“We do this work for each other”:

Building Feminist Commons in Collaborative Housing

Agata Guńková & Margareta Reljić

4Cities Erasmus Mundus Joint Master’s Degree in Urban Studies

Supervisor: Joshua Grigsby, MSc

Second Reader: Rosa M. de la Fuente Fernández, PhD

01.09.2025

Abstract

Collaborative housing has proliferated in response to dissatisfaction with conventional housing, which is increasingly unaffordable and inaccessible. Collaborative housing emphasises intentionality, participation, and solidarity. It is argued to be more gender-emancipatory than conventional housing, especially regarding its potential to minimise, redistribute, and collectivise care work, a practice conceptualised as feminist commoning. However, feminist analyses of care work in collaborative housing are sparse. In particular, data gaps remain regarding its effects on gender and the commoning of care, leaving it uncertain to what extent it mends and reshapes neoliberalised caring arrangements. Our thesis addresses this gap by exploring how care work is organised, shared, and valued within collaborative housing. We examine if patterns of gendering, outsourcing and undervaluing care are replicated in collaborative housing, or whether it represents an alternative which reflects the principles of feminist commoning. For this, we conducted qualitative research with collaborative housing projects in the Netherlands and Denmark. We gathered data through site visits, in-depth interviews, and art-based focus groups. Our findings point to a potential for the feminist commoning of care at the three scales of household, collaborative housing community, and the neighbourhood these projects are located within. This happens through the possibilities for sharing, revaluing and redistributing care that collaborative housing projects create space for. However, their potential to embody a feminist commons is nuanced by persistent challenges inherent to the neoliberal, capitalist, and hetero-patriarchal system these alternative housing microcosms operate within. Our study contributes to research on collaborative housing through its feminist approach, paving the way for it to become a viable option for more caring housing futures.

Introduction

Opening the curtains, seeing a neighbour feeding your chickens, inviting them for a coffee and asking about their day – this is not a scenario many urban dwellers in the Global North ever experience. Instead, the casual morning chat, watering the garden before a hot summer day or taking a child to school are activities that take place only within the nuclear family many share their households with. Relations with neighbours are limited to a polite chat on the staircase, or picking up a misdelivered package at best, and passive-aggressive notes in the elevator at worst. In a world that increasingly pushes us towards individualism and privacy, building community is more difficult than ever. Meanwhile, caring for our homes, our families, but also ourselves becomes an individual responsibility that is added to our pile of everyday burdens. Yet, this type of everyday care is the foundation of our lives and the building stone for relations with others. How can we then challenge the growing alienation from, and individualisation of care? How can we embrace care not as a product, but as a means to connect with others and establish relationships of mutual aid?

Marxist feminists like Silvia Federici (2010; 2019; 2020) have long tackled these questions, and exposed the ways in which care today remains a feminised, undervalued, and commodified activity. They have called for abandoning the marginalisation and individualisation of care we experience in the neoliberal capitalist world. Instead, they propose a turn towards a model that centres and radically reorganises care – that of feminist commoning. Previous research has considered how embracing collective living arrangements might be a way of building, both materially and socially, communities in which care can be redistributed in a gender-equitable manner (Jarvis, 2017; Morrow & Parker, 2020; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). It has been suggested that collaborative housing, referring to a housing form which incorporates aspects of intentionality, self-organisation and participation (Czischke et al., 2020), may be a space that enables the recognition and decommodification of reproductive work. By sharing spaces and meals, collectively maintaining the built environment and establishing community decision-making processes, care may be brought back out of the shadows of privacy. Casual chats over coffee, bringing soup to a sick neighbour, or feeding the next-door cat can become part of the urban everyday, rather than a romantic vision of a long-lost countryside life. By establishing care as a collective practice, it can be shared and valued

equally among residents, rather continuing to be an unpaid and feminised form of labour in the nuclear home. Yet, ambivalence remains about the extent to which this can occur within the realities of neoliberal capitalism and entrenched gender norms, considering that collaborative housing projects can hardly escape the world that surrounds them (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023; Ledent & Salembier, 2021; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019; Wieger, 2017).

Feminist research at the intersection of care work and collaborative housing which focuses on the possibilities for commoning such work is still sparse, save for some exceptions that our thesis builds on (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). Given the limited scope of previous research, it is no surprise that certain stones have been left unturned. Some questions remain unanswered, such as those surrounding the collective experience of everyday emotional and physical care work in conflict mediation, decision-making, or the maintenance and repair necessary to sustain the collaborative home. Other aspects that have yet to be explored are the scalar interplay of family, community, and neighbourhood in the commoning of care, as well as the question of if and how care work is outsourced in these communities. These gaps must be taken seriously if collaborative housing is to live up to its potential as a space from which to redefine care, and an "island" of post-capitalist feminist commoning (Chatterton, 2016).

Research aim

In this thesis, we explore the potential of collaborative housing as a space for feminist commoning. We believe that this is a relevant and necessary area for scholarly inquiry within the field of urban studies given the intersection between the concepts of care and housing, as well as the multilayered influence the processes of patriarchal neoliberal capitalism have had on them. Furthermore, it is relevant due to the growing interest in collaborative housing models, which have attracted the interest of researchers (Czischke et al., 2020) but also policy makers in cities worldwide (Gerritsma, 2022), reflecting a recognition of the growing need for affordable housing and community-oriented forms of living (Bianchi & Costa, 2024).

We approach these topics in this thesis by embodying a spirit of critical generosity throughout our work (Hannabach, 2023). This means that we engage in thorough, benevolent, and generative criticism of commoning practices in collaborative housing. For this, we inquire into the everyday

care work in collaborative housing from the perspective of its residents. We do this by exploring with them the experience, performance, and distribution of care work within collaborative housing projects, and considering in which ways this might reflect the principles of feminist commoning. Our research draws on insights from fieldwork within collaborative housing projects in the Netherlands and Denmark. Insights from these contexts are not compared, but assessed cumulatively. The thesis is guided by the following main research question:

How is care work distributed, performed, and experienced by participants of collaborative housing projects, and in which ways it reflects the principles of feminist commoning?

The following subquestions then help answer the research question in detail:

1. How is care work shared, perceived and gendered within households in collaborative housing communities?

2. What kinds of care labour are performed together in collaborative housing communities? How is care collectively valued, shared and experienced by residents?

3. Does care extend beyond the boundaries of the collaborative community?

In order to explore these questions, we first review literature relevant to our study, delving into the existing work on home, housing and care, and paying attention especially to the impacts of capitalism and neoliberalisation on these three interrelated concepts. Next, we look at the history of collaborative housing, as well as its definition, critiques and connections with feminist literature. Subsequently, we introduce the theoretical framework, which puts the existing literature on care and collaborative housing into conversation with the concept of feminist commoning. We then provide an overview of the background of our case studies, as well as the methods used in our research and a reflection on our own positionality as researchers. After this, we present our findings, structured around three different scales of caring we identify in our research, namely the household, the collaborative housing community, and the neighbourhood. We query these findings critically in our discussion, which is articulated through three core ideals of feminist commoning: recognition, redistribution and sharing of care. Finally, we conclude with reflections on the

empirical limitations of our work and suggestions for further avenues for research that may help fulfil the promise of feminist commoning in collaborative housing.

Literature review

The following literature review consists of two parts. The first provides a background to the development of the concept of collaborative housing, framing it as a response to the "double crisis" of housing and care, and embedding it spatially and analytically within the notion of the home. The second part defines and operationalises the concept of collaborative housing by surveying relevant literature on the topic.

The aim of the first section of this literature review is to analyse the concept of the home from two complementary points of view, focusing on Marxist and feminist analyses of it. It weaves together two strands of literature, that on housing and that on care work, in order to show how care practices are intertwined with the material conditions and symbolic meanings of home and housing. The literature presented shows that under capitalism, the home, both in terms of urban housing markets, and as a space for care, or reproductive work, is increasingly precarious and in a state of perpetual "crisis". This is exacerbated by processes of neoliberalisation, and the inherently exploitative nature of capitalist systems, which turns both the home, and the care dispensed within it, into a commodity and a means for capital accumulation.

However, research has increasingly focused also on the grassroots alternatives formulated in past decades in response to the precarisation of the home and of care. The second part of the literature review therefore introduces one alternative to the commodification and precarisation of urban home spaces and the gendered performances of care work they entail, namely collaborative housing. It gives an overview of the literature surrounding the history and definitions of the term, as well as the conceptual and empirical critiques addressed to collaborative housing. Lastly, a research gap in the work on collaborative housing is identified, based on the preceding overview of existing work on the home, housing, and care, that this thesis attempts to fill.

Home, Housing, and Care

The Home as a Dwelling and a Space of Care

Place

The idea of home is tied to a variety of interrelated and sometimes contradictory concepts. Home is closely related to the idea of a "place" which is seen to be socially constructed through the social, economic but also physical realities which surround us (Massey, 1995). That is not to say that the physical construction of a place is unimportant, but rather that a place is not only created through its physicality, but also its interpretation (Gieryn, 2000; Massey, 1995). In an era of globalisation and time-space compression (Harvey, 1996), pervasive uncertainty and instability makes people return to the idea of a place as stable and secure, Massey (1995) argues. However, the construction of personal identity based upon the idea of a place is not new: as Said (1977) argues, the European identity project, for instance, was built in opposition to an orientalised "Other". The fast-changing character of places through globalisation are further challenging the sense of identity, leading to new interpretations and an altered sense of place (Easthope, 2004). With intensified exchanges of information, commodity, ideas and people, the meaning of place and its impact on personal identities is therefore changing. And so is the meaning of home.

Home

Home is a multifaceted and contested concept (Mallett, 2004). As Easthope (2004) elaborates, the home can be seen as a socio-spatial (Saunders & Williams, 1988), psycho-social (Giuliani, 1991), but also emotive (Gurney, 2000) space. Just as with the idea of place, while the home is located in both time and space, it is not just its physical structure that constitutes it (Easthope, 2004). The home is a nodal point created through social relations within it, but also extending beyond it (Massey, 1992). Understanding home through the lens of place, we can therefore reject the dichotomy between home as a social and emotional space and the house as a physical space, but acknowledge their interrelation and mutual importance (Easthope, 2004). A home and house are therefore not synonymous, but are related concepts which can be understood as socially co-created phenomena through the understanding of place.

Home has been an important point of analysis for feminist thought. Early research in this field focused on the connection between gender and home mainly by analysing the position of women within the domestic sphere. Second-wave feminist writers focused on the home as a crucial site of oppression and patriarchal domination of men over women (Mallett, 2004). According to Oakley (1974), the home is part of the private realm in which women are generally subjected to bearing the brunt of domestic labour. This sphere stands in contrast to the public "outside", where paid work is carried out (Madigan et al., 1990). The origins of the idea of private and public spheres can be traced back to the Enlightenment period in Western European thought. Since then, the private sphere has been associated with home as a moral foundation of society, tied to femininity, emotionality, and reproduction. This was contrasted with the public as a space of governmentality, rationality and masculinity (Webster, 2023). This has not only confined household responsibilities to a feminised realm, but also idealised the home as a space of safety and stability (Kern, 2020). When this model of a private-public dichotomy was exported through colonialism to geographies beyond the Global North, it functioned to further reinforce Western "superiority" through its conceptualisation as an alleged marker of "civilisation" (Webster, 2023). The idealised Western model of home thus makes invisible the gendered and racialised labour historically undertaken in the home, and erases the experiences of those for whom home is a space of violence and inequality (Kern, 2020).

Later feminist research focuses more on the "double burden" experienced by women through their participation in both domestic reproductive and paid wage labour, as well as the idea that the home can be an unsafe space due to gender based violence (Mallett, 2004). Additionally, contemporary literature examines the home through an intersectional lens, recognising the diversity of women's experiences and not aiming to universalise white, cisgendered women's perspectives (Satsangi, 2013). Authors examine the disempowerment of Black women within the home at the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 2013), as well as home as a potential site of subversive activity for both Black women and men, who have long been excluded from the public realm due to institutionalised racism (hooks, 2014). A substantial amount of literature also exists within Queer Studies, which focuses on redefining home in relation to the broad category of queerness, related to

sexuality and gender expression. The heteronormativity of the home is on one hand deconstructed, allowing space for other expressions of sexuality and gender (Bryant, 2015), on the other hand also re-constructed and used as an act of subversion by queer individuals (Kentlyn, 2008). This literature challenges the dominant vision of home as a space for the heteronormative nuclear family. Overall, contemporary feminist and queer thought focuses on deconstructing the notion of gender in relation to home, as well as bringing an intersectional perspective to struggles that manifest within the domestic sphere.

Housing

Similarly to home, the study of housing extends into a variety of fields. From sociology, anthropology, psychology, but also economics, the study of housing is multidisciplinary, tackling a myriad of topics beyond the physical construction of dwellings. Housing can be both a noun and a verb, referring to the material object which can be built or demolished, but also the process people undertake to gain access to housing for themselves and others (Ruonavaara, 2018). Due to this breadth, authors have gone back and forth on the possibility of creating a "theory of housing". Kemeny (2013) argues that housing is too small of a unit of study, leading to the creation of academically weak theories. He argues that within much of the theory, housing is simply a common denominator of a wide variety of topics, leading to "a-disciplinary" rather than multi-disciplinary research outcomes. He elaborates that researchers should return to their respective disciplines and use already existing theories to think of housing, rather than develop new theories which focus specifically on housing as a unit of analysis (Kemeny, 2013). However, this view has since been challenged, and others have suggested that while housing indeed cannot be theorised as an object, it can be theorised *from* (Ruonavaara, 2018). According to King (2009), it is possible to create theories which stem from residents' experiences and focus on aspects of the "activity in which we use dwellings to meet our ends and fulfil our interests, to such an extent that this singular dwelling becomes meaningful to us" (p. 42). Similarly, Clapham (2009) sees the need for grounded, bottom-up theory of housing, rooted in the relation between people and the materiality of the house, arguing that while Kemeny's (2013) criticism has contributed to more theoretically informed research, there is no housing research which can be theory-free (Clapham, 2018). The study of housing is therefore a contested field, which is yet to become a unified whole.

The Political Economy of Housing

Housing also holds a prominent place within Marxist theories of urban space and the study of political economy. It has been a point of interest of classical Marxism from the beginning, for instance in Engels' investigation into the working-class dwellings of industrial Manchester (2005), later expanded into a series of articles (1935). However, as Aalbers & Christophers (2014) argue, despite Engels' recognition of the importance of housing, classical Marxism did not consider housing to be a core concern of political-economic theory, but rather a symptom of the wider failings of capitalism. Contemporary Marxist theories, however, recognise urban space, including the built environment and housing in particular, as a place of inherent conflict (Brenner et al., 2009). Furthermore, as Harvey (2002) argues, the monopoly power over private property is "both the beginning point and the end point of all capitalist activity" (p.97), highlighting the centrality of housing in capitalist political economy. Housing is seen as a place of conflict due to its dual character as both a commodity with an exchange value and its value for users as a shelter, a home, and a space of everyday life (Pattillo, 2013). The transformation of housing in recent history from commodity to a complex financial technology (ibid.), which will be elaborated on further in the following sections, has only exacerbated this duality. Evictions, foreclosures, exorbitant housing costs and homelessness are only some of its manifestations. They display the connection between the physical and socio-political meaning of housing and its interconnection with the wider political economy (Aalbers & Christophers, 2014). Therefore, Marxist analysis of housing highlights the need for the politicisation of housing debates by underlining the centrality of housing within mechanisms of reproduction of capitalism (Madden & Marcuse, 2016) and their impacts on not only the physical construction of housing, but the adjacent socio-emotional realities of people residing within them.

Housing and Feminist Analysis

Feminist analyses are highly relevant to the study of housing. Early research focused on how the Western ideal of the nuclear family home was an intrinsic part of suburban expansion, the promotion of homeownership, and the maintenance of unequal gender relations (McDowell, 1983). A decline of community and increasing individualisation have accompanied the rise of

owner-occupied single-family houses as a new ideal form of dwelling throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. This has been in line with the overall privatisation of consumption and the withdrawal of state support from all domains of life (Mallett, 2004), especially since the second half of the 20th century. As Mallett (2004) argues, governments of Western market economies have "promoted the conflation of house, home and family as part of a broader ideological agenda aimed at increasing economic efficiency and growth" (p.66). The nuclear family has thus become the main unit responsible for self-sustenance (Madigan et al., 1990), a notion which manifests itself in the ideal of the owner-occupied, mortgage-financed home. In this way, Dowling (1998) notes, homeownership has become an important component to the construction of middle class norms of masculinity and femininity.

Contemporary feminist research into housing thus steers away from universalising explanations of the relation between gender and housing, yet recognises the relevance of a gender-sensitive lens for such research (Gabriel, 2008). Furthermore, gender has been studied in connection to female homelessness and the gender specificities of access to housing (Bretherton, 2017). Research has focused on the invisibility of female homelessness (May et al., 2007), disproportionate prevalence of young single mothers in family homelessness (Pleace et al., 2008), as well as the role of gender-based violence in homelessness (Mayock et al., 2012). Furthermore, Queer Studies discuss the role of gender and sexuality (Ecker, 2016) as well as intersectional approaches towards homelessness and lack of access to housing (Fraser et al., 2019). Similarly to the notion of home, contemporary feminist analysis sees housing as a crucial site to be reclaimed and re-centered as a place of "collective life, one traversed by multiple people and forms of cooperation, providing safety without isolation and fixation" (Federici, 2011, p. 388), emphasising the focal point of housing and resistance in feminist research.

Home as Care

The previous paragraphs have demonstrated how housing and home spaces both concentrate and reflect "wider economic and political rationalities", and act as "political sites that are intensely intimate and local" (Brickell et al., 2017, p. 8) by providing the material infrastructure of everyday life (Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo, 2019; Courbebaisse & Salembier, 2022). Everyday life is

underpinned by caring activities (Federici, 2019; Power & Mee, 2020). The home, then, is a site that has often been studied as a space in which social reproductive activities, sometimes termed "care" or "care work", take place. In the next section, this term will be further defined and literature on care will be surveyed.

What is care?

Care has multiple meanings, takes many different forms, and encompasses a broad variety of activities. It has been theorised by different authors based on various conceptual underpinnings, as it "exists as relational practice, as policy, as an ethic, and as the basis for making claims, as a commodity, as economy, and as power" (Williams 2018, p. 547). Joan Tronto (2016) gives a broad and encompassing definition of care, asserting that care includes activities of maintenance and repair that contribute to our ability to live well, and relates to our bodies, ourselves, and our environment. Tronto emphasises the fact that care is about fulfilling unmet needs, and underlines its relational character. Fisher & Tronto (1990) propose to think of care through the four moments of *caring about*, or identifying caring needs, *caring for*, implying accepting responsibility for caring, *caregiving*, the actual task of delivering care, and *care receiving,* to be repeated in a processual manner until a caring need is met. This formulation highlights that care is a disposition, a practice, and a process (Courbebaisse & Salembier, 2022), and entails both physical-material and mental-affective aspects (Conradson, 2003; Fraser, 2016; Tronto, 2013). Often, caring activities are not valued monetarily, or are concentrated in low-paid and informal sectors of the economy (Romero & Pérez, 2016). Literature also highlights that care is essential on a societal level, as it provides the substratum for culture, economy, political organisation to grow on (Fraser, 2016; Tronto, 2013, 2016) and permeates every facet of our lives.

The Home as a Space of Care?

While care, especially following this broad definition, takes place in a variety of contexts and at different scales (Williams, 2018), many essential caring activities are also concentrated in home spaces (Power & Mee, 2020). These may include child-rearing, caring for the sick and elderly, providing emotional support for friends and family members, engaging in the physical and mental labour needed to maintain households such as cooking, cleaning, homemaking, organising and

coordinating the daily life of family members, and sustaining connections with the broader community, for instance by building relationships with one's neighbours. Putting the literature on care into conversation with the body of work on the home and the house which were previously introduced, authors have highlighted the care that is needed to sustain, maintain, and repair housing infrastructures (Graham & Marvin 2001; Power & Mee, 2020).

Care, in the Western cultural imaginary, is closely associated with the home, considered a private, apolitical, and feminised space. This has led to the invisibilisation and devaluing of care (Jarvis, 2017; Lawson, 2007; Power & Mee, 2020). Care activities within the home, Brown (2003, in Lawson, 2007) argues, are in fact central to upholding the public-private dichotomy that has characterised Western industrial societies, as "without being cared for in the private sphere of the home, liberal man cannot fully and rationally enter the world of the public sphere" (p.5). This has placed care in the domain of the feminine and the private, in juxtaposition to the political, public, masculine, and productive discursive realm – a division which remains at the heart of Western liberal representative democracies (Kavada, 2023). The anchoring of care in the domestic sphere has moreover reinforced essentialising narratives about care as a feminine or feminised activity, tying it to stereotypes of the naturally nurturing mother and homemaker, or the "angel in the home", an image of white middle- and upper-class femininity rooted in Enlightenment-era ideals of womanhood and notions of propriety (Barker, 2012; Kern, 2020). In this "liberal approach" (Woodly et al., 2021), those who engage in caring activities are marked as feminine, whether they identify as female or not, and accordingly marked with traits like emotion, dependence, demurity, vulnerability, domesticity, and obedience, which have culturally and historically been devalued: "thus, the devalorisation of caring labour is connected to the devalorisation of the feminine" (Barker, 2012, p.578). In part due to the cultural-historical linkages of care, femininity, and domesticity, much of the literature on care has investigated it using the home as a spatial lens of inquiry (Cloutier et al., 2015; Milligan, 2000; Power & Mee, 2020).

However, authors have criticised the association of care and the home conceptually on multiple grounds, arguing that particular sites of care, such as the home, are privileged in scholarship on the subject, which may in fact reproduce biases and discourses framing care as private and feminised, thereby reiterating existing power relations (Atkinson et al., 2011). Similarly, calls have been made

to think about care more broadly as a relation, a flow, or an encounter (Conradson, 2003; Lawson, 2007) that is woven into the fabric of our everyday lives, rather than focusing on singular, familiar, and static sites and instances of care provision like the home. In this vein, authors have pointed to the need to complexify the spatiality of care and to move "beyond formulations of places as either caring or careless to a more subtle and variegated picture" (Conradson, 2003, p. 453). These calls have been heeded, and there is now a broad and diverse body of literature examining care at different scales and sites such as the welfare state (Haylett, 2003; Kremer, 2007), within global migration flows and in the context of complex interconnected global crises (Williams, 2018; Hankivsky, 2014), or within various political-economic state-market formations and as a possible foundation for democratic social and political life (Calder, 2015; Tronto, 2013, 2016). As in the previously introduced literature that has built a queer theory of the home, scholars have also criticised the care-home nexus by arguing that "restricting the concept of care metaphorically to the domestic sphere reinforces heteronormative scripts" (Barker, 2012, p. 579). This brings to light an implicit bias in much of the literature on care, which assumes that care is performed and constructed around a heterosexual couple living together as a household, thus reinscribing the very divisions that care scholars point to as the root of the feminisation, devaluing and invisibilisation of care.

The criticisms formulated in literature thus warn us not to conflate care and the home too hastily, thereby potentially reiterating historical scripts locating care in the home and reinforcing its invisibilisation and "ghettoisation" in the private sphere (Jarvis, 2017). However, there is potential to study the linkages and points of friction between the home and care not by "calling on an outdated, raced, and gendered nostalgic notion of the nuclear family as the privileged site of care" (Barker, 2012, p.580), but by adopting a critical view on care, the home, and hetero-patriarchal family structures and paying attention to how power permeates homes and caring practices within them.

Indeed, home spaces, as the material infrastructure of everyday life, remain central to the way care is carried out, shaping the opportunities for caring and being taken care of (Cloutier et al., 2015; Milligan, 2000; Power & Mee, 2020; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019) within broader power structures. Feminist geographers, urbanists, and sociologists have, since the 1980s, argued that the

home is a site that spatialises societal power relations (Hayden, 1980; Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1992), which in turn impact the way we care and are cared for. In the following section, a brief overview will be provided of literature that analyses how care is fraught with power differentials and imbalances.

Care and Power

The relational aspects of care have been emphasised by scholars (Atkinson et al., 2011; Cloutier et al., 2015; Power & Mee, 2020; Raghuram, 2019; Tronto, 2016; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019): everybody cares and is cared for in some way, and the caregiver-care-receiver relationship is at the heart of care practices and experiences. These caring relationships are, however, complex, multidimensional- and directional, and fraught with power imbalances (Tronto, 1993). This means that care is also inherently a product of existing economic, social and cultural structures, and reflects different norms, values, laws, and institutions. According to Hankivsky (2014), care theorists have addressed the issue of power within care in four ways. Firstly, they have examined how care is conceptualised, and who has the authority to do so. They have also investigated the power relations within caregiving relationships, and examined how state power pervades care practices at national and international scales. Lastly, the literature on care has addressed the question of how hegemonic power structures within various institutions and relations are detrimental to constructing a more caring world. The scholarly work dealing with care and power makes visible how power, within the framework of care, allows the more powerful to choose to what extent they want to care and what kind of care practices they wish to engage in, gives them access to higher-quality care, and enables them to articulate and express their care needs more easily (Tronto, 2013, 2016). Because of existing power structures, this means that care falls disproportionately on marginalised groups in society (Hankivsky, 2014). Although this is acknowledged in some of the literature on care, Hankivsky and other scholars contend that the question of power has still been inadequately attended to within existing care research (Cox, 2010).

In a more recent development within the care literature, existing scholarship that engages with the manifestations of power within care practices has been criticised for its reductive focus on patriarchal gender relations, to the detriment of other vectors of axes of power like race, class, sexual

orientation, ethnicity, nationality, legal status, and more (Hankivsky, 2014; Raghuram, 2019). Authors take different approaches to remedy this perceived lack: Barker (2012), for instance, chooses to attend to the question of power in care beyond its gendered manifestations by analysing care as a site of biopolitics. An increasing number of scholars approach care through an intersectional lens, recognising the value of the latter as a "knowledge project whose raison d'être lies in its attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities" (Collins, 2015, p.1). Indeed, the theoretical paradigm of intersectionality has much to offer to the study of care, as both fields of study are broadly concerned with achieving social justice, and emphasise context, relationality, and interdependency (Hankivsky, 2014).

A guiding premise of intersectional projects of knowledge production is the rejection of additive approaches to oppression. This entails recognising that markers of power like race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, ability, and age are interdependent and mutually constitutive of each other, rather than separate, summative identities (Bowleg, 2008; Collins, 2015; Collins et al., 2021; Hankivsky, 2014). Intersectional approaches contend that these intersecting power relations produce complex social inequalities, and that individuals' and groups' social location within these power relations marks their experiences and identities (Collins, 2015; Collins et al., 2021). Intersectionality has been used to query the conceptual roots of care, with scholars drawing attention to the historical embeddedness of care theory in the Global North (Cooper, 2009; Hankivsky, 2014; Raghuram, 2019) and the fact that care is thus implicitly theorised with the white, female body as its starting point. This has led authors to argue that care can be an exclusionary notion which creates and reinforces hierarchies between the Global North and South, producers and consumers, and women of different ethnic, national, and class backgrounds (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Hanes, 2017; Narayan, 1995). The intersectionality lens can be used to "muddle" or complexify care, which is often implicitly associated with warmth, nurturance, and positive emotions and understood as a fundamentally progressive theoretical project (Power & Mee, 2020; Tronto, 1993). Intersectionality can point to the "darker" sides of care by drawing attention for example to the mobilisation of the concept of care in colonial and neocolonial discourses that frame colonising projects as being in the "best interest" of "caring" for colonised people (Narayan, 1995).

The inclusion of intersectional frameworks in the literature on care has led to the expansion of avenues of inquiry into the topic, and produced a broad body of works that engage with the manifold manifestations of power within care across various disciplines, themes, and geo-historical contexts (Ansell, 2009; Bass, 2012; Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Chakravarti, 2008; Cooper, 2007; Nguyen, 2023). This has challenged dominant narratives reproduced in the literature on care, helping to expand knowledge on care by rejecting the prioritisation of any one axis of oppression. Instead, an intersectional perspective has revealed the effects of the complex interplay of structural forces and power markers on the practices and experiences of care. The following section will provide insights from Marxist-feminist literature on care and one of the power structures that influences it, that of global neoliberalised capitalism, before linking this back to the previously introduced literature on the home as housing.

Capitalism, Care, and the Home

Another way of rendering visible power within care practices has been the conceptualisation of care as work, or care work. This is the product of the early works of material feminists, who sought to provide a remedy to the invisibilisation and de- or undervaluing of social reproductive activities by casting them as work. In the 1970s, feminist thinkers began arguing that unpaid domestic work sustains the capitalist economy (Wieger, 2017), and demanded remuneration for this work. The "Wages for Housework" campaign, which struggled for recognition and payment for caring work in the home and beyond, created in 1972 and led by Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Silvia Federici, Brigitte Galtier, and Selma James, was one notable product of this first push to unsettle and render visible the exploitation of reproductive labour within the domestic sphere. This led to the conceptualisation of care-as-work gaining traction, and gave rise to a host of new theories rethinking the notions of productive and reproductive work, unearthing links between care, capitalism, and labour. A main contribution of conceptualising caring activities as "work" is that care is extracted from narratives of love and emotion that naturalise it and relegate it to the realm of feminised activities attributed little importance. Without negating the affective and emotional sides of care that have been emphasised in literature (Atkinson et al., 2011; Barker, 2012; Conradson, 2003; Haylett, 2003), seeing it as work counters the view of care as a "natural phenomenon" (Tronto, 2013) and an inherent attribute of feminised and marginalised populations. This

contributes to deconstructing essentialist views around gender and care such as stereotypes of the nurturing mother, the devoted wife, the servient daughter, or the submissive and obedient colonial subject (Romero & Pérez, 2016).

Conceptualising care as work paved the way for a Marxist-feminist analysis of care by authors like Nancy Fraser (2016) or Silvia Federici (2019), building on the "connection between home, care, and urban transformation that materialist feminists bring to the table" (Morrow & Parker, 2020, p.608). This is another valuable way to engage home spaces in connection with critical care studies, without reproducing essentialist and reductive narratives around home, gender, and care that have been criticised by various authors. Indeed, the home is considered a pivotal space in the separation between a visible, valued productive sphere and an invisible, devalued reproductive sphere on which Western capitalist economies rely. Care work is a necessary precondition for the existence of waged work, which in turn forms the foundation for the accumulation of surplus value and the basis of capitalism as a system (Dengler & Lang, 2022; Federici, 2019; Fraser, 2016, 2023; Madanipour, 2003; Monteagudo, 2019). As Fraser (2016) recognises, housework, childrearing, education, and emotional care work underpin the mechanisms of capitalism by socialising new generations of workers and sustaining current ones. This makes care work an essential part of social reproduction and a necessary condition for the functioning of capitalist economies. In this way, the home, and the performance of care work which is linked to domestic spaces in many ways, is shaped by the institutions, practices, and narratives of capitalism. Care permeates the home, and both reproduces capitalism and is shaped by the material conditions this system produces. The next section will discuss the available literature dealing with the mutations of care work and the home under capitalism, and more recent developments like the processes of neoliberalisation of capitalist economies.

The Precarisation of the Home: Care and Housing under Neoliberal Pressure

The Housing "Crisis"

Considering the effects of neoliberalisation as a discourse, an ideology, and a dominant political-economic framework within contemporary capitalist economies is key to understanding the current state of housing provision and the housing "crisis" that is often evoked to characterise

it. In this section, literature discussing the neoliberalisation of housing and home from two angles – commodification and financialisation – will be reviewed, after a short introduction into the work of authors who have theorised neoliberalism.

Jim Kemeny (2001, 2006), expanding on Esping-Andersen's seminal classification of states according to their welfare state regimes, frames housing as the fourth pillar of the welfare state and provides an account of housing systems in Western Europe based on the nature of their rental markets, which he characterises as unitary or dualist. He stresses that housing differs from the other pillars of the welfare state, namely healthcare, education, and social security, because it is defined by high capital intensity, and because it is not, or no longer, considered a universal, publicly provided good, noting the ambiguous position of housing within contemporary European welfare states (Kemeny, 2001). The notion of housing as a basic need that the welfare state fulfilled for its citizen was indeed part and parcel of the postwar Keynesian welfare state system, but this system has now been decimated due to the rise of neoliberalism (Arbaci et al., 2021; Harvey, 2007; Peck et al., 2009). The dismantling of Keynesian-based welfare regimes has altered the role of housing systems, transforming the underlying logic governing housing provision from one based on redistribution, to one of capital accumulation (Arbaci et al., 2021; Rolnik, 2013). In neoliberal housing policy settings, accessing housing has become a question of privilege rather than a universal human right (Wetzstein, 2017). To elaborate on this issue, the following subsection will provide a definition of neoliberalisation, and subsequently outline how it has impacted housing provision and home spaces.

Neoliberal Capitalism

According to Peck et al., (2009), the neoliberal ideology stipulates that competition in open, unregulated markets, unencumbered by state intervention, will lead to the most desirable socioeconomic outcomes. It stresses the value of private property, individual liberty, free trade, and an entrepreneurial disposition, and has become the dominant structuring logic within global capitalism (Harvey, 2007) since the 1970s. Previously, the Keynesian compromise that entailed a tense "alliance" between labour and capital, was upheld by welfare states of the postwar period. It was thrown into disarray in the 1970s and 80s by a crisis of capital accumulation, and its

contradictions brought to light by the oil crisis, recession, and ensuing combination of rising unemployment and accelerating inflation (ibid). Spearheaded by figures like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, states worldwide embraced neoliberalism in response, and scrambled to put in place institutions, frameworks, and policies to support neoliberal political-economic practices. Concretely, this included the deregulation of state control over industry, the weakening of labour organisations, corporate tax breaks, the downsizing and privatisation of public services and assets, the dismantling of welfare programs in various sectors such as health, education, housing, and more, as well as the enhancement of international capital mobility and an intensification of interlocality competition (Harvey, 2002; 2007; Peck et al., 2009). Institutions like the World Trade Organisation and the International Monetary Fund that govern international trade and finance ensured the spread of this new ideology across the globe in an imperialist logic, forcing it on countries that required its assistance with debt repayments through structural adjustment and fiscal austerity programs in the 1980s and 1990s, many of them located in the Global South (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

Thinking neoliberalism in terms of process, Peck et al., (2009, as well as Brenner & Theodore, 2002), suggest that contrary to its own core tenet of a minimal state, neoliberalisation has in fact included, and even necessitated, active and expansive involvement on the part of governments. Following this logic, neoliberalisation entails both the retrenchment of collectivist, progressively redistributionist systems, and the entrenchment of new modes of neoliberal regulation and statecraft (Peck et al., 2009). Thus, this form of "creative destruction" (Harvey, 2007) paves the way for a new formation of market-oriented economic growth and an infrastructure for capital accumulation.

