it will be necessary to research possible negative aspects of collaborative housing, which, at the time, have not manifested themselves, due to the current size of the collaborative housing sector in Vienna. Furthermore, studies including larger comparative analyses of more projects would provide more definitive evidence for the impact on the neighborhood. A strategical analysis of projects similar to what Ring (2013) carried out in Berlin could be an essential next step for the collaborative housing sector in Vienna.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Abstracts

Abstract (in English)

Ringswirth, P. (2018) Collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood: Empirical evidence from Vienna. Diploma Thesis. Vienna.

An increasing number of collaborative housing projects is currently being realized in Europe and Vienna is no exception to this trend. This thesis is an initial attempt to investigate the impact collaborative housing has on its surrounding urban environment. The present study fills a gap in the literature by examining this issue in the under-researched context of Vienna. Data for this research were gathered by applying a single-case study design, in combination with a mixed-method approach. The empirical research was designed to investigate three different perspectives: (1) the municipal, (2) the residents', and (3) the wider neighborhood's perspective. First, the municipal perspective showed that the city of Vienna expects an added value of collaborative housing projects, which could manifest itself either physically (e.g. through hybrid ground floor zones) or socially (e.g. through the organization of events). Second, the perspective of collaborative housing residents yielded that the impact on the neighborhood can basically occur on three levels: the physical level, the actor network level, and the individual level. Third, the wider neighborhood's perspective showed that collaborative housing projects' commercial spaces contribute considerably to their positive perception. These findings have important implications for local policy makers, as they provide tentative evidence for the claimed positive impact and, thus, a first basis for the subsidization of projects. The conclusions drawn are also relevant for future collaborative housing groups who want to impact their neighborhood.

Keywords: collaborative housing; impact on the neighborhood; Baugruppen; co-creating the city; participatory/co-operative urban development

Zusammenfassung (auf Deutsch)

Ringswirth, P. (2018) Collaborative housing and its impact on the neighborhood: Empirical evidence from Vienna. Diploma Thesis. Vienna.

In Europa ist derzeit eine steigende Anzahl an gemeinschaftlichen Wohnprojekten zu vermerken und Wien ist keine Ausnahme bei diesem Trend. Diese Diplomarbeit stellt einen ersten Versuch dar, die Auswirkungen von gemeinschaftlichem Wohnen auf dessen städtisches Umfeld zu untersuchen. Durch das Beleuchten dieses Themas im bisher noch unzureichend erforschten Kontext der Stadt Wien schließt die vorliegende Studie eine Lücke in der Literatur. Die Daten für diese Untersuchung wurden mit einer Einzelfallanalyse in Kombination mit einem gemixten Methodenansatz erhoben. Die empirische Forschung wurde so konzipiert, dass drei Perspektiven analysiert wurden: (1) die kommunale Perspektive, (2) die Perspektive der BewohnerInnen und (3) die Perspektive des größeren nachbarschaftlichen Umfelds. Zum einen zeigte die kommunale Perspektive, dass die Stadt Wien einen Mehrwert von gemeinschaftlichen Wohnprojekten erwartet, welcher sich entweder auf physische (z.B. durch gemischte Erdgeschosszonen) oder auf soziale (z.B. durch die Organisation von Veranstaltungen) Weise manifestieren kann. Zweitens brachte die Perspektive der BewohnerInnen von gemeinschaftlichen Wohnbauten hervor, dass sich die Effekte auf die Nachbarschaft im Wesentlichen auf drei Ebenen zeigen können: der physischen Ebene, der Ebene des Akteursnetzwerks und der individuellen Ebene. Drittens zeigte die Perspektive des größeren nachbarschaftlichen Umfelds, dass Gewerbeflächen erheblich zur positiven Wahrnehmung von gemeinschaftlichen Wohnprojekten beitragen. Diese Ergebnisse haben bedeutende Folgen für lokale politische Entscheidungsträger, da sie einen vorläufigen Nachweis über die positiven Auswirkungen erbringen und damit eine Basis für die Förderung solcher Projekte schaffen. Die daraus gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen sind auch für zukünftige gemeinschaftliche Wohnprojekte relevant, welche positiv in ihr Wohnumfeld ausstrahlen möchten.

Appendix B: Participatory observation: List of events

Starting from November 2016, I participated in the following events:

- *Tagung Soziale Ausrichtung von Baugemeinschaften* | "Social Orientation of Collaborative Housing Projects" | Conference | Vienna | 21.-22.10.2016

- *Gemeinschaftliches Bauen und Wohnen für Alle* | "Collaborative building and housing for everyone" | Meeting | Vienna | 18.03.2017

- The architecture of the commons? Another approach to architecture and the city. Learning from precedents and collective housing | Workshop | Vienna | 31.03.2017

- *Bauen mit Sozialkapital* | "Building with social capital" | IBA-Talk | Vienna | 24.04.2017

- *Nordbahnvierteltreff* | "Northern railway neighborhood meeting" | Meeting | Vienna | 13.06.2017

- *Welche Qualitäten braucht das Nordbahnviertel?* | "Which qualities does the Northern railway neighborhood need?" | Meeting | Vienna | 07.09.2017

- *Selbstorganisation im Wohnbau* | "Self-organization in the housing sector" | Lecture and discussion | Vienna | 11.10.2017

- *Selbstbau meets Wiener Wohnbau* | "Self-building meets the Viennese housing sector" | Symposium | Vienna | 10.11.2017

Appendix C: List of interviewees

a) Experts in institutions			
Code	**Date**	**Location**	**Role**
E1	20.8.2017	Krakauerstraße 19, 1020 Vienna	*Die Wogen* co-founder
E2	22.8.2017	Muthgasse 62, 1190 Vienna	IBA Wien employee
E3	31.8.2017	Rathausstraße 14-16, 1010 Vienna	MA 18 employee
E4	1.9.2017	Praterstraße 15, 1020 Vienna	Urban researcher
E5	5.9.2017	Max-Winter-Platz, 1010 Vienna	Neighborhood management institution employee

b) Members of a collaborative housing project			
Code	**Date**	**Location**	**Role**
R1	17.8.2017	Krakauerstraße 19, 1020 Vienna	Resident Wohnprojekt Wien
R2	20.8.2017	Krakauerstraße 19, 1020 Vienna	Resident Wohnprojekt Wien
R3	21.8.2017	Krakauerstraße 19, 1020 Vienna	Resident Wohnprojekt Wien
R4	28.8.2017	Krakauerstraße 19, 1020 Vienna	Resident Wohnprojekt Wien
R5	28.8.2017	Rathausstraße 14-16, 1010 Vienna	Resident Wohnprojekt Wien

Appendix D: Interview guides

Interview Guide – Experts in institutions

Einleitung

Vielen Dank für die Möglichkeit eines Interviews.

Diese Forschung wird durchgeführt, um herauszufinden welche Effekte Baugruppen auf die umliegende Nachbarschaft haben. Ich führe diese Studie im Rahmen meiner Diplomarbeit am Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien durch. Besonders interessiert bin ich an der Rolle von Baugruppen in der Wiener Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung, dem Selbstverständnis der Baugruppen-BewohnerInnen, als auch an den Meinungen der im Quartier lebenden Menschen. Die Fragen die ich Ihnen stellen werde, beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf Baugruppen in neugebauten Stadtteilen.

Alles von Ihnen gesagte wird ausschließlich für mein Forschungsprojekt verwendet und wird nicht mit anderen geteilt. Ebenso wird ihr Name nicht verwendet werden, um Ihre Anonymität zu bewahren. Ihre Zustimmung zu diesem Interview haben Sie bereits mit der Einverständniserklärung gegeben. Haben Sie noch Fragen bevor wir mit dem Interview beginnen?

Eröffnungsfragen

1. Baugruppen erfreuen sich neuerdings großer Beliebtheit und die Anzahl der fertiggestellten Häuser in Wien nimmt zu. Wie stehen Sie zu diesem neuen Trend des gemeinschaftlichen Bauens und Wohnens?

2. Welchen Bezug haben Sie zu Baugruppen?

3. Welchen städtebaulichen Mehrwert würden Sie Baugruppen zuschreiben?

Schlüsselfragen: Allgemein

4. Welche Strategie verfolgt die Stadt Wien bezüglich Baugruppen?
   (offizielle Baugruppen-Strategie, (Nicht-)Erwähnung in Planungsdokumenten)

5. Es heißt immer, dass Baugruppen in die Nachbarschaft „hinausstrahlen". Können Sie hier etwas konkreter werden? Kann ein solches ausstrahlen langfristig sichergestellt werden?
   (Erdgeschosszonennutzung, Veranstaltungen, Gemeinschaftsräume)

6. Baugruppen werden ja von der Stadt Wien auch gefördert. Welche Erwartungen stellt die Stadt Wien an Baugruppen in Bezug auf das Quartier?
   (Förderungen gerechtfertigt?, Erwartungen bisher erfüllt?)

Schlüsselfragen: Stadtentwicklung

7. Die meisten Baugruppen in Wien werden in Stadterweiterungsgebieten gebaut. Welche Rolle spielen diese in den neu gebauten Stadtteilen?
   (als Stadtentwicklungsinstrument eingesetzt?)

8. Inwiefern sind Baugruppen in den Planungsprozess der neuen Stadtteile eingebunden?

9. Wie passen Baugruppen in eine kooperative, partizipatorische Stadtentwicklung?
   (Teilhabe an weiterer Ausgestaltung des Viertels?)

10. Welche negativen Effekte könnte das Konzept „gemeinsam bauen und wohnen" mit sich bringen?
    (soziale Segregation? Soziale Verinselung? Gated communities?)

11. Inwiefern tragen Baugruppen zur Bildung einer Grätzl-Gemeinschaft bei?

12. Werden Baugruppen ihrem Anspruch soziale und inklusive Nachbarschaften zu schaffen gerecht? Sind die Förderungen der Stadt Wien gerechtfertigt?

Schlüsselfragen: Nordbahnhofgelände/Wohnprojekt Wien

13. Welche Effekte hat das Wohnprojekt Wien am Nordbahnhofgelände auf ihre umliegende Umgebung?
    (Salon, Gemeinschaftsräume, Vernetzung mit anderen Initiativen)

14. Welche Rolle spielen Baugruppen in der zukünftigen Weiterentwicklung des Nordbahnhofs?
    (und in weiterer Folge auch des Nordwestbahnhofs?)

Abschließende Fragen

15. Wie sehen Sie die Entwicklung des gemeinschaftlichen Bauens und Wohnens in der Zukunft?

16. Eigenes Fazit in Bezug auf Baugruppen und das Quartier?

17. Würden Sie noch irgendetwas hinzufügen wollen?

Hintergrundinformationen

Interview Nummer:

Alter:

Ausbildung:

Beruf:

Baugruppenbewohner:

Interview Guide – Residents

Einleitung

Vielen Dank für die Möglichkeit eines Interviews.

Diese Forschung wird durchgeführt, um herauszufinden welche Effekte Baugruppen auf die umliegende Nachbarschaft haben. Ich führe diese Studie im Rahmen meiner Diplomarbeit am Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien durch. Besonders interessiert bin ich an der Rolle von Baugruppen in der Wiener Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung, dem Selbstverständnis der Baugruppen-BewohnerInnen, als auch an den Meinungen der im Quartier lebenden Menschen. Die Fragen die ich Ihnen stellen werde, beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf die Rolle des Wohnprojekt Wiens am Nordbahnhofgelände.