Cities are the site where this process plays out most ostensibly (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 1985; Harvey & Potter, 2009; Peck et al., 2009), and urban governments have increasingly resorted to the use of instruments like city marketing, enterprise and tax-free zones, public–private partnerships and other neoliberal urban policy experiments (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) in an attempt to hold their own in the inter-spatial and inter-locality competition which neoliberal discourse says characterises urbanity today. Urban political-economic infrastructures like housing markets – and thus, homes – are therefore "strategically important arenas that provide the basic

preconditions for neoliberalised forms of capital accumulation and after-Keynesian strategies of regulation, even as they are simultaneously undermined, destabilised and devalued in the process" (Peck et al., 2009, p.58).

The Effects of Neoliberalised Global Capitalism: The Precarisation of Home

As described above, and summarised by Marxist scholars such as David Harvey (2007), the commodification and privatisation of previously publicly owned assets have been characteristic of the neoliberal project. This is true for the housing sector as well, as evidenced by the deteriorating housing realities that are observable in cities across the globe in terms of access to decent housing and housing affordability (Rolnik, 2013).

Housing-related costs are rising exponentially, and constitute an ever-growing share of household expenses, forcing households to limit their spendings in other essential domains like healthcare, nutrition, and education. Rising unaffordability has reduced the housing options available to low- and middle-income segments of the population, obliging many to live in overcrowded or ill-maintained accommodation, or be priced out of urban housing markets entirely and suffer displacement and eviction that fragment communities and have led to mass homelessness (Rolnik, 2013; Wetzstein, 2017).

These developments have led to the notion of a global housing "crisis" gaining traction in the media and in academic literature (Acred, 2013; Potts, 2020). However, Marxist scholars have argued that this term is inadequate, as it fails to capture the structural nature of the processes driving growing housing unaffordability and frames them rather as ephemeral, punctual events. Indeed, rising unaffordability and inaccessibility of adequate housing is endemic to the neoliberal city (Aalbers, 2016; Harvey, 1985, 1996). Harvey's (1981, 1985) explanatory framework of the "spatial fix" is a useful lens to better understand these processes. He argues that capitalism must constantly search for a "spatial fix" for its inherent contradictions, which entails the process of capital switching. According to the author, capital switching occurs when capital flows from one sector of the economy to another. For Harvey (1981, 1985), a central feature of this process is the transfer of capital from the primary circuit (production, industry, manufacturing) to the secondary circuit, which comprises the built environment, including housing. The built environment thus becomes

"an asset in which money can be invested and disinvested by directing capital to the highest and best uses" (Aalbers, 2016, p. 41).

Within the built environment, housing has become a privileged site for assetisation and capital accumulation. In the literature on the topic, commodification and financialisation are two interrelated, but distinct developments produced by neoliberalised global capitalism that are highlighted as drivers of worsening housing outcomes and threats to living standards (Hick & Stephens, 2023).

Commodification

Madden and Marcuse (2016) suggest that commodification "is the name for the general process by which the economic value of a thing comes to dominate its other uses [...]. The commodification of housing means that a structure's function as real estate takes precedence over its usefulness as a place to live" (p.17). This implies that the essence of the commodification process is the transformation of the home into a tradable good, an investment, and an asset. This occurs through the mobilisation of a range of policies that aim to enforce market discipline and competition within the sphere of housing by emphasising homeownership over other forms of tenure, for instance through right-to-buy policies, the privatisation of publicly owned housing stock, and a withdrawal of the state from housing provision (Rolnik, 2013). In the rental sector, which is residualised and ideologically devalued through the prioritisation of homeownership, the neoliberal agenda has weakened the security of tenure within rental markets by embedding market mechanisms in rent level determination, abolishing rent controls, and marginalising rental options like social housing (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Hick & Stephens, 2023; Wetzstein, 2017).

Housing commodification has often been understood as a process linked to the more general rollback of the welfare state since the late 1970s outlined above, when European welfare states ceased the construction of social housing, privatised and sold off existing public housing stocks, and weakened or repealed laws and policies that protected renters and vulnerable populations. In this way, housing has been turned into an "amputated arm" (Cole & Furbey, 1994, p.2, in Arbaci et al., 2021) or a "wobbly pillar" (Aalbers, 2016) of the welfare state through processes of commodification.

It is important to note, however, that housing commodification is a global phenomenon occurring in contexts other than those of Western industrialised welfare states. It takes various forms across different political and economic systems, and scholars have studied its manifestations in (post-)socialist cities (Arbaci, 2018) and in the Global South (e.g., Jolivet & Alba-Carmichael, 2021, for a study on Cuba, Basile & Reyes, 2024, for a study on housing commodification and resistance in Latin America). This shows how commodification is "complex, nuanced, fragmentary, and locally driven, embedded in local social, political, and cultural contexts" (Basile & Reyes, 2024, p.3), and as are its effects. Commodification manifests itself in ways as diverse as rising housing costs and a scarcity of affordable, adequate housing options, the gentrification of formerly working-class areas, or the "touristification" of inner cities and the transformation of housing into "tourism properties" through, for example, short-term rental sites like AirBnB (Celata & Romano, 2022). The latter, in particular, is tightly linked to financialisation, the second important "trend" which characterises neoliberalised housing provision.

Financialisation

Financialisation broadly refers to speculative and predatory financial practices that proliferated after 1980. It entails increasing investment into financial markets instead of into productive capacities, bringing about a switch to financial circuits of accumulation (Arbaci et al., 2021; Guironnet & Halbert, 2018; Harvey, 2007). This means that wealth is generated by capitalising on financial products and services, rather than through the sale of "tangible" goods, leading to an increasing dominance of financial markets and institutions as key drivers of the economy and as infrastructures of capital accumulation (Basile & Reyes, 2024). The deregulation of financial systems was a cornerstone of neoliberal economic practices, and allowed them to become pervaded by speculation, predatory practices, and even fraud (Harvey, 2007).

As an interface between the financial and the built environment, the real estate sector and housing market are a key frontier of financialisation. Increasingly, the built environment, including the residential housing stock, has been integrated into international financialised capital circuits, amplifying the importance of new actors like foreign institutional investors and asset managers in local housing markets and in the construction industry (Aalbers, 2016; Hick & Stephens, 2023;

Rolnik, 2013). Financialisation processes have also brought about the restructuring of mortgage markets, leading to their expansion and liberalisation, as well as the securitisation of mortgages and of public housing stocks sold off to private companies.

In the absence of state-regulated housing and welfare provision, literature suggests that a process of "ordinary financialisation" is also taking place. Middle- and upper-class households are investing in small-scale real estate portfolios as a savings option in an optic of "asset-based welfare", in which owning a home is seen as the acquisition of an asset in order to secure individual futures (Bobek et al., 2023). In this way, and through credit scoring and risk-based pricing (Aalbers, 2016), financialisation pervades everyday life (Pellandini-Simányi et al., 2015), and the "intimate" space of the home becomes another frontier of housing commodification and financialisation.

As evidenced by the surveyed literature, market-based housing finance has become an increasingly significant activity in the financial sector, which in turn has grown in size and importance within contemporary economies. These developments contributed to a global bubble in real estate prices, which led to deteriorating housing affordability as housing prices became a function of global financial market developments, diminishing access to adequate housing options for city dwellers worldwide (Brickell et al., 2017; Guironnet & Halbert, 2018; Rolnik, 2013; Wetzstein, 2017). The catastrophic effects of the financialisation of housing were brought to light in an abrupt manner in the early 2000s. When the subprime, and often securitised mortgages extended to vulnerable borrowers in the United States, became the trigger of the global financial crisis that rippled across the world, millions of people lost their homes and livelihoods and were forced into an increasingly precarious existence.

The above section has outlined the processes of neoliberalised capitalism. These have affected housing systems through financialisation and commodification, and changed the symbolic meanings and representations attached to the home. Due to processes of neoliberalisation, the home is no longer seen for its use value as a living space, a shelter, and a dwelling, but for its exchange value as an asset or investment. Simultaneously, for the majority of people, home is becoming more and more precarious as tenure becomes increasingly unstable and housing prices skyrocket due to processes of commodification and financialisation, making adequate housing

inaccessible for all but a privileged few. A parallel can be drawn between the effects of the neoliberalisation of global capitalism on housing, which have just been outlined, and its effects on care. The following section will delve into how dynamics of neoliberal welfare state erosion have led to the offloading, individualisation, and commodification of care.

The Care "Crisis"

Neoliberalism and Workfare

As described above, one of the central aspects of neoliberalisation is the process of dismantling the welfare state. From the 1990s, neoliberalism has led to a gradual shift from the provision of welfare under various regimes, as elaborated upon by Esping-Andersen (1990), towards a new mode of governance. Focusing on the US, Canada and the UK, Peck (2001) argues that under neoliberalism, the state conditions citizens to enter the paid labour market and secure their own safety from risks, as opposed to security provision through the welfare state. He traces how such policies have been particularly promoted by the "Third Way" social-democratic centre left parties (Peck & Theodore, 2001). This process, called *workfarism,* is particularly marked by mandatory participation programmes, deterrence of claims on welfare, as well as so-called "flexible" labour markets, with increased vulnerability of workers (Peck, 2001).

Feminist Critiques of Workfare

Yet, similarly to the welfare regime analysis by Esping-Andersen (1990), Peck's welfare state theory has been scrutinised by feminist thinkers for its sole focus on paid labour and the "male breadwinner model". The welfare state regime theory (Esping-Andersen, 1990) has been criticised for omitting caregivers and unpaid work (Lewis, 1992; Sainsbury, 2008), as well as failing to explain the impacts of the three welfare regimes on gender-based citizenship differences (Orloff, 1993). The workfare state theory has been criticised from similar points of view, namely its focus on paid labour and oversight of care work and caregivers. However, neoliberal reforms and austerity measures have brought significant changes to the way caregivers are treated through their inclusion into the paid labour market (Durbin et al., 2017). An example of this change, which is highly gendered, is the treatment of single mothers. Previously, many welfare regimes focused on supporting single mothers in the context of child protection and family policies. In contrast,

mothers are now increasingly being pushed towards the paid labour market as means of gaining security for their children (Blair-Loy et al., 2015). Security for caregivers is therefore no longer provided by the state, but by themselves through participation in the labour market. Furthermore, and most importantly, this has led to the strengthening of the role of the nuclear family as a unit of provision of security, as families become reliant on a double-earner model (Cooper, 2017). Single mothers that rely on state support have become seen as undesirable and problematic, which additionally often carries racist connotations, as in many countries it has been predominantly women of colour who were reliant on such support (Korteweg, 2006; Kern, 2020). The workfare reforms have therefore had a double impact on caregivers, as apart from performing care work at home, they have also been subjected to more work in the labour market as a means to achieve security in the absence of state-regulated welfare provision.

Care and Financialised Capitalism

The double burden of unpaid reproductive work and paid labour has been discussed by feminists since before the dawn of neoliberalism (Parr, 1990). However, the situation under neoliberal transformation differs, as the push of caregivers into the labour force is increasing, while simultaneously their capacity to perform such labour is being diminished (Lynch, 2021). Fraser (2023) elaborates on this, noting that this social-reproductive contradiction is in fact inherent to the workings of capitalism. However, the current form of it, which Fraser (2023) calls financialised capitalism, contributes significantly to the so-called "care crisis" we experience today. As mentioned previously, Marxist feminist theorists have pointed to the necessary care work of raising, socialising and caring for children, as well as the elderly, building communities or maintaining the household and its importance for every society (Fraser, 2023). In capitalist societies, this work is done with the additional purpose of providing labour power to generate surplus value for the capitalist class (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). Yet, the performance of care work has been made more difficult under financialised capitalism, with women becoming a source of cheap labour for the labour market while social welfare is simultaneously reduced, thus diminishing the capacity for care and increasing the "double burden" placed on women and caregivers (Lynch, 2021). In this way, capitalism "cannibalises itself", undermining the very base of care on which it relies (Fraser, 2023),

as adequate care is outsourced and privatised for those who can afford it, and an inaccessible privilege for those who cannot (Fraser, 2016).

This has driven the commodification of care, transforming it into a market-based, for-profit service often supplemented by (mainly female) migrants (Fraser, 2016). Care is then transnationalised and framed as low-skill and hence low-paid work, often performed by migrant women, who are disproportionately employed in such roles. This creates chains of precarious care work that operate both locally and globally, however mostly traceable through migration towards Global North countries (Fraser, 2016; Hochschild, 2015). This process is facilitated by neoliberal states themselves, as migrant women are often treated differently than migrant men when it comes to migration status, as their work is necessary for functioning of many systems (Farris, 2012). Financial capitalism thus undermines its own condition of functioning through eroding capacities of caring, which are then temporarily supplemented through the exploitation and precarisation of female migrants from the local or global peripheries.

Neoliberal Governmentality and Care

Care under neoliberalism is profoundly shaped by a normative ideology that redefines individual responsibilities and societal values to align with market logics. Neoliberal feminists see reproductive work as a backwards residue to be outsourced, and promote the entrance of women into the workforce as a sign of progress and emancipation. Foucault (1979) refers to governmentality as a means of exercising state power through indirect forms of control, such as shaping choices and the self-conception of individuals by subtle forms of power, which can be contrasted with traditional laws and punishment. Building upon Foucault's (1979) idea of governmentality, Miller & Rose (1990) describe neoliberal governmentality as a way of interventionism that is even more difficult to decipher as it subtly changes individual's self-conception and actions to benefit the market. The neoliberal subject is supposed to be competitive on the market and responsible for itself without regard to any structural obstacles. This drives the proliferation of a neoliberal market logic t into all areas of life (Miller & Rose, 1990), including into the sphere of care. Such an ideology can be observed within neoliberal feminism, which highlights individual achievement and seeks fulfilment in self-management, such as the "work-life" balance, over collective forms of liberation and

resistance (McDowell, 2004). Overall, it uses the language of liberal individualism and gender equality to promote a neoliberal governmentality of self.

The influence of neoliberal feminism on the performance of care work is not to be underestimated. The origins of this are disputed in the literature: Fraser et al. (2019), and partially Eisenstein (2015), argue that liberal feminism has always endorsed individual rights and capitalism and was hence easily co-opted by neoliberalism into neoliberal feminism. They argue that unlike Marxist feminism, liberal feminism has never opposed capitalist exploitation, and that it is therefore unsurprising it has now been used to promote ideals that align with a market logic. Other authors, such as Rottenberg (2014), do not fully agree with this stance, arguing that liberal feminism has had some desire to transform and improve society, though this quality has been fully lost within neoliberal feminism. Instead, neoliberal feminism promotes self-discipline and the making of "effective choices" to achieve individual success, and does not pursue a higher goal of societal transformation (Rottenberg, 2014). Therefore, it promotes the double burden of care work and paid labour as "empowerment", framing women who do not manage to climb the corporate ladder as ineffective decision makers. In this way, the neoliberal arrangement of care benefits those who are privileged enough and can afford to outsource everyday care work, while destroying the caring capacities for those who cannot, meanwhile framing the process as an expression of feminist achievement.

Collaborative Housing

Thus far, this literature review has sketched out ways in which the home spatialises power dynamics and relationships inherent to caregiving- and receiving. It has also provided an overview of literature which treats the concomitant "crises" of housing and care as symptoms of neoliberalisation, and outlined its devastating effects on urban populations. These insights provoke reflections about the ways in which material environments like the home can play an important role in fostering societal, political and economic relations and shaping power dynamics across various, intersecting social identities. Hence, restructuring the home has historically been linked to broader social transformative aims. Changing solely the spatial and material conditions under which care work is performed may not be sufficient for a radical overhaul of the latter. However,

there is reason to believe that reimagining spatial, material, and social care practices is necessary in order to transform not just the home, but also the city and society more broadly (Morrow & Parker, 2020). In this way, "queering" domestic practices (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023) by moving away from conventional forms of domesticity can be a crucial lever towards a broader transformation not only of housing systems and care provision, but of societies more broadly.

This is especially relevant as the double "crisis" of housing and of care, exacerbated by the dominance of a neoliberal system, has shown that housing and the home, as they are conceptualised today, are no longer adequate in a number of ways. The home, today, is increasingly unaffordable because of processes inherent to neoliberalisation like housing commodification and financialisation, and upholds hetero-patriarchal gender norms by reproducing individualised, racialised and gendered care patterns in the context of crumbling welfare states. The need for alternatives – both in how we live and how we care – is acute. However, there are already a number of grassroots experiments and alternatives in urban spaces that offer tentative pathways towards a more just housing and caring system. There is, for instance, a "renewal of cooperative and mutualist forms of housing" (Arbaci et al., 2021, p.778) which some scholars argue holds the potential for radical social change, starting from how we dwell – and thus, how we care – in cities. These grassroots urban alternatives are emerging both in resistance to, but also as a product of the precarisation of the home and of care, and have led to the emergence of new, alternative housing models, such as collaborative housing.

This part of the literature review will provide insights into the concept of collaborative housing, which has emerged as one of the potential alternatives to the increasingly precarious conditions of mainstream housing provision and care that have resulted from neoliberal pressures on the welfare state. First, an overview of the history of collaborative housing will be traced, linking it back to idealist projects of the past that have attempted to change the conditions under which people dwell. Next, recent literature will be drawn from in order to arrive at a situated and contextual definition of the phenomenon of collaborative housing, which will be expanded on later in the section on the country-specific context of the case studies dealt with in this thesis. Both the historical genesis and the definition of collaborative housing will then be engaged critically in order to query the conceptual rootedness of collaborative housing in Western Europe and to identify a eurocentric

bias in knowledge production on the topic. Subsequently, the different fields of study that have emerged within the literature on collaborative housing will be outlined, and the critiques which have been aimed at collaborative housing will be introduced. From this, the literature review will identify what we consider an important gap in the existing body of work on collaborative housing, which this thesis attempts to fill.

History of Collaborative Housing

The story which is often told about collaborative housing is one in which its conceptual roots are linked to utopian, material feminist, modernist and communitarian movements of the 19th and 20th centuries (Sargisson, 2012; Vestbro, 2000; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012; Williams, 2005). Scholars in the field have traced the "genealogy" of collaborative housing through to utopian communities of the past, like Charles Fourier's 19th century Phalanstère, or Jean-Baptiste André Godin´s Familistère inspired by the latter. Both were large-scale projects based on socialist ideals that were designed to house industrial communities and assemble under one roof spaces for work, child-rearing and dwelling. These ideas were later taken up by modernist architects and urban planners of the 20th century, who translated them into functionalist, large-scale housing estates like Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille. Believing that it was necessary to re-conceptualise the physical layout of the home in order to refashion society, progressive thinkers and planners of the 20th century came up with innovations like the so-called one-kitchen units, kitchenless apartments, and collective "hotels", as well as the often-overlooked socialist and communist experiments with communal housing, for example in the Soviet Union before the 1930s (Morrow & Parker, 2020; Vestbro, 2000).

Another instance of rethinking housing and dwelling happened in the wake of the 1968 movement, when young people began living in communes in university cities like Berlin, Boston, Copenhagen, Stockholm and more, in an attempt to redefine family norms and live with more sexual freedom (Hayden, 1980; Vestbro, 2000, 2010; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). In the context of the United States, authors like Dolores Hayden (1979, 1980, 1982) have developed and documented the rich history of communitarian settlements and collective housing. More recently, a renewed interest in such idealist historical projects has led to the publication of non-academic

works like Kristen Ghodsee′s "Everyday Utopia: What 2,000 Years of Wild Experiments Can Teach Us About the Good Life" (Ghodsee, 2023). Here, shared housing models are situated within a broader history of over two thousand years during which there have been attempts at reimagining domestic life and challenging conventional forms of childrearing, property ownership, and housing.

Returning to the engagement with collaborative housing forms in academia, Baumgartner′s (2019) distinction between two traditional lines of community-oriented housing is instructive to bring order into this variegated history. On the one hand, she points to social utopian ideas about housing, such as the aforementioned collective houses of the Soviet Union, Fourier's Phalanstère, and functionalist models of the post-war period such as the Unité d'Habitation. On the other hand, she sees a reform movement which she calls co-operative housing construction (from German: *genossenschaftlicher Wohnungsbau*). This latter movement is more closely associated with self-help, independence from the volatility of housing markets, affordability, and autonomy in the face of housing shortages. According to Baumgartner (2019), the two movements converged in the late 20th century in the development of shared housing models for different groups, at times with the help from local government and with an emphasis on citizen participation, merging the housing reformist co-operative model and the revolutionary ideas of social utopians, but deemphasising the latter. Indeed, literature has identified paternalist, hierarchical attitudes underlying the more utopian experiments of the past, and has argued that contemporary collaborative housing represents a newfound pragmatism born out of necessity, rather than reflecting idealist or utopian aspirations (Tummers, 2015, 2016).

Czischke et al. (2023) have more recently confirmed this historical genesis of collaborative housing, summarising it and identifying four distinct waves. The first wave saw the emergence of shared housing models in the 19th century from the legacy of utopian socialist workers′ movements. The second took place in the interwar period, influenced by new urban planning paradigms like the Garden City movement, the Central Kitchen model, and modernist functionalism. The authors date the third phase to the 1960s and 70s, when, under the influence of wider counter-cultural and youth movements, there was a revival of collective, self-organised housing forms such as communes. According to Czischke et al.′s (2023) periodisation, the fourth and current wave of

collaborative housing began at the turn of the century against the backdrop of globalisation and a series of interconnected planetary crises, including those of housing affordability, climate change, and social and demographic upheavals "challeng[ing] the suitability of how housing and urban areas are currently developed" (Czischke et al., 2023, p. 26). This is confirmed by Lang et al., (2020) and echoes Tummers' (2015, 2016) claim that collaborative housing today can be considered more pragmatic than idealist. According to these authors, its current resurgence can be read as a practical answer to societal needs, such as everyday services, energy- or cost-savings and accessibility, arising from multiple social, economic, and environmental "crises". Thus, the contemporary fourth wave of collaborative housing can be analysed as arising out of the necessity to self-organise welfare and housing provision in the absence of a strong welfare state due to processes of neoliberalisation, and not solely as reflecting utopian and idealist values. According to a growing body of literature, contemporary collaborative housing may represent an alternative to capitalism and the effects of neoliberalism, which, at the same time, is more "palatable" to a wider range of the population than more radical forms of housing like communes and other utopian experiments (Jarvis, 2013; 2017).

The renewed interest in collaborative housing since the turn of the century is mirrored in an increasing amount of academic scholarship on the topic. In recent years, four issues of academic journals have approached the topic of collaborative housing from different angles: Built Environment 38/3, 2012; and 45/3, 2019; Urban Research & Practice 8/1, 2015; and the International Journal of Housing Policy, 18/1, 2018. This indicates the rising relevance of collaborative housing within academia and beyond, signalling the existence of a coherent, if emerging, body of literature on the topic, and providing the impetus for further research projects in the field such as the present one. Having traced its historical emergence, the following section will address the definitional issues surrounding the concept of collaborative housing.

Defining Collaborative Housing

Collaborative housing is an umbrella term that denotes a wide variety of community-oriented housing forms and models, such as co-housing, residents' co-operatives, self-help and self-build initiatives, ecological housing communities or "ecovillages", some types of community land trusts, and more (Lang et al., 2020). The lack of a clear definition, the multiple terminologies used to refer

to similar forms of housing in different ways, and the overall blurry boundaries of this field of inquiry represent a methodological hurdle that this section of the literature review aims to overcome. It does so by outlining some recent efforts to narrow down and delineate the field of collaborative housing in academia, contextualising and outlining common elements among them in order to operationalise the concept for the purposes of this thesis. In this thesis, we choose to adopt the term "collaborative housing" (CH) as an umbrella term that encompasses the wide variety of resident-led, self-managed- and organised, and community-oriented housing forms. This is in line with the most recent developments in the literature, where it seems that a consensus on the usage of the term "collaborative housing" is emerging (Cortés-Urra et al., 2024; Czischke et al., 2020; Czischke et al., 2023; Griffith et al., 2024; Lang et al., 2020; Twardoch, 2017b). The term is also employed in the titles of two special issues in academic journals dealing with the topic (Built Environment 45/3, 2019 and Urban Research & Practice 8/1, 2015), signalling a general consensus about its use in academia. The term "collaborative housing" unifies a number of subfields in housing research that had previously been examined separately, including cooperatives, ecovillages, and intentional communities, creating an integrative, albeit heterogenous and flexible, domain of inquiry (Lang et al., 2020).

The next section will review examples of recent efforts in the literature that have been made to contextualise collaborative housing and to outline common elements. Early approaches to pin down the nature of collaborative housing have "generally defined [it] by what it is not: it is neither solely private tenure nor fully state-run public housing." (Griffith et al., 2024, p. 121), but this does not capture the broad spectrum of collaborative housing, nor is it specific enough to provide an understanding of what it entails on a practical level. Indeed, while there may remain a lack of clarity in regard to the terminology used to refer to various models of collaborative housing, there is considerable consensus about what collaborative housing entails (Sargisson, 2012). Key elements of collaborative housing include interaction, informal mutual help, and participation in community life and decision-making processes (Ruiu, 2014), as well as an emphasis on collaboration – both internal, between residents, and with external stakeholders – in the development and everyday life of the collaborative housing community (Czischke et al., 2020). Attempts at defining collaborative housing have evolved over time, from ones focusing predominantly on the built form of projects,

or structural characteristics in specific national contexts (Fromm, 2000; Krokfors, 2012; Vestbro, 2000), towards wider criteria and a more iterative process of defining collaborative housing. Here, four examples of academic articles published within the past five years are examined, focusing on their efforts to define collaborative housing, and synthesised to operationalise the concept for the purposes of this thesis in line with state-of-the-art research on the subject.

Czischke et al. (2020) posit that collaborative housing encompasses a variety of housing forms that may be characterised by differing degrees of collective self-organisation, and come to an iterative, flexible definition articulated around the "collaboration" aspect. They suggest that collaboration among residents, as well as between the community and external stakeholders, with the goal of autonomously organising a housing project, is a core aspect of all different models included under this umbrella term. This collaboration can occur at various stages, including the conception, design, and development, as well as the everyday maintenance of such housing projects. In addition to this focus on collaboration as a central element, the authors assert that certain attributes are common in many such models, including social interaction between residents, shared goals and motivations for joining the project, and at times common values like ecological sustainability or social inclusion.

Lang et al. (2020) significantly contribute to advancing the field of study by conducting a systematic and comprehensive literature review. They identify themes that characterise collaborative housing as a research domain in the Western European context, using a definition of the model derived from Dorit Fromm´s early conceptualisation efforts of the term (Fromm, 2012). It is instructive to review the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of papers (Lang et al., 2020, p.13, table 1) in their literature review, as they provide insight into a way of conceptualising and defining collaborative housing. Criteria like intentionality, a strong social factor, a wide variety of tenure forms and architectural styles, the combination of autonomous units with the provision of shared common facilities, as well as the initiation of the project by residents in collaboration with external stakeholders are highlighted as defining features of collaborative housing communities.

Griffith et al. (2024) define collaborative housing as a form of dwelling which meets three criteria. Firstly, it includes a varying degree of collective or cooperative tenure. Secondly, dwellers

collectively self-manage the housing project. Thirdly, the architectural design of collaborative housing must in some way enable an everyday sharing of space. Besides the establishment of these tangible and precise criteria, the value of their contribution also lies in the recognition that "national legal frameworks and city planning cultures influence the production and definition of collaborative housing" (Griffith et al., 2024, p.125), making the case for context-specificity in conceptualisation efforts. Additionally, their paper serves as a reminder that it is not only the institutional setup or physical form of collaborative housing that makes it what it is, but also the various modes of collaboration and values that are apparent in such projects. Therefore, all of these aspects should be taken into account in definitional efforts.

Lastly, Cortés-Urra et al. (2024), acknowledging that the concept of collaborative housing has been developed primarily by researchers from the Global North, offer a practical way of operationalising the term. They identify features which distinguish it from mainstream conventional housing. These include the intention of sharing and living in close proximity with others, collaboration with external stakeholders in developing the project, as well as varying levels of collaboration and resident participation in the various project stages. They also highlight the centrality of member-based governance and democratic decision-making in collaborative housing projects. Spatial characteristics of collaborative housing projects identified by the authors pertain to the provision of joint spaces in which residents regularly engage in common activities. Subsequently, the authors synthesise and operationalise these elements in regard to the geographical location of their case study.

From Definitional Clarity to Context-Specificity and Situatedness

Taken together, these four papers provide ample material for contextualising and defining collaborative housing, and paint a clear picture of what it entails on an institutional-legal and spatial or physical level, as well as the commonly held beliefs, motivations, and values underpinning collaborative housing. Without minimising the importance of categorisation and clear conceptual boundaries from a methodological perspective, this thesis echoes Czischke et al. (2020) in asking whether strict definitions and labels are really necessary to advance the field. Rather, it can be argued that the contextual nature of collaborative housing models and labels needs to be taken into

consideration, as specific definitions are tied to local contexts, institutional and temporal settings (Czischke et al., 2020; Griffith et al., 2024; Tummers, 2015). It is also due to the lingering conceptual ambiguity surrounding the concept of collaborative housing that it is useful to operationalise the term in the context of the research in which it is being used, rather than attempting to arrive at a general, "universal" definition of the term. Following the example of Cortés-Urra et al. (2024), this thesis therefore adheres to the use of collaborative housing as an umbrella term and a shorthand for the types of projects that will be discussed, and develops criteria for the inclusion of specific case studies that take into account local geographic, temporal, and legal-institutional contexts which can be consulted in the appendix.

Themes and Subfields of Study in Literature on Collaborative Housing

This section provides an overview of the different fields of study that have emerged within the literature on collaborative housing. The growing body of knowledge on the topic is thematically diverse but rather homogenous in terms of geographical location, with most research carried out in the Global North. This represents an important limitation in this field of study, which will be expanded on in the section following this one. Research on collaborative housing is most often case study-based, while theoretical approaches are rare (Lang et al., 2020; Tummers, 2016). Qualitative, in-depth studies are much more common than quantitative ones (but see Daly, 2017, for a notable exception). A noticeable shift in the thematic focus of literature on collaborative housing can be observed since the global economic and financial crisis of 2008. According to Lang et al. (2020), from this point on, collaborative housing has often been framed as a bottom-up, grassroots strategy to address the shortcomings of defunct welfare states and inefficient and unjust housing policies. Recent research has emphasised the potential of such initiatives to contribute to a radical, post-capitalist transformation (Chatterton, 2016; DeFilippis et al., 2019; Dengler & Lang, 2022; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019; Vanolo, 2013).

Contemporary efforts to conceptualise collaborative housing as a coherent and growing field of literature have led to the publication of a number of systematic literature reviews that integrate conceptual and empirical articles from various disciplines, linguistic realms, and thematic fields. Combining and building on the literature reviews and classifications by Czischke et al. (2020),

Jakobsen and Larsen (2019), Lang et al. (2020), and Ruiu (2014), four broad themes can be identified in the existing literature on collaborative housing initiatives, though these can evidently be refined and subdivided (for an example of a more granular identification of subtopics, see Lang et al., 2020). The following section will outline four major themes in the literature on collaborative housing, which include work on the relation between collaborative housing and ecological sustainability, contextual literature situating collaborative housing within broader dynamics, scales, and issues, research on various design elements of different collaborative communities, and analyses of the internal social dynamics of such initiatives.

Ecology

Collaborative housing initiatives are often based on explicitly or implicitly stated progressive values that include an emphasis on care for the environment. Literature has identified this focus on ecological sustainability as one of the core values common to many collaborative housing projects, and as one of the greatest benefits of such forms of dwelling (Bianchi & Costa, 2024; Chatterton, 2013, 2016; Mulder et al., 2006; Tummers, 2015; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). While large-scale empirical proof beyond individual case studies remains sparse, some first quantitative studies have confirmed that their carbon footprint and ecological impact is indeed lower than that of conventional housing forms (Daly, 2017). Many scholars thus point out that such housing projects can be instrumental in developing experimental approaches that promote more sustainable lifestyles and consumption patterns (Chatterton, 2013; Sager, 2018, 2024). This includes alternative practices such as the use of sustainable materials, sharing space to minimise land use, growing food locally or eating plant-based diets, and sharing energy-intensive appliances and transportation (Daly, 2017). Epting (2018) adds a caveat to the overwhelmingly positive evaluation of the potential of collaborative housing projects to foster more ecological modes of dwelling by suggesting that while collaborative housing communities do embody values of ecological sustainability, this might be undermined by the lack of attention to environmental justice questions.

Context

Another strand of literature focuses on understanding collaborative housing in relation to wider geographical scales, for example the neighbourhood (Fromm, 2012; Marcus, 2000), or to broader social concerns such as the production of housing policy and the central question of housing affordability (Garciano, 2011; Hacke et al., 2019; Meehan, 2014). Authors have situated collaborative housing within the broader municipal context they are based in, and documented their relationship to local governments or authorities in the context of urban planning (Sager 2018, Tummers 2015). They have also positioned them in the context of broader social issues, such as the demographic transformations taking place across Western, post-industrial nations that many collaborative housing initiatives are located in. Therefore, a recurring theme in the literature relates to the challenges of dealing with an ageing population, with various authors emphasising the benefits of collaborative housing for senior citizens in terms of health and combating isolation (Angioni & Musso, 2020; Carrere et al., 2020; Puplampu et al., 2020; Schaff et al., 2023). Housing affordability is also the object of this contextual strand of literature, and identified by authors as one of the driving forces for the development of collaborative housing projects (Bianchi & Costa, 2024; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). This literature highlights the potential of certain forms of collaborative housing, in particular community land trusts, to provide affordable housing alternatives in the context of an increasingly dire housing crisis (Czischke, 2018; Garciano, 2011; Lowe et al., 2022; Schneider et al., 2023).

Design

A third broad category of literature analyses the design of collaborative housing, including both physical aspects like their spatial layouts or available common facilities, as well as their legal underpinnings, organisational structures, and decision-making processes. Tummers (2015) provides an overview of the various planning and zoning obstacles that such communities may encounter, and other authors outline types of tenure and homeownership associated with different forms of collaborative housing communities (Sager, 2018; Twardoch, 2017a, 2017b). Authors have discussed the morphology and classification of certain projects, in order to draw parallels between them and housing forms like gated communities – Chiodelli (2015) and Ruiu (2014) state

opposing points of view on this matter – and to discuss the extent of the "utopian" or radical character (Sargisson, 2012) of their built form. Analyses of the architecture and design of interior spaces in collaborative housing communities have been conducted with the goal of examining how tensions between individual, collective, public, and private are mediated in collaborative housing (De Jorge-Huertas & De Jorge-Moreno, 2024; Marcus, 2000). Some research connects the physical or spatial design elements of collaborative housing with the social implications they have, thus merging with the strand of literature on internal social dynamics that will be discussed next. Authors who have adopted this approach have studied whether design influences social interaction (Williams, 2005), the kinds of gender dynamics fostered by the physical design of collaborative housing (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012), or how to design collaborative housing for senior citizens (Schaff et al., 2023).