Alles von Ihnen gesagte wird ausschließlich für mein Forschungsprojekt verwendet und wird nicht mit anderen geteilt. Ebenso wird ihr Name nicht verwendet werden, um Ihre Anonymität zu bewahren. Ihre Zustimmung zu diesem Interview haben Sie bereits mit der Einverständniserklärung gegeben. Haben Sie noch Fragen bevor wir mit dem Interview beginnen?

Eröffnungsfragen

18. Wie versteht sich das Wohnprojekt Wien im Nordbahnhofgrätzl?
    (Beziehungen im Grätzl, Vernetzungen, Ausstrahlung, sozialer Anker, Aufgaben)

19. Was ist Ihre Rolle als Baugruppen-Mitglied wenn Sie an das Nordbahnviertel denken?
    (in welcher UG tätig)

Schlüsselfragen: Allgemein

20. Wie will das Wohnprojekt Wien in die Nachbarschaft hinausstrahlen?
    (Vision, Food Coop, Veranstaltungen, Salon, Flex-Räume, Mittagstisch, Untergruppe „Grätzlvernetzung")

21. Auf der Homepage des Wohnprojekt Wiens liest man: „Wir wollen gerne dazu beitragen, dass das Miteinander [im Grätzl] wächst." Wie trägt das Wohnprojekt zum Miteinander im Quartier bei?

22. Weiters liest man auf der Homepage: Wir wollen „uns in die Gestaltung des Grätzls – auch und gerade rund um die weitere Bebauung einbringen." Was können Sie mir hierzu erzählen?
    (Beteiligungsprozess Erweiterung des Nordbahnhofs, Aktivitäten der Gebietsbetreuung, BürgerInnengruppe Lebenswerter Nordbahnhof, Nordbahnhofvorlesungen)

23. Welche eigenen Veranstaltungen wurden für die Nachbarschaft organisiert?
    (Soliflohmarkt, Feste, Art der Kontakte, wer wird erreicht und wer nicht, wer entscheidet welche Veranstaltung)

24. Ist die Architektur des Wohnprojekt-Hauses entscheidend für soziale Interaktionen mit Menschen aus dem Grätzl?
    (Erdgeschosszone, Salon – gefördert durch Wohnprojekt, lebendigerer Stadtteil)

25. Welche Strategien gibt es um keine soziale Insel (gated community) im Grätzel zu werden?
    (Mitgliedschaft ohne Wohnen, Mitmachen bei Food Coop oder Mittagstisch)

26. Einerseits will das Haus inklusiv und offen sein für seine Nachbarn, andererseits will man auch nicht, dass ständig fremde Menschen im Haus herumlaufen. Wie organisiert man das?
    (öffentlich/semi-öffentlich/privat)

27. Wie denken Sie wird das Wohnprojekt von anderen Bewohnern des Nordbahnviertels wahrgenommen?
    (obere Mittelschicht, Öko-Fuzzis, offen und inklusiv, engagiert)

28. Wenn Sie die selbstauferlegten Erwartungen in Bezug auf das Quartier mit der Realität vergleichen – was konnte seit Einzug umgesetzt werden und was nicht?

Abschließende Fragen

29. Hat sich Ihre Beziehung zur Stadt/zur Nachbarschaft durch das Planen und Wohnen in einer Baugruppe verändert?

30. Welche Pläne oder Vorhaben gibt es für die Zukunft?

31. Würden Sie noch irgendetwas hinzufügen wollen?

Hintergrundinformationen

Interview Nummer:

Alter:

Ausbildung:

Beruf:

Arbeitsbereich im Wohnprojekt:

Appendix E: Declaration of consent

Einwilligungserklärung zur Erhebung und Verarbeitung der Interviewdaten

Forschungsprojekt: Collaborative Housing and its impact on the neighborhood: Evidence from Vienna

Endprodukt: Diplomarbeit

Interviewer: Philipp Ringswirth

Interviewdatum: _____

Kurzbeschreibung des Forschungsprojekts:

Das Konzept „Gemeinsam bauen und wohnen" erfreut sich neuer Beliebtheit und die Zahl der Baugruppenprojekte in Wien steigt rasant an. Gemeinschaftliche Wohnhäuser, so die Meinung vieler BaugruppenbewohnerInnen, StadtplanerInnen, als auch WissenschaftlerInnen, besitzen die Möglichkeit positive Effekte auf das Quartier auszustrahlen.

Generell gibt es auf diesem Gebiet für Österreich sehr wenig Literatur. Es ist daher das Ziel dieser Arbeit herauszufinden a) welche Rolle Baugruppen in der Wiener Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung spielen, b) wie Baugruppen in der umliegenden Nachbarschaft wahrgenommen werden, und c) wie das Selbstverständnis der Baugruppen-BewohnerInnen in Bezug auf das Quartier aussieht.

Die Interviews werden mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann von Philipp Ringswirth in Schriftform gebracht.

Die Teilnahme am Interview ist freiwillig. Sie haben zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit, das Interview abzubrechen und Ihr Einverständnis in eine Aufzeichnung und Niederschrift des Interviews zurückziehen.

Ich willige hiermit einem Interview im Rahmen der Diplomarbeit von Philipp Ringswirth und der anonymisierten Verwendung meiner Daten ein.