Internal social dynamics

A last theme documents the social dynamics that collaborative housing projects foster, and focuses on interaction, community and social cohesion. Much of the literature in this thematic field focuses on interpersonal relations and community-building, the purported positive impacts of collaborative housing on building stronger social ties, and the internal solidarity generated within such projects (Fromm, 2012; Jarvis, 2013; Kruger et al., 2020; Schetsche et al., 2021; Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2020). Some scholars link this to physical design features, as mentioned above, while others, like Bianchi and Costa (2024) provide sociological analyses on the mechanisms of solidarity- and community-building within collaborative communities, emphasising the creation of social ties and the transformative potential of such initiatives towards a less individualistic society. They, along with other authors discussing the internal social dynamics of collaborative housing, point to socio-cultural and economic homogeneity as a key issue in many of these communities (Beurthey & Costes, 2018; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019; Williams, 2005). Arbell (2022) provides an especially insightful account of how collaborative housing communities are reproduced as white, middle-class spaces, nuancing the positive impacts that are generally attributed to collaborative housing in creating social cohesion and inclusion. A lesser-explored theme is the position of children and the experience of childhood within the social configuration of collaborative housing communities (but see Tchoukaleyska, 2011, for one example).

Collaborative Housing: Limitations and Criticism

The previous section has provided an overview of the general trends in research on collaborative housing, which tends to highlight the positive aspects with which this form of housing is associated, such as ecological sustainability, mutual support, inclusion of vulnerable groups, or countering residential individualism (Fromm, 2012; Lietaert, 2010). However, a substantial portion of research also focuses on the potential drawbacks of collaborative housing, which become more and more necessary to consider as it becomes a form of housing promoted through public policy in some, mainly European, cities (Chiodelli, 2015). The following section will outline the different critiques that have been aimed at the concept of collaborative housing from a conceptual, as well as empirical vantage point.

Conceptual Critique: Eurocentrism in Collaborative Housing Research

Collaborative housing as a distinct concept has been developed almost exclusively by researchers from the Global North (Cortés-Urra et al., 2024). The "story" of collaborative housing is generally told as one of Western, industrialised, post-welfare societies seeking for alternative practices in order to transform dysfunctional housing markets and urban lifestyles deeply impacted by processes of neoliberalisation (Czischke et al., 2023; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). While many scholars recognise that collaborative housing is in reality a global phenomenon (Czischke et al., 2020; Lang et al., 2020; Tummers, 2016), most literature, even that which aims to provide an exhaustive overview of scholarship in the field (Czischke et al., 2020; Lang et al., 2020; Vestbro, 2000), remains narrowly focused on the same geographies, often Scandinavian and other Western European countries, as well as the United Kingdom and North America, revealing a geographical and linguistic bias in the knowledge production on collaborative housing. Barely any papers even venture outside of the Western European context, though Twardoch´s (2017a; 2017b) two-part analysis in the Polish context and Kodenko Kubala et al.´s (2023) exploration of barriers and opportunities for collaborative housing to take root in the Czech Republic are notable exceptions. An increasing number of authors have also begun to include cases in Mediterranean countries in their analyses of collaborative housing projects, especially in Spain and Italy (Griffith et al., 2024; Marocco, 2023; Musolino et al., 2023). A thesis has previously been produced in the framework of

this Masters' program which investigated the potential of collaborative housing projects in Spain for emancipating female-headed households from the domestic sphere (Comojo Soto, 2021).

However, research into forms of collaborative housing in the Global South remains scarce, despite the fact that the mobile and flexible nature of the model has been highlighted in the literature. Authors have shown that collaborative housing has "travelled" to the United States of America, inspired by Danish collaborative housing (*bofælleskab)* of the 1980s (McCamant & Durrett, 1988), and highlighted the influence of the Swedish collective housing model (*kollektivhus)* on the development of collaborative housing in Japan (Krokfors, 2012). Williams (2005) has argued that a recent wave of collaborative housing has seen the model spread to the Pacific Rim, meaning Australasia and South-East Asia. However, "European research – and also knowledge transfer between Europe and other parts of the world – on these housing models are still weakly connected despite a few notable efforts", as Czischke et al. (2020, p. 1) remark. Additionally, this knowledge transfer and the mobility of collaborative housing is commonly framed as occurring unidirectionally, from Europe to other parts of the world. This highlights the pervasive Eurocentrism that characterises not only knowledge production on collaborative housing, but also Urban Studies as a field (Hilbrandt & Ren, 2022).

However, the broadness of the concept of collaborative housing allows for the exploration of varied models of shared housing endeavours that may not neatly "fit" established Western categories, and provide a basis from which to theorise shared housing models beyond the Western canon. Olin et al. (2022), for instance, explore the value of Māori collective housing models (Papakāinga) for cultural connection and preservation, as well as emotional and community well-being of indigenous groups in a settler colonial context like New Zealand, where the rights to home, sovereignty, and culture of indigenous populations have been severely curtailed through European colonisation.

Empirical Critiques of Collaborative Housing

In addition to this conceptual critique of the concept of collaborative housing as such, empirical literature has highlighted a number of limitations of collaborative housing projects. Firstly, support of collaborative housing through state policy and public funding is criticised for inadequately

addressing structural issues of housing provision under capitalism. Collaborative housing consists of individual initiatives, and thus only serves a very limited number of people, while housing unaffordability and shortages are pervasive and affect the many. The focus is thus on developing these small-scale projects, rather than advocating for a substantive policy overhaul (Hurlin, 2018). In such a view, rather than promoting structural changes that could benefit a larger group of people, such as rent control, they become merely piecemeal adjustments (Horlitz, 2013; Hurlin, 2018). Research thus emphasises the "niche" nature of collaborative housing and the difficulties of scaling up (Helamaa, 2019), criticising it for its lack of advocacy for structural changes to housing systems. Collaborative housing can thus appear as an option available only to a "happy few" who are able to live in such projects, but may not represent a viable solution to the issue of housing affordability as a whole. However, as Ferreri & Vidal (2022) argue, state support for collaborative housing models is crucial for the redistribution of resources through what they call public-cooperative arrangements. In this way, resources can be supplied by the state to then be appropriated by communities as commons (Harvey, 2012), and hence allow for greater expansion of community-owned housing beyond a niche model for a small group of residents (Ferreri & Vidal, 2022).

Another line of criticism furthers the above argument, noting that collaborative housing may follow neoliberal narratives of entrepreneurialism by demanding a great deal of self-work from residents in the provision of housing. Tummers (2016) highlights the complex, time- and resource-intensive process of obtaining land, planning, and building which precedes the initiation of collaborative housing projects. Participation in urban planning has been analysed as a tool of neoliberal, entrepreneurial approaches to governance (Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020), as it can shift responsibility from the state to its citizens, prioritising those with higher social and economic capital in the process. The model of collaborative housing thus arguably encourages citizens to take the entrepreneurial role of housing provision upon themselves and "in a way cushions, legitimises, or even indirectly strengthens current neoliberal politics" (Horlitz, 2013, p. 10), perhaps.

Further critical research considers collaborative housing to be an exclusionary form of living, which offers benefits only to its residents, but does not address wider housing struggles and social issues. Chiodelli (2015) goes as far as to compare collaborative housing to gated communities,

highlighting many similarities between them. The author argues that the diversity of collaborative housing projects means that plenty in fact do not foster an open relationship with their surrounding communities. Additionally, projects may be promoted by private developers and subject to speculative forms of ownership, and the demographic composition of certain projects features a prevalence of upper-middle class residents and may thus be no different to gated communities (Chiodelli, 2015). Ruiu (2014) disagrees with this hypothesis, instead arguing that community cohesion in collaborative housing projects does not rely on the same mechanisms of barrier and control as gated communities, and is instead owed to solidarity and participation. Yet, she agrees that the proliferation of collaborative housing projects by private developers and the appropriation of the concept for top-down approaches may be a concern (Ruiu, 2014). Other authors investigate the inward-facing solidarity of collaborative projects and conclude that they tend to benefit only their residents, thus losing sight of wider changes to housing provision. Sørvoll & Bengtsson (2020) discuss the creation of collaborative housing "enclaves", which are beneficial for project members yet rarely engage with their surroundings and thus prioritise residents economically, without extending solidarity to neighbouring communities. In line with this, some point to the collaborative projects as potential drivers of neighbourhood gentrification (Droste, 2015; Schlichtman & Patch, 2014).

Finally, criticism focuses on group homogeneity within collaborative housing projects. The member composition of collaborative housing projects has been studied in regards to socio-economic class, concluding that while projects often do offer more economically affordable forms of living, social and cultural capital seem to play a greater role in accessing such housing (Bresson, 2016). Bresson & Labit (2020) explain that early self-organised projects in France prioritise "shared values" in the construction of their living groups, but are thus exclusive to people outside of activist circles, where such values are formulated and developed. Similarly, research shows that projects in Germany consist of mainly lower-middle- and middle-class members (Droste, 2015) with similar lifestyles (Suckow, 2002), while others have pointed out that project members in the United Kingdom tend to be middle-class, highly educated, and predominantly white (Arbell, 2022). Social inclusivity of collaborative communities is thus questioned, as communities often do not acknowledge or attempt to address the role cultural capital plays in

access to housing projects (ibid.). Yet, it is important to mention that a growing body of research also focuses on the success of inclusion of various minority groups in collaborative housing, such as migrants and refugees (Czischke & Huisman, 2018; Fromm & de Jong, 2009), people with disabilities, young families in precarious situations (Bresson & Labit, 2020) or the elderly (Brenton, 2013). The image of inclusivity of collaborative housing is therefore diverse, as it represents both an acclaim but also major critique of this housing form.

Collaborative Housing and Feminist Research

The first part of this literature review explored the connection between home, housing, care and gender. Although rather scarcely, this domain has also been explored within the research on collaborative housing. Early research focused on the role of feminist organisations in promoting collaborative housing as an alternative housing arrangement fostering a collectivisation of housework (Vestbro, 2000). Other studies from the Scandinavian context (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012) further conclude that collaborative housing has contributed to a more egalitarian distribution of care work between genders. This is seconded by a study from the United States by Sullivan-Catlin (2014), which focuses on the impact of communal cooking on gender equality and concludes that communalising meal preparation helps to redistribute household labour. Studies have also highlighted the relations between gender and ageing, demonstrating the benefits of collaborative housing for elderly women (Devlin et al., 2015).

However, not all authors agree with these arguments. From the context of Denmark, Jarvis (2013) argues that while collaborative housing challenges the Western ideal of a nuclear family home, its impacts on gender equality can be disputed. While practices of sharing, informal mutual help, and fluid family arrangements allow for practical support in household work and parenting, deeper patriarchal structures embedded in society relating to tradition, but also the division of paid and unpaid labour, are not successfully reversed (Jarvis, 2013). Later research by Jarvis (2017) suggests that paradoxically, many collaborative housing groups may reproduce gender roles when priorities such as environmental sustainability overshadow social justice, in situations of consensus-based communication, and quite importantly through the undervaluing of emotional labour undertaken for the community, which is highly gendered and considered to be the domain of women.

Tummers and MacGregor (2019) argue in a similar tone, suggesting that the simple change in living arrangements and spaces does not guarantee a structural transformation of capitalist and patriarchal realities. The authors thus call for a greater consideration of the concepts of commons and commoning within the field of collaborative housing, due to the potential of this housing form to amplify the re-valuing and redistribution of care work. In this way, collaborative housing may be a possible site for feminist commoning (Federici, 2019) as well as new forms of caring democracy (Tronto, 2013).

The call to integrate the study of feminist commons into collaborative housing research is answered by a study by Fernández Arrigoitia et al. (2023), who conduct a comparative study of two co-housing projects in the United Kingdom. They conclude that the definition of care work may be difficult to decipher for residents themselves, as the boundaries of such work are often unclear. The paper discovers that care work in community processes is often less visible, and that narratives of self-management exist in relation to emotions and opinions when it comes to balancing personal and collective priorities. However, they also conclude that reproductive work in a collaborative community requires the communal negotiation of boundaries, hence imbuing the everyday practices of care work of community-building in such housing projects with a feminist logic of "home and work that values emotions, relationalities and embodiment over the transactional relations normally associated with housing as a commodity" (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023, p. 15). Authors thus conclude that while often "messy" and lacking clear delineation, care work in collaborative housing projects does have the potential of reflecting the principles of feminist commoning.

Research Gap

The previous sections have shown that collaborative housing is a highly relevant field of research within critical urban studies. Literature on collaborative housing explores the positive environmental, social, and economic impacts of such communities. They are regarded as an antidote to isolation and alienation in urban settings, an answer to growing housing unaffordability, and may be a more gender-emancipatory setting than the single-family home. Collaborative housing communities have also tentatively been ascribed the potential to transform

care work by bringing it into the public sphere and communalising it. Collaborative housing has thus been described, in a limited number of studies, as a potential site for the commoning of care (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019).

However, closer attention is yet to be paid to everyday community work, such as internal conflict mediation, community-building, and the more physical reproductive work necessary to maintain households, as well as the extension of care outside of the housing community. It has been suggested that care work arrangements in collaborative projects could be seen as subverting neoliberal economic realities through alternative setups and a focus on collectivity (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023). However, by default of existing within the capitalist system, such housing forms must constantly navigate the forms of neoliberal capitalism they might aim to resist. As capitalism extends beyond simple economic relations, and neoliberal logics of self-management permeate the governmentality of self, caring and housing structures, it is highly relevant to deepen the as of yet limited investigation into the gendered realities of care work in collaborative housing. Such research can help uncover whether there may be a disparity between the expectation that collaborative housing may facilitate a commoning of care, and the possibility that it instead reproduces the hetero-patriarchal dynamics inherent in the performance of care work under capitalism. Research is needed to examine how gendered care work in these communities aligns or conflicts with the ideal of a feminist housing commons. Subscribing to a view of collaborative housing forms as evolving, processual, and iterative, this thesis will explore whether collaborative housing truly supports a commoning of care, or if it reproduces patriarchal dynamics under capitalism, highlighting both achievements and challenges in its evolution as a feminist commons. To do this, the following section will introduce feminist commoning as the theoretical framework that underpins this work, before the empirical results of our work will be discussed.

Theoretical Framework: Feminist Commoning

Commons as common-pool resources

The concept of the commons has gained popularity over the past decades. Owing largely to the groundbreaking work of Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom (1994), the concept of the commons began to challenge the idea that the self-management of resources by a community of users must lead to their depletion due to the inevitability of self-interest. Through her work, Ostrom (1994) challenged Hardin's (1968) well-known theory of the "tragedy of the commons". She explored both theoretically and empirically the possibilities of creating arrangements that allow for durable collective resource management (Ostrom, 1994). In this conceptualisation, commons are considered to be "resembling neither the state nor the market" (Ostrom, 1994, p. 1). The term "commons" in the author's work is synonymous to common-pool resources, defined as "a natural or man-made resource system that is sufficiently large as to make it costly, but not impossible, to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from its use" (Ostrom, 1994, p. 30). Commons are then seen as a specific type of good, which is bound with certain characteristics, such as high degree of excludability (Euler, 2018).

Decolonising commons

However, it is important to acknowledge that while the concept of commons has recently gained traction in academic scholarship, its origins are hardly Western. While the term "commons" originates in Europe, forms of commoning have been ingrained in practices and ways of being around the whole world for millennia (Venugopal, 2020). Commons, then, are not just small-scale experiments, but have a history and presence in communal practices in societies worldwide (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014; Linebaugh, 2012). Marx argued that European enclosures dispossessed indigenous people of their land and replaced common land and property ownership with capitalist modes of production (Foster et al, 2021). A substantial body of critical commons theory challenges this, and seeks to expand the temporality of enclosures (Kidd, 2020). Instead of a one-time event, enclosures continue and are present everywhere (Kidd, 2020; Coulthard, 2014). Indigenous communities continue to play a critical role in the maintenance of common goods, resources, and practices which are threatened by, but also actively resist global capitalist hegemony

(García López et al, 2017). While the term "commons" might refer to different sets of meanings within various indigenous worldviews and academic frameworks, at their centre lies the collective care for resources which are shared among a community (Venugopal, 2020).

Commoning as process

More recently, there has also been a shift in the traditional understanding of commons as relating only to material resources that pervaded the original debate on this topic. Instead, there has been a growing recognition that "to speak of the commons as if it were a natural resource is misleading at best and dangerous at worst" (Linebaugh 2008, p. 279). Challenging the static notion of the commons as a mere "thing", the use of the verb commoning in its stead foregrounds collective processes of co-responsibility, interdependence, and relationality (Brunori & Musso, 2023; Clement et al., 2019; Dengler & Lang, 2022). Such a definition of commons, which relates to fluid processes, has become increasingly popular with scholars and activists in search of alternative forms of social organisation beyond neoliberal capitalism. The term has been thus imbued with new meanings pertaining to a broader set of relationships, practices, and spaces (Chatterton, 2010).

This new conceptualisation of the commons engages with power relations, structural conditions, and subjective perceptions to provide a full picture of the messy processes involved in their constitution (Noterman, 2016). Critically approaching the commons in this way then shifts the focus towards social practices and relationships as their basis (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014; Clement et al., 2019; Euler, 2018; Federici, 2019). In other words, commoning scholarship focuses on the web of relationships which create processes of "using and maintaining resources by a group of people who organise the social process, the commoning, themselves and determine the rules of their togetherness" (Meretz, 2014, as cited in Euler, 2018, p. 11). Commoning processes require relations which entail constant experimentation, openness and mutual solidarity. Furthermore, Linebaugh (2008) draws our attention to the fact that processes of commoning are also inherently more-than-human, as they involve not only objects and resources, but also people, animals or plants.

Commoning may therefore hold the potential to challenge capitalist hegemony by subverting conventional modes of relating to one another and to the world that center accumulation,

individualism, and monetary gain. However, practices and processes of commoning must be regarded with caution due to the constant threats of neoliberal co-optation that they face (De Angelis, 2013; Caffentzis & Federici, 2014).

Neoliberal co-optation of commons

Capitalism relies on constant growth and unrelenting accumulation for its reproduction, which makes endemic the "crises" during which it reinvents itself and appropriates new spheres for capital accumulation (Harvey, 1985). Akin to Harvey's (1981) "spatial fix", De Angelis (2013) puts forth the hypothesis that capital now needs a "commons fix" to address its current crisis of reproduction, as evidenced by the current bout of social, environmental, and economic upheaval. Thus, "since neoliberalism is not about to give up its management of the world, it will likely have to ask the commons to help manage the devastation it creates" (De Angelis, 2013, p. 605), putting processes and spaces of commoning in danger of being co-opted by market forces. Instances of market interference with the goal of appropriating the commons for the benefit of capital are not rare. The World Bank's colonial and neoliberal approach to many economies of the Global South are an example of this. The language of commoning, complete with references to autochthonous community practices of resource sharing and networks of trust, is used to shroud ongoing and violent processes of privatisation and dispossession that drive dependence on the global market through credit institutions or banks, for instance (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014; De Angelis, 2013). Similarly, the discourse of commoning and mutual support is used by governments that have cut social services and welfare programmes to "outsource" such work to its citizen, as was the case for instance in British Prime Minister Cameron's 'Big Society' programme (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014).

Rather than as a tool that allows communities to self-manage resources and build truly autonomous collective social systems, "capitalists and the World Bank would like us to employ commoning as a means to socialise poverty and hence to privatise wealth", Linebaugh (2008, p. 279) warns us. In order to resist this neoliberal cooptation of commoning, then, we must remain attentive to the true nature of a given space or process of commoning, rather than blindly romanticise and celebrate it, as "actual commons can be distorted, oppressive, or emancipatory"

(De Angelis, 2013, p. 613). De Angelis (2013) also cautions that any attempts at commoning can represent a viable bulwark against capitalism and resist neoliberal cooptation only if they are attentive to the social reproduction of everyday life – a project which is at the center of theories of feminist commoning.

From commons to feminist commoning

From the framework of commoning, we therefore turn to feminist commoning as the most adequate perspective for our analysis. Feminist commoning aims to revise the lack of attention paid by theories of commons and commoning to the reproduction of everyday life. As Silvia Federici asserts (2010) in reference to Maria Mies (2001), there is an urgent need for a thorough transformation of everyday life in order to tackle the capitalist separation of social division of labour. As reproductive work continues to be undermined and undervalued by the unbridled forces of neoliberal capitalism, there is a pressing need to reconstruct the everyday (Federici, 2010).

Feminist commoning thus emerges as a framework for revaluing and redistributing reproductive work, seen as the locus for a broader transformation of social relations, and aspires to create more cooperative, egalitarian, and consensus-based forms of care work (Federici, 2010, 2019). This can be done by reconfiguring the practices, relationships, and spaces in which care work is performed, and by addressing power and difference within them (Noterman, 2016). Collective and profoundly relational practices of care, responsibility, and deliberation are therefore fundamental to feminist commoning (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016; Sato & Alarcón, 2019), making it not merely a means of organising resources and care work, but a prefigurative politics, a new way of imagining, creating, and sustaining relationships that challenge capitalist value systems (Federici, 2019; Moebus, 2022; Noterman, 2016).

Constructing a feminist politics of the commons also entails recognising and centring the gendered struggles permeating reproductive work (Federici, 2019; Schwenkel, 2022), while adopting a "non-gender essentialist approach by recognising gender, not as synonymous to women or as fixed roles, but as process" (Sato & Alarcón, 2019, p. 40). This perspective allows for critically evaluating gendered, racialised, and class hierarchies of power within care work, in order to reimagine and rebuild reproductive work and broader social relations. Overall, feminist commoning then consists

of a fluid and complex process of recognition, redistribution, and sharing of care, which can construct alternative, post-capitalist ways of being and caring.

Commoning without commons?

Questions of ownership and property are central in debates around commoning, which often focus on undoing and countering historical and contemporary enclosure. Literature has explored the socio-materiality of early enclosure processes (Blomley, 2007) and the diverse spatialities of dispossession (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015), and positioned the urban commons as an alternative to processes of enclosure, privatisation, and commodification playing out in cities (Bresnihan & Byrne, 2015). Literature identifies resistance to enclosure and commodification as a central tenet of commoning (Nightingale, 2019; Venugopal, 2020), and there are certainly advantages to frameworks that secure the commons legally by formalising collective ownership and cooperative mutualist structures as a safeguard against privatisation. However, paying attention only to forms of "owning in common" obscures a much richer world of commoning practices and relationships that constitute "actually existing commons" (Linebaugh 2008, p. 273) beyond mere collective ownership (Sato & Alarcón 2019). By shifting the debate towards processes of commoning, and foregrounding social relationships that emerge in and through their production and reproduction, feminist commoning may emerge even "in the absence of a commons" (Sato & Alarcón, 2019, p. 39).

The focus on property rights and ownership structures that Sato & Alarcón (2019) identify in much of the literature on the commons and commoning therefore appears reductive, as "commoning is not necessarily tied to property, but rather to collective action to foster both new means of production, exchange and use of resources, and new subjectivities and ways of being in common." (Nightingale 2019, p.20). Instead, Nightingale (2019) proposes to adopt a critical property studies lens that unearths relations of power, conflict, and authority to query ownership structures in the context of commoning. In this way, commoning debates can move away from a narrow emphasis on property rights and collective forms of ownership as the sole cornerstones of commoning efforts, and instead attend to the emerging subjectivities, contradictions, exercises of

power that produce inclusion and exclusion within processes of commoning (Clement et al., 2019).

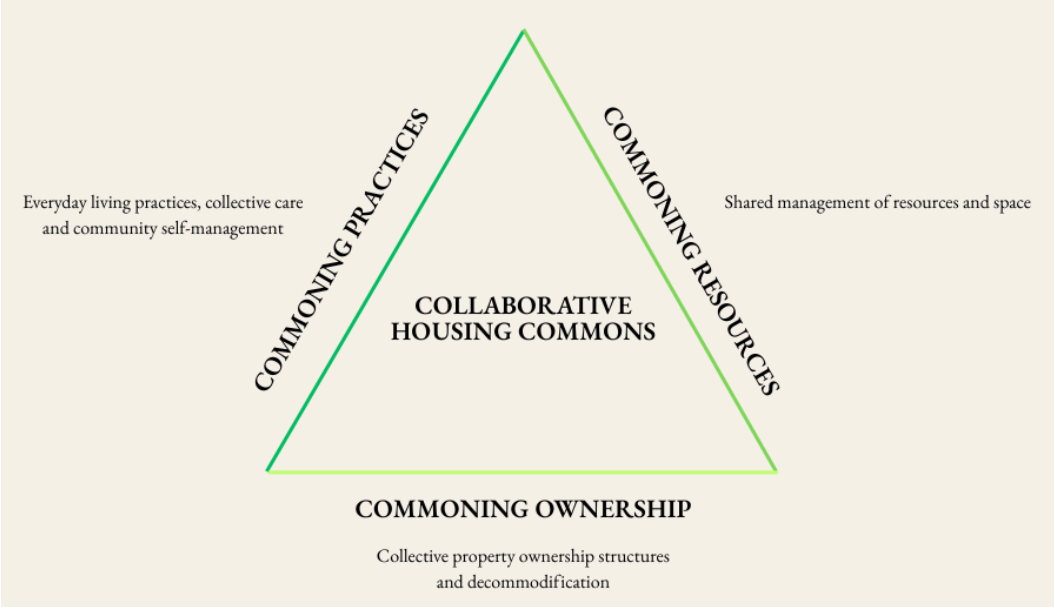
Rather than only in collective ownership structures or certain forms of property rights, then, feminist commoning can materialise in the context of any form of ownership, whether private, state-owned, or other, hereby eschewing a "capitalocentric" framing of the commons (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016). Indeed, commoning is not only differential, meaning that the depth of commoning processes and engagement with these may vary within a commoning community (Noterman, 2016), it is also always fragmented and incomplete. Asserting that commoning processes are "are always partial, coexisting with a myriad of other public and private forms of ownership and governance" (Chatterton 2016, p. 407) does not, however, mean that they are necessarily secondary to, or overwhelmed by, the more powerful dynamics of capitalism (Chatterton 2016). Such a view expands the political potential of the framework of feminist commoning by making visible incomplete, incremental, but nevertheless meaningful instances of non-capitalist forms of social reproduction in a variety of spaces that may simultaneously be located within or replicate, in other aspects, capitalist relations (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016; Noterman, 2016).

Viewing feminist commoning as partial, differential, and incremental does not diminish its potential as a mode of being and relating to one another that is disruptive to the dynamics hetero-patriarchal capitalism. A critique that is often levelled at "practical utopian experiments" (Sargisson, 2012), or experimental commons (Chatterton, 2016) is that they represent minuscule niches within the broader system, and are thus unable to be lastingly impactful unless strategies of "scaling up" are devised. Chatterton (2016) reframes this limiting perspective, and proposes the notion of "islands of post-capitalist commons [...] countering and corroding the dominant regime as they connect" (Chatterton, 2016, p.411). Thus, a quantitative focus which evaluates spaces of commoning by the numeric or scalar impact they produce is made redundant and replaced by a qualitative logic that puts care, solidarity, and inclusion at the heart of projects of feminist commoning.

Collaborative housing is considered a site for experimental commoning practices to emerge (Chatterton, 2016; Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023; Morrow & Parker, 2020; Noterman, 2016; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). Feminist housing commons can be constructed across several dimensions, as such alternative practices are created within the structures of collective property ownership, shared management of space and resources, but also through the creation of everyday community practices and self-organisation and decision making. Within this study, collaborative housing is considered as a heterogeneous group of housing projects, in which arrangements are dynamic and change over time, and where commoning practices do not always emerge uniformly across all of the dimensions outlined in the graphic above. Figure 1 below provides a visual overview of how the principles of commoning outlined in the preceding section apply to collaborative housing specifically.

Figure 1

Dimensions of Collaborative Housing Commons



Note. Diagram outlining the dimensions of commoning within collaborative housing projects.

Case Study Context

This section will provide a brief overview of the Dutch and Danish welfare and housing systems, as well as some key moments in their erosion through neoliberal policies, demonstrating how the "crises" of care and housing play out in practice in the countries studied within this research. Other factors, such as culturally specific norms and values around the performance of care work, or the inclusion of "gender-sensitve" policies into mainstream governance, may also impact experiences with care in the context of our case studies. However, through our extensive review of relevant literature, we were able to identify the erosion of welfare systems and the neoliberalisation of housing as the core structural dynamics which condition the possibilities and constraints for caring. Therefore, we focus on these factors in their Dutch and Danish iterations to provide context for the case studies chosen in our research. In addition, we offer a short history and typology of collaborative housing in both countries in order to contextualise the research design and methodology, which follow this section.

Denmark

Housing and welfare in Denmark

Denmark, much like in the other Nordic countries, has a high standard of living and a strong welfare state tradition, which was consolidated in the course of the 20th century (Sørvoll et al., 2024). In the aftermath of the Second World War, strong public control of the market and public planning laid the foundation for the development of the Danish welfare state (Kærgård, 2024). By the 1970s, various social policies were in place, extensive healthcare services were provided, and vulnerable groups like the elderly, sick, or unemployed received special protections (Kærgård, 2024). Throughout this period, housing became a key pillar of public welfare in Denmark (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015).

The Danish housing system is a unitary one according to Kemeny's model (Kemeny, 2001), meaning that market segmentation is limited, and that non-profit rental housing is offered to broad segments of the population (Bengtsson & Jensen, 2020). Homeownership is the norm in Denmark, with 57% of the population residing in owner-occupied homes (Granath Hansson et al.,

2025). Private rental housing, non-profit housing, and cooperative ownership exist as alternatives to homeownership, with the latter two – non-profit housing associations (almene boligselskaber) and private cooperatives (andelsboligforeninger) – becoming increasingly more common than private rental options since the 1960s (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015). Private cooperatives are seen as the "in-between" housing option at the intersection of rental and owner-occupied housing, as residents own shares in the property. This type of housing used to be relatively affordable (although this is changing), and retains until today a type of "cooperative ideology" (andelstanken) (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015; Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2020). The non-profit housing sector, a cornerstone of the Danish welfare state, houses nearly a fifth of the population. It is organised in independent housing associations that have traditionally received state support, and are characterised by a strong and well-established system of tenant participation and democracy (Bengtsson & Jensen, 2020; Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015). Nevertheless, non-profit housing remains, like in many places, a residualised housing part of the housing sector, as direct and indirect subsidies to owner-occupied and private cooperative housing remain greater than support provided to the non-profit sector (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015).

Since 1973, Denmark has followed the global trend entailing a "movement from a national welfare state to a more international and market-oriented economy" (Kærgård, 2024, p. 241). The Danish libertarian movement was an important driver of privatisation, and aimed to dismantle welfare policies and "open up" the public sector to the market (Køber & Olsen, 2023). This economic "philosophy" soon moved from the fringes into the political mainstream, and policies of privatisation were enthusiastically adopted even by Social Democratic governments (Køber & Olsen, 2023). Economic neoliberalism merged with nativist policies and restrictions on welfare for immigrants, making the once-universal welfare system a more unequal one (Kærgård, 2024; Køber & Olsen, 2023). Housing as a fundamental pillar of the welfare state was systematically undermined, whether through attempts at privatising non-profit housing, commodifying the cooperative sector, or dismantling of the ministry of housing, in a radical break with the social-democratic welfare tradition (Bengtsson & Jensen, 2020; Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015). This, in connection with the Danish government's so-called "ghetto strategy" has especially affected migrant and racialised populations, "leading to affective evictions [...], materially from

their homes in nonprofit housing, as well as from welfare society in general" (Anna Meera, 2024). Skyrocketing property prices, record household debt levels, speculation, and precarious and unaffordable rental housing have thus been the result of the past half-century of neoliberalisation, privatisation, and commodification of the welfare state and housing sector (Sørvoll et al., 2024).

Collaborative housing in Denmark

Collaborative housing emerged and evolved during this same period in Denmark. A "child of the 1960s" (Larsen, 2019), it grew from the commune movement of 1968, which aimed to translate new ideas about gender and family into practice (Beck, 2020; Larsen, 2019). Early collaborative housing in Denmark mainly took the shape of dense, low-rise clustered co-housing projects (Beck, 2020). Today, four types of collaborative housing can be distinguished in Denmark according to a recent report (Jensen et al., 2022): mixed-age co-housing communities, senior co-housing communities, collectives, and ecovillages. Mixed-age and senior co-housing projects make up the majority. Co-housing projects (bofællesskaber)[1] are characterised by their provision of both private dwellings and shared spaces and facilities, for instance a common house, a laundry room, a vegetable garden, or grounds. They are distinct from collectives, where members tend to share both kitchen and bathroom and live in one unit (Beck, 2020). Jensen et al. (2022) identify around 400 collaborative housing communities with around 10,000 households in 2021 in Denmark. According to their report, singles and couples with young children are overrepresented in these projects, as are highly educated residents, upper- and medium-level employees, while non-Danish residents are underrepresented.

Co-housing projects vary significantly in terms of their built form. Beck (2020) distinguishes between three different typologies, namely architect-designed, retrofit, and self-built eco-communities. The architect-designed type is purpose-built, while the retrofit type is often rebuilt starting from a central structure that can serve as a community house, or by altering the

[1] The term "bofællesskab" in Danish is an umbrella term for many forms of community-oriented housing (like mixed-age cohousing, senior cohousing, intergenerational cohousing, mini-cohousing, ecovillage, and to some extent collectives), but also used to refer specifically to the dense-low clustered co-housing model with private and shared spaces that was "exported" to North America and many other places. Architects byMcCamant and Durrett translated the term and popularised the "Danish model of co-housing" in the United States.

spatial layout of existing structures. Both aim to transform family ideals and make them less hierarchical by balancing privacy and communality (Beck, 2020). The self-build type is often seen in ecovillages, where respect for the environment, low-carbon construction, and self-sufficiency are ideals that are pursued. The Danish co-housing model remains closely linked to the dense-low housing form, which means that single-family detached houses and multi-unit dwellings are less common architectural typologies (Jensen et al., 2022).

Henrik Gutzon Larsen (2019) identifies three temporal phases of co-housing in Denmark which tie in with different forms of tenure and changes in housing legislation, as well as with distinct built forms. During the first phase, beginning in the early 1970s, co-housing projects were purpose-built according to the "dense-low" architectural paradigm in order to facilitate social contact and preserve nature. The most accessible tenure model, both legally and financially, was owner-occupied housing, with the formation of an owners association for the common spaces and buildings which are owned and run collectively. In the early 1980s, a shift in national legislation created favourable conditions for the formation of new co-housing projects. Originally passed to support the construction industry, this new legislation made available publicly funded and affordable interest rates for housing cooperatives, which became the dominant form of tenure for co-housing projects established in this period. However, state support for new-build housing cooperatives came to an end in 2004. Today, there is therefore a return to owner-occupied co-housing, and most of the current "wave" of projects are a part of this trend. Many new projects are now located in the suburbs of large cities, and no longer at their center. This is due to rising land prices (Jakobsen & Larsen, 2019), as well as due to increasing efforts that municipalities now undertake to attract such projects, seen as desirable for their local economy and tax base. The non-profit housing sector has never played a considerable role as a tenure option for co-housing projects, as public monetary support often comes with rigid rules that do not offer space for alternative spatial and social organisations that co-housing projects seek to experiment with (Larsen, 2019). The fact that public non-profit as well as cooperative tenure forms remain marginalised in the co-housing sector is seen by many as a major pitfall, since "owner-occupation is exclusionary, and in Denmark as elsewhere, social inequalities and socio-geographical segregation are increasingly tied to ownership of housing" (Larsen, 2019, p. 1363).

One emerging trend that the literature on collaborative housing in Denmark identifies is the top-down professionalisation of co-housing. At the outset, these communities were established in a bottom-up manner, meaning that residents acquired the necessary skills and knowledge to build their own projects. However, co-creation is increasingly being limited to involvement (Andersen & Lyhne, 2022), as the professional development and provision of co-housing in Denmark has begun to gain acceptance. Today, it is not uncommon that municipalities "invite" co-housing projects to settle in an area, or that developers build the projects and recruit participants into a mostly pre-designed framework (Beck, 2020).

The Netherlands

Housing and welfare in the Netherlands

The Dutch welfare system has undergone substantial changes over the past decades. Drawing on Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology, Musterd and Ostendorf (2023) propose the use of three regimes to characterise Dutch welfare between World War II and today, namely social democratic, corporative conservative and liberal. The post-war welfare period can be compared to other Western European countries, where housing policy was dominated by the desire to strengthen the central business districts, leading to dwelling construction outside of the city (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2023). Until the 1970s, policies focused on creating and improving housing, especially for the poor (ibid.). Housing associations, otherwise known as housing corporations (*woningcorporaties*), played a strong role in this history, acting as the nearly sole providers of social housing and operating on a non-profit basis (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014). Post-war construction led to a remarkable expansion of social housing from almost 10% in 1947 to around 44% of the total housing stock in 1989 (Jobse & Musterd, 1994). Social housing, at that time, was considered a collective good for the broader working class, a vision that was reinforced in the early 1970s when a Left-wing Catholic coalition formed the government (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020).

Yet, in 1989, the *Volkshuisvesting in de Jaren Negentig* memorandum marked a turning point in Dutch housing policy (Van Gent, 2010a; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2023). Instead of a promotion of social housing, there was growing pressure to expand the owner-occupation of homes through market-based incentives such as support for mortgage markets, but also a reduction in rent

subsidies (Van Gent, 2010a). In the following years, housing policy changed focus from improving the material conditions of dwellers to a preoccupation with social aspects, leading to the implementation of "social mixing" policies (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). This goal would rely on the municipality-supported sell off, demolition, and deregulation of social housing stock of housing associations (Van Gent, 2010b). Overall, these approaches were the harbingers of a rise in market-liberal and conservative ideologies that promoted housing deregulation and ownership, as well as an overemphasis on the "cultural integration" of minorities (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020).

After the 2008 financial crisis, just like in much of the rest of the world, neoliberal austerity measures provided new momentum for restructuring the Dutch housing market. This was reinforced by the conservative liberal party dominating government, as well as the decreasing popularity of housing associations due to financial mismanagement, leading to the introduction of new neoliberal housing policies (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014). The prime example was the landlord levy tax, implemented by the state to transform the social sector and financially pressure housing associations to sell their stock, often to foreign real estate investors (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Furthermore, following a ruling of the European Commission, the government implemented the 2015 Housing Act, which, among other things, imposed an income eligibility rule for social housing (Priemus & Gruis, 2011), enforcing an institutional division between the regulated and unregulated housing market (ibid.). This measure solidified a narrative that framed social and regulated housing as a temporary aid intervention for the poor, rather than a collective good (Musterd, 2014).

Neoliberal policies led to the gradual shrinkage and residualisation of social housing (Musterd, 2014) in the Netherlands, due to sell-offs and low rates of new construction (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Currently, around 57% of housing in the Netherlands is owner-occupied, over 14% belongs to private landlords, while housing corporations own little over 28% of the total housing stock (CBS, 2024a). Regulated rental housing fell to 34%, with most pronounced shrinkage occurring in large cities such as Amsterdam, where there has been a decrease in regulated dwellings from over 61% to 47% between 2012 and 2021 (CBS, 2022). At the same time, renters in the unregulated market spend the highest percentage of their income on housing (CBS, 2025).

Landlords on the other hand constitute some of the most affluent strata of Dutch society (Hochstenbach, 2022), while housing unaffordability in the Netherlands ranks among the worst in Europe (CBS, 2024b).

Collaborative housing in the Netherlands

The history of collaborative housing in the Netherlands begins in the 1960s (Bakker, 2009). Due to a growing interest in alternative approaches to living, the government enacted the "Experimental Housing" program to support alternative practices within architecture, subsidising projects with an emphasis on participation (De Vos & Spoormans, 2022). It was in the late 1960s that the first communal living groups (*woongroepen*) emerged, followed by co-housing projects (*centraal wonen*) (Bakker, 2009). In 1984, the memorandum *Wonen in Groepsverband* responded to this increased interest by establishing government policies for shared living (De Vos & Spoormans, 2022). Especially within co-housing projects, it was housing associations that took a leading role in the development, creating a variety of issues due to the complexities communal spaces pose in terms of housing regulations (ibid.). Increasingly, however, models for organisation, financing, as well as legal regulations were developed, outlining procedures that new projects followed (ibid.). Many other forms of collaborative living swiftly followed, including co-housing for the elderly, as well as eco-villages (Bakker, 2009).

Currently, there are at least 963 collaborative housing projects in the Netherlands (VGW, 2025). These are projects registered with the Communal Living Association (*Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen*), which unites collaborative housing projects and promotes development of new communities by gathering information and making it available to the broader public (VGW, n.d.-a) . However, many more projects are likely to exist outside of this formal structure, and therefore the final number of collaborative housing projects is expected to be higher (VGW, 2025a). Due to the long history of collaborative living in the Netherlands, there is a great variety of housing projects with diverse origins, structures and financing models (Gruis, 2019).

Many co-housing (*centraal wonen*) projects are under the management and ownership of housing associations (Tummers, 2016; Bakker, 2009). Due to this, a significant number of co-housing projects or sections of them are part of the social housing stock, and thus subject to its rent

regulation and income eligibility criteria, while residents maintain autonomy in the collective management of their group and space, as well as in the selection of new residents. A similar concept is co-housing for elderly (*woongemeenschap van ouderen*), which is distinguished by housing residents older than 50 or 55 years. Communal housing groups (*woongroepen*), residential communities (*woongemeenschap*) as well as eco-villages (*ecodorpen*) often have more diverse ownership structures, ranging from owner-occupied homes or housing corporation-owned social housing units to specific modes of association co-ownership (VGW, n.d.-b). Furthermore, their financing depends on the time of establishment, but can include grants, municipal subsidies, and self-financing, usually containing a mix of several sources.

Housing cooperatives (*wooncoöperaties*) are a relatively new concept within the Netherlands. While present in the 19th century, they faced a decline and practically ceased to exist within the following century (Ahedo, et al., 2023). The 2015 Housing Act revived the legal form of housing cooperatives and provided institutional support to residents to buy out houses from housing associations. However, this has so far happened rather rarely (Gruis, 2019). Instead, new housing cooperatives are emerging in this past decade, predominantly as newly founded projects which aim at decommodifying housing. This goal is achieved through collective ownership of the property by an association, of which residents are members of and pay rent to, and cannot sell their share of (Cooplink, n.d.). Decisions regarding rent, management and maintenance are taken collectively within the group. In some cases, an umbrella organisation also owns a share of the housing, ensuring that even if all members of the existing group decide to leave, the house cannot be sold (Vrijcoop, n.d.). Through this mechanism, the building cannot be resold on the private market, which ensures long-term affordability. This type of housing cooperative has received municipal support, for instance from the municipality of Amsterdam, which committed to having 10% of its housing stock be housing cooperatives by 2040 (Gerritsma, 2022), but also support from organisations which act as a knowledge base, like the association of cooperatives “Cooplink”. The financing of such projects is usually divided between a bank loan, a municipal subsidy, as well as fundraising campaigns and community bonds (De Warren, n.d.).

Methodology

The following section will present the methodology that was employed to answer the research question addressed in this thesis. It will outline the research design which we formulated to best inquire into the question of *how care work is distributed, performed, and experienced by participants of collaborative housing projects, and in which ways it reflects the principles of feminist commoning*. Recognising that the "choice of appropriate methods is inextricably entwined with the formulation of [the] research question" (Peake, 2024, p. 179), and in adherence to the feminist interpretivist epistemological underpinnings of our study, we chose qualitative methods in order to best address the questions we raise in our research. Our inquiry focuses in large parts on participants' feelings, perceptions, and experiences, which would be impossible to investigate had we chosen a research design centring quantitative methods. What is more, qualitative research methods have traditionally been considered as a more adequate set of tools for feminist researchers (Peake, 2024) as they best allow to incorporate questions such as "reflexivity, positionality, relational approaches to research, research ethics, and a desire for social change" (Peake, 2024, p. 182). Furthermore, qualitative methods centering daily life aim to discover not only the materialities of care work, but also draw on embodied knowledge which addresses the complexities of experiences and relationalities (Peake, 2024). Thus, in what follows, we will show how questions surrounding these issues were addressed in our research. We also outline other important aspects of our research design, including the selection of case study sites and an explanation of their various characteristics, the selection of participants, the process of collecting and triangulating data, and the methods employed in data analysis.

Site Selection, Site Characteristics, and Participant Selection

We proceeded similarly in our selection of case studies in both country contexts in which research was conducted. Important characteristics of each individual case study are summarised in Table 1 and 2 below. In both countries, the case studies were mixed-gender and mixed-age collaborative housing communities. The specificities of the process of locating and contacting sites for case study research is outlined for both countries where research was conducted.

Denmark

In Denmark, our fieldwork took place between September 2024 and January 2025. The starting point for finding and establishing contact with potential sites for case study research was a thorough search of the website of the association "bofællesskab.dk". This is a digital platform which aims to provide information on all collaborative housing communities in Denmark, and serves as a forum for exchange between communities, as well as for those interested in joining them. The association has established a publicly accessible database of collaborative housing projects across the country, and provides contact information for many of the projects. We contacted the volunteer-run association in order to gain a foothold in the Danish collaborative housing field and gather some first insights into its functioning. In parallel, we searched the website's database of collaborative housing projects and contacted selected communities to request a visit and potential research participation. To narrow down the list of potential candidates, we established a list of criteria for exclusion and inclusion of projects into the study, based on the definition of collaborative housing specified in the literature review section of this thesis. The list for exclusion and inclusion of case studies can be consulted in the appendix. Additionally, being based in Copenhagen, we favored projects located in- and around the city for ease of access and practicality. A board member of the association bofællesskab.dk replied to our contact request, and, being himself a member of a collaborative housing community, kindly offered for us to visit his collaborative housing community and reached out to his fellow residents to propose to them participation in the research. Other collaborative housing communities were recruited to participate in the research in a similar manner, often with one member who is particularly engaged in the promotion of community life and contact of the community with external interested individuals serving as the point of contact and facilitator for visits and the recruitment of research participants. This was the case namely for community 1, 2, 5, and 6. Individual members of community 3 and 4 reached out to us upon the diffusion of our search for case study sites by our initial point of contact, the board member of the association bofællesskab.dk, through his network.

Thus, the process of site selection took place through a mixture of purposive, convenience, and snowball sampling, but nevertheless yielded a rather homogenous case study sample, with the individual sites resembling each other regarding the institutional setup of the collaborative housing

community, size, location, and building typology and construction type. Two communities (2 and 5) were even designed by the same architect. These similarities may be due to the predominance of this type of purpose-built collaborative housing in Denmark (Beck, 2020). Additionally, the building typology of "tæt-lav", meaning dense-low, which all communities which were studied conform to, is common in Denmark, especially in the Copenhagen Capital Region where all case studies were located. The similarity of case studies regarding important variables and characteristics such as size, demographic composition, location, building typology, and more, facilitate comparability between individual sites and are representative of collaborative housing in Denmark more broadly. The following table provides an overview of the individual characteristics of each site.

Table 1

Case Studies in Denmark

	Community 1	Community 2	Community 3	Community 4	Community 5	Community 6
Location	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region	Suburban, located within the Copenhagen Capital Region
Type of tenure	Homeownership	Homeownership, some private rental of individual rooms directly from owner (sublessor contracts)	Homeownership	Homeownership	Homeownership, some private rental of individual rooms directly from owner (sublessor contracts)	Homeownership

Type of Community	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)	“bofællesskab” (co-housing)
Community focus	No professed community focus, though emphasis on sustainable construction process and building materials	No professed community focus	No professed community focus	No professed community focus	No professed community focus	No professed community focus, though emphasis on adaptive reuse and resident-led housing development
Number of households	42	33	33	54	36	29
Construction type	New-build, semi-detached single-family homes	Semi-detached single-family homes	Semi-detached single-family homes	Semi-detached single-family homes	Semi-detached single-family homes	Semi-detached single-family homes
Shared spaces and self-managed facilities	Three common houses, one per residential cluster, each with a kitchen, dining room, playroom and guest room. In addition, a “Barn”, which contains	Common house with a kitchen, dining room, living room, workshop, playroom (billiards, table tennis, cushion room), sauna. Outside facilities	Common house with a kitchen, dining space, play rooms for children, a shared laundry room and a clothing / item exchange space. The common outside	Common house with a kitchen, playroom and dining space. Film screening room, event room, multi-purpose spaces, storage places, mini football,	Common house with a dining room and kitchen, gymnasium for organised sports, shared laundry facilities, common grounds with a lake.	Common house with a dining room and kitchen as well as a play and meeting room. An old airport control tower on the grounds was repurposed into a

	workshops, a music room, a multi-purpose room and a large orangery (sunroom). Communal charging stations for electric vehicles were under discussion at time of visit.	include a tennis court and a pool as well as communal gardening plots.	grounds include a green area called the forest, where there is a natural playground and a campfire site. Sandboxes for children, shared parking lot.	"café-bar" space, music- and exercise rooms. Courtyard / garden space with a sandbox.		panorama viewing room with public access every first Saturday of the month from 14-15h. In the basement under the tower there is a workshop, an exercise- and a music room.

Note. The information in this table was compiled to the authors' best knowledge, using field notes from site visits, information provided by study participants during interviews, and was cross-checked using information from the housing communities' websites. Although efforts were made to prevent this, inaccuracies in the information may be present due to outdated websites, incorrect information provided by participants, or incomplete observations on the part of the authors.

Participant Selection

Among the six case study sites at which research for this thesis was carried out, individuals were recruited to participate in data collection, the specific methods for which will be outlined in the section following this one. For the selection of research participants, a mixture of purposive- and snowball sampling was employed again. As mentioned above, an informal "facilitator", who was the point of contact between us and the collaborative housing communities in which the research was carried out, organised the site visits and recruited research participants, for instance through the internal online communication portal of the community. Interested individuals reached out either to us directly, or to the community member who was in contact with us. No criteria for

inclusion or exclusion of participants into the study were formulated in advance, except for being of legal age, and speaking English, as the data collection which they were offered to partake in was conducted entirely in English.

This method of participant selection led to a final number of 26 participants. While no data was purposefully collected on demographic factors like age, gender, or nationality, it can be said that all participants were adults, and some were seniors. Additionally, it is interesting to note that out of the 26 participants, a majority (18 participants) were women. This gender balance is, however, consistent with the overall composition of collaborative housing residents in Denmark, among which there is an overrepresentation of women (Jensen et al., 2022). An important factor that may have affected participant selection is the availability of participants to partake in a study, considering the necessary time commitments. Older adults and retirees may have been more likely to be able to dedicate time to research participation, while younger adults with young children and other family- and care obligations, as well as full-time jobs, may have had less time to spare. An active effort was made to reach out to exactly this demographic, as their perspective enriched the data collection in unique ways and diversified the participant sample.

Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the fieldwork began in February 2025 and continued until May 2025. The initial contact with collaborative housing communities was established through a search of the Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen (VGW) website. The VGW was established to promote collaborative forms of living and make information widely available, as well as contribute to policy development on municipal and national level (VGW, n.d.-a). The association collects the contact data and addresses of various collaborative housing projects around the Netherlands and keeps an updated public database (VGW, 2025). Following a selection based on aforementioned exclusion criteria, 22 housing projects were contacted via email or project websites. The detailed information regarding projects which were included in the research can be found in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Case Studies in the Netherlands

	Community 7	Community 8	Community 9	Community 10	Community 11
Location	Urban, province of Gelderland	Urban, province of North Holland	Semi-rural, province of Overijssel	Urban, province of Overijssel	Urban, province of Utrecht
Type of tenure	Rental, owned by a housing association, all units social housing	Housing cooperative co-ownership	Homeownership[2]	Rental, owned by a housing association, all units social housing	Rental, owned by a housing association, most units social housing
Type of community	Centraal Wonen	Wooncoöperatie	Ecodorp	Centraal Wonen	Centraal Wonen
Community focus	No professed community focus	Affordability, sustainability, commoning	Sustainability, circularity, ecology	No professed community focus	No professed community focus
Number of households	36	36	23	32	76
Construction type	Single-family apartments of varying sizes, cluster homes and a residential group house.	12 studios, 4 single starter homes, 4 two-person starter homes, 4 two-person homes, 12 family homes. All apartments in one building.	"Earthship" model homes, designed to be self-sufficient, made from waste or local building materials. In total, 12 single-family homes.	Single-family attached houses and apartments of varying sizes around a common garden.	Four cluster buildings of three houses each. There are six or seven dwellings per house. Single-family homes, cluster homes and residential group houses.

[2] Initially, the community had a mixed form of ownership, as some units were owned by a housing corporation which rented them out, partially as social housing. Due to the renovation costs of experimental living, these units have now been sold and all units are owner occupied homes.

Shared spaces and self-managed facilities	Three different housing types and therefore various degrees of sharing. Cluster homes have an extra shared living room and a kitchen. Within residential group homes, residents share the living room, the kitchen, the bathroom and the toilet. Everyone shares a main common room, a bike shed, a garden, and a washing room.	Collective spaces in the building: living room, kitchen, children's room and entrance. Bicycle shed, multi-space, co-working space, quiet room, maker space, music study, storage rooms, communal showers and toilets, guest rooms and some practical areas like a washing room.	Shared green spaces around houses, a community house with a kitchen and a children's play room, cars, solar panels, workshop, garden shed with tools, washing machines.	Garden, central area (community living room, bar, kitchen and children's area), workshop, garden shed, giveaway shop, gym, guest room.	Three different housing types and therefore various degrees of sharing. It differs per house whether you share the kitchen, shower and toilet. Everyone shares a common area with a kitchen on the ground floor, a barn with bicycle storage and a washing machine room, a biological shop, and a large garden.

The selected communities represent a diverse case study sample, featuring both semi-rural and urban examples, as well as varying structures of ownership, with prevalence of co-housing (*centraal wonen*) projects owned by a housing corporation and part of the social housing stock. There is also a mix of dwelling types, with some projects featuring single-family homes, while others a mix of housing types within one project, ensuring varying degrees of shared spaces in between units. Geographically, projects involved in the research are located within various regions of the Netherlands and prioritise different values, from a strong ecological focus to emphasis on long-term affordability and commoning. Furthermore, the age of the communities chosen is diverse, as Communities 11, 7 and 10 were established during the early days of collaborative living in the Netherlands, namely late 1980s and early 1990s. Projects 9 and 8 on the other hand have only officially opened in 2011 and 2024 respectively.

Participant selection

Just as in the case of Denmark, purposive and snowball sampling were used in the selection of participants. Participants were recruited mainly by the public relations representative in charge of managing the email addresses or social media accounts through which communities were contacted. The interested residents were then put in direct contact with us to schedule visits and interviews. In total, 14 participants took part in the research in the Netherlands involving interviews and an art-based workshop. Furthermore, in communities 7 and 9, a resident who had previously been in contact with us organised the site visits and recruited research participants, by sending a message into the internal chat of the community or simply talking to neighbours. Just as in the part of the study conducted in Denmark, the inclusion criteria for participants were being of legal age, and speaking English on at least intermediate level, due to the language of data collection. Unlike in Denmark, the gender balance between participants was nearly equal within the Netherlands.

Data Collection

We aimed to embody a feminist research ethos in our data collection, employing methods which were "as much as possible, non-hierarchical, aiming to reduce the distance between the researcher and participants and often adapting collaborative approaches to knowledge production in which there is fluidity and a sharing of meaning" (Peake, 2024, p. 185). Thus, the methods we chose for data collection were site visits and observation, in-depth, semi-structured interviews, and art-based research methods. The latter took the form of workshops in which participants, together with us explored questions surrounding care, home, and mutual help in their collaborative housing community through the artistic medium of linoleum carving.

The reasons for the use of different methods, and specifically the addition of the workshop as an art-based research method, were threefold. Firstly, employing a variety of different methods in data collection is a form of triangulation which helps strengthen credibility and trustworthiness of the data (Peake, 2024). Secondly, a shared experience, such as the workshop, not only helps build relationships between researchers and the participants, but can be considered an explicitly feminist research method that centers the co-creation of knowledge and allows for shared meanings to

emerge collectively between participants and centers their knowledge. Lastly, feminist art-based research methods have potential to challenge the extractive nature of academic research, and may serve as a way of "giving back" to research participants. Art-based methods such as the linoleum carving workshop are also particularly adequate for research such as ours, which relates to emotions, daily life, perceptions, and memories, as the visual element can allow participants to share thoughts and feelings that may be difficult to express verbally or in a more formal interview setting. Art-based research can and has also been used to study care-related topics specifically, though more often in fields like child psychology (Buckle et al., 2024), and has itself been positioned as an expression of care in academic research (Kuri & Schormans, 2022), and was therefore an adequate method for data collection for the purposes of this study. Data collection in both countries employed all three methods outlined above: interviews, site visits, and an art-based workshop. Each of these will be described in more detail below.

In total, we conducted 27 semi-structured interviews, ranging from around 30 minutes to 1.5 hours in duration and two art-based workshops of 2.5 hours. In total, 40 participants took part in the research. In Denmark, we conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with residents of 6 collaborative housing projects. 17 interviews were individual, with only one participant, while one was a group interview with three respondents. In the Netherlands, we conducted 9 semi-structured interviews across 5 collaborative housing projects. 8 interviews were individual, while one was conducted with three respondents simultaneously. All interviews were conducted in person, either in the participants' homes, or in the common house of their collaborative housing community, and audio-recorded. All participants gave their informed consent prior to the interview, and their data was subsequently anonymised. The interviews were conducted according to a pre-prepared interview guide (see appendix) we formulated together, but due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews, questions were added or left out as we saw fit during the interviews. The interviews varied in duration due to our responsibility to be attentive to the needs of participants, for instance if participants were older or had health issues that impacted the ease with which they were able to speak for a prolonged period of time. All interviews in Denmark were conducted with current residents of collaborative housing, save for one participant who had lived in collaborative housing for many years and now lives close by, and whose primary social network is still the collaborative

housing community. One additional interview was conducted with a non-resident, the co-founder of a consultancy company in Denmark which develops collaborative housing and had been implicated in the development of one of the case study communities.

In connection with the interviews, nine site visits to the collaborative housing communities were conducted in Denmark, and six in the Netherlands. During these visits, we were shown the premises and facilities of the community, as well as the homes of some residents who kindly offered this. We were invited to participate in the nightly communal dinner in one community, which is an important part of collective life there. In another community, we were able to attend a celebration organised to commemorate the anniversary of the founding of the community. Observations made during these visits were helpful as they contextualised the data shared with us during the interviews, and allowed us to build deeper relationships with participants.

Lastly, an art-based workshop was conducted with six participants from two different collaborative housing communities in Denmark, one of which had previously not been involved in the research[3]. The 2.5-hour-long workshop was held in January 2025, and was organised with the help of a community resident. A workshop following this template was also held in the Netherlands in April 2025.

Data collection was ended when we judged that saturation was reached, after consulting relevant literature on data saturation in qualitative research (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2013; van Rijnsoever, 2017), from which we concluded that the size of our data sample would be sufficient to ensure the credibility of the data collected and that it corresponded to what was common in studies comparable to ours (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Marshall et al., 2013). Additionally, the scope and limitations of the study were taken into account when deciding on the point of data saturation, considering the necessity of subsequently coding and meaningfully engaging with the data that was collected, and the limited length of the final thesis.

[3] This community is not mentioned in the table summarising the case study sites because no individual interviews were conducted there, and we did not visit the community.

The data we collected in Denmark and Netherlands through site visits and observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and two art-based participatory workshops was analysed following a three-tiered approach. This approach has been present in our research design since the data collection, and aims to examine the research question of *how care work is distributed, performed, and experienced by participants of collaborative housing projects, and in which ways it reflects the principles of feminist commoning* on three different levels. These are the home or the household, the collaborative housing community, and the neighborhood or broader urban fabric it is located within. This approach allows for a multi-faceted and in-depth exploration of the data which touches on different aspects and perspectives voiced by participants, as well as bringing structure and clarity into our analysis. We will elaborate on the specificities of this three-tiered approach in the section of this thesis in which we present our findings. We synthesised results from both locations at which research was conducted, and decided to employ a cumulative, rather than a comparative strategy to mobilise the knowledge generated through our study. A cumulative approach lends itself better to the integration of the diverse findings of our study into a coherent body of knowledge which best addresses the research question, given the global scale of issues like the neoliberalisation of care and housing that underpin our work.

The data which we collected was analysed employing an inductive and exploratory approach to generate theoretical insights in order to answer the research question of this thesis. Different approaches were used to analyse the data that was co-created with research participants. The interviews were transcribed using an online transcription software, and subsequently proofread. Any names and identifying information of participants was removed in this process in order to ensure anonymity and data protection. Subsequently, the transcripts were prepared for the coding process. Using “taguette”, an open-source and collaborative coding tool, we carried out a collaborative multi-cyclic inductive coding process. Two interviews were initially coded by both of us to ensure consistency in the analysis, and to agree on a common coding framework that could be applied throughout the coding process. This initial “double” coding also complexified and diversified the data analysis by bringing in both of our perspectives, allowing for a deeper engagement with the data. Among the specific coding methods, we privileged those which

corresponded to the nature of our research question, which aims to explore participants' perceptions, beliefs, and feelings. Thus, we employed coding methods such as affective coding and value coding, as well as in-vivo coding, which aims to allow participants' voices to be heard in the coding and data analysis process (Saldaña, 2016).

Data co-produced with participants during the art-based workshops was not analysed using traditional methods such as coding, but rather through exploratory and open analysis methods that match the experimental nature of art-based research itself. Thus, our analysis of this data focused on the visual products which were the outcome of the workshops, drawing on systematic visuo-textual analysis (Brown & Collins, 2021), and exploring other methods proposed by researchers engaging with art-based research (Greyson et al., 2020), as we saw fit. Observations we made on how participants expressed themselves and interacted with each other and with us during the workshop were also reflected throughout the process of analysing data generated through the art-based workshops.

Positionality, Reflexivity, and Relational Feminist Ethics in our Research

Positionality

We have carefully considered our role in the research we conducted, our positionality in relation to the topic of the research, as well as towards the research participants. In the interpretivist tradition, of which our research is a part, the goal is not to reach supposed "objectivity", but rather to reflect upon the inherent subjectivity of data interpretation (Bukamal, 2022). The following section will thus summarise those considerations and their implications for the results of our study.

Our positionality as researchers was reflected on and discussed in light of the recognition that the researcher is not "an objective entity but an embodied interlocutor who influences the research process and the knowledge produced in myriad ways." (Peake, 2024, p.182). We aim to consider how our positionality thus impacted the interpretation of situated knowledge created and discussed within this thesis. Acknowledging this, and positioning ourselves in relation to the research thus allows for an exploration of power relations which are always present in research (Peake, 2024). Positionality is then understood as the ontological and epistemological assumptions, which can more simply be summarised as the researchers' worldview, together with its political and

social context (Holmes, 2020). Seen through an intersectional lens, such a worldview is further influenced by one's political and religious beliefs, gender, sexuality, geographical location, ethnicity, race, social class, and abilities (Holmes, 2020).

In the context of this research specifically, we acknowledge our position as students who are invested in feminist research as well as political causes in relation to housing. We would like to clarify here how we personally conceptualise "feminism" within our research and how it is to be understood in the context of feminist commoning. We subscribe to Linda McDowell's view that "there is no longer (if there ever was) a single unproblematised concept of patriarchy to uncover in our research, but rather a complex set of intercutting gender relations, specific to time and place" (McDowell, 1992, p. 412). Accordingly, our research and the methodologies we use do not aim to expose some presumed "gender difference" that is reductive, exclusive, and biologically determinist, but rather to understand how capitalist modes of reproductive work construct multiple gendered subjectivities, and how feminist commoning might in turn deconstruct these and create more inclusive, egalitarian, and just forms of care and social organisation beyond gender.

This political stance has had an impact on our epistemological outlook, the choice of the research design and our focus on care work in relation to housing in particular. Understandably, our position in the field was therefore not neutral, and has had an impact on theoretical, epistemological, and methodological choices, such as adopting a feminist lens of care commons as well as deciding to explore art-based methodologies. We believe this position provided us with valuable perspectives that allowed for the development of this particular research focus and objectives. However, we also recognise how this may pose the risk of confirmation bias. We have strived to minimise this risk by reflecting on our position collectively, as well as critically self-questioning our findings and their analysis.

Secondly, neither one of us is a local of the countries where we conducted research. This brought considerations as potential geographical outsiders, as well as language barriers due to a lack of good command of the languages predominantly spoken by research participants, being Dutch and Danish. This restricted the choice of participants to those who are comfortable to participate in the study in English, potentially creating a sampling bias. Although knowledge of English is generally

high in both countries, it may have led to a misunderstanding of local particularities on our part, or inaccurate translations of context-specific phenomena. This risk was minimised by encouraging participants to note down any words they found difficult to translate, and researching their meanings afterwards. Our position as outsiders to the local context also limited our ability to gain insights into certain community processes, as we could not attend community events or meetings during which these took place due to language barriers.

Thirdly, we highlight the role of gender in our positionality, as it is also the focus of this thesis. We both identify as women, which has inherently played a role in our perception of the research but also our interactions with participants. Although unplanned, most participants of our research were women. Under these circumstances, we think that our gender has perhaps allowed, to some extent, for us to acquire the status of an "insider", or allowed for female participants to relate to us more easily. This could have allowed them greater comfort in sharing, but also put us, as researchers, in ethically complex situations at times, when personal life details were shared with us or when we witnessed sensitive or intimate moments in the homes of participants.

Finally, we acknowledge that our position as university students allowed us to gain access into the field, as our status as "researchers" was often perceived as a legitimate reason to engage in an interaction. This position brings into question the supposed credibility of academic research and the power dynamics at play in on-site fieldwork. The titles of "researcher" and "participant" inherently symbolise a supposed hierarchy of interactions, where the participants act as a source of knowledge (Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2009). To address this inherent dynamic of academic work, we included art-based methodologies in our research. As previously discussed, art-based methods provide an alternative outlet for production of knowledge through art, but also engaging in a more horizontal way in a discussion, where the conversations are not only pre-determined by the researcher but arise from collective interactions. While having limitations of their own, they most importantly also bring a more tangible contribution and reflection to research participants themselves.

Throughout our research, we were often in direct and personal contact with research participants. Through in-depth interviews, we engaged in close dialogue and thus gained the trust of our study participants. Sometimes, interviews took place in participant's homes, which involved a high degree of intimacy and contact with the private sphere of participant's lives. Furthermore, we were invited to join community meals or have dinner at participant's homes. Through this close interaction, we became involved in the everyday life of the participants, and engaged in forms of care work, such as helping with household tasks. In some cases, this created situations in which we were in direct contact with participants' vulnerabilities, such as illness, pregnancy or advanced age. In those moments, when and if assistance was needed, we had to disrupt "traditionally" distanced relations between researcher and research participant.

We aimed to be careful and considerate of participants' domestic habits and their space. We were also mindful of power relations which could arise from this personal setting, which are inherent to any human relationship, but exacerbated in research contexts, especially ones taking place in intimate settings. Furthermore, we were mindful of sharing confidential details divulged by some participants, for instance relating to community conflict or situations of personal vulnerability. We prioritised reacting with empathy and tact in these situations, opting not to include especially sensitive information in our work, as well as choosing pseudonyms for participants quoted in this thesis to protect their privacy and anonymity.

Additionally, as certain participants were recruited to participate in the research directly through personal contacts of one of us, we have aimed to reflect on this while analysing data and account for potential selection bias, which could arise in this case as well as from snowball sampling, which we also used to recruit participants. However, triangulation of data, intentional reflexivity, as well as the peer discussion we engaged in on our own and at the two international research conferences at which we presented our work, were used to minimise potential impacts of such a bias.

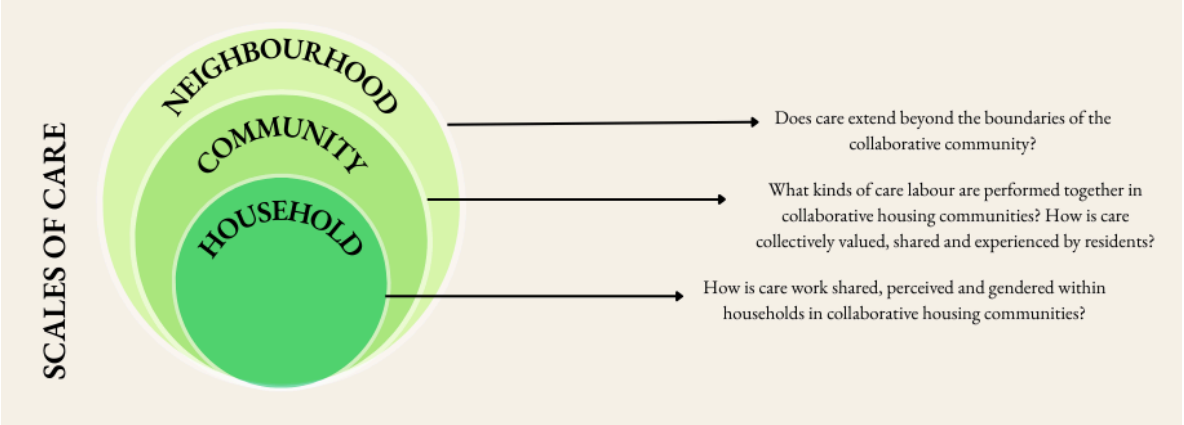
Results

In the following section, we present insights from our research, providing an overview of findings that speak to the question of how care is distributed, performed, and experienced by participants of collaborative housing projects. Our findings are structured according to three levels of inquiry, namely the household, the collaborative housing community, and the neighbourhood, in order to take into account the various scales at which care is practiced within and beyond collaborative housing projects.