☐ ja ☐ nein

_____

Vorname; Nachname in Druckschrift

_____

Ort, Datum / Unterschrift

Appendix F: Coding frames for interviews

Coding frame for expert interviews (group a)

#	Category	Description
1	Vienna	Includes statements that refer to collaborative housing in Vienna
1.1	Strategy	Includes statements that refer to the strategy that is being pursued in terms of *Baugruppen* in Vienna
1.2	Expectations	Includes statements that discuss the expectations the municipality of Vienna has with regard to *Baugruppen*
1.3	Subsidies	Includes statements that center on the subsidies collaborative housing projects receive in Vienna
1.4	Future	Includes statements about the future of the collaborative housing sector in Vienna
2	Neighborhood impact	Includes statements that discuss collaborative housing's impact on the neighborhood
2.1	Positive impact	Includes statements that are dealing with a positive impact of *Baugruppen*
2.1.1	Spatial impact	Includes statements that are dealing with a positive spatial impact of *Baugruppen*
2.1.2	Social impact	Includes statements that are dealing with a positive social impact of *Baugruppen*
2.2	Negative impact	Includes statements that are dealing with a negative impact of *Baugruppen*
2.3	Community	Includes statements that discuss collaborative housing as a means of creating inclusive urban neighborhoods
3	Urban development	Includes statements that deal with collaborative housing's benefits for urban development
3.1	Role of Baugruppen in NUDA*	Includes statements that refer urban development areas and the role of *Baugruppen* in the planning/development process
3.2	Cooperative/ participatory	Includes statements that bring collaborative housing in the context of co-operative and/or participatory urban development
3.3	Added-value	Includes statements about collaborative housing's added value in terms of urban development
4	Case Study	Includes statements that particularly refer to the case study project and/or its neighborhood
4.1	WP*	Includes statements that particularly refer to the *Wohnprojekt Wien*
4.2	Nbh	Includes statements that particularly refer to the neighborhood of the case study project

*NUDA = new urban development area | *WP = Wohnprojekt Wien

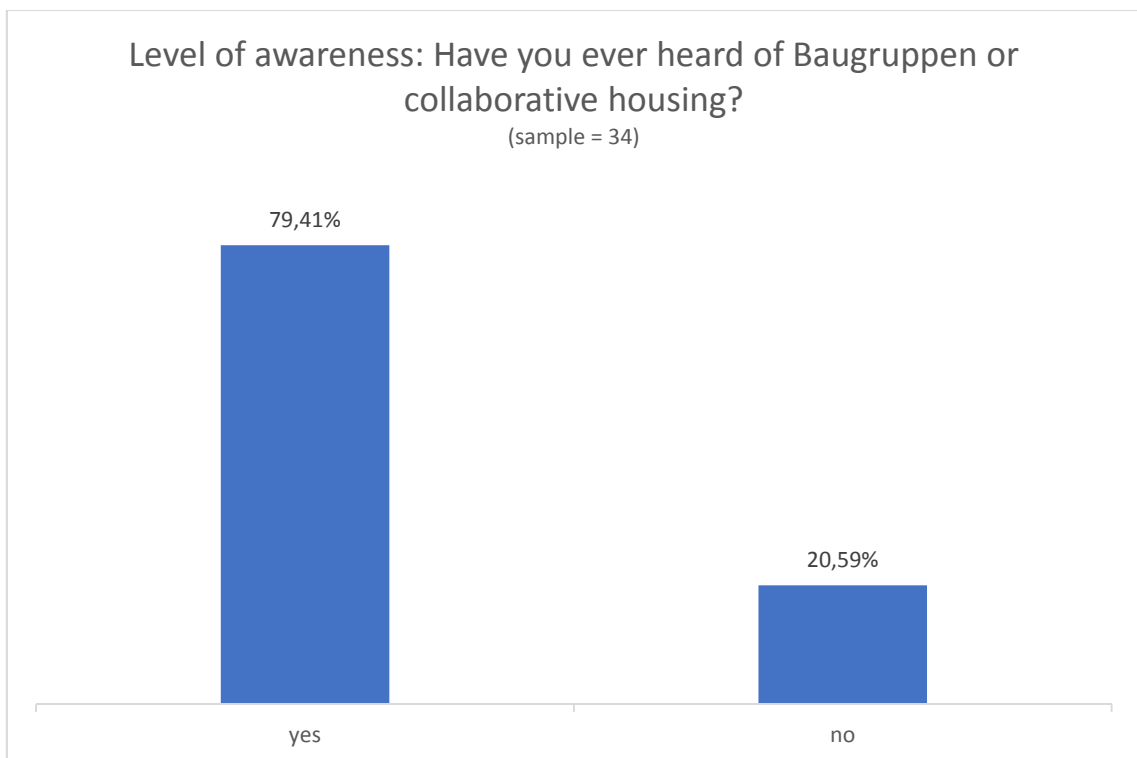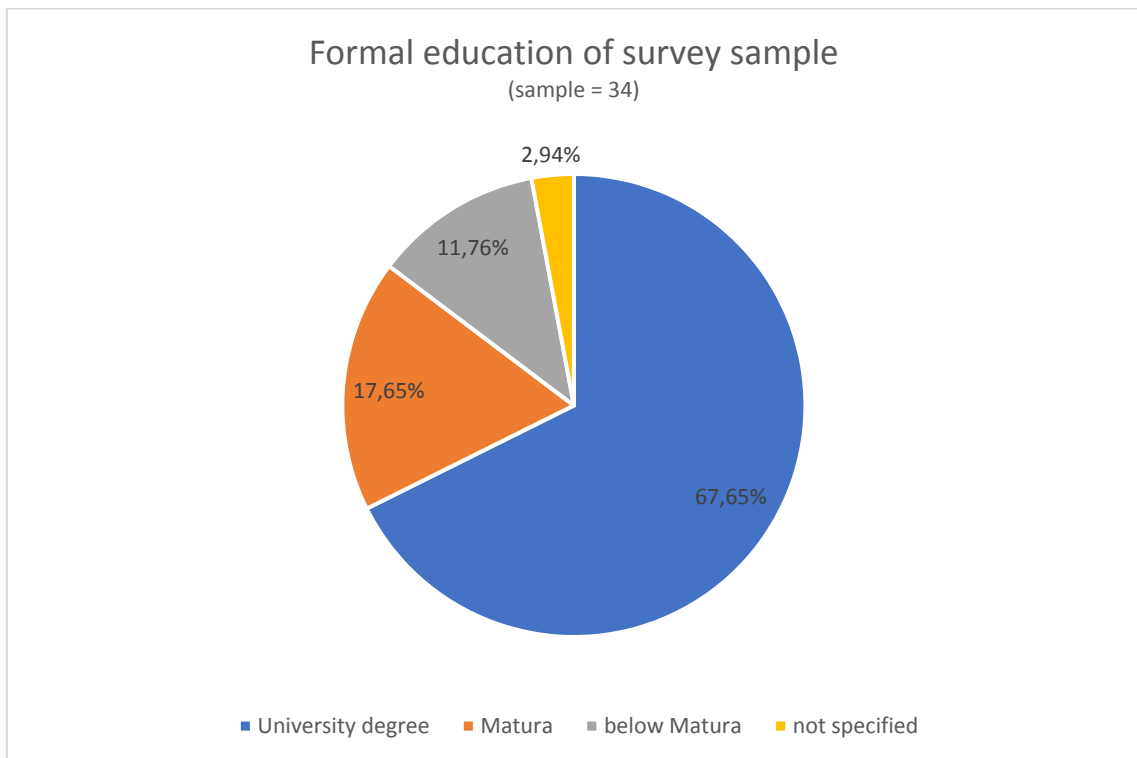**Coding frame for resident interviews** (group b)

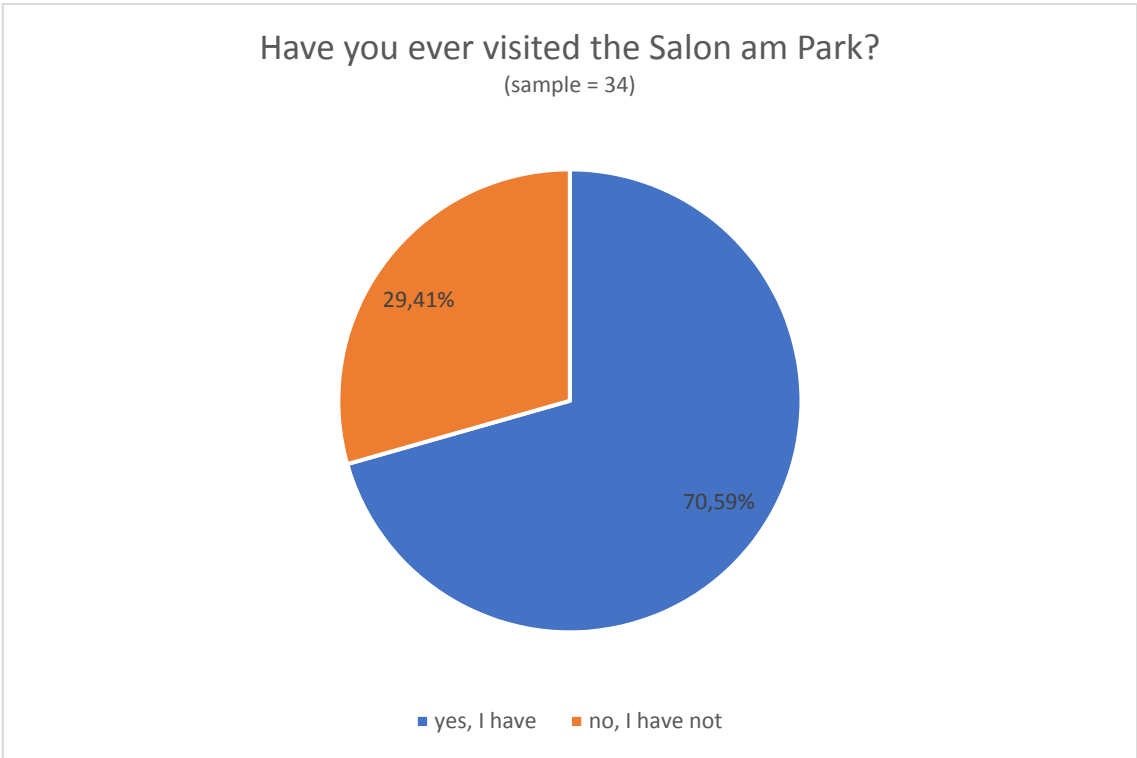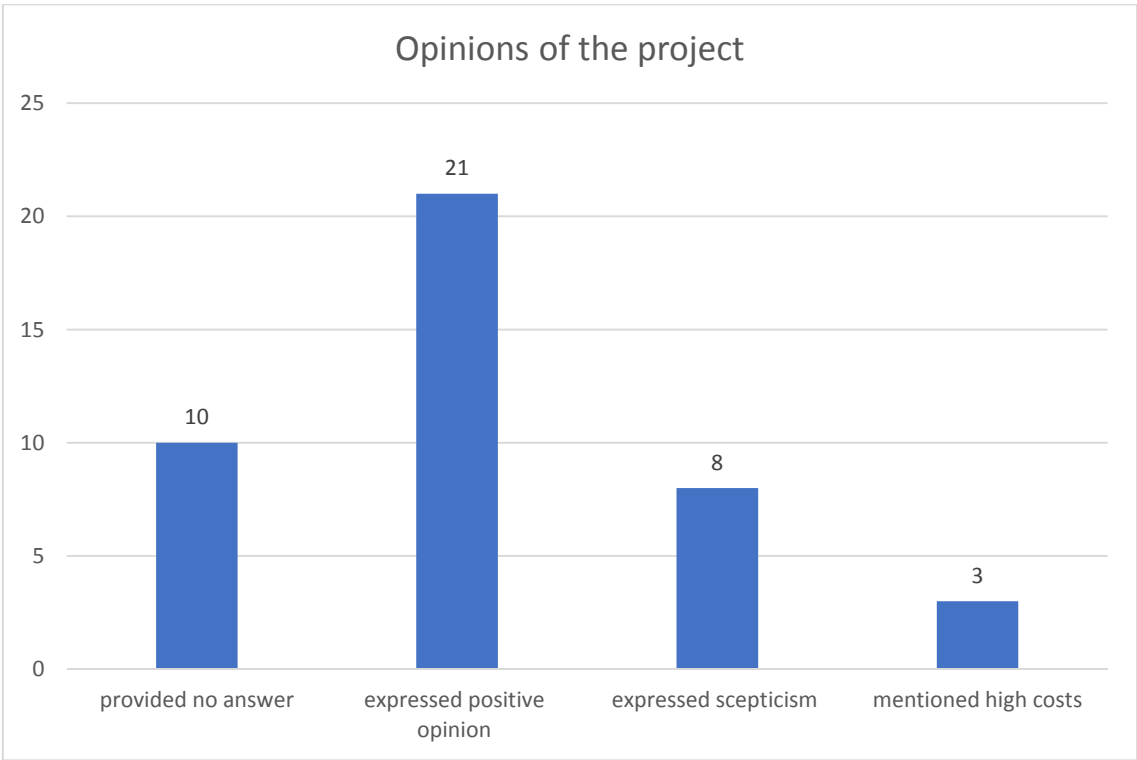| #	Category	Description
1	Project structure regarding neighborhood impact	Includes statements that concern the structure of the case study project in connection with the impact on the neighborhood.
1.1	Aims	Includes statements that deal with the project's aims regarding neighborhood impact.
1.2	Organization	Includes statements that focus on the organization of the impact on the neighborhood.
1.3	Strategies – inclusion	Includes statements about the project's strategies for the inclusion of external neighbors.
1.4	Strategies – exclusion	Includes statements about the project's strategies for the exclusion of external neighbors.
2	Neighborhood impact	Includes statements that discuss the impact on the neighborhood in more detail as well as the effects they have on a sense of community.
2.1	Impact	Includes statements dealing with the project's impact on the neighborhood.
2.2	Community	Includes statements about how the impacts affect a sense of community in the neighborhood.
3	Urban development process	Includes statements that refer to the role of the project in urban development processes.
4	Self-evaluation / reflection	Includes statements where interviewees reflect or evaluate something.
4.1	Perception of project	Includes statements about how the interviewees think that their project is perceived.
4.2	Relationship to the city	Includes statements that focus on the interviewees relationship to the city and their neighborhood.
4.3	Neighborhood impact evaluation	Includes statements that contain an assessment of the impact on the neighborhood.
4.4	Future	Includes statements about the project's future regarding neighborhood impact.