We present first our findings at the level of the households living within collaborative housing communities, which provide elements of response to the question of how care work is shared, perceived, and gendered in households and families within the collaborative housing community. At the community scale, we investigate what kinds of care labor are performed in common by residents of collaborative housing, and how they *collectively* value, share, and experience care. Zooming out, we look beyond the collaborative housing community itself, and introduce our findings that examine the question of whether care extends outside of the boundaries of the collaborative housing community and into the neighbourhood.

Figure 2

Three Scales of Care



Note. This graphic depicts three nested scales of care and the corresponding sub-questions that were researched at each scale.

While the household and the collaborative housing community are self-explanatory categories, we note here that the neighbourhood scale was purposefully not closer defined, in order to let residents themselves, as co-creators of the research, decide what geographical and social scope they see as constituting their neighbourhood. Therefore, the neighbourhood scale was at times referred to by participants as encompassing the entire municipality in which the collaborative housing community was located, while only directly adjacent houses were considered by others.

Household

Caring for the nuclear family

In the household, residents of collaborative housing associate their experiences with daily care work with tasks such as childcare, cooking or cleaning. They regard the nuclear family as a persisting pillar in these everyday tasks, as parents see themselves responsible for raising their children, or taking out their trash. They emphasise that the responsibility for and division of these tasks is mainly negotiated within traditional family arrangements, and most residents are quick to share that they believe their daily chore routines would not look any different if they have not lived in a collaborative housing:

> *Well, in most respects, it wasn't different from any ordinary family living in a sort of ordinary house setting, we would live the usual family life, getting up, getting kids to school and getting to work and so on, and eating together and so on. What would be different would be on an ordinary day, would be that on certain days, we would be eating together with others, and in some cases people that we hadn't chosen, that had been sort of assigned us.*

However, when delving deeper about their experiences with care, residents share that despite the important role family plays in its organisation, the communal context of collaborative housing provides them with possibilities that might not be present in a traditional home. This refers to organised communal practices, but also informal interactions which are an inherent part of life in a collaborative housing community.

In the context of childcare, parents feel that although the main responsibility for raising children remains in their hands, the physical proximity and diversity of social relations in the community to

certain extent allows them to share responsibilities. Even if initially, they see the benefits of collaborative living mainly for their children through the abundance of space and social contacts with other children and adults, they acknowledge the variety of benefits when it comes to care work for themselves as well.

An example is the collective supervision of children in communal areas, such as gardens or common living rooms, as parents often trust their neighbours to take an eye on their children as they play together. Furthermore, many residents highlight the willingness of other residents to babysit when they need to run errands, or when unexpected situations arise, as well as pick up children of others from school. As shared by Sanne, living in collaborative housing nourishes different forms of informal contact and exchange of care:

> *Well, I'm living alone, but I'm not living alone. I never wanted any kids, but I like kids, so every now and then I borrow them, go to a theater. Everybody's happy. Parents are happy because children are away for a few hours. Children are happy because they are getting attention. And it's harder to find in an ordinary neighborhood, yeah, but that's very personal.*

Parents also highlight benefits of childcare in collaborative housing for their own wellbeing, as the proximity to other families allows them to share their feelings and experiences regarding parenthood. This makes their experience of childcare more pleasant and less isolating than in a nuclear family home, where parents of small children, and especially mothers, often feel cut off from any adult social relations outside of their immediate family. As explained by Line:

> *Raising children was hard too, but I think it was less hard than if we had been in a normal house alone for us, because we have some other children outside who could play with our children. And you could talk every evening, if you wanted to. You could sit there and talk with other parents.*

Yet, simultaneously, communal practices might sometimes be seen as a threat to the structure and functioning of the nuclear family. As shared by Niels, who lives in a housing project with regular communal meals, he is afraid of losing closeness with their nuclear family. He think their children are growing up more independently due to the communal setting:

> *When we go to eat here, we're losing the children, they will be sitting for themselves with the other children, and we will be sitting with some other adults. And that's a fine thing, but it can be difficult to maintain a small family within the big, common group.*

In this way, Niels shows the two sides of the easing of the importance of the nuclear family, by sharing his concern about a redistribution of care away from the household, while also emphasising the advantages of shared childcare.

Gendered care or personal preference?

As demonstrated in the previous section, the nuclear family remains an important structuring element in the performance of daily care work for participants of collaborative housing projects. But how exactly is care negotiated and distributed within these nuclear family arrangements, and does it differ in any way from the norm? Most participants of our research live in heterosexual partnerships, and many are married and had raised, or were raising, children while living in the collaborative housing community. Though we did not explicitly collect demographic data, information of this type was frequently shared by participants when answering interview prompts about their daily routines or about the division of daily chores within their household.

In families with a single male breadwinner model, many types of everyday care work are considered optional for the primary earner, who is seen as taking on the "financial care", according to one participant who divides paid and unpaid work between her and her partner this way. At the same time, many participants emphasised that they made conscious efforts to share care equally in their families: "my husband and I, he also was a teacher, and we looked rather much in the same way, specifically about gender roles and what women do and what men do. We shared things." Ida implicitly attributes the gender-equitable sharing of care to the education level of herself and her husband, who both worked as educators at a local school, and who hold more progressive beliefs around gender roles due to the fact that they have "read or studied or have been abroad".

Some residents share that they have chore-sharing systems in place to ensure an equitable division of care labour in their families, or that they perceive their partner to be "pitching in" enough by doing certain chores that they themselves dislike doing. At the same time, even when important

and time-consuming tasks such as preparing dinner for the family are shared in quantitative terms, the experience of performing these chores differed according to gendered dynamics. Katrine describes how cooking remained a highly stressful duty for her, even though she took turns doing it with her husband, due to additional care workloads she faced:

> *I always took care of the kids while he was cooking. I realised that especially when the kids were smaller, that they never bothered him when he was making dinner. But if I was making dinner, they always interrupted me, asking me questions. He had his space and his calmness, it was very calm for him to make dinner, whereas for me, it was very stressful, also because I'm not as [good] a cook as he is. But then also the fact that I had to answer all these questions for the kids, or they're crying, they would go to me.*

In the absence of explicit structures for sharing care work within the nuclear family, many participants resort to a preference-based system for deciding who does what kind of care work in their home, which often results in a gendered division of such work, as shared by Sofie:

> *In this small family unit, just [my husband] shops, because I hate shopping, but he does grocery shopping. I do the laundry, because I like doing the laundry. I don't think he's ever done the laundry in the ten years that I've [been with him] (...) But it's kind of divided along the lines of what comes most naturally to us, which is kind of along gender lines, like he also has everything to do with the bank and our car and all those things. And I'm the person who tidies and cleans and does the laundry.*

Sharing care work according to personal preference, or "what comes most naturally" to each person, also means that certain types of emotional care work are often performed by women, who share that they more often take on tasks like buying presents for friends, organising guest visits, or managing how the family is perceived in the public life of the collaborative housing community, for instance when children "act out" in front of other residents, as one participant explains.

Importantly, participants themselves do not view collaborative housing as a place which inherently challenges a gendered division of care. While some residents believe that collaborative housing projects attract people who are more progressive and thus sensitised to gendered dynamics of

reproductive work, others highlight the persistence of traditional gender norms among residents. Frank expresses both of these sentiments:

> *It's a special kind of people who want to live here. So I can imagine that the care for the household and the children is more equally divided than in some other places. But if you really look into the households, I think that also here, the main household tasks and childcare is done by women.*

Thus, our results show that the division of care labour within individual households remains negotiated between family members according to varying convictions, sharing systems, and importance attributed to the sharing of such work. Gendered dynamics often remain in operation in the negotiation and division of daily care tasks in nuclear families living in collaborative housing.

Outsourcing care

Hiring external workers for care tasks within the individual household is not an uncommon practice among collaborative housing residents. Some households which can afford it explain that they hire paid help for tasks such as cleaning or babysitting. As expressed by residents, these are usually needed in times when they face additional workloads, such as having very small children, have a busy period at their waged work or are unable to do their chores due to age-related health problems. As Peter shares:

> *It originated from when my wife was ill. She was ill for many years, and I had to take care [of her]. And our daughter thought we might have some help, and she organised it. And then my wife died, and yes, I find it comfortable to have this lady who comes a few hours every other Monday. She's not cleaning all the house, but the important parts. And that's good, I'm happy with that.*

However, hiring waged household help is often seen as a moral question. Some residents directly expressed guilt about hiring workers for their homes. Maria spoke about the unequal division of care labour in Denmark and her own privileged position to be able to hire a cleaner, who would usually come from abroad. She considered this to be a concern for her, as "while it is a practical reason, it's also rather unequal". Others implicitly hinted on the contested morality of hired help by

emphasising the inability of the community to influence the personal choices other residents take in their private homes regarding cleaning. Commenting on hiring help for household tasks, Henriette states:

> *Before I stopped working, we had [someone] to help us clean the house. But when I stopped working, I thought I would do it. I don't mind it, and it's a little bit of a moral thing. I think I can remove my own dirt, and I think we might get one to help us again, but that's when I can't do it anymore, when I grow too old.*

Yet, living in collaborative housing is also seen to decrease the need for hired care work. Older residents or those struggling with illness or disability share that they think they would be more likely to outsource care work if they would not live in collaborative housing. Residents of several collaborative housing share their stories about older residents who were taken care of by the community to varying degrees. These included smaller things such as taking out trash or doing groceries, but also stories of extensive care, like daily cooking or cleaning, which in their perception extended the time they were able to remain in their own home rather than a care facility. As shared by Johanna:

> *One of the older people who started the projects, she became ill with Alzheimer's. She had no family, only one brother living far away, and we took care of her for about a year. We had a schedule, she ate on Mondays here, and Tuesdays there, and we did the groceries for her, and all the care, we did it together. And that was so wonderful, because I think for one family, it would be too much, yes, but together, we could manage it. After a year, it was too much. And then we were looking for a place where she could go, and that's okay as well.*

At the same time, it was important for residents that the collaborative community is not seen as a place of retirement for people seeking professional healthcare provision, which Louise highlights by stating that she does not "want to see the cohousing idea as a new structured institution in our healthcare system."

We therefore see that although the residents do not think the community does not, and should not fully replace the need for hired healthcare professionals, it is seen as a valuable resource of mutual

aid among community members who feel connected and responsible for one another. Living in a collaborative housing community is therefore seen as beneficial for residents relying on such care, as well as for aging residents, who would otherwise be more likely to hire a care worker to assist them.

Community

There is no help too small – everyday acts of community care

Participants emphasise that collaborative housing is a space which fosters the emergence of everyday acts of care. These acts are nurtured through informal interactions which represent an inevitable part of the quotidian life in a collaborative housing community and enable mutual help and support among residents. Acts of care can arise without deliberate intentions, as they can be initiated by a simple meeting in the laundry room. However, mutual care among the community can intensify during times of personal hardship, as residents have shared stories of passing of family members, pregnancy, illness, or COVID-19. In these moments, one resident said, "there are always people around you that can be helpful in small ways and sometimes in large ways".

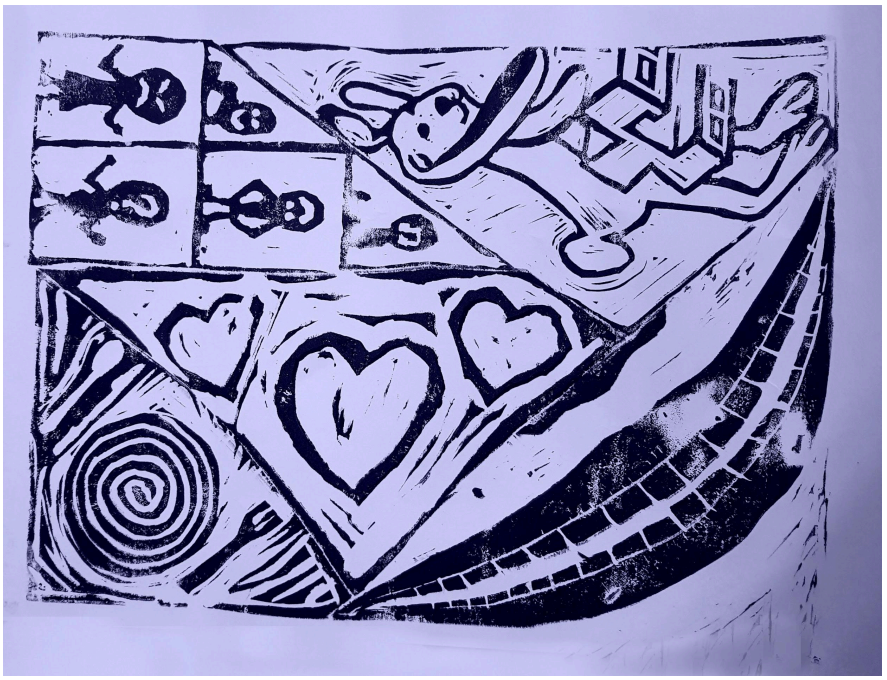
As residents share, gestures can take the shape of sharing food with other residents, lending building tools or a can of tomatoes, but also offering conversation and advice or holding space to listen. However, they can also be as simple as saying "hello" and checking in to see how neighbours are doing. As Peter shares:

> *If I need to fix a bicycle, or fix any kind of problem, I can always find help. So in that regard, it's very easy. We have a dog, and one or two [neighbours] take care of the dog as well. When we're at work, it's very convenient and much more time saving and it makes life a lot easier than harder.*

There are also more particular ways in which care through mutual help emerges in collaborative housing communities, such as the creation of "safe spaces", sometimes women-only groups, in which vulnerability and sharing are encouraged. This creates feelings of security and belonging that many residents express by viewing the community as an expanded family.

Figure 3

Linoleum print from workshop conducted in the Netherlands



As seen in Figure 3 above, the everyday reality of care among residents was also highlighted by participants of the linoleum carving workshops. Members of the community spoke of the twofold nature of daily care experienced, which is both practical, but also emotional. They agreed that although their daily interactions might not be that intensive, as they go about their own lives, it is the small things such as checking in on their neighbour which gives them a feeling of safety, support and care by others. They shared that it is the regularity of their interactions with others, which deepens their relationships and allows for caring connection among each other.

Residents also attribute the emergence of everyday acts of mutual care to the physical context of collaborative housing, which provides informal meeting spaces. Even within projects with owner occupied single homes, spaces such as gardens, common rooms or shared dining rooms lower the threshold for approaching others. This makes it easier to offer, but also ask for help, as Ellen describes:

> *If someone needs help, I would say that it's not so difficult to ask for it here, and there will always be someone who can include a little shopping or a little this and that, or you can ask someone to take you to the doctors, if you can't get yourself there.*

As the physical layout of living arrangements differs between but also within projects themselves, so does the degree of everyday interactions. Groups within the Dutch residential group (*woongroep*) model, which share all amenities apart from the bedroom, are able to interact with each other more regularly. However, the experience of everyday care work cannot be reduced to architectural design. A considerable role is played by what residents call "house culture", or willingness to collaborate.

During the workshop, Daan and Iris agree that it is the composition of people, their mutual affinity, and the effort they put into organising daily interactions, which impacts the extent to which daily care is fostered. This is evidenced by the fact that some houses with identical layouts have organised communal dinners several times a week, while others do so on a monthly basis only. Iris also shares that "being a good neighbour" is a character which has to be learned and maintained. She explains how caring for the community has been a learning journey which she owes to another long-time member of the project that has taught her ways of approaching others and extending care to residents around her.

The presence of daily interactions, no matter how frequent or intense, often brings with it the necessity of setting personal boundaries. Residents sometimes feel that their capacity for caring and helping is exhausted. Ellen nuances the practices of everyday care by saying:

> *It's very useful to sometimes set your foot down and say, no, I'm not watering those plants. I mean, [my husband] is not as agile as he used to be, and we're not doing that. And that's okay, then someone else will have to take that job, and we feed the cats some days and not other days and that sort of thing. So we can help each other with certain things, but we can also say no, not now, and that sort of thing.*

Some residents, however, perceive this not only as the occasional need to set boundaries, but as a reflection of broader individualising dynamics. Anders feels that mutual help and care are

becoming less ingrained in their collaborative housing project, which he attributes to broader societal transformation:

> *Maybe because the whole society has changed. It's getting more individual. I think that the first cohort of people who started this project were very much motivated to live together and do things together. And they, well, they died or they moved out or whatever, and other people who came to live here, they liked it, but they don't have that drive, that motivation.*

However, residents in all collaborative housing projects still share many informal interactions, which foster emotional closeness and daily exchanges of mutual help. This allows them to feel support and care, however can also lead them to feel socially overwhelmed at times. They share that daily care is not a default feature of collaborative projects, but also the outcome of intentional work put into being together and caring for one another.

Emotional work

Care between residents is not only seen in terms of chores which they complete together, such as cleaning of the communal house, but also in the building of networks of mutual aid and support among each other. The supportive role residents can play in each other's lives, their spatial closeness as well as decision-making processes crucial to collaborative communities require substantial amounts of emotional care labour. This type of care is impossible to plan for with a roster, but as Sofie shares, is core to their communities:

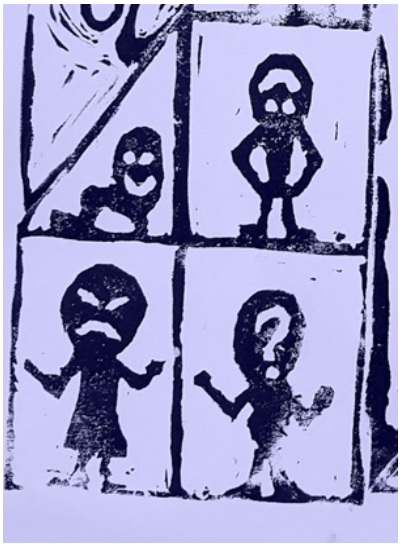
> *I often find myself asking oh, have you talked to this person in a while? Yeah, they're struggling a bit right now, but everything is good. And either you've had the connection yourself with people or others have. Whoever you talk to might have some info about your neighbours. So I think there is just the attention and care. I feel like there's a high degree and a really, really safe space for that.*

However, emotional care is not only associated with positive feelings. Residents share that it is necessary to deal with people who are going through various life situations, but also difficult personalities, unpleasant moods and diverse emotional coping mechanisms, which become an inherent part of their life within the collaborative community. Two residents point to the

importance that various emotions, whether one's own or those of others, play in relation to community care, in the context of our data collection during the linoleum carving workshops:

Figure 4

Linoleum print made by a workshop participant in the Netherlands.



Note. The carving shows four human figures feeling a range of different emotions.

Figure 5

Linoleum print made by a workshop participant in the Netherlands.

Note. The carving shows a mouth that is either smiling or frowning.

The carving pictured in Figure 4 refers to the range of emotions which residents deal with under one roof of the community house. Happiness, sadness, anger, but also confusion come together and are inevitable in a house where decisions have to be made together and interactions are abundant. Figure 5 depicts a drawing one workshop participant made of himself. Here, he explained that the image can be viewed from either side, showing either a smile or a frown accordingly, and revealing the positive but also negative emotions he feels and which are then shared with other residents. These are a natural part of life but become more public and shared when living in a collaborative housing project. Similar thoughts were shared by resident Mette, who talked about the slim chances of avoiding sharing one's emotional state:

> *If you go to eat together, and you had a bad day, you can see it on people, it's difficult to pretend too much. So compared to if we go to visit friends or relatives, you can choose to be open about your situation, or you can maybe put on a face. But to go here with the whole family and eat amongst others, it will show what is your state of mind and what is your cohabitant's state of mind. And that's a very fine and delicate thing about living here.*

Emotional labour is also crucial to decision-making processes and collective resolution of conflicts, which naturally arise among groups. Most communities pursue ideals of open discussion and horizontality in conflict management, and some communities have formal bodies and protocols for conflict mediation. The principal reasons for conflict that residents name include disputes about the built environment and property, unequal contributions to community work, dissatisfaction with community rules and procedures, or community finances. Conflict also revolves around more value-laden and emotionally driven questions about ideals collaborative housing is presumed to embody, such as environmental consciousness and a community sharing ethos. Anne talks about her experience with conflict about shared values by stating:

> *Some of us are working to stop our big freezer, where you can walk in, and instead buy some normal freezer. Then we save a lot of CO2, that's very important for some of us, and others say, no, that's not important, the more the better. And we say, not the more better, the less the better. And that's a conflict, too, that some of us really are using our days for working against climate change, and others, they don't care. And we think, it is for the life of your children*

we're talking about, and they say, but I think that you feel it more than us. They say that's stupid, and we say we have to do it together.

In addition to formal mediation strategies, residents develop informal conflict management strategies. They include for instance the downplaying or "naturalisation" of conflict, that is, seeing conflict as a normal and inevitable part of collective life, accepting unresolved disagreements, and avoiding confrontation by reducing contact with certain residents. Residents also adjust to often-unspoken standards of communication to prevent and de-escalate conflicts, as Anne tells us:

We try to discuss things in a democratic way, and we also are rather conscious about what that means, because sometimes somebody will be angry, and then somebody will say, we won't have angriness in this context, it isn't possible. We have to be able to treat each other in a nice way, so we try to act and be better in discussing and bring things to a good end.

Some communities formalise these modes of relating to each other by adopting norms of nonviolent communication in conflict resolution and decision-making procedures. Many residents emphasise that their communities prioritise consensus-based decision-making as a means to foster horizontality and democracy, only resorting to voting when attempts at creating consensus fail. However, Arne alerts us to the challenges of this type of decision-making:

But consensus isn't everyone's decision. We all have a certain level of social capital in the big group, and it's easy to see who decides more than others. Which voice weighs more than another voice. That's also part of the consensus. It's a definition of power.

Among some communities, there is also an underlying idealisation of unity in community living. As shared by one resident, this goal can often obscure the fact that conflict is unavoidable among groups who live together. This puts pressure on residents to take conflict-resolution upon themselves in pursuit of an ideal of group harmony. Maaike goes to explain how this emotional work has negatively impacted her own experience in the project, forcing her to take a step back from community life for a while:

This "to live together in harmony" is a very big thing, because harmony sounds like there's no conflict. I think the well-being of the whole group is too big a responsibility, it is not durable for

me, that's what I learned. I didn't know it before, because I thought somebody has pain, I want to help that person, and now I think somebody has pain, that's not my responsibility.

Emotional work is therefore core to communal living, whether in everyday interactions, decision making processes or conflict resolution among the group. Diverse feelings arise in this context, and residents devise strategies to "be there for each other", but also to deal with the impacts of the emotional workload for their community on their own well-being.

Food as Care

One important way through which residents of collaborative housing practice and experience care in their community is through food. Preparing meals together and eating as a community is a central aspect of many collaborative housing projects, though its importance and the level of formalisation of this practice vary from community to community. In some communities, regular communal dinners happen multiple times a week, or even every day. Joining the community dinner is not mandatory, but in some communities, performing the cooking duty a certain number of times in a given time period is obligatory, usually only once or a few times a month. Other communities have more informal arrangements, in which residents meet for spontaneous potluck dinners or only eat together on special occasions or holidays. In the context of our research, shared dining was an integral part of community life especially in Denmark, as it is a core element of the "bofællesskab" model of collaborative housing in particular, which the Danish case studies were all examples of.

In these communities with regular shared eating arrangements, preparing meals together with other residents and sharing food with them is "where community happens", Camilla told us, as it is a sure opportunity to meet other residents, socialise, and strengthen community ties. Communal dinner or breakfast is seen as a low-threshold way of maintaining social relations beyond the nuclear family, which is especially important to young parents who felt socially isolated prior to moving into a collaborative housing community, as well as elderly people who no longer have children in the house or whose life partners have passed away.

Participating in meal preparation is also seen as a "way of giving back to the community", Maria shared, and hereby a form of community care. After communal work days, which happen in most communities and during which cleaning, repair, maintenance, and gardening happen, sharing a meal prepared by some of the residents is a way to celebrate the work that was done collectively, spending time with one's community, and showing appreciation for the labour that has been done. Care is taken to accommodate dietary needs so that all residents can participate in the communal meals. Community values like sharing are also embodied in the collective harvesting and use of produce from vegetable gardens, and simple acts like being allowed to pick fruit from a neighbour's tree can be small ways of caring for each other. Another way in which food, meal preparation, and shared eating convey community care is when residents experience situations of hardship like illness, major life events like the birth of a child, or when a death in the family occurs, as Lisa describes:

> *We have had some different people where they got sick, there's a couple of families where the children are sick, and what? How can we help? We're pretty good at helping. For instance, then the eating groups make extra food so they don't have to think about food, and they bring them food. So that's not an issue when they have a lot of other things to think about, and in that way, we try to help each other.*

Communal dining is a wholly different experience from cooking and eating within the individual household, and many residents emphasise how it eases the everyday burden of care for them. They highlight how this system helps them save time and mental energy otherwise spent on a daily basis planning meals, shopping for groceries, and cooking for their family:

> *You don't have to cook 29, 30 days a month. But you go up there and you eat some nice and healthy food every day. It's so luxurious, and it gives you so much more time for all the other things you like in life. So that's really something we appreciate, and we eat there a lot.*

Especially young parents like Magnus and Julie benefit from communal eating arrangements, and explain how it helps them juggle child-rearing, paid work, and everyday life-sustaining reproductive work:

> *And then also that special time between four and six, and the children are just crazy. You can focus on the kids, and you don't have to stand, trying to cook, while they're just screaming at you, which you otherwise have to do. And so that just makes your everyday [life] as a family with small children easier, really lessens the burden somehow.*

Eating with the collaborative housing community also provides young parents, who share feeling isolated by the tiring and time-consuming work of raising small children, with the opportunity to socialise informally with other adults besides their partner. In many communities, this is the case not only during communal dining, but also during meal preparation, which is oftentimes planned so that the groups in charge of cooking mix residents from different households purposefully. Additionally, in many communities, children take part in meal preparation from a certain age upwards, which parents generally see as beneficial for their development and independence as they learn to take on responsibilities.

Various feelings arise in the context of communal dinner preparation. Most residents express positive attitudes and recount pleasant experiences. Many highlight feeling valued and recognised by their community through partaking in communal meal preparation, and see this as a motivation for "wanting to do a good job" for their fellow residents. Signe emphasises the importance of the physical design of her collaborative housing community in allowing her to feel appreciated for the work she puts into cooking for her community:

> *Because of the way our kitchens fit into the dining hall, we can cook and look at the people sitting at the table eating, and they can sit there and look at us washing dishes or making the food. And that made us the heroes of the day. (...) In other co-housing, they've made a different way to put the kitchen. They pack it away. So you have to go into the kitchen, and nobody is looking at you. Nobody knows the hard job you're doing. (...) The way [our community is] structured physically makes us the heroes of the eating, and that's a very good feeling.*

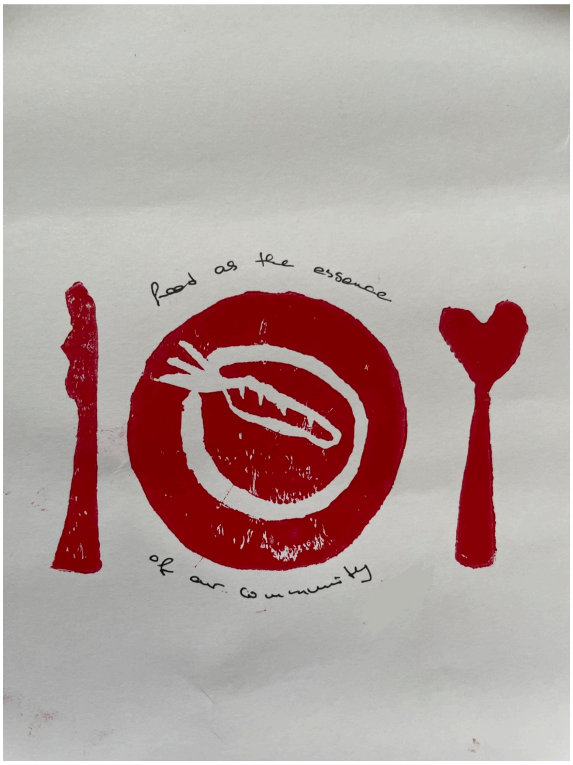
On the other hand, residents also express negative feelings about the preparation of communal meals, though to a much lesser extent. Some participants share that they feel exhausted after a long afternoon of cooking, especially in large communities where meals for many people are prepared. This is even more so the case as residents age, and become physically less fit. In the context of an

aging society, some residents express anxiety about the feasibility of communal dining if there is insufficient demographic diversity in their community. Other residents feel stressed by the responsibility of putting food on the table for so many people, knowing that the community depends on them to eat that evening.

However, collective meal preparation and dining are overwhelmingly seen as something positive and enriching for the community and for individual participants. This became especially clear during the art-based workshops in both the Dutch and the Danish research context, where participants highlighted communal eating as one of the central pillars of care in their community and expressed this through the art creation activity. Below are some of the outputs of the workshop, linoleum carvings made by the participants based on objects we asked them to bring which, to them, represent their community and how care is expressed within it:

Figure 6

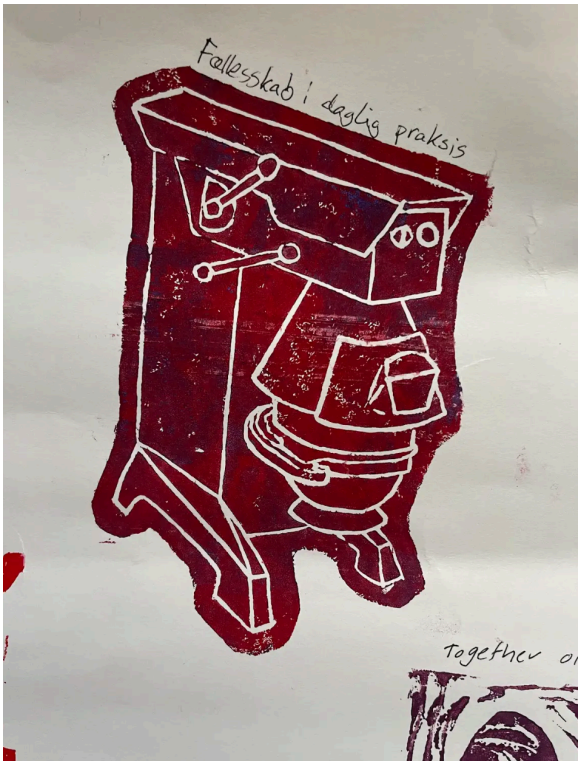
Linoleum print made by a workshop participant in Denmark.



Note. The carving shows a plate with a carrot on it, a heart-shaped fork, and a knife. The maker of the print captioned it “food as the essence of our community”.

Figure 7

Linoleum print made by a workshop participant in Denmark.



Note. The carving shows a stand mixer for bread dough with the caption "community in everyday practice".

Lærke, who created the carving in Figure 6, brought a plate to the workshop, which she explained symbolised the importance she attributes to the community meals. She explained that for her, making food is a hands-on way of being part of the community and of contributing to caring for her fellow residents by fulfilling the indispensable task of putting dinner on the table. This anchors her in the community, though, throughout the workshop and in conversation with other participants, she added that it can also be stressful to prepare food for so many people, and that she dislikes that this sometimes means that attention to detail must be sacrificed, or that there is some time pressure. In Figure 7, a carving by Alberte can be seen which depicts an industrial size stand mixer for bread dough which another resident brought to the workshop, and used to tell her story about food and community care. For her, the stand mixer was important because it symbolised the care she felt during meal preparation as someone who does not consider herself good at cooking.

Alberte told an anecdote of being patiently taught by other residents how to make sourdough buns for communal meals, which she felt was an example of how everybody's needs are accommodated in the community and especially during collective meal preparation and dining. This was seconded by other participants, who shared that they value that decisions are reached by consensus in their community, and that residents' different needs and abilities are accommodated in community chores like cooking. For instance, fellow residents will show consideration if somebody is not a very experienced cook and wants to learn a specific recipe, or is not able to participate in dinner preparation on a given evening because of work or other obligations. "Food is care", one workshop participant summed up: an embodied way of expressing care for fellow residents and contributing to community life in a tangible way.

Maintenance and repair as community care

Residents see the physical and mental labour of maintaining, repairing, and sustaining collaborative housing as an important component of caring for their community. This work includes cleaning common spaces, maintaining gardens, and constructing and repairing homes and shared facilities. While these activities are at times seen as demanding or labour-intensive, especially during the initial phase of setting up the community, they are more frequently perceived as "non-work", and a source of pleasure and gratification *when performed communally*. When executed as an organised group activity, not left to individuals, such tasks are experienced as a "pleasant thing" instead of an "ugly duty", one participant shared, in contrast to the same type of work in their own private homes. Caring for shared spaces allows residents to feel a sense of ownership over these, Freja explains:

> *When you clean, you know what the condition of the common house is, because you come into all the corners (...) When I am in the common house, I feel more like it's my house, which it is, because we are all the owners, and because I know the condition of it, and I take care of it, because I know that when I was cleaning, there was something wrong with this, so I had to fix it.*

Through this, residents feel anchored in their community both physically and socially, as cleaning, maintenance, and repair are transformed into an opportunity to socialise informally and spend

time with their community. As one member put it, residents "do this work for each other", meaning that practical work is seen as community-creating- and sustaining. Commenting on a proposal for a new housing development, Jesper explains how these projects differ from collaborative housing communities like his own:

> *A company [was] trying to organise something in the northern part of Copenhagen, and what they wanted to do was serviced communities. So, you could either be a bronze, silver or gold member, and depending what you were, you would have your lawn mowed, and you would have a massage, and food delivered. You would choose whatever. And we were like, what you're planning for, that's actually what sticks people together in these communities, and what was left was drinking. And I think it's important to have some practical tasks, that could be planning, or it could be taking care of the economy, or it could be practical work, but really, it's the glue that keeps us together.*

This explains why such work is rarely outsourced, in contrast to similar tasks in residents' private homes, and specialists are only hired for community tasks that residents do not have the necessary skills to accomplish. Participants express pride in cleaning and maintaining their common spaces, and some communities have rules which explicitly prohibit hiring professional cleaning staff to perform a cleaning duty instead of residents themselves. This is seen as a question of principle, Jesper tells us:

> *For some people, it's quite hard for them to do the Sunday cleaning, but I think we have to clean the [common] house, and we will not accept people who would [hire] people to do it. You have to do it on your own, because if you use the things, you also have to keep them in order.*

Only one community out of the ten we visited represents an exception to this. They hire cleaning staff for their common spaces with the reasoning that this helps avoid conflict that might arise due to varying standards of cleanliness or disagreement about the extent to which this work is necessary.

In most cases, however, maintenance, repair, and cleaning were central in structuring daily life in the community and shaping social relations between participants. Participants shared that by performing this type of work together, they establish new and different relationships with their

fellow residents. “Showing a different perspective of themselves” by contributing with their skills and abilities allows them to feel accomplished, valued, and recognised by others through the work they put into the upkeep of shared spaces. At the same time, these types of tasks are perceived as more important than, for instance, more intangible work like organising community activities or managing collective life. Thus, some feel that not all contributions are valued equally, which at times leads to feelings of inadequacy or guilt on the part of residents whose skills lie elsewhere, as shared by Louise:

> *I'm not the one that goes out with a hammer to do something practical. I'm really very bad at it, and a lot of our common tasks are very practical, so I feel so stupid because I can't do it.*

Most residents share that they perceive contributions to community work to be generally high, by virtue of residents “knowing what they signed up for” when moving into a collaborative housing community. Thus, not only are residents already expecting to perform such work, and motivated to do so, there are additional rules and procedures in place to allocate responsibility for practical care tasks. There are rarely sanctions placed on those who do not contribute. Instead, there is collective and deliberate negotiation around this work, including planning how to split it equitably within the community, and considering members’ limitations, for instance due to old age, illness, disability, or pregnancy. However, if not explicitly included in community procedures and workloads, some of this work may go unnoticed or be left to individuals with more willingness, capacity, or a greater sense of responsibility, Marie points out:

> *I'm not sure what magic elf is filling up the spices at this point, but there are always spices. But I imagine that that is a task someone has taken upon themselves. But there's, there is a bit of invisible work at the moment that we kind of haven't, kind of shined the light on who actually does that.*

When practical care work like maintenance, repair, and cleaning is not explicitly negotiated and discussed in the community, gendered dynamics may inadvertently arise, as stated by Amalie:

> *We talked about it last time with some of the other persons. For some of our duties, there are more women that are attracted to them than men. And for some things men are more*

> *attracted to them. We had a group making the heating system: men. The group making the reparations: men. The people cleaning the laundry, almost all men. Children's group, mostly women. So we have different roles in the [community].*

Maintaining, cleaning, and repairing shared spaces collectively is thus an expression of community care, as well as a means of building connections between residents and feeling appreciated, valued, and fulfilled. Such work is highly valued, more so even than other less tangible or physical forms of care practiced in the community. At times, this necessary work goes unnoticed, or may reflect a gendered division of labour as residents choose how to contribute according to their preferences and abilities.

Neighbourhood

Neighbourhood relationships

Collaborative housing communities have varying relationships with their surrounding neighbourhoods. Most maintain a neutral connection with neighbours, greeting them occasionally in the street rather than cultivating closer ties with them, as residents rarely consider their relationship to be of importance. Usually, residents aim to be respectful and avoid problems with neighbours, and expect the same treatment in return, Femke shares:

> *I don't want to give any trouble to them, and I don't feel our building and people here give any trouble. For me, that's important that you don't [play] loud music at three in the night, but also the people from the [collaborative housing community] itself are not those people. Yeah, that's important to me, and I ask that from them back as well. But this actually happens quite naturally.*

Other projects however experience antagonistic relationships with some of their neighbours and even outright conflict. These occur for a variety of reasons, such as due to noise complaints during community festivities, petty disputes over parking space, but also due to atypical aesthetics of housing construction or involvement in local municipal politics. Two projects experienced disputes over land use, whether the use of pesticide on a nearby agriculture plot, or as Amalie explains, perceived "egoism" regarding the approval of ejection of an antenna:

They wanted to put a huge antenna here, to get the signals for electronic communication, and you get a small amount of money for it. And then we said, yeah, why not? And then the neighbors said, but some of us think that it's unhealthy to live nearby and we don't want to have that threat. And you only said yes to get the money, but you didn't ask us, (...) you do things for yourself without thinking of us.

Yet, as neighbourhoods around community projects are rarely homogeneous, conflict is usually contained to individual neighbours or small groups. There are also many examples of positive relationships with neighbours, which are built and maintained by sharing community facilities and amenities like exercise classes, gyms, and gardens with non-residents. These are present within communities to a varying extent. Most groups invite neighbours to public events such as seasonal celebrations, anniversary celebrations of collaborative housing projects, or flea markets. As Bas notes, these usually establish rather superficial, yet positive relations:

Yes, there is some contact, but not many. In the past we always invited people here around and when we do something here that makes noise, we also always let them know and invite them if they like. For a festival, something with music. But they seldom come. I think I would have done the same if I lived there. It's a distance but it is not so easy to come. I think there is a good relationship but we don't know each other very well.

Importantly, these relationships evolve over time, with residents feeling that their collaborative housing community was initially met with prejudice due to imaginaries of collective living arrangements as exceptional and reserved for alternative and politically left-leaning segments of society. Alberte explained this by stating:

When we built this, they called it Millionaire Christiania. They thought we were rich people, we were not rich people, but the houses were bigger and differed from the other houses. And they think we were left wing, many things like that. But today I, my impression is it's no problem, not at all. I mean, the children here play with the children there, the children over there come here. Yes, it's quite normalised. We didn't eat children, and they didn't either (laughs).

Frederik shares this sentiment and reflects how initial suspicions that neighbours harboured against the community dissipated over time, and long-standing collaborative housing projects like his are often simply seen as a part of the neighbourhood not so different from it: “we're not really known for anything now, I think maybe just what we're known for is living together and occasionally touching each other's dirty laundry”.

In general, collaborative housing communities therefore maintain a wide range of relationships. While conflicts with outside neighbours occur, deeper antagonism or distrust towards new “alternative” ways of living fade out over time. Projects often attempt to maintain positive relations by inviting neighbours for occasional events, but do not engage on a daily basis like they do among the community.

Looking inwards, acting outwards?

Residents frequently relate having a neutral or superficial relationship with neighbors, due to the inward-looking nature of collaborative housing projects. In these accounts, an abundance of social contacts, responsibilities, and possibilities for caring and being cared for are located within the community, making engagement with the broader neighbourhood a non-priority. Social solidarity or care for the broader neighbourhood, then, is rarely a professed goal, and explicit attempts at building such relationships are sparse.

Figure 8

Picture taken at a collaborative housing community in Denmark.

Note. The picture shows a statue of an ostrich looking at its rear. It was made by a member, and is meant to symbolise the inward-looking nature of the collaborative housing community, according to her.

Especially in the years following the establishment of new collaborative housing communities, residents invest a lot of time and energy into building relationships with their fellow residents, attending long meetings where community rules and procedures are discussed and instated, and at times carrying out the physical labour of finishing construction of houses, common facilities, and gardens. This abundance of necessary engagements and possibilities to nourish social relationships means that residents are left with little time to prioritise neighbourhood relations, Rikke explains:

> *You can actually be, well, fed up is not a nice word, but you can have some kind of social fatigue, because it takes so much of you to be in our own community and to get to know all these people. I mean, there are 69 adults and 50 children. It's a whole village, so you get a little bit full of this. So you don't have so much social energy for the surroundings, actually.*

The intensity of social contacts and relationships in the community creates a sense of emotional closeness to other residents, and allows for care to circulate within the community, as outlined in the previous sections. The group solidarity that is the basis for this is constructed not only through

the time and energy residents invest in building and maintaining relationships, but also through an emphasis on real and perceived differences between members and residents living in their surroundings. Highlighting difference from the "outside", for instance in terms of political orientation, and homogeneity within the collaborative housing projects further reinforces the inward-looking nature of such projects, and creates a group identity, as stated by Signe:

> *When this place was new, 45 years ago, the differences from this place to the neighborhood surroundings were sometimes very big, since it's a conservative neighborhood, and in this [project], they were very left wing oriented.*

Collaborative housing communities are not only focused on their internal dynamics and relationships rather than on engagement with their surroundings, but they are also characterised by an inward homogeneity that seems to enable this focus in the first place, Freja reflects:

> *The reason this cohousing works in the way that it does is because there's some ingrained things in Danish culture that make it so that some things are obvious, there's just some norms that everyone follows, but which in another culture would not be the case (...). So everyone in Danish culture is used to some level of local democratic participation (...). There are just some ways in which I think the more communal culture here makes some of the decisions here easier, because it's part of a cultural norm, rather than a rule.*

While Freja asserts that this cultural homogeneity is what allows collaborative housing to function more smoothly, Cecilie is critical of such a lack of diversity:

> *I'm very concerned about [it]. I'm trying to also infuse [this] in the broader political debate in Denmark on cohousing, and that's the whole issue of equality, how we deal with that, because the cohousing communities are very much made of privileged people. So whenever you do a study on cohousing, you're not doing a study on the Danes. You're doing it on a segment of Danes who are predominantly white. We don't reflect the diversity of ethnic groups in Denmark. We are much better educated than the average Dane. We make more money than the average Dane.*

The same is true in the Dutch context, and across collaborative housing projects in general. Commenting on this inward focus and lack of diversity, Jeroen judged that this makes engagement with the neighbourhood or municipality all the more important. Thus, while most collaborative housing communities look inwards, they "act outwards" in different ways. The most common and direct way that members of collaborative housing are in contact with their surrounding community is through the public school system. Saskia highlights this as a conscious choice to counteract the inward focus and "bubble" effect of living in a collaborative housing project:

> *Most of us have sent our children to the public school just next to this place. It's not the world's best school, but it's also a question of not being too ghettoised. At least in my family, we have this point of view that since we live in a very special place, we shouldn't send the children to a very special school as well. So they would [not] be detached from normal society.*

Engagement with the surrounding neighbourhood or municipality then often occurs through the involvement of parents like Saskia, who is also a member of the school board, in local mobilisations for service provision or the education system. Residents describe how their collaborative housing projects at times act as a political force in their neighbourhood or municipality, for instance through resident-led campaigns for the provision of public welfare services like kindergartens.

Oftentimes, this is done by leveraging the position of collaborative housing projects within their municipality. Indeed, they may be able to affect the outcomes of local decision-making because such projects are increasingly being viewed as drivers of neighbourhood development, with many municipalities actively promoting the establishment by providing various incentives. Multiple residents shared that the location of their collaborative housing community is no "accident", but that the municipality it is located in has a policy of using collaborative housing to "make a neighbourhood", as one resident put it.

Outward engagement does not only happen in formalised ways at the municipal level. Residents also try to disseminate their values and stances on questions like climate change and environmental protection throughout their surrounding community by holding open events. Some see it as their mission to further promote collaborative housing by representing the model in national- and transnational networks for this purpose, or by ensuring communication on social and conventional

media, as in the case of certain collaborative housing projects that are given a lot of media coverage. Thus, these communities are on the one hand highly inward-looking and self-sufficient in terms of social contacts and possibilities for caring and being cared for. On the other hand, they want to "have a voice" in the neighbourhood, a tension that Jan sums up here:

> *I want to be part of a community, and I found my part because I live here and I also have other kinds of communities, so I do not necessarily need contact with the neighbourhood. So that is how I think it's not necessary to have contact, but I think good neighbors are also important, for the safety of the whole area, and to have a voice in the city as a neighbourhood, so it's good to know each other a bit (...). But am I the person to do it? I don't know. I don't think so.*

Negotiating boundaries of privacy and property

Within collaborative housing communities, an ethos of sharing prevails when it comes to amenities, consumer goods, food, and more. Some communities have formalised communal property structures and co-own shared spaces or land. While small conflicts about the extent of sharing arise occasionally, there is usually agreement on what is shared among members and to what degree, and on the fact that sharing is a central value of collaborative housing. Inclusion of non-residents, most often the direct neighbours of collaborative housing projects, occurs by sharing facilities like communal kitchens, organic food stores, swimming pools or gardens, or inviting non-residents to events hosted in the community. The extent of this sharing with non-members varies from community to community, and often happens under different conditions than within the community, as Lieke explains:

> *And we have this [communal] building. If I want to use it, I can book a date and I can use it. If I use it for my work and I make some money, I have to pay a small amount. [But] if you would rent it, you have to pay a larger amount because you're from outside.*

Figure 9

Picture taken at a collaborative housing community in the Netherlands.

Note. This picture shows a sign on the fence of a collaborative housing community stating: "no free entry, private property."

As residents consider collaborative housing their private property, albeit co-owned with other members, sharing with non-members is not a widespread practice. Membership in the community delimitates who may use amenities and facilities, but the boundaries of privacy and property are blurry and must be negotiated both among community members, and with non-residents alike. At times, this leads to conflicts around what constitutes legitimate and illegitimate uses of collaborative housing facilities by non-members. While inclusion of non-residents in organised activities and events is seen positively, participants express reservations regarding unplanned uses of community space, which they view as infringing on privacy and property. Some members voice doubts about the extent to which the sharing of space and amenities with non-members should be encouraged, as they feel that the comfort they want to feel in their homes and gardens is diminished through the extensive use by non-members. More importantly, they express concern regarding issues surrounding safety and responsibility, for instance regarding the supervision of

neighbourhood children coming to use facilities of collaborative housing projects, as shared by Eline:

> *We live near the playground, and when we saw the house, I thought it was so nice that we had the playground just here. The thought of all the kids in the community coming here and playing, and I could watch them. But then when we moved here, I realised that a lot of kids from outside of the community came, especially for the trampoline, and that was too much. I didn't buy a house just next to a public playground, because it was considered as a public playground from the outside. I think that's a very hard question, should we allow them to come or not? On the one hand, we want to be open minded and inclusive and everything, but then, on the other hand, it's just too much, other people's kids running in your neighborhood all the time. I consider it as my private garden. But then I realised it's not my private garden.*

At the same time, residents often "close an eye" when it comes to rules around privacy and property, and allow non-residents to use or access facilities as they see appropriate, disregarding formal agreements, Anne tells us:

> *People cannot use the pool unless they are invited by one person from here, and we had a mailman once who climbed the fence and used the swimming pool, and we all knew that and [it] was okay. I had some students once, and one of them said, oh, my uncle brings mail to you. He uses the pool. I said, yeah, we know that. It didn't harm anything, it's more funny than anything else.*

This lenience and lack of rigidity when it comes to rules around privacy and property may well be due to the fact that residents of collaborative housing express their awareness of the advantages of shared ownership of communal spaces, which are rarely available to the rest of the neighbourhood. Participants share their perception that collaborative housing projects are very "special" places, and that non-residents might be envious of the facilities which they have access to, which are otherwise unaffordable in the context of rising housing-related costs, as explained by Maarten:

> *It's so rare what we have here. It's so rare for other kids. So of course, they are curious, and they want to see what it is, and they want to be part of it.*

Unclear boundaries of privacy and property at times lead to tension between residents of collaborative housing and their neighbours, and the degree of sharing is subject to negotiation within some communities. There is broad consensus that openness and the inclusion of non-residents is a positive value that residents of collaborative housing projects hold, especially as many members are aware that shared ownership gives them access to spaces and facilities that are not available to those living in conventional housing. However, inclusion and sharing with non-members is not necessarily prioritised, and remains in tension with concerns of safety, responsibility, and, to some extent, a desire for seclusion.

Discussion

As suggested elsewhere (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023; Morrow & Parker, 2020; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019; Wieger, 2017), our findings indicate that collective housing models can be a site for the incremental transformation of reproductive labour. The intentional forms of "being together" that collaborative housing enables allow for the emergence of various forms of care in common, and expand beyond the nuclear family the relationships where everyday forms of caring and being cared for can flourish. But do these observed changes in caring practices amount to some degree of feminist commoning? To reflect on this, it is useful to recall the principles of feminist commoning outlined earlier, which, at the most basic level, can be condensed into three ideas: recognition, redistribution, and sharing of care, as we state in our theoretical framework. In the following section, we will discuss if and how our research results reflect these principles of feminist commoning.

Recognition

Caring about care

As explained in previous sections, the undervaluing of care work is one of the core symptoms of patriarchal neoliberal capitalism (Romero & Pérez, 2016). While care work in the home remains unrecognised as labour, care professionals are not valued adequately and their contributions to the functioning of society is poorly rewarded. We find that within collaborative housing, care does not magically become recognised as the centre of society, nor does it necessarily lead to a radical restructuring of caring tasks in the household. However, it is evident that it is valued differently, *when performed collectively* within the collaborative housing community.

As apparent from our findings, many residents perceive community chores positively, and enjoy participating in the working groups which they chose to join, emphasising their voluntary nature. While in one's own home, these are often seen as a duty or burden, in a collective setting, they become means to socialise and spend time with neighbours. This social element is contrasted with the isolation connected to many household tasks in a nuclear home. A "cleaning day" is not just a day when common rooms are swept and fences repainted, but also an event when neighbours come

together, bring lunch or tea for each other and work together towards a common goal. Caring tasks performed together are therefore not only chores which have to "get done", but also activities which foster cooperation and the creation of caring social relations that are valued by their residents. These social relations are what characterises feminist commoning within collaborative housing, as commoning is constituted through processes of self-organisation of care but also the relationships they produce (Dengler & Lang, 2022; Euler, 2018). Activities that constitute care commoning, such as an organised cleaning duty, are a way for residents to care for their built environment, but also foster caring social relations between residents in the process.

Furthermore, care work through community tasks is seen as something residents do for their own well-being. Community work or participation in committees is often seen to bring emotions of joy and pleasure, as residents shared that for them it is something "they do for themselves". Care work through chores within the collaborative community is then re-valued by residents themselves in relation to the role it plays in their lives. Care in the everyday is seen as a pathway to wellbeing rather than only to exhaustion, in stark contrast to the predominantly negative perception of a "burden of care" (Kremer, 2007) within patriarchal neoliberal capitalism .

Collectively performed care tasks are also seen as a community service, for which residents receive recognition from neighbours. Care is therefore valued differently not only in relation to residents' own everyday life, but also by and towards others. Residents are grateful for others who put time and effort into care for the garden or cooking dinner. While contributions are encouraged, no resident is considered "naturally wired" to perform certain care duties, as is often the case with patriarchal expectations towards women's role within the household (Barker, 2012; Tronto, 2013). Residents are happy that others are able to bring skills that they themselves might not have or are willing to learn so they can help the community. Recognition by others can therefore also serve as a motivation to perform the work which residents know will be valued by others within the collaborative housing project.

Collective care practices are thus seen as valuable and necessary for functioning of the projects, meaning that they can become a source of identity for residents. This is comparable to the conclusions of Fernández Arrigoitia et al. (2023), who find that despite the often demanding

nature of labour in collaborative housing, the maintenance of community ties and physical spaces can become not only a source of satisfaction for residents, but also confer a feeling of purpose. This is associated with a feeling of pride stemming from the belief that by participating in their project, residents are also participating in the creation of alternative social relations that are at odds with usual ways of living within neoliberal capitalism (ibid.). Everyday collective tasks are therefore perceived as building blocks of a "higher purpose" which are valued as a "contribution to the cause".

However, negative feelings are also associated with community work. These include sentiments such as fatigue from the intensity of the workload, especially present during the initial setting up of the community, or annoyance with time-consuming community meetings and decision-making debates (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023). Furthermore, as participation in community care is not usually mandatory, but highly encouraged, there is social pressure to take upon community work. While some might ignore such pressure, others report struggling with feelings of guilt about "not doing enough". Such feelings might arise even despite being relatively engaged in community life, but feeling like one can "always do more".

We have found this to be relatively more pronounced for female residents, who also shared experiences of feeling overwhelmed by community responsibilities at some point, and more frequently expressed guilt at their own perceived lack of contribution. This suggests that communal work is to a certain extent motivated by feelings of validation, which, apart from joy and increased self-worth, can also bring feelings of pressure and obligation. While such feelings of obligation seem to be universal, our insights suggest that the intensity of these feelings may be gendered. This may be explained through the consideration that it is women who are generally socialised to undertake caring tasks due to the implicit assumption that caring is an inherently "female" trait (Barker, 2012; McDowell, 1992; Tronto, 2013) and therefore experience greater unease when feeling as though they do not contribute towards the community in the same way as others.

The incentives for participating in community care work are thus both positive and negative feelings stemming from the shared perception of care as a meaningful contribution to the

functioning of the community, and a means to socialise with others through the relationships it creates. Care in community therefore carries a value distinctly different to that in the nuclear household.

Making care visible?

Home and care continue to be conflated within the Western imaginary, leading to its conceptualisation as a deeply feminised and inherently private sphere (Jarvis, 2017; Power & Mee, 2020). Neoliberal capitalism has further exacerbated the privacy of care by associating care work with individual responsibility and reducing pillars of welfare support (Binet et al., 2023; Romero & Pérez, 2016). Making care visible is therefore one of the core principles of feminist commoning, which advocates for a recognition of the central role which everyday reproductive work plays in our lives (Federici, 2011).

In collaborative housing, the invisibility of care is challenged by its official recognition as a necessary community activity. Dividing the care for common spaces, built environment and social life within the community questions the pre-supposed privacy of care, as well as its place within the nuclear family (Jarvis, 2017). By recognising that certain tasks need to be done and divided among the community, care is brought into the public life of the community and negotiated through open deliberation. This includes collaborative housing community structures such as working groups, cleaning schedules or cooking rosters. By naming these tasks as necessary, they are given the status of work, rather than being seen as an activity which "will somehow get done". Such recognition of care work then allows for a more diverse composition of those who perform it, as opposed to traditional gendered arrangements of care (Dengler & Lang, 2022; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). The structural organisation of community life around care tasks therefore makes contributions to care and the necessary role they play in the functioning of the collaborative housing groups more visible.

However, visibility of care in collaborative housing has its limits, as not all care work is treated the same way. Similarly to Fernández Arrigoitia et al. (2023), we found that while collective decision-making and conflict management in communities were seen as central to their functioning, emotional work associated with such processes was often not recognised. This was especially evident when comparing emotional labour with physical work, which is almost

exclusively the care work that is addressed through formal mechanisms in the community such as working groups. Only in two projects we visited a work group was specifically designated to help residents resolve conflicts or address tensions that might arise. Some projects had designated processes of conflict management, but in others, a clear delegation of roles was lacking in situations where mediation was needed.

A lack of recognition of emotional labour is exacerbated by the fact that values like harmony are seen as central to the purpose of collaborative living. The unspoken pressure to get along with everybody, while conflicts necessarily arise, can then be especially burdensome for those trying to solve conflicts informally, especially when no official procedures for conflicts are in place. If the work necessary to solve them is not a community task and therefore not recognised as labour, it tends to fall "naturally" on somebody with "the right qualities", or in other words those socialised to do so (Butler, 2004). Our findings suggest that oftentimes it was women who took this informal mediation upon themselves, and in some cases felt overwhelmed by this work, which they saw as their responsibility. While the availability of an emotional support network within collaborative housing communities is often seen as one of their greatest advantages, the work that goes into sustaining it may be at risk of being feminised and unseen.

We therefore conclude that collaborative housing facilitates structures of commoning care through making care work more visible. This visibility is gained through division of care work into responsibility of resident-led groups which leads to its recognition. However, not all care is treated the same, and emotional work, which is crucial to sustain social life within a community, is often at risk of being unrecognised and undertaken by female members of the community.

Neglect as care

Neglect is "the state of being unattended to, or not cared for" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), and thus appears as the opposite of care. It seems to contradict the core principles of feminist commoning, which aims to achieve "the overarching goal of recognising unpaid care work as a socially vital and necessary basis for the functioning of our societies" (Dengler & Lang, 2022, p.7). The construction of caring relationships of co-responsibility is usually contrasted with neoliberal neglect (Brunori & Musso, 2023), which thwarts the recognition of care work by undervaluing and marketising it.

Thus, introducing the notion of neglect in conjunction with or even *as* care may seem counterintuitive. By proposing the idea of care-full neglect, we do not suggest that care itself should be neglected. Rather, we see it as an insurgent strategy that supports the feminist commoning of care, often employed inadvertently by residents of collaborative housing. In this section, we suggest two meanings of care-full neglect.

The first relates to an attitude that favors accepting conflict and difference, rather than attempting to impose a narrow vision of harmonious community life. Care-full neglect, in this case, entails giving leeway to others, letting go of grudges, or deciding not to care about petty disputes that may arise within the community. This kind of "live and let live" attitude is an essential predisposition in the context of community life, where different opinions, clashes of character, and conflict necessarily arise when care is performed in common. In one of the workshops we conducted, participants also used the Dutch term *gunnen* to describe a similar attitude. The term has no direct English translation, but generally designates an expression of generosity, a feeling of happiness for others' success, and benevolence without envy, resentment, or ill will.

Thus, not assuming the worst in situations of disagreement, or "letting things slide", for instance when certain members do not contribute as much to shared maintenance and care work in the community, allows for conflicts to be avoided and for residents to negotiate the boundaries of what is or is not acceptable, always with a general assumption that everybody is doing their best or contributing according to their capacities. "Minding one's own business" is similarly an expression of care-full neglect. Sometimes, residents choose to disengage from certain conflicts in order to maintain peace in the community, or take a step back from community life to care for their own well-being if they are overwhelmed by the intensity of community work. This is illustrated by the experience of one resident: the perceived responsibility of ensuring harmony within the community in accordance with certain visions or expectations around what life in collaborative housing "should" look like became too much of a burden on her mental well-being, pushing her to neglect the role she had created for herself as an informal mediator. Thus, stepping back from community care responsibilities can be a form of care-full neglect that is necessary for self-preservation and a deliberate act of care for the self. This idea of care-full neglect contrasts with the "self-work" (Fernández Arrigoitia et al., 2023, p. 669) that has elsewhere been identified as a

form of emotional labour in which residents of collaborative housing engage to adjust to collective life and which prioritises individual flexibility. Instead, perhaps when the limits of this emotional self-work are reached, a mentality of caring neglect becomes instrumental for acknowledging and living with complexity and contestation in collaborative housing. It can be seen as a form of care for the self and for the community, and a tool for working through the bumps and knots of re-signifying care collectively.

This is one way in which the notion of care-full neglect enables the emergence of an incremental feminist commons in collaborative housing. Another meaning of care-full neglect we suggest here relates to the decentering of structures, rules, and forms of relationships underpinning neoliberal capitalist systems of value allotment. This can take the form of "closing an eye", or not being a "stickler for the rules" around property, rejecting petit-bourgeois mentalities that idealise homeownership and privacy. These acts can be as small as not locking the front door or having a community policy where simply entering someone else's home, for instance to stop for a chat, deliver mail, or borrow some groceries, is entirely acceptable, and even desirable in day-to-day life. It can also mean letting a neighbour build a shed on what is formally not their property, or a resident using collectively owned space to grow vegetables, not as a part of deliberately established community amenities but as an informal practice that emerged spontaneously, and sharing the produce with the community. In this way, neglecting a strict separation between private/reproductive and public/productive space – a core element of patriarchal capitalism that confines care to the sphere of the home (Jarvis, 2017; Sullivan-Catlin, 2014; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019) – allows for the emergence of more fluid community practices. This widens the scope of care and the degree to which it is made visible, and thus recognised.

Thus, we see that the forms of care-full neglect practiced by residents, often without the explicit intention of subverting them, contest existing capitalist norms around property, privacy, and middle-class propriety, without displacing them entirely. The notion of neglect as care that we propose here can be seen as a tool for the feminist commoning of care in collaborative housing projects. While incremental rather than radically transformative, and almost accidentally rather than intentionally disruptive to the structures and norms of neoliberal capitalism, we argue that the forms of care-full neglect we outline in this section transform residents' subjectivities in a way that

is quietly oppositional to conventional ways of imagining interpersonal and property relationships, and thus pave the way for a broader recognition of care in line with the principles of feminist commoning.

Redistribution

Feminist commoning without feminism?

According to Dengler and Lang (2022, p. 19), the transformative potential of feminist caring commons is contingent on "how organised and articulate feminist positions are within [them]." This is not to say that collaborative housing communities must explicitly identify as feminist so that feminist commoning can take place. However, the more equitable redistribution of care work that is a central tenet of feminist commoning is more likely to be attained with an intentionally feminist outlook. Save for two projects, where women had formed informal groups with a perspective emphasising feminist solidarity, no communities articulated any feminist positions, for instance in their charter or community constitution. In two of the communities, women created spaces of safety and vulnerability, where discussions around reproductive health, abortions, body image, and more could take place in an atmosphere of mutual trust. This type of support and exchange can be invaluable for women, especially young mothers, single mothers, or older women who may struggle with isolation. However, it was rare that such groups were formalised, and when they were, they tended to be met with suspicion, indifference, or amusement, rather than celebrated by (male) members of the community.

When communities do adopt explicit political or activist stances as their community focus, it is more often an attention to ecological sustainability rather than feminism, as evidenced by the growing number of ecovillage projects (Lennon & Berg, 2022). This might reflect a changing rationale behind collaborative housing projects that echoes the claim that collaborative housing today can be considered more pragmatic than idealist (Tummers, 2016) – a practical answer to societal needs like everyday services, energy- or cost-savings, and accessibility, arising out of the necessity to self-organise welfare and housing provision in the context of neoliberalisation, environmental degradation, and social and demographic upheaval (Czischke et al., 2023). Idealistic and utopian experiments of the 1960s and 70s, of which many collaborative housing communities

of today are the fruit, might have been connected to counter-culture movements, feminism, and communitarianism. But this focus has today been abandoned in most instances.

Simultaneously, individual residents of collaborative housing are very much aware of issues surrounding gender inequality, or even self-identify as feminists. Given the generally high education level and social and cultural capital of residents, it is no surprise many were conscious of the gendered division of care, including in their own relationships with their spouse or partner. However, this awareness did not necessarily translate into more equitable caring arrangements between romantic partners or within families, nor did it bring about a recognition of how gendered dynamics might play out in the context of community care work. "Feminism" was often thought in binary terms of "men vs. women" and understood for instance as the representation of women on community boards or in working groups. This became evident also in reflections that some residents shared with us after participating in interviews: many expressed that they expected the questions we asked them to "be more feminist", that is, inquire explicitly into the experiences of women within the community, rather than more generally into the everyday life there and the experience of care labour.

To us, going beyond a binary understanding of feminism was a means for focusing our investigation on the intertwined forces that uphold unjust dynamics of care work, namely capitalism and hetero-patriarchy (Barker, 2012), and the structures they create, such as the nuclear family, in order to see if and how they might be impacted by the incremental commoning of care. We aimed to gain insight into the performance of care on the terrain of romantic relationships, which is difficult to access because of the sensitivity of divulging intimate details. Here, it seems challenging to counteract structural forces that maintain the gendered dynamics of reproductive labour, and collaborative housing projects offer no magic fix for this. Intimate relationships mostly still tended to exist within the parameters of the nuclear family, perceived as private, independent, and the "default" site of care (Barker, 2012; Sullivan-Catlin, 2014). At the same time, the collaborative housing community appears as a "competing identity project" (Sullivan-Catlin, 2014, p. 54), and residents must reconcile the simultaneous importance of both settings in their everyday life. The result of this arbitration seems to be a deeper change in the experience of care than the structure of the family. While the nuclear family is complemented by the new caring relationships

and support systems of the larger community context, it remains fundamentally in place. However, the experience of caring in parenthood, mothering, and family life are all altered by this context in ways that make it less burdensome, especially for those who usually feel its shortcomings the most.

Thus, articulated feminist positions are rare in the communities with which we conducted research, and intentional efforts to deconstruct gendered dynamics in the performance of care work remain uncommon. However, the fact that many everyday care tasks are shifted from the nuclear family to the community level eases the burden of care, and transforms the experience of care into a more communal and convivial one, despite the persistence of structures like the nuclear family wherein gendered care dynamics tend to be reproduced.

Outsourcing care: a moral double standard

Commodification and outsourcing of care are not new phenomena. However, their occurrence has exponentially increased in Western neoliberal economies, where the entrance of women into the workforce has been accompanied by cuts in social welfare, reducing their capacities to care (Fraser, 2023). This reduction of welfare care support has been substituted by underpaid and precariously employed workers, often migrants, who undertake the commodified caring labour for those who can afford it (Fraser, 2016). Outsourcing care to hired workers is therefore a necessity for overburdened middle and upper class women trying to live up to a neoliberal feminist fantasy in which "breaking the glass ceiling", being a "supermom" are requirements that they should somehow reconcile (Rottenberg, 2014).

To our best knowledge, no research has examined the practice of outsourcing care labour in collaborative housing as of yet. The results of our research suggest that outsourcing of care labour is a common practice in collaborative housing as much as anywhere else. Residents share that they hire professional workers for tasks such as cleaning, childcare or taking care of a family member struggling with illness. We find that the necessity to seek a waged care worker occurs even while the burden of care in nuclear families is eased by the community context. This leads to a paradoxical situation in which care is subject to a moral double standard. While in their homes, hiring a professional care worker is "allowed", as some highlight, that is not the case for the majority of community care work.

Residents of collaborative housing pride themselves in caring for one another and for their community. An exemplary instance is the cleaning of common spaces, where communal efforts are considered core to the values of collaborative housing communities. Yet, narratives of care within the nuclear home from a standpoint of morality are very different, as outsourcing of the exact same work is not seen as "wrong" when it does not occur in the communal space. This observation remains nuanced by experiences of one collaborative housing project, where cleaning of common spaces was done by a hired worker. This took place while this relatively new project claims being strongly committed to sharing and mutual care within its statute, signifying a potential shift in narratives surrounding commodified care. For most projects, however, this as a matter imbued with moral value that puts outsourcing such work out of the question, while it remains commonplace in private homes.

Why does the joy and recognition of caring for the community not extend into the four walls of the individual home? Assuming that the outsourcing of household care remains practiced in pursuit of middle-class ideals of comfort, this would suggest that residents of collaborative housing are no more willing or able to challenge the capitalist status quo than others. This might indicate a hypocrisy that would undermine the potential of collaborative housing as a site for feminist commoning. However, taking as a starting point Freire's position of ontological optimism (Freire, 1992), we argue that these realities can coexist, or, as Dengler and Lang (2022, p. 15) point out: "communities that cultivate communitarian caring commons do not necessarily aim at challenging capitalism, but their modes of living are dysfunctional to economic growth and accumulation".

Furthermore, rather than viewing outsourcing care in nuclear homes as a moral failure of the individuals who can afford it, we might also see it as a sign of the limits to which small-scale housing projects can challenge entrenched neoliberal capitalist norms in which they take place. The discursive division between what is "allowed" to be outsourced might thus symbolise the extent to which commoning care in collaborative housing can create spaces of caring resistance to neoliberal individualised care, and where the erasure of state welfare creates structural fractures irreparable through small scale community actions. We can thus conclude that the erosion of social welfare creates structural conditions that are difficult to overcome no matter how high the motivation of

residents towards commoning might be, leading to the necessity of seeking professional care workers.

Yet, we believe that it is still possible to strive for further collectivising and redistributing care responsibilities. Future research, then, might delve deeper into the reasons for outsourcing care in collaborative housing, to uncover the specific processes, constraints, and emotions behind it.