Appendix G: Questionnaire

#	Frage	Antwort
1	Haben Sie schon einmal etwas über Baugruppen oder Gemeinschaftliches Wohnen gehört?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein
2	Es gibt ein gemeinschaftliches Wohnhaus im Nordbahnviertel. Kennen Sie das Wohnprojekt Wien? Wie und was haben Sie davon gehört?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein
3	Welche Meinung haben Sie zu diesem Wohnprojekt?	
4	Kennen Sie das Café „Salon am Park"? Wenn ja: Haben Sie es selbst schon einmal besucht?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein ☐ Ja ☐ Nein – warum nicht?
5	Haben Sie schon einmal über Aktivitäten/Initiativen des Wohnprojekts gehört? Wenn ja: Haben Sie schon an welchen teilgenommen? Wenn ja, an welchen? Wenn nein, warum nicht?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein ☐ Ja ☐ Nein

6	Wie wirken sich diese Aktivitäten Ihrer Meinung nach auf das Quartier aus?	☐ Positive – inwiefern? ☐ Negativ – inwiefern?
7	Beeinflusst das Wohnprojekt Wien und dessen Aktivitäten Ihrer Meinung nach den Kontakt und die Kommunikation der Menschen im Grätzl? _Falls ja:_ pos. oder neg.? Warum?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein
8	Trägt die Gemeinschaft des Wohnprojekt Wiens etwas dazu bei, dass das Nordbahnhofviertel ein lebendigerer Stadtteil wird? _Wenn ja:_ Wie?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein
9	Erleben Sie das Wohnprojekt einladend und offen für die Nachbarschaft? Fühlen Sie sich dort willkommen? Warum ja / warum nein?	☐ Ja ☐ Nein
Angaben zur Person	Geschlecht und Alter:	☐ männlich Jahre: _____ ☐ weiblich
	Höchstabgeschlossene Schulbildung:	☐ Uni/FH Andere: _____ ☐ Matura
	Welche Sprache sprechen Sie zu Hause?	☐ Deutsch Andere: _____
	Untersuchungsgebiet / Wohnort:	Straße: _____ UG: ___