Sharing

Negotiating care

Collaborative housing, to varying degrees, institutionalises processes in which care responsibilities are shared through collective deliberation. Because of this, Tummers and MacGregor (2019) identify it as a promising site for the commoning of reproductive work, as well as for Joan Tronto's (2013) "caring democracy". A democratic politics of care, according to Tronto, entails the collective allocation and renegotiation of caring responsibilities, through which care becomes a part of public life, rather than a private – and thus invisibilised and residualised – matter. Thus, drawing on the scholarship on the feminist commoning of care, and Tronto's caring democracy, Tummers and MacGregor (2019) assert that in collaborative housing, "rather than being a taken-for-granted domain that is devalued and feminised, and from which privileged segments of a group or population are excused, [...] there is potential for carework to become a visible requirement of group membership and subject of continuous and democratic deliberation" (p.76).

We see this potential reflected in the consensus-oriented forms of deliberation that become enrolled in how responsibility for care work, and this work itself, is shared in the collaborative housing projects we conducted research with. Deliberation around the distribution and sharing of care, then, does not take place through "any kind of happenstance interaction" (Calder, 2015, p. 133). Rather, it happens in most collaborative housing communities through intentional and formalised processes that correspond to the principles of reciprocity, publicity, accountability and inclusion that Calder (2015) identifies, which can serve as the basis for deliberating about care.

In collaborative housing, deliberation around care happens during publicly held common meetings with all residents, where care responsibilities are allocated by creating working groups which report

back to the community, and by devising rosters and schemes for sharing everyday care work. This means that everybody "comes to the table", and conversations about care are had that would otherwise not take place. In these conversations, consensus is the goal, and majority voting is often only a last resort. Nothing is set in stone: deliberation happens continually, and care responsibilities are renegotiated as often and as long as needed. While at times considered long and tedious by residents, this way of sharing care responsibilities reflects Calder's principles of deliberation by involving all residents in open discussion, seeking consensus, and allowing for the renegotiation and adaptation of previous decisions.

At the same time, deliberation is messy, imperfect, and characterised by power asymmetries along various lines like age, education level, race, gender, and more. Residents reckon with the difficulty of ensuring that it is not always the same members who make themselves heard at each common meeting, or acknowledge that some are perceived as having more sway in community decisions due to, for instance, seniority in the project. In this way, processes of deliberation about care reflect varying levels of social capital and "communicative confidence", or a "sense of entitlement to be heard" (Calder, 2015, p. 137). While these structural inequalities can never fully be erased, the context of collaborative housing levels the playing field to some extent through the cultivation of awareness, knowledge, and emotional capacities that emphasise inclusion and horizontality and reflect an ethic of care.

Feminist critics have articulated precisely this ethic of care as an "existential challenge" to liberal democracy (Kavada, 2023, p. 187). Recognising how Western liberal representative democracy is underpinned by patriarchal gender relations and private property rights (Kavada, 2023), and thus fundamentally uncaring, makes apparent the need for a new politics of care, a project that "moves beyond the liberal approach which situates care as a finite resource to be distributed among autonomous individuals, or as a necessarily feminine virtue" (Woodly et al., 2021, p. 891). In collaborative housing projects, responsibility for care is negotiated, allocated, and shared through other tools than those which the (neo-)liberal project provides, namely gendered and privatised market mechanisms or state action (Dengler & Lang, 2022). Collaborative projects are spaces of experimentation, where different forms of sharing care become possible, for instance in the foregrounding of consensus decision-making, or in the choice of some communities to explore

alternative models like deep democracy or sociocracy. Such experiments and models are at odds with the tenets of neoliberalism and the forms of liberal democracy in which it is often bound up. Instead, they provide space for the articulation of emotion and emphasise the importance of listening (Kavada, 2023), reflecting relationships of interdependence, collaboration, and care that are at the heart of feminist commoning.

In our research, we identify collaborative housing projects as spaces where care responsibilities are negotiated and shared through processes of collective deliberation. They make possible experimentation with decision-making processes and forms of deliberation that emphasise consensus, inclusivity, horizontality, and open discussion. In this way, they begin to reckon with the power asymmetries inherent to deliberation about care, rather than reproducing relationships that mirror the patriarchal and individualising underpinnings of (neo-)liberal democracy and capitalism. Therefore, collaborative housing represents in this regard a potential space for the feminist commoning of care. What aligns deliberation around care in collaborative housing with principles of feminist commoning, though, are not easy solutions or a presumption of equality. It is the collective effort to search for and voice problems in how caring responsibilities are allocated which makes visible the power imbalances and asymmetries characterising them, even as privilege, complexity, and difference persist.

How far does care reach?

The process of commoning is inevitably tied to power and power relations (Nightingale, 2019). As theorised by Butler (1997), the "ambivalence of power" points to its multi-dimensional nature and contradictions that entails. While it might be productive and empower us to act, it can also dominate over others (ibid.). In the case of commons, integrating these considerations permits us to question mechanisms and impacts of power that allows some to benefit from building relations of cooperation, care, and affection, while barring others (Nightingale, 2019). Feminist commoning in collaborative housing therefore inevitably reflects power dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. On one hand, it allows for the transformation of everyday practices of care, but on the other hand delimitates who benefits from them.

It might be argued that by establishing a housing project, residents do not have an obligation to be unboundedly inclusive towards those outside of their community, and transform their homes into fully fledged community centres. After all, their capacities are often stretched due to the work they do within nuclear families as well as the collaborative community itself. However, it is important to remember that members of such projects already represent a particularly homogeneous and privileged group when it comes to race, education, cultural capital and sometimes affluence (Arbell, 2022; Jakobsen & Larsen, 2019). This has even led researchers in the field to draw parallels between them and gated communities (Chiodelli, 2015), pointing towards the benefits that these often privileged residents draw from living together, if they remain unengaged with their neighbourhood and surroundings.

Our findings suggest that residents are often aware and self-critical of the composition of their community but rarely bring this concern into action. While they sometimes expressed the wish to diversify their community, they also shared that they were uncertain how to do that, as it was predominantly people similar to them in terms of race, nationality or income who expressed interest in the project in the first place. In other instances, we have seen that residents might even consider the homogeneity of their group beneficial to group cohesion. This was pronounced when residents compared themselves to the people living in surrounding neighbourhoods, often considering them and their way of life "normal", while seeing their lifestyle as alternative. The emphasis on the community's difference vis-à-vis its surrounding neighbourhood thus also helps construct social cohesion within the community.

However, the porosity of boundaries between collaborative housing projects and their neighbourhood is constantly negotiated. The levels of insistence on privacy of the terrain on which collaborative housing projects are built fluctuate over time and differ between projects. The higher this insistence, the less likely it is for practices of care to permeate into the neighbourhood, as opportunities for informal interaction with neighbours become limited. This suggests that while internal solidarity within the community has "several, more or less stable, foundations, external solidarity seems to rest on wobbly pillars" (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2020, p.77). More intentional ways of engagement, which explicitly intend to draw neighbours in, are a possible way of making pillars of solidarity stronger. However, our research suggests that capacities and motivation for such

actions are often lacking because of the intensity and availability of caring social relationships within the collaborative housing community.

Yet, if we acknowledge that commoning care can be seen as an act of power (Nightingale, 2019) we can see that residents hold the crucial potential to use their privileged position to the benefit of a wider community. While they might not have the capacity or intention to run any large-scale neighbourhood projects, they can care in smaller ways that acknowledge the political need of creating networks of solidarity within times of neoliberal individualisation. This can be, and already is to some extent, done through opening their shared spaces, inviting neighbours to leisure activities or engaging in local political causes and activism challenging the capitalist status quo (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2020). Choosing to commit to even the smaller political struggles, like connecting with neighbours over municipal developments, can be an expression of neighbourhood solidarity. Instead of merely enabling the already privileged to pool resources and labour, collaborative projects can in this way become a pivotal space of feminist commoning for residents and non-residents alike.

A neoliberal co-optation of collaborative housing commons?

An ethos of sharing underpins life in collaborative housing communities, starting from the intention of living together and living differently that connects residents and drives them to conceive and construct their projects. Sharing resources and facilities, but also sharing the mental and emotional burdens the process of constructing and maintaining community entails, builds solidarity among members and allows mutual help and care to flourish.

However, the results of our research suggest that collective practices that form the foundation of these communities may be at risk of diminishing, undermining the potential of collaborative housing to represent a space for the feminist commoning of care. We say this with caution, and do not assert that a decline of collectivity and sharing is a generalised and widespread process affecting all collaborative housing communities. Rather, we identify developments taking place in the field of collaborative housing that may point to a possible neoliberal cooptation of commoning processes (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014; De Angelis, 2013) and must be considered with wariness.

We see warning signs of neoliberal cooptation reflected in experiences and perceptions shared by residents, as well as in broader developments within the field of collaborative housing.

Some participants of our research identified a growing individualism in their community practices and values. More radical or formalised sharing practices, like obligatory shared childcare or daily collective meals, are being increasingly "softened", and replaced by more flexible and individual arrangements. In the case of collective dining, for instance, some projects now offer "takeout" options for those who prefer to eat dinner with their nuclear families rather than with the broader community, or have reduced communal dining to occasional ad-hoc events. Another collective practice that we identified as essential to collaborative housing communities is the shared cleaning and maintenance of common spaces. Residents repeatedly emphasised the importance of this, and pride themselves in caring for their community facilities collectively, as we discuss in the subsection "Caring about care". Only one community reported hiring a cleaning service for the upkeep of common spaces, a surprising exception to this rule. This practice is more common in so-called "co-living" spaces, which are serviced communities with high-end amenities such as gyms, community managers, in-house restaurants, and co-working spaces in privately operated, for-profit rental housing with flexible contracts (White & Madden, 2024). Co-living models promote a vision of space, community, and home as services that can be commercially provided and profited from (Bergan & Power, 2024; Ronald et al., 2024; White & Madden, 2024), and as such have little more in common with collaborative housing than the prefix "co". If the outsourcing of community care work became generalised, it would distort the purpose and essence of collaborative housing. For now, however, we observe that this remains a rare and exceptional practice in a clear majority of communities. Thus, we only caution against a potential future risk that the lines might become blurred between collaborative housing – characterised by intentional practices of sharing, mutual care, and resident-led housing management and maintenance – and other housing forms like co-living that are a product of neoliberal dictates of efficiency, profit, and individualism, masquerading under the guise of "curated collectivism" (White & Madden, 2024, p. 1378).

This hypothesis also appears plausible in light of a potential depoliticisation of collaborative housing that some residents detect in their communities. As discussed above, rare are the projects that adopt explicit political or ideological stances as their focus. Instead, pragmatic reasons for

joining and creating such projects are becoming increasingly widespread as a tool to face housing unaffordability and difficulties in accessing adequate care. Thus, more than reflecting a desire to live differently or explore alternatives to the capitalist mainstream, the collective practices, commoning of resources and of care, and shared values of conviviality and collectivity in collaborative housing may be pragmatic tools for "sharing" risks (Larsen, 2019). Collaborative housing projects thus become a "safety net", acting as a network of mutual support and care that is unavailable elsewhere. In some cases, they offer greater economic safety to residents, as they have solidarity systems in place to help with rent, mortgage, or community contribution payments. However, collaborative housing is a safety net that not all can access. Although many of its residents are young families or vulnerable individuals that are being priced out of urban cores due to rising land- and housing costs (Jakobsen & Larsen, 2019), some collaborative housing projects, especially in the Danish context, are more expensive than conventional housing in their surrounding communities, and therefore inaccessible to low-income population segments (Larsen, 2019; Ledent & Salembier, 2021; Tummers & MacGregor, 2019). While some collaborative housing projects, especially in the Dutch context, can be considered affordable, the social and cultural capital that prospective residents oftentimes have to mobilise to gain entry into them remains a barrier even in projects that are economically affordable (Arbell, 2022).

An emerging trend in the field of collaborative housing, which further points to a potential neoliberal cooptation of housing commons, is the proliferation of top-down, developer-driven projects (Beck, 2020). Developers, consultancies, and other specialised providers are beginning to take over and professionalise the process of creating collaborative housing in some instances. Such services are meant to "streamline" the complex and time-consuming process of creating a collaborative housing project, which requires much expertise that residents often lack. When developers take on this role, however, residents are once again reduced to consumers and passive "target groups" to be "involved" in housing construction and community-building. According to Andersen & Lyhne (2022), this may negatively impact community life and sense of belonging in the long term, as it "weakens the possibility to achieve genuine, multifaceted ownership throughout all phases of a [...] project" (p. 206). It is more difficult for care, support, and everyday sharing practices to emerge if they are not integrated from the start in collaborative housing

projects. Participants in our research identified these collective practices as emerging primarily through practical everyday work performed together. If this work is increasingly taken over by developers, who, in some cases, even provide services related to community-building, conflict resolution, or assistance in drafting up community rules and procedures, residents may potentially become alienated from these key processes.

At the same time, "the risk of empowering local groups to develop their own housing is that the neoliberal state will withdraw its responsibility to welfare" (Arbell, 2016, p. 563). The creation of collaborative housing, and the interactions and interdependencies this fosters among prospective residents, should therefore not be blindly romanticised, as they run the risk of being appropriated by the neoliberal state as a means to absolve itself of its duty of care – a type of neoliberal cooptation of the commons that De Angelis (2013) warns of, and a possible harbinger of van Dyk's (2018) "community capitalism".

Thus, the risk of neoliberal cooptation of collaborative housing projects is real. While our research indicates that existing projects retain their original emphasis on sharing, collectivity, and resident-led management of communal resources to varying degrees, we see potential signs of neoliberal cooptation in dynamics of depoliticisation, growing individualism, and top-down professionalisation that are surfacing in the field of collaborative housing. This endangers the sharing practices that are a core principle of feminist commoning, and for which collaborative housing can create space, provided that it can resist neoliberal forces that seek to appropriate it in the search for profit.

Limitations

In this section, we briefly discuss three of the most relevant limitations we identify in our work, and present recommendations for future research related to them. The first limitation that we point to here relates to the generalisability of our findings. We question the extent to which our research speaks to the feminist commoning of care in the realm of housing in general, given that collaborative housing projects attract a specific demographic – one that is whiter, more educated, and wealthier than most. Additionally, most projects conceptualised as collaborative housing, including those we conducted research with, are located in the Global North. Thus, while our research therefore reflects the location and demographic composition of the majority of collaborative housing in the Global North, and is in that sense quite widely generalisable, it can say little about the processes of care and commoning in housing projects in other parts of the world, which reflect different cultural specificities and conceptualisations of caring and of home. We say this because the tendency, in academic research and beyond, is to treat knowledge produced in the Global North as universally applicable, while the Global South is treated as an exception to the rule and consistently made out to be inferior, marginalised and exoticised (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021). We therefore believe that promoting the production of knowledge on collaborative housing beyond the "usual suspects" (that is, Western European and North American case studies) can lead to a much deeper engagement with and more complete insights into how collaborative housing can be a site for the feminist commoning of care.

Another limitation of our study is its lack of attention to the variety of tenure types present among collaborative housing projects. Due to a lack of resources, time, and not least space in this thesis, we were unable to explore how forms of ownership constrain or enable the feminist commoning of care in collaborative housing. This is especially regrettable since this topic came up in our data collection multiple times, for instance in interviews with residents who spoke about how homeownership impacts the performance of different types of care work or acts as a "filter" for prospective residents who are more inclined to participate in the everyday care work of the collaborative housing project that they are "buying into". Residents renting their homes in projects built and owned by national housing associations spoke about difficulties that came with the changes in regulation, rent increases, or conflicts about maintenance work. Currently, there is little

research that explores tenure forms in the context of collaborative housing. The existing work focuses mostly on tenure as a means to categorise different types of projects (Griffith et al., 2024), or on how tenure impacts affordability of collaborative housing projects (Jakobsen & Larsen, 2019; Larsen, 2019), which is certainly important in order to generate knowledge on how collaborative housing can be made more accessible and inclusive. In future research, however, we would like to explore how different forms of tenure impact care, beyond a focus on typologies, affordability, or collective versus private ownership. Instead, we call for a careful examination of the conflicts, struggles, and negotiations that arise through structural factors like state housing laws, municipal zoning, and norms and rules of cooperative ownership, for instance.

Lastly, one major "blind spot" of our work is its sole focus on types of care work that are performed for humans and by humans. This leaves out a whole array of more-than-human actors present in the context of collaborative housing projects and negates the agency of these actors. Failing to look beyond humans as givers and receivers of care also means failing to acknowledge how more-than-human actors are an essential part of a vast ecosystem of care that humans rely on, but also deplete through their activities. Therefore, a better integration of more-than-human perspectives in discussions of care and commoning is necessary in future research. Considering animals and plants, but also materials, designs, and spaces as actants that make collaborative housing an "infrastructure of care" (Power & Mee, 2020) might provide useful insights that promote feminist commoning for all, beyond an anthropocentric perspective.

Conclusion

Caring is recognised in collaborative housing as an important and valuable activity for its community-sustaining and joy-inducing aspects. At the same time, forms of caring that entail physical or practical work are more visible and valued than intangible emotional work, and conflicts around what constitutes adequate or legitimate contributions are endemic. We introduce the idea of care-full neglect to identify practices and strategies that residents employ to navigate their own caring needs and those of the community, as well as conflicts that arise in this context. In collaborative housing projects, a redistribution of care takes place to a certain extent, as the single-family household is no longer the exclusive nucleus of care. Many forms of caring are shifted to the community level, and in this process, distributed among a broader number of people. However, outsourcing care remains a common practice within nuclear family homes in collaborative housing communities, creating a moral double standard that condemns outsourcing practices in the context of community care work, but permits them in the pre-supposed privacy of residents' homes. Sharing care in the community entails processes of open communication and deliberation, challenging the enclosure and privacy of care in the individual home, although the outcome of this deliberation is not gender-equitable by default, and reflects varying power dynamics and hierarchies. Inward-looking tendencies prevail in collaborative housing projects, limiting the extent to which they can become a source of care for their neighbourhood. Simultaneously, engagement in political struggles and even small acts of neighbourhood solidarity may help extend the benefits of feminist commoning beyond the boundaries of the project. We also identify a risk of neoliberal co-optation in collaborative housing projects, which may pose a risk for the further development of feminist commoning practices in these communities by replacing bottom-up community processes through which care is performed and organised with top-down ones that replicate the neoliberal undervaluing and decentring of care.

Thus, this thesis contributes to a growing body of work which sees collaborative housing as a plausible site for the feminist commoning of care as a pathway to decommodifying and collectively revaluing care work, in opposition to the imperatives of neoliberal global capitalism. Our research specifically aimed to address the question of how care work is distributed, performed, and experienced by participants of collaborative housing projects, and in which ways it might reflect the

principles of feminist commoning. Through our work, we help shed light on some of the tensions, conflicts, and ambivalences that arise in this process, given the existence of collaborative housing projects within a capitalist and hetero-patriarchal reality that is hard to shake. We find that feminist commoning and a gender-equitable distribution of care are not built into collaborative housing communities by virtue of their design, or an automatic "byproduct" of living in close proximity, but is largely concomitant to the effort of residents to share care and define what "good" care means, both within their community and beyond. Our participants overwhelmingly stressed the fact that they love living in collaborative housing. In fact, Jan says: "I like to live here. I will live here until I'm carried out." Residents' commitment to creating an alternative way of living together, relating to each other, and caring for one another means that the conflicts and tensions inherent to such projects, and the challenges to the budding feminist care commons that grow within them, can be addressed and worked through: "the good news," Louise tells us, "is that there's so much discussion and human capacity to find solutions."

The insights we generate in this thesis speak to broader feminist goals and the imperative to create more caring ways of existence through alternative housing futures. Learning about, and hereby helping cultivate practices of feminist commoning in collaborative housing, and the new spaces and relationships that this allows to flourish, is still more like watering a flower in the crack of the pavement, rather than tearing up the whole street. However, by acting as "islands of post-capitalist commons" (Chatterton, 2016), collaborative housing projects prefigure a different pathway than what dominant neoliberal narratives offer in terms of what housing and care can look like. For this alternative to succeed, it is vital to build up the potential of collaborative housing projects to act as a space for the feminist commoning of care, strengthen the place of intersectional feminist concerns within them, and make this form of housing more widely accessible. We remain optimistic about the potential of collaborative housing to be a site of feminist commoning, and we see its mushrooming across cities worldwide as the possible spark of a radical transformation of care and of housing that should be nurtured and amplified.

Bibliography

Aalbers, M. B. (2016). The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis. In *The Financialization of Housing* (1 ed., pp. 40-63). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315668666-3

Aalbers, M. B., & Christophers, B. (2014). Centring housing in political economy. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 31(4), 373-394.

Abel, E. K., & Nelson, M. K. (1990). *Circles of care : work and identity in women's lives*. State University of New York Press.

Acred, C. (2013). *The housing crisis*. Independence.

Ahedo, M., Hoekstra, J., & Etxezarreta, A. (2023). Socially oriented cooperative housing as alternative to housing speculation. Public policies and societal dynamics in Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain. *Review of Social Economy*, 81(4), 622-643.

Alatas, S. F. (2022). Knowledge hegemonies and autonomous knowledge. *Third World Quarterly*, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2022.2124155

Andersen, M. A., & Lyhne, M. B. (2022). Co-creating Danish cohousing. *Arq (London, England)*, 26(2), 197-208. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135522000355

Angioni, M., & Musso, F. (2020). New perspectives from technology adoption in senior cohousing facilities. *TQM journal*, 32, 777. https://doi.org/10.1108/TQM-10-2019-0250

Anna Meera, G. (2024). *Affective Evictions : A Cultural Analysis of Contemporary Danish Housing Politics*.

Ansell, N. (2009). Producing interventions for AIDS-affected young people in Lesotho's schools: Scalar relations and power differentials. *Geoforum*, 40(4), 675-685. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.05.004

Arbaci, S. (2018). *Paradoxes of segregation : housing systems, welfare regimes and ethnic residential change in southern European cities*. John Wiley & Sons. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781118867365

Arbaci, S., Bricocoli, M., & Salento, A. (2021). The value of the city. Rent extraction, right to housing and conflicts for the use of urban space. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, 14(2), 774-787. https://doi.org/10.1285/i20356609v14i2p774

Arbell, Y. (2016). A Review of "The re-emergence of cohousing in Europe", Edited by Lidewij Tummers. *International journal of housing policy*, 16(4), 561-564. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2016.1228247

Arbell, Y. (2022). Beyond Affordability: English Cohousing Communities as White Middle-Class Spaces. *Housing, theory, and society*, 39, 463. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2021.1998217

Arcidiacono, F., & Pontecorvo, C. (2019). On Materiality: Home Spaces and Objects as Expanding Elements of Everyday Experiences. *Forum, qualitative social research*, 20(3). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-20.3.3165

Atkinson, S., Lawson, V., & Wiles, J. (2011). Care of the body: spaces of practice. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(6), 563-572. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.601238

Bakker, P. (2009). Co-housing in The Netherlands. *Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.gemeenschappelijkwonen.nl/teksten/Cohousing%20in%20the%20Netherlands%20-%20as%20presentated%20at%20the%20Summit.pdf

Barker, D. K. (2012). Querying the Paradox of Caring Labor. *Rethinking Marxism*, 24(4), 574-591. https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2012.711065

Basile, P., & Reyes, A. (2024). Contesting housing commodification and financialization through bridging: Experiences from Mexico and Brazil. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 0(0), 23996544241262170. https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544241262170

Bass, L. (2012). When care trumps justice: the operationalization of Black feminist caring in educational leadership. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 25(1), 73-87. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2011.647721

Batnitzky, A., & McDowell, L. (2011). Migration, nursing, institutional discrimination and emotional/affective labour: ethnicity and labour stratification in the UK National Health Service. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(2), 181-201. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.545142

Baumgartner, A. D. (2019). Zwischen Autonomie und Autarkie: Gemeinschaftliches Wohnen als sozialintegratives Potenzial. In A. D. Baumgartner & B. Fux (Eds.), *Sozialstaat unter Zugzwang?: Zwischen Reform und radikaler Neuorientierung*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Beck, A. F. (2020). What Is Co-Housing? Developing a Conceptual Framework from the Studies of Danish Intergenerational Co-Housing. *Housing, theory, and society*, 37(1), 40-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2019.1633398

Bengtsson, B., & Jensen, L. (2020). Unitary housing regimes in transition - comparing Denmark and Sweden from a perspective of path dependence and change: In: Jani Erola (ed.) Norms, moral and social structures. Essays in honour of Hannu Ruonavaara. In.

Bergan, T. L., & Power, E. R. (2024). Microgeographies of assetisation: Realising value of households and residents in co-living housing. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 56(5), 1385-1400. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X241233102

Beurthey, R., & Costes, L. (2018). Habitat participatif, Habitat groupé: Vers une ouverture à la diversité sociale ? *L'Homme et la société*, 293.

Bianchi, F., & Costa, G. (2024). Living together as a solidarity and generative practice: the case of co-housing and organized cohabitations. *International review of sociology*. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2024.2316509

Binet, A., Houston-Read, R., Gavin, V., Baty, C., Abreu, D., Genty, J., Tulloch, A., Reid, A., & Arcaya, M. (2023). The Urban Infrastructure of Care. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 89(3), 282-294. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2022.2099955

Blair-Loy, M., Hochschild, A., Pugh, A. J., Williams, J. C., & Hartmann, H. (2015). Stability and transformation in gender, work, and family: Insights from the second shift for the next quarter century. *Community, Work & Family*, 18(4), 435-454.

Blomley, N. (2007). Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges. *Rural History*, 18(1), 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956793306001993

Bobek, A., Mikuš, M., & Sokol, M. (2023). Making sense of the financialization of households: state of the art and beyond. *Socio-Economic Review*, 21(4), 2233-2258. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwad029

Boelhouwer, P., & Priemus, H. (2014). Demise of the Dutch social housing tradition: impact of budget cuts and political changes. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 29(2), 221-235.

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + Lesbian + Woman # Black Lesbian Woman : The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research: Intersectionality of Social Identities: A Gender Perspective. *Sex roles*, 59, 325.

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism". *Antipode*, 34(3), 349-379. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00246

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2009). Cities for people, not for profit. *City*, 13(2-3), 176-184.

Brenton, M. (2013). *Senior cohousing communities–an alternative approach for the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Bresnihan, P., & Byrne, M. (2015). Escape into the City: Everyday Practices of Commoning and the Production of Urban Space in Dublin. *Antipode*, 47(1), 36-54. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12105

Bresson, S. (2016). L'habitat participatif en France: Une alternative sociale à la «crise»? *Les Cahiers de Cost*(5), 107-119.

Bresson, S., & Labit, A. (2020). How does collaborative housing address the issue of social inclusion? A French perspective. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 37(1), 118-138.

Bretherton, J. (2017). Reconsidering gender in homelessness. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 11(1).

Brickell, K., Fernández Arrigoitia, M., & Vasudevan, A. (2017). *Geographies of forced eviction : dispossession, violence, resistance* (1st 2017. ed.). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51127-0

Brown, N., & Collins, J. (2021). Systematic Visuo-Textual Analysis: A Framework for Analysing Visual and Textual Data. *The Qualitative Report*, *26*(4), 1275-1291. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.4838

Brunori, F., & Musso, V. (2023). Towards a shared re-signification of space: the ethics of care in feminist commoning. *Scienze del territorio*, 11(2), 101-109. https://doi.org/10.36253/sdt-14901

Bryant, J. (2015). The meaning of queer home: between metaphor and material. *Home Cultures*, 12(3), 261-289.

Buckle, N., O'Neill, A., Sweeney, A., McNulty, S., Bracken, S., Awan, A., Sinnott, S., Gibbs, L., Larkin, P., Kroll, T., & Somanadhan, S. (2024). The use of art as a creative research method to understand psychosocial care needs for children with rare diseases. *Therapeutic advances in rare disease*, *5*. https://doi.org/10.1177/26330040241265449

Bukamal, H. (2022). Deconstructing insider–outsider researcher positionality. *British journal of special education*, 49(3), 327-349

Butler, J. (1997). *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection*. Stanford University Press.

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203499627

Caffentzis, G., & Federici, S. (2014). Commons against and beyond capitalism. *Community development journal*, 49, i105. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsu006

Calder, G. (2015). Caring about Deliberation, Deliberating about Care. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 9(2), 130-146. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2015.1005554

Carrere, J., Reyes, A., Oliveras, L., Fernández, A., Peralta, A., Novoa, A. M., Pérez, K., & Borrell, C. (2020). The effects of cohousing model on people's health and wellbeing: A scoping review. *Public Health Rev*, 41, 28. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-020-00138-1

Celata, F., & Romano, A. (2022). Overtourism and online short-term rental platforms in Italian cities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 30(5), 1020-1039. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1788568

Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek [CBS] (2022). Steeds minder gereguleerde huurwoningen beschikbaar. *CBS*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2022/42/steeds-minder-gereguleerde-huurwoningen-beschikbaar

Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek [CBS] (2024a). Voorraad woningen; eigendom, type verhuurder, bewoning, regio. *CBS*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/cijfers/detail/82900NED

Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek [CBS] (2024b). Housing costs in the Netherlands higher than in most EU countries. *CBS*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2024/22/housing-costs-in-the-netherlands-higher-than-in-most-eu-countries

Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek [CBS] (2025). Share of income spent on housing fell between 2018 and 2023. *CBS*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2025/23/share-of-income-spent-on-housing-fell-between-2018-and-2023

Chakravarti, U. (2008). Burden of Caring: Families of the Disabled in Urban India. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(2), 341-363. https://doi.org/10.1177/097152150801500207

Chatterton, P. (2010). Seeking the urban common: Furthering the debate on spatial justice. *City*, 14(6), 625-628. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2010.525304

Chatterton, P. (2013). Towards an Agenda for Post-carbon Cities: Lessons from Lilac, the UK's First Ecological, Affordable Cohousing Community. *Internation Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37, 1674. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12009

Chatterton, P. (2016). Building transitions to post-capitalist urban commons. *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers (1965)*, 41(4), 403-415. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12139

Chiodelli, F. (2015). What is really different between cohousing and gated communities? *European planning studies*, 23, 2581. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2015.1096915

Clapham, D. (2009). Introduction to the special issue–a theory of housing: problems and potential. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26(1), 1-9.

Clapham, D. (2018). Housing theory, housing research and housing policy. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 35(2), 163-177.

Clement, F., Harcourt, W. J., Joshi, D., & Sato, C. (2019). Feminist political ecologies of the commons and commoning. *International journal of the commons*, 13, 15. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.972

Cloutier, D. S., Martin-Matthews, A., Byrne, K., & Wolse, F. (2015). The space between: using 'relational ethics' and 'relational space' to explore relationship-building between care providers and care recipients in the home space. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 16(7), 764-782. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2015.1020336

Cole, I., & Furbey, R. (1994). *The Eclipse of Council Housing*. Routledge. https://books.google.dk/books?id=adk9AAAAIAAJ

Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41, 20. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142

Collins, P. H., da Silva, E. C. G., Ergun, E., Furseth, I., Bond, K. D., & Martínez-Palacios, J. (2021). Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory: Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory, Patricia Hill Collins, Duke University Press, 2019. *Contemporary political theory*, 20, 725. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-021-00490-0

Comojo Soto, M. (2021). *Emancipating female-headed households from the domestic sphere: Learnings and challenges from collaborative housing experiences in Madrid and Barcelona*. Erasmus Mundus Master´s Degree in Urban Studies (4Cities)].

Conradson, D. (2003). Geographies of care: spaces, practices, experiences. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4(4), 451-454. https://doi.org/10.1080/1464936032000137894

Cooper, D. (2007). `Well, you go there to get off':Visiting feminist care ethics through a women's bathhouse. *Feminist Theory*, 8(3), 243-262. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700107082364

Cooper, D. (2009). Caring for Sex and the Power of Attentive Action: Governance, Drama, and Conflict in Building a Queer Feminist Bathhouse. *Signs*, 35(1), 105-130. https://doi.org/10.1086/599255

Cooper, M. (2017). *Family values: Between neoliberalism and the new social conservatism*.

Cooplink (n.d.). Varianten wooncoöperaties. *Cooplink*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://www.cooplink.nl/kennisbank/varianten-wooncooperaties

Cortés-Urra, V., Ersoy, A., Czischke, D., & Gruis, V. (2024). The potential of collaborative housing to tackle the social deficit of housing: the Chilean case. *Journal of housing and the built environment*, 39(2), 697-725. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-023-10094-2

Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. Minneapolis: Minnesota.

Courbebaisse, A., & Salembier, C. (2022). L'espace au prisme de l'éthique du care / Housing through the lens of care: Entretien avec Joan Tronto / An interview with Joan Tronto. *Cahiers de la recherche architecturale, urbaine et paysagère*. https://doi.org/10.4000/craup.9523

Cox, R. (2010). Some problems and possibilities of caring. *Ethics, place and environment*, 13(2), 113-130. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668791003778800

Crenshaw, K. W. (2013). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 93-118). Routledge.

Czischke, D. (2018). Collaborative housing and housing providers: towards an analytical framework of multi-stakeholder collaboration in housing co-production. *International journal of housing policy*, 18, 81. https://doi.org/10.1080/19491247.2017.1331593

Czischke, D., & Huisman, C. J. (2018). Integration through collaborative housing? Dutch starters and refugees forming self-managing communities in Amsterdam. *Urban Planning*, 3(4), 156-165.

Czischke, D., Carriou, C., & Lang, R. (2020). Collaborative Housing in Europe: Conceptualizing the Field. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 37(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2020.1703611

Czischke, D., Peute, M., & Brysch, S. (2023). *Together: Towards Collaborative Living*. TU Delft OPEN Publishing. https://doi.org/10.59490/mg.80

Daly, M. (2017). Quantifying the environmental impact of ecovillages and co-housing communities: a systematic literature review. *Local environment*, 22, 1377. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2017.1348342

De Angelis, M. (2013). Does capital need a commons fix? *Ephemera*, 13(3), 603.

De Jorge-Huertas, V., & De Jorge-Moreno, J. (2024). Typology and Interiority of Cohousing in Europe 1981–2021. *Interiority*, 7(1). https://doi.org/10.7454/in.v7i1.317

De Vos, E., & Spoormans, L. (2022). Collective housing in Belgium and the Netherlands: A comparative analysis. *Urban Planning*, 7(1), 336-348.

De Warren (n.d.). Wooncoöperaties Juridische Vorm. *De Warren*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://dewarren.co/faq-wooncooperaties-juridische

DeFilippis, J., Williams, O. R., Pierce, J., Martin, D. G., Kruger, R., & Esfahani, A. H. (2019). On the Transformative Potential of Community Land Trusts in the United States. *Antipode*, 51, 817. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12509

Dengler, C., & Lang, M. (2022). Commoning Care: Feminist Degrowth Visions for a Socio-Ecological Transformation. *Feminist economics*, 28, 28. https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2021.1942511

Devlin, P., Douglas, R., & Reynolds, T. (2015). Collaborative design of older women's CoHousing. *Working with Older People*, 19(4), 188-194.

Dowling, R. (1998). Gender, class and home ownership: placing the connections. *Housing studies*, 13(4), 471-486.

Droste, C. (2015). German co-housing: an opportunity for municipalities to foster socially inclusive urban development? *Urban research & practice*, 8(1), 79-92.