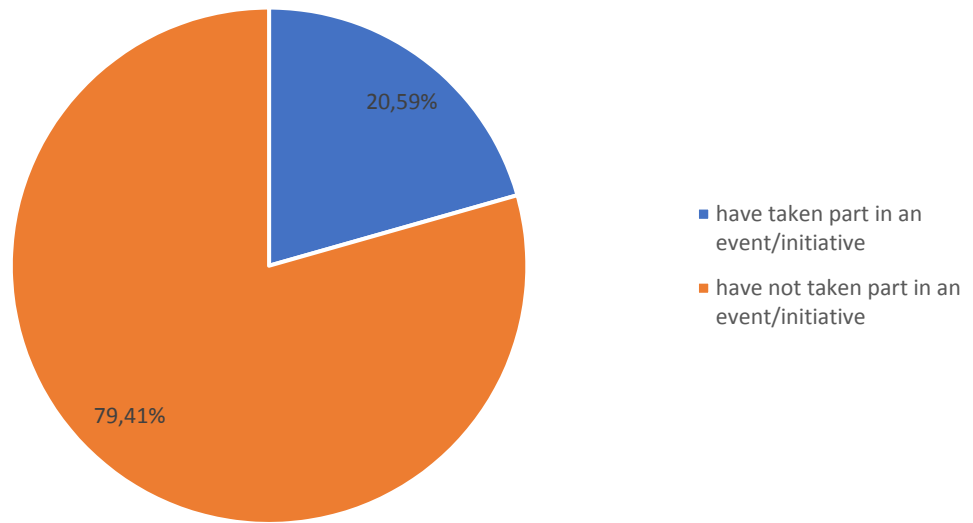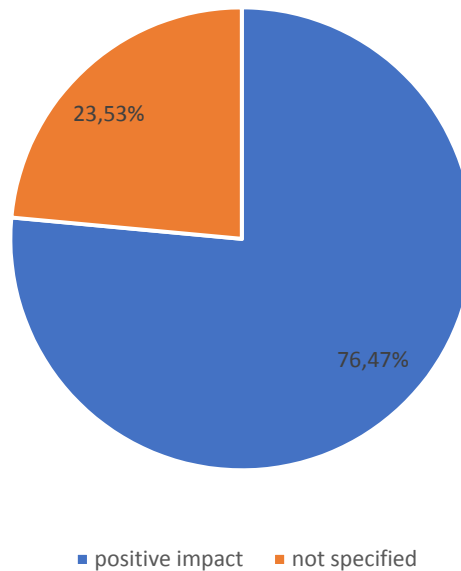**Appendix H: Graphs from the exploratory survey (section 4.2.3)**

Formal education of survey sample
(sample = 34)

- University degree: 67,65%
- Matura: 17,65%
- below Matura: 11,76%
- not specified: 2,94%

Level of awareness: Have you ever heard of Baugruppen or collaborative housing?
(sample = 34)

- yes: 79,41%
- no: 20,59%

Opinions of the project

Category	Value
provided no answer	10
expressed positive opinion	21
expressed scepticism	8
mentioned high costs	3

Have you ever visited the Salon am Park?
(sample = 34)

- yes, I have — 70,59%
- no, I have not — 29,41%

The neighborhood's participation in events/initiatives
(sample = 34)

20,59%

79,41%

- have taken part in an event/initiative
- have not taken part in an event/initiative

The assumed impact of the project's activities
(sample = 17)

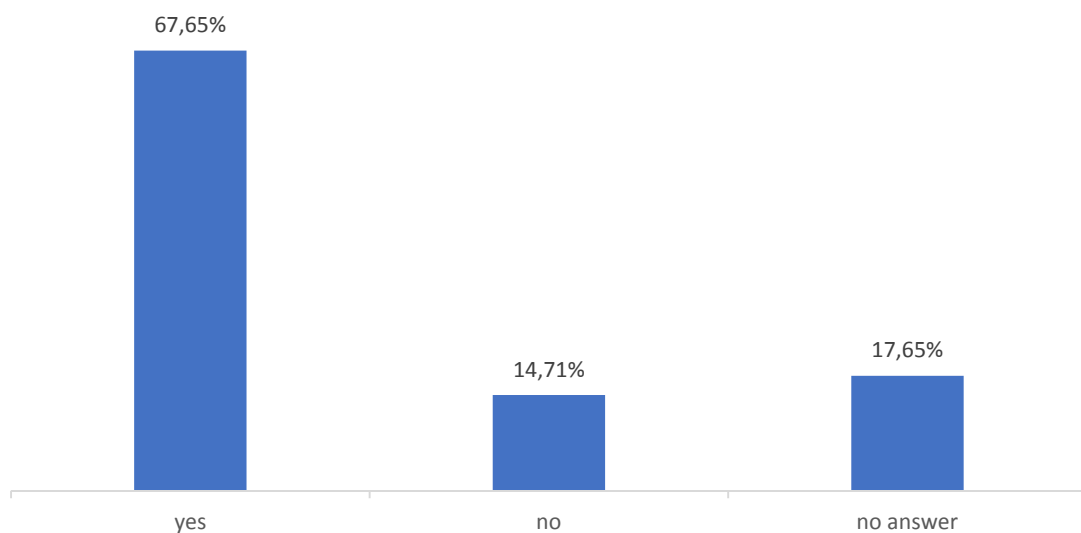23,53%

76,47%

- positive impact   - not specified

Does the Wohnprojekt Wien and its activities affect the relations and the communication of the people living in the neighborhood?
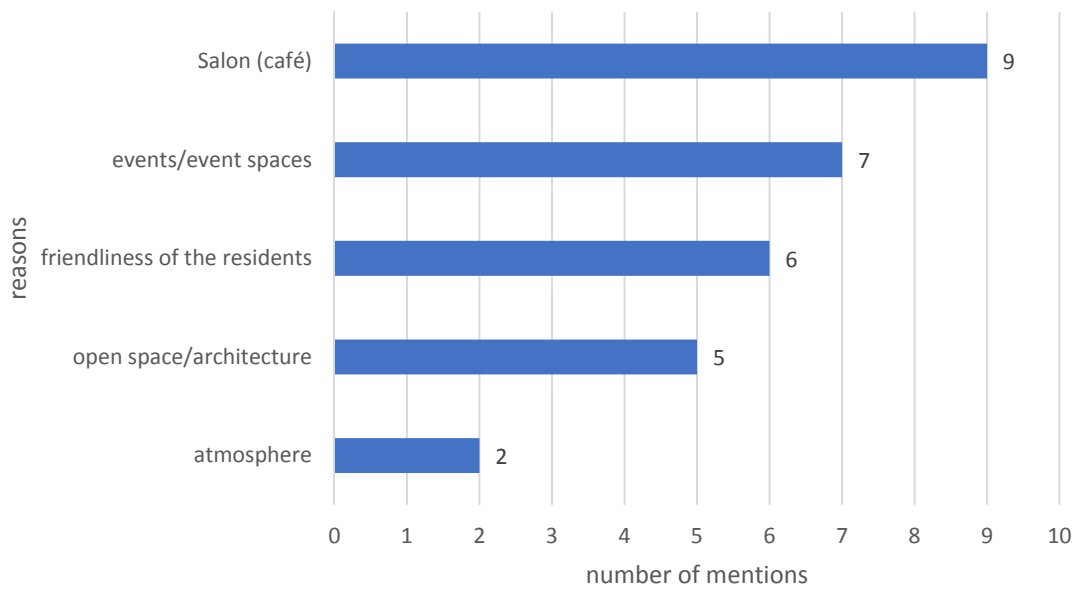(sample = 34)

- yes
- no
- no answer

29,41%

5,88%

64,71%
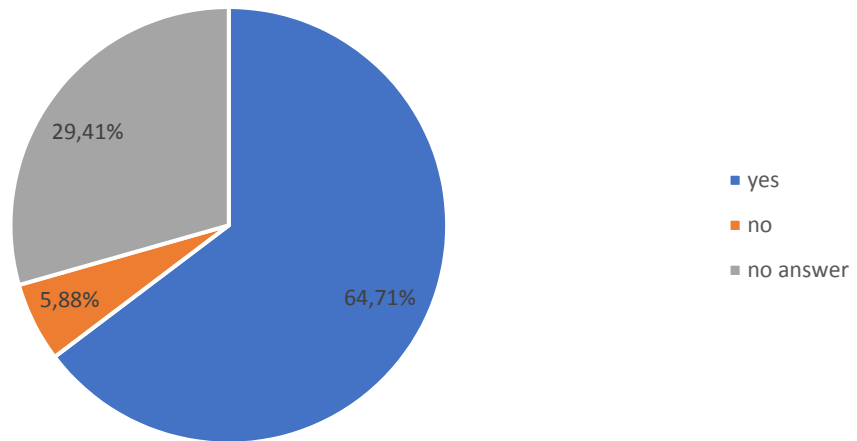
Does the Wohnprojekt Wien group contribute to making the Nordbahnhof neighborhood a more lively urban area?
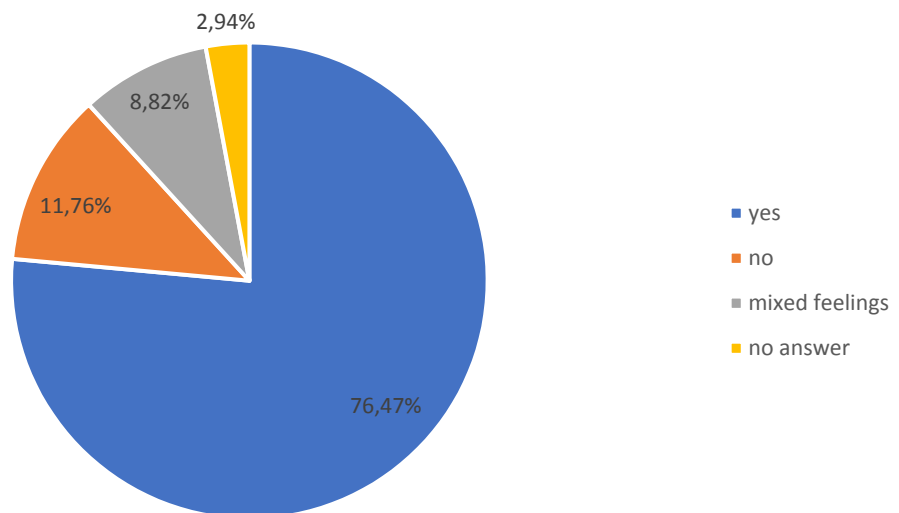(sample = 34)

67,65%

14,71%

17,65%

yes

no

no answer

Why is the Wohnprojekt Wien perceived as open towards its neighborhood?

Is the Wohnprojekt Wien welcoming and open towards its neighborhood?
(sample=34)

Appendix I: Declaration / Erklärung (in German)

Hiermit versichere ich,

- dass ich die vorliegende Diplomarbeit selbstständig verfasst, andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht benutzt und mich auch sonst keiner unerlaubter Hilfe bedient habe,

- dass ich dieses Masterarbeitsthema bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in irgendeiner Form als Prüfungsarbeit vorgelegt habe

- und dass diese Arbeit mit der vom Begutachter beurteilten Arbeit vollständig übereinstimmt.

Ich habe mich bemüht, sämtliche Inhaber der Bildrechte ausfindig zu machen und ihre Zustimmung zur Verwendung der Bilder in dieser Arbeit eingeholt. Sollte dennoch eine Urheberrechtsverletzung bekannt werden, ersuche ich um Meldung bei mir.

Wien, am 15.02.2018