Durbin, S., Page, M., & Walby, S. (2017). Gender equality and 'austerity': Vulnerabilities, resistance and change. In (Vol. 24, pp. 1-6).

Easthope, H. (2004). A place called home. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 21(3), 128-138. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036090410021360

Ecker, J. (2016). Queer, young, and homeless: A review of the literature. *Child & Youth Services*, 37(4), 325-361.

Eisenstein, H. (2015). *Feminism seduced: How global elites use women's labor and ideas to exploit the world*. Routledge.

Engels, F. (2005). The condition of the working class in England. In *The sociology and politics of health* (pp. 22-27). Routledge.

Engels, F., & Dutt, C. P. (1935). *The housing question* (Vol. 23). International Publishers New York.

Epting, S. (2018). Cohousing, environmental justice, and urban sustainability. *Environmental ethics*, 40, 151. https://doi.org/10.5840/enviroethics201840214

Ergas, C. (2010). A Model of Sustainable Living: Collective Identity in an Urban Ecovillage. *Organization & environment*, 23, 54. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026609360324

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Polity.

Euler, J. (2018). Conceptualizing the Commons: Moving Beyond the Goods-based Definition by Introducing the Social Practices of Commoning as Vital Determinant. *Ecological economics*, 143, 16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2017.06.020

Farris, S. R. (2012). Femonationalism and the" regular" army of labor called migrant women. *History of the Present*, 2(2), 184-199.

Federici, S. (2010). Feminism and the Politics of the Commons. In T. C. Collective (Ed.), *Uses of a Whirlwind* (pp. 379-390). AK Press.

Federici, S. (2019). *Re-enchanting the world : feminism and the politics of the commons*. PM Press. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&AN=1894652

Federici, S. (2020). *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (1 ed.). PM Press.

Fernández Arrigoitia, M., Ferreri, M., Hudson, J., Scanlon, K., & West, K. (2023). Toward a feminist housing commons? Conceptualising care - (as) - work in collaborative housing. *Housing, theory, and society*, 40, 678. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2023.2247414

Ferreri, M., & Vidal, L. (2022). Public-cooperative policy mechanisms for housing commons. *International journal of housing policy*, 22(2), 149-173.

Fisher, B., & Tronto, J. (1990). Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring. In E. K. Abel & M. K. Nelson (Eds.), *Circles of care: work and identity in women's lives*. State University of New York Press.

Foster, J. B., Clark, B., & Holleman, H. (2021). Marx and the Commons. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 88(1), 1-30.

Foucault, M. (1979). Governmentality. *I&C. Ideology and conciousness*, 6, 5-21.

Fraser, B., Pierse, N., Chisholm, E., & Cook, H. (2019). LGBTIQ+ homelessness: A review of the literature. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 16(15), 2677.

Fraser, N. (2016). Contradictions of capital and care. *New Left review*, 100, 117.

Fraser, N. (2017). Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history. In *Citizenship rights* (pp. 393-413). Routledge.

Fraser, N. (2023). *Cannibal Capitalism: How our System is Devouring Democracy, Care, and the Planet and What We Can Do About It*. Verso Books.

Freire, P. (1992). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the oppressed* (2021 ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350190238

Fromm, D. (2000). INTRODUCTION TO THE COHOUSING ISSUE. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 17(2), 91-93. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/43030529

Fromm, D. (2012). Seeding Community: Collaborative Housing as a Strategy for Social and Neighbourhood Repair. *Built Environment (1978-)*, 38(3), 364-394. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/23290269

Fromm, D., & de Jong, E. (2009). Community and health: Immigrant senior cohousing in the Netherlands. *Communities*(145), 50.

Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The qualitative report : an online journal dedicated to qualitative research since 1990.*, *20*(9), 1408-1416. https://doi.org/info:doi/

Gabriel, M. (2008). Savvy investors and domestic goddesses? New challenges for feminist housing research. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 25(3), 191-201.

García López, G. A., Velicu, I., & D'Alisa, G. (2017). Performing counter-hegemonic common (s) senses: Rearticulating democracy, community and forests in Puerto Rico. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 28(3), 88-107.

Garciano, J. L. (2011). Affordable Cohousing: Challenges and Opportunities for Supportive Relational Networks in Mixed-Income Housing. *Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law*, 20, 192.

Gerritsma, F. (2022). De kracht van het collectief - Wooncoöperaties in Amsterdam. *Arcam - Amsterdam Architecture Centre*. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://openresearch.amsterdam/nl/page/88723/de-kracht-van-het-collectief---woonco%C3%B6peraties-in-amsterdam

Ghodsee, K. R. (2023). *Everyday Utopia: What 2,000 Years of Wild Experiments Can Teach Us About the Good Life*. Simon & Schuster. https://books.google.se/books?id=Sx-UEAAAQBAJ

Gibson-Graham, J. K., Cameron, J., Healy, S., Howell, P., & Amin, A. (2016). Commoning as a postcapitalist politics. In (1 ed., pp. 192-212). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315673172-12

Gieryn, T. F. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 463-496.

Giuliani, M. V. (1991). Towards an analysis of mental representations of attachment to the home. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 133-146.

Graham, S., & Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition* (1 ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203452202

Granath Hansson, A., Sørensen, J., Nordahl, B. I., & Tophøj Sørensen, M. (2025). Contrasting inclusionary housing initiatives in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: how the past shapes the present. *Housing studies*, 40(4), 892-913. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2024.2323607

Greyson, D., O'Brien, H., & Shankar, S. (2020). Visual analysis of information world maps: An exploration of four methods. *Journal of information science*, *46*(3), 361-377. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165551519837174

Griffith, E. J., Jepma, M., & Savini, F. (2024). Beyond collective property: a typology of collaborative housing in Europe. *International journal of housing policy*, 24(1), 121-141. https://doi.org/10.1080/19491247.2022.2123272

Gruis, V. (2019). Reflections on the European Social Housing Model and Opportunities for Collaborative Housing from a Dutch Perspective. *Research in Urbanism Series*, 5, 27-38.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How Many Interviews Are Enough?: An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Field Methods*, *18*(1), 59-82. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903

Guironnet, A., & Halbert, L. (2018). Manufacturing cities for financial markets. *Espaces et sociétés*, No 174(3), 17-34. https://shs.cairn.info/article/E_ESP_174_0017?lang=en

Gurney, C. (2000). Home: Towards a more affective understanding of home. Proceedings of culture and space in built environments: Critical directions/new paradigms, 33-39.

Hacke, U., Müller, K., & Dütschke, E. (2019). Cohousing - social impacts and major implementation challenges. *Gaia (Heidelberg, Germany)*, 28, 239. https://doi.org/10.14512/gaia.28.S1.10

Hanes, D. W. (2017). Left Out/Left Behind: On Care Theory's Other. *Hypatia*, 32(3), 523-539. https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12336

Hankivsky, O. (2014). Rethinking Care Ethics: On the Promise and Potential of an Intersectional Analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 108(2), 252-264. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000094

Hardin, G. (1968). The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science*, 162(3859), 1243-1248. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1724745

Harvey, D. (1974). Class-monopoly rent, finance capital and the urban revolution. *Regional studies*, 8(3-4), 239-255.

Harvey, D. (1981). THE SPATIAL FIX - HEGEL, VON THUNEN, AND MARX. *Antipode*, 13(3), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1981.tb00312.x

Harvey, D. (1985). *The Urbanization Of Capital: Studies In The History And Theory Of Capitalist Urbanization* (Vol. 15, pp. 115). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature and the geography of difference*. Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2002). The art of rent: globalisation, monopoly and the commodification of culture. *Socialist register*, 38.

Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610, 22-44. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/25097888

Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*. Verso.

Harvey, D., & Potter, C. (2009). The right to the Just City. In J. C. Peter Marcuse, Johannes Novy, Ingrid Olivo, Cuz Potter, and Justin Steil, (Ed.), *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice* (pp. 60-71). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203878835-11

Hayden, D. (1979). *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975*. MIT Press. https://books.google.dk/books?id=Jfm1AQAACAAJ

Hayden, D. (1980). What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work. *Signs*, 5(3), S170-S187. http://www-jstor-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/stable/3173814

Hayden, D. (1982). *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs For American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. MIT Press. https://books.google.dk/books?id=AQRjNcrk1hsC

Haylett, C. (2003). Class, Care, and Welfare Reform: Reading Meanings, Talking Feelings. *Environment and planning. A*, 35(5), 799-814. https://doi.org/10.1068/a35120

Helamaa, A. (2019). From marginal to mainstream? Analysing translations between the collaborative housing niche and the established housing sector in Finland. *Built Environment*, 45(3), 364-381.

Hick, R., & Stephens, M. (2023). Housing, the welfare state and poverty: On the financialization of housing and the dependent variable problem. *Housing, theory, and society*, 40(1), 78-95. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2022.2095438

Hilbrandt, H., & Ren, J. (2022). Refracting Eurocentrism, operationalizing complicity: The Swiss Sonderfall as a vantage point. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 40(4), 589-606. https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758221107671

Hochschild, A. R. (2015). Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In *Justice, politics, and the family* (pp. 249-261). Routledge.

Hochstenbach, C. (2022). Landlord elites on the Dutch housing market: Private landlordism, class, and social inequality. *Economic Geography*, 98(4), 327-354.

Holmes, A. G. D. (2020). Researcher Positionality-A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research-A New Researcher Guide. *Shanlax International Journal of Education, 8*(4), 1-10

hooks, b. (2014). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*.

Horlitz, S. (2013). Movements and initiatives to decommodify housing. International RC 21 Conference, Resourceful Cities, Berlin, https://ubdata.univie.ac.at/AC15730083

Hurlin, L. (2018). Mietshäuser Syndikat: Collective ownership, the 'housing question'and degrowth. In *Housing for Degrowth* (pp. 233-243). Routledge.

Jakobsen, P., & Larsen, H. G. (2019). An alternative for whom? The evolution and socio-economy of Danish cohousing. *Urban research & practice*, 12, 430. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2018.1465582

Jarvis, H. (2013). Against the 'tyranny' of single-family dwelling: insights from Christiania at 40. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 20(8), 939-959. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2012.753583

Jarvis, H. (2017). Pragmatic Utopias: Intentional gender-democratic and sustainable communities. In S. MacGregor (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment* (1 ed., pp. 446). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315886572-30

Jensen, J. O., Stender, M., Andersen, H. S., Beck, A. F., Madsen, R., & Nielsen-Englyst, C. (2022). *Kortlægning og analyse af bofællesskaber i Danmark*.

Jobse, R. B., & Musterd, S. (1994). *De stad in het informatietijdperk*. Assen: Van Gorcum

Jolivet, V., & Alba-Carmichael, M. (2021). Reinvesting in Havana: Housing Commodification and Gentrification in the Central Neighbourhoods of a Socialist City in the Global South. *The international journal of Cuban studies*, 13(2), 248-274. https://doi.org/10.13169/INTEJCUBASTUD.13.2.0248

Kærgård, N. (2024). The Danish Economy, 1973–2009: From National Welfare State to International Market Economy. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 49(2), 241-265. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2023.2268084

Kavada, A. (2023). Project Democracy in Protest Camps: Caring, the Commons and Feminist Democratic Theory. In C. Eschle & A. Bartlett (Eds.), *Feminism and Protest Camps: Entanglements, Critiques and Re-Imaginings* (pp. 176-194). Bristol University Press. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.46692/9781529220193.010

Kemeny, J. (2001). Comparative housing and welfare: Theorising the relationship. *Journal of housing and the built environment*, 16, 70. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011526416064

Kemeny, J. (2006). Corporatism and Housing Regimes. *Housing, theory, and society*, 23, 18. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036090500375423

Kemeny, J. (2013). *Housing and social theory*. Routledge.

Kentlyn, S. (2008). The radically subversive space of the queer home:'Safety house'and 'neighbourhood watch'. *Australian Geographer*, 39(3), 327-337.

Kern, L. (2020). *Feminist city: Claiming space in a man-made world*. Verso Books.

Kidd, D. (2020). Standing rock and the Indigenous commons. *Popular Communication*, 18(3), 233-247

King, P. (2009). Using theory or making theory: Can there be theories of housing? *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26(1), 41-52.

Køber, J. V., & Olsen, N. (2023). Privatizing the welfare state: Danish libertarianism from the 1980s to the 2000s. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 28(3), 355-372. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2023.2249646

Kodenko Kubala, P., Malý Blažek, J., Orcígr, V., Hoření Samec, T., Káňová, M., Tichý, D., & Kubcová, J. (2023). Traces of Obduracy: Imaginaries of 'Social Inertia' in the Process of Introducing Collaborative Housing in the Czech Republic. *Critical Housing Analysis*, 10(1), 39-49. https://doi.org/10.13060/23362839.2023.10.1.552

Korteweg, A. C. (2006). The construction of gendered citizenship at the welfare office: An ethnographic comparison of welfare-to-work workshops in the United States and the Netherlands. *Social Politics*, 13(3), 314-340.

Kremer, M. (2007). *How Welfare States Care: Culture, Gender and Parenting in Europe*. Amsterdam University Press. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/j.ctt46mvjz

Krokfors, K. (2012). Co-Housing in the Making. *Built Environment (1978-)*, 38(3), 308-314. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/23290265

Kruger, R., DeFilippis, J., Williams, O. R., Esfahani, A. H., Martin, D. G., & Pierce, J. (2020). The Production of Community in Community Land Trusts. *City & Community*, 19, 655. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12452

Kuri, E., & Schormans, A. F. (2022). Pivotal care practices: Care ethics in inclusive arts-based research with people labelled/with intellectual disability during the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Arts in psychotherapy*,*80*, 101920-101920. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2022.101920

Lang, R., Carriou, C., & Czischke, D. (2020). Collaborative Housing Research (1990–2017): A Systematic Review and Thematic Analysis of the Field. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 37(1), 10-39. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2018.1536077

Larsen, H. G. (2019). Three phases of Danish cohousing: tenure and the development of an alternative housing form. *Housing studies*, 34(8), 1349-1371. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2019.1569599

Larsen, H. G., & Lund Hansen, A. (2015). Commodifying danish housing commons. *Geografiska annaler. Series B, Human geography*, 97(3), 263-274. https://doi.org/10.1111/geob.12080

Laslett, B., & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15(1), 381-404.

Lawson, V. (2007). Geographies of Care and Responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 97(1), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2007.00520.x

Ledent, G., & Salembier, C. (2021). Co-Housing to Ease and Share Household Chores? Spatial Visibility and Collective Deliberation as Levers for Gender Equality. *Buildings*, 11(5), 189. https://www.mdpi.com/2075-5309/11/5/189

Lennon, A., & Berg, N. G. (2022). Alternative places for alternative people? A changing ecovillage discourse from Othered lifestyle to another rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 95, 302-315. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.09.024

Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European social policy*, 2(3), 159-173.

Lietaert, M. (2010). Cohousing's relevance to degrowth theories. *Journal of cleaner production*, 18(6), 576-580.

Linebaugh, P. (2008). *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (1 ed.). University of California Press.

Linebaugh, P. (2012) Enclosures from the bottom up. In D. Bollier and S. Helfrich, eds, *The Wealth of the Commons: A World Beyond Market and State*, Leveller Press, Amherst, MA, pp. 114–124.

Lowe, J. S., Prochaska, N., & Keating, W. D. (2022). Bringing permanent affordable housing and community control to scale: The potential of community land trust and land bank collaboration. *Cities*, 126. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103718

Lynch, K. (2021). *Care and capitalism*. John Wiley & Sons.

Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203402856

Madden, D., & Marcuse, P. (2016). *In Defense of Housing: The Politics of Crisis*. Verso Books. https://books.google.at/books?id=hBZPEAAAQBAJ

Madigan, R., Munro, M., & Smith, S. J. (1990). Gender and the meaning of the home. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, 14(4).

Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The sociological review*, 52(1), 62-89.

Marcus, C. C. (2000). Site Planning, Building Design and a Sense Of Community: An Analysis of Six Cohousing Schemes In Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 17(2), 146-163. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43030533

Marcuse, P., & Madden, D. (2016). *In Defense of Housing: The Politics of Crisis*. Verso Books. https://books.google.at/books?id=hBZPEAAAQBAJ

Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A., & Fontenot, R. (2013). Does Sample Size Matter in Qualitative Research?: A Review of Qualitative Interviews in is Research. *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, *54*(1), 11-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2013.11645667

Marocco, A. (2023). Housing with care: queer geographies and the right to the city of LGBTQ+ urban communities. The Co-housing Queerinale/Agapanto project (Rome). *Scienze del territorio*, 11(1), 88-99. https://doi.org/10.36253/sdt-14445

Massey, D. (1992). A place called home. *New formations*, 17(3), 3-15.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Polity Press.

Massey, D. (1995). The conceptualization of place. *A place in the world?: Places, cultures and globalization*, 45-85.

May, J., Cloke, P., & Johnsen, S. (2007). Alternative cartographies of homelessness: Rendering visible British women's experiences of 'visible'homelessness. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 14(2), 121-140.

Mayock, P., Sheridan, S., & Parker, S. (2012). *Migrant women and homelessness: The role of gender-based violence*.

McCamant, K., & Durrett, C. (1988). *Cohousing : a contemporary approach to housing ourselves*. Habitat Press.

McDowell, L. (1983). Towards an understanding of the gender division of urban space. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 1(1), 59-72.

McDowell, L. (1992). Doing Gender: Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography. *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers (1965)*, 17, 416. https://doi.org/10.2307/622707

McDowell, L. (2004). Work, workfare, work/life balance and an ethic of care. *Progress in human geography*, 28(2), 145-163.

McLean, H. (2021). Spaces for Feminist Commoning? Creative Social Enterprise's Enclosures and Possibilities. *Antipode*, 53(1), 242-259. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12684

Meehan, J. (2014). Reinventing Real Estate: The Community Land Trust as a Social Invention in Affordable Housing. *Journal of applied social science*, 8, 133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1936724413497480

Mies, M., & Bennholdt-Thomsen, V. (2001). Defending, reclaiming and reinventing the commons. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, 22(4), 997-1023.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and society*, 19(1), 1-31.

Milligan, C. (2000). 'Bearing the burden': towards a restructured geography of caring. *Area (London 1969)*, 32(1), 49-58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2000.tb00114.x

Moebus, K. (2022). "Matters of Care" in Spaces of Commoning: Designing In, Against and Beyond Capitalism. In G. Bruyns & S. Kousoulas (Eds.), *Design Commons: Practices, Processes and Crossovers* (pp. 239-258). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-95057-6_13

Monteagudo, G. (2019). Women Reclaim the Commons: A Conversation with Silvia Federici: Feminist labor theorist Silvia Federici on the need to challenge capitalist economics and social relations through "commoning"—and how it informs current debates around women's access to health and reproductive care. *NACLA report on the Americas (1993)*, 51, 261. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2019.1650505

Morrow, O., & Parker, B. (2020). Care, commoning and collectivity: from grand domestic revolution to urban transformation. *Urban geography*, 41, 624. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1785258

Mulder, K., Costanza, R., & Erickson, J. (2006). The contribution of built, human, social and natural capital to quality of life in intentional and unintentional communities. *Ecological economics*, 59, 23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2005.09.021

Musolino, M., Mostaccio, F., D'Aleo, E., & Nicita, A. (2023). Political Consumerism for the Energy Transition and Collaborative Housing: Two Experimental Cases in Italy. *Cultural analysis*, 21(2), 35.

Musterd, S. (2014). Public housing for whom? Experiences in an era of mature neo-liberalism: The Netherlands and Amsterdam. *Housing Studies*, 29(4), 467-484.

Musterd, S., & Ostendorf, W. (2023). Urban renewal policies in the Netherlands in an era of changing welfare regimes. *Urban Research & Practice*, 16(1), 92-108.

Narayan, U. (1995). Colonialism and Its Others: Considerations On Rights and Care Discourses. *Hypatia*, 10(2), 133-140. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1995.tb01375.x

Nethercote, M. (2022). Racialized geographies of home: Property, unhoming and other possible futures. *Progress in human geography*, 46(4), 935-959. https://doi.org/10.1177/03091325221104480

Nguyen, D. H. (2023). The Political Economy of Heteronormativity. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 55(1), 112-131. https://doi.org/10.1177/04866134211011269

Nightingale, A. J. (2019). Commoning for inclusion? commons, exclusion, property and socio-natural becomings. *International journal of the commons*. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.927

Noterman, E. (2016). Beyond Tragedy: Differential Commoning in a Manufactured Housing Cooperative. *Antipode*, 48(2), 433-452. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12182

Oakley, A. (1974). *The Sociology of Housework*, London: Martin Robertson.(1981)'Interviewing women. A contradiction in terms?'. *Doing Feminist Research*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Olin, C. V., Berghan, J., Thompson-Fawcett, M., Ivory, V., Witten, K., Howden-Chapman, P., Duncan, S., Ka'ai, T., Yates, A., O'Sullivan, K. C., Keall, M., Ombler, J., & Hinckson, E. (2022). Inclusive and collective urban home spaces: The future of housing in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Wellbeing, Space and Society*, 3, 100080. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2022.100080

Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states. *American sociological review*, 303-328.

Ostrom, E. (1994). *Governing the commons. The evolution of institutions for collective action* (1 ed.). Cambridge University. Press.

Parr, J. (1990). *The gender of breadwinners: Women, men, and change in two industrial towns, 1880-1950*. University of Toronto Press.

Pattillo, M. (2013). Housing: Commodity versus right. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39(1), 509-531.

Peake, L. (2024). *Doing Feminist Urban Research : Insights from the GenUrb Project*. Routledge.

Peck, J. (2001). *Workfare states*. The Guilford Press.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2001). Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer. *Political Geography*, 20(4), 427-460.

Peck, J., Theodore, N., & Brenner, N. (2009). Neoliberal Urbanism: Models, Moments, Mutations. *SAIS review (Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies)*, 29(1), 49-66. https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.0.0028

Pellandini-Simányi, L., Hammer, F., & Vargha, Z. (2015). The Financialization of Everyday life or the Domestication of Finance?: How mortgages engage with borrowers' temporal horizons, relationships and rationality in Hungary. *Cultural studies (London, England)*, 29(5-6), 733-759. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2015.1017142

Pleace, N., Fitzpatrick, S., Johnsen, S., Quilgars, D. J., & Sanderson, D. (2008). *Statutory Homelessness in England: The experience of families and 16-17 year olds*.

Polanco, M., Hanson, N. D., Hernández, C., Feber, T. L., Medina, S., Bucher, S. O., Rivera, E. I., Rodriguez, I., Vela, E., Velasco, B., & Feber, J. L. (2020). How to Be Unfaithful to Eurocentrism: A Spanglish1 Decolonial Critique to Knowledge Gentrification, Captivity and Storycide in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative report*, 25(1), 145-165.

Potts, D. (2020). *Broken cities: inside the global housing crisis*. Zed Books. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350218789

Power, E. R., & Mee, K. J. (2020). Housing: an infrastructure of care. *Housing studies*, 35(3), 484-505. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2019.1612038

Priemus, H., & Gruis, V. (2011). Social housing and illegal state aid: The agreement between European commission and Dutch government. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 11(1), 89–104. doi:10.1080/14616718.2011.548588

Puplampu, V., Matthews, E., Puplampu, G., Gross, M., Pathak, S., & Peters, S. (2020). The Impact of Cohousing on Older Adults' Quality of Life. *Can. J. Aging*, 39, 420. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980819000448

Raghuram, P. (2019). Race and feminist care ethics: intersectionality as method. *Gender, place and culture : a journal of feminist geography*, 26, 637. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1567471

Rolnik, R. (2013). Late Neoliberalism: The Financialization of Homeownership and Housing Rights. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 37(3), 1058-1066. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12062

Romero, M., & Pérez, N. (2016). Conceptualizing the Foundation of Inequalities in Care Work. *The American behavioral scientist (Beverly Hills)*, 60, 188. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215607572

Ronald, R., Pauline, S., & and Donovan, K. (2024). The institutionalization of shared rental housing and commercial co-living. *Housing studies*, 39(9), 2300-2324. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2023.2176830

Rottenberg, C. (2014). The rise of neoliberal feminism. *Cultural studies*, 28(3), 418-437.

Roy, A. (2009). The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory. *Regional studies*, 43(6), 819-830. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400701809665

Roy, A. (2016). Who's Afraid of Postcolonial Theory? *International journal of urban and regional research*, 40(1), 200-209. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12274

Ruiu, M. L. (2014). Differences between Cohousing and Gated Communities. A Literature Review. *Sociol Inq*, 84, 335. https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12031

Ruonavaara, H. (2018). Theory of housing, from housing, about housing. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 35(2), 178-192.

Sager, T. (2018). Planning by intentional communities: An understudied form of activist planning. *Planning Theory*, 17, 471. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095217723381

Sager, T. (2024). Grassroots Urban Labs: Experimentation and Radical Planning in Alternative Microsocieties. *Nordic Journal of Urban Studies*, 4, 26. https://doi.org/10.18261/njus.4.1.3

Said, E. W. (1977). Orientalism. *The Georgia Review*, 31(1), 162-206.

Sainsbury, D. (2008). Gendering the welfare state. *Politics, Gender and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*, 94-112.

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3. edition. ed.). SAGE.

Sargisson, L. (2012). Second-Wave Cohousing: A Modern Utopia? *Utopian Studies*, 23, 56. https://doi.org/10.5325/utopianstudies.23.1.0028

Sato, C., & Alarcón, J. M. S. (2019). Toward a postcapitalist feminist political ecology's approach to the commons and commoning. *International Journal of the Commons*, 13(1), 36-61. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.933

Satsangi, M. (2013). Synthesizing feminist and critical realist approaches to housing studies. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 30(2), 193-207.

Saunders, P., & Williams, P. (1988). The constitution of the home: towards a research agenda. *Housing Studies*, 3(2), 81-93.

Schaff, G., Vanrie, J., Courtejoie, F., Elsen, C., & Petermans, A. (2023). Architecture and ageing: lessons learned from a cohousing project. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 38, 2371. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-023-10039-9

Schetsche, C., Jaume, L. C., Gago-Galvagno, L., & Elgier, A. M. (2021). Living in Cohousing Communities: Personality Traits and Trait Emotional Intelligence. *European Journal of Mental Health*, 16, 183. https://doi.org/10.5708/EJMH.16.2021.2.8

Schlichtman, J. J., & Patch, J. (2014). Gentrifier? Who, me? Interrogating the gentrifier in the mirror. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1491-1508.

Schneider, J. K., Lennon, M. C., & Saegert, S. (2023). Interrupting Inequality Through Community Land Trusts. *Housing Policy Debate*, 33, 1026. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2022.2055614

Schwenkel, C. (2022). Social housing and feminist commoning in urban Vietnam. *Focaal*, 2022(94), 20-37. https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2022.940102

Sevilla-Buitrago, A. (2015). Capitalist Formations of Enclosure: Space and the Extinction of the Commons: Capitalist Formations of Enclosure. *Antipode*, 47(4), 999-1020. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12143

Sørvoll, J., & Bengtsson, B. (2020). Mechanisms of Solidarity in Collaborative Housing - The Case of Co-operative Housing in Denmark 1980-2017. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 37(1), 65-81. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2018.1467341

Sørvoll, J., Listerborn, C., Sandberg, M. A., Grander, M., & Stephens, M. (2024). Housing and welfare in Sweden, Norway and the wider Nordic region. In (1 ed., pp. 88-106). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1201/9781003212690-9

Stapper, E., & Duyvendak, J. W. (2020). Good residents, bad residents: How participatory processes in urban redevelopment privilege entrepreneurial citizens. *Cities*, 107, 102898.

Suckow, C. (2002). Baugemeinschaften in Berlin. Wohnwünsche, Haushaltseinkommen und Finanzierung, Haushalts-und Sozialstruktur. *Projekte*, 2008.

Sullivan-Catlin, H. (2014). Feeding the Communal Family: "Family Time" and the Division of Household Labor in Cohousing. *Michigan Family Review*, 18. https://doi.org/10.3998/mfr.4919087.0018.104

Tchoukaleyska, R. (2011). Co-housing childhoods: parents' mediation of urban risk through participation in intentional communities. *Children's Geographies*, 9, 246. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2011.562384

Tronto, J. (1993). *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003070672

Tronto, J. C. (2013). *Caring democracy: markets, equality, and justice* (1st ed.). New York University Press.

Tronto, J. C. (2016). *Who cares? : how to reshape a democratic politics*. Cornell Selects, an imprint of Cornell University Press.

http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&AN=1508190

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2021). *Decolonizing methodologies : research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Tummers, L. (2015). Understanding co-housing from a planning perspective: why and how? *Urban Research & Practice*, 8, 78. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2015.1011427

Tummers, L. (2016). The re-emergence of self-managed co-housing in Europe: A critical review of co-housing research. *Urban Studies*, 53, 2040. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015586696

Tummers, L., & MacGregor, S. (2019). Beyond wishful thinking: a FPE perspective on commoning, care, and the promise of co-housing. *International Journal of the Commons*, 13, 83. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.918

Twardoch, A. (2017a). Collaborative Housing Perspectives In Poland. Potential, Barriers And Legal Possibilities. *Architecture, Civil Engineering, Environment*, 10(4), 45-52. https://doi.org/doi:10.21307/acee-2017-051

Twardoch, A. (2017b). Collaborative Housing Perspectives. Definition, Historical Overview And Examples. *Architecture, Civil Engineering, Environment*, 10(4), 33-44. https://doi.org/10.21307/acee-2017-049

Van der Riet, M., & Boettiger, M. (2009). Shifting research dynamics: Addressing power and maximising participation through participatory research techniques in participatory research. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 39(1), 1-18.

van Dyk, S. (2018). Post-Wage Politics and the Rise of Community Capitalism. *Work, Employment & Society*, 32(3), 528-545. https://www-jstor-org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/26500145

Van Gent, W. P. (2010a). Housing context and social transformation strategies in neighbourhood regeneration in Western European cities. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 10(1), 63-87.

Van Gent, W. P. (2010b). Housing policy as a lever for change? The politics of welfare, assets and tenure. *Housing Studies*, 25(5), 735-753.

Van Gent, W., & Hochstenbach, C. (2020). The neo-liberal politics and socio-spatial implications of Dutch post-crisis social housing policies. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 20(1), 156-172.

van Rijnsoever, F. J. (2017). (I Can't Get No) Saturation: A simulation and guidelines for sample sizes in qualitative research. *PloS one*, *12*(7), e0181689-e0181689. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0181689

Vanolo, A. (2013). Alternative Capitalism and Creative Economy: the Case of Christiania. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1785-1798. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01167.x

Venugopal, V. (2020). Commoning Practices - Towards becoming 'in common'. *Dashkin Foundation*, 1-12.

Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen [VGW] (2025). *Adressen Woongemeenschappen*. VGW. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://www.gemeenschappelijkwonen.nl/adressen-woongemeenschappen

Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen [VGW] (n.d.-a). *De Vereniging*. VGW. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://www.gemeenschappelijkwonen.nl/de-vereniging

Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen [VGW] (n.d.-b). *Definities en terminologie*. VGW. Retrieved 4th of August 2025, from https://www.gemeenschappelijkwonen.nl/mediawiki/index.php/Definities_en_terminologie

Vestbro, D. U. (1997). Collective housing in Scandinavia—how feminism revised a modernist experiment. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 329-342.

Vestbro, D. U. (2000). From Collective Housing To Cohousing — A Summary Of Research. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 17(2), 164-178. http://www.jstor.org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/43030534

Vestbro, D. U. (2010). *Living Together: Cohousing Ideas and Realities Around the World* (9789174157383). https://books.google.dk/books?id=AZj1ZwEACAAJ

Vestbro, D. U., & Horelli, L. (2012). Design for Gender Equality: The History of Co-Housing Ideas and Realities. *Built Environment*, 38, 335. https://doi.org/10.2148/benv.38.3.315

Vrijcoop (n.d.). *Hoe Werkt het / Structuur*. Vrijcoop. Retrieved 4th of August 2025 from https://vrijcoop.org/hoe-werkt-het-structuur/

Webster, W. (2005). *Imagining home: Gender, race and national identity, 1945-1964*. Routledge.

Webster, W. (2023). *Imagining home : gender, "race," and national identity, 1945-64* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Wetzstein, S. (2017). The global urban housing affordability crisis. *Urban Studies*, 54(14), 3159-3177. https://www-jstor-org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/26428376

White, T., & Madden, D. (2024). Housing ideology and urban residential change: The rise of co-living in the financialized city. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 56(5), 1368-1384. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X241230446

Wieger, J. (2017). Reproductive commons: From within and beyond the kitchen. In *Architecture and Feminisms* (1st ed.) (pp. 240). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203729717

Williams, F. (2018). Care: Intersections of scales, inequalities and crises. *Current Sociology*, 66, 561. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118765206

Williams, J. (2005). Designing Neighbourhoods for Social Interaction: The Case of Cohousing. *Journal of Urban Design*, 10, 227. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574800500086998

Woodly, D., Brown, R. H., Marin, M., Threadcraft, S., Harris, C. P., Syedullah, J., & Ticktin, M. (2021). The politics of care. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 20(4), 890-925. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-021-00515-8

Appendices

Appendix A

Criteria for case study selection

Project Characteristic	**Inclusion Criteria**	**Exclusion Criteria**
Religious Affiliation	Secular community	Religious community
Location	Urban or suburban community	Rural community
Age Composition	Mixed-age community	Senior community
Gender Composition	All-gender Women-only	
Profit Orientation	Not-for-profit and self-managed community	Co-living Co-habs Profit-oriented community Company managed community

Appendix B

Interview guide

Introduction and General Questions

1. What is your name? What do you do?
2. How long has this collaborative housing community existed?
3. How long have you lived in this community?
4. Why did you move to this collaborative housing community? What were your reasons to join?

5. What is your living arrangement here? (e.g. do you live in a nuclear family, alone, with people you met here, etc.)

Interpersonal Care

1. What does your typical day look like?
2. What would your typical day look like if you were not living here?
3. What did a typical day look like for you before moving here? (childcare, chores around the house)
4. Has your typical day changed since you have been living here? If yes, how?
5. How do you share daily chores (cooking, cleaning, childcare) with the people you live with or within your family? Has this changed since you moved here?
6. Do you hire external workers for these tasks? Has this changed since you moved here?

Community Care

1. What is shared in your collaborative housing community?
2. What shared activities do you do?
3. Are there any tasks that are performed by everyone in the community on a daily / weekly / monthly basis?
4. How much time do you spend on these tasks?
5. Are there any mandatory tasks?
6. How are these community tasks shared or divided among the group?
7. Are any of them performed by hired workers?
8. How are collective decisions made within the community? What are your experiences with this process? Do you share responsibilities for this process?
9. Have you experienced any conflicts within the group? What were they about? How were they resolved? Who mediated them?
10. How does the community deal with people who are not contributing?

Neighbourhood Care

1. How do you think the neighbourhood perceives your collaborative housing community?

2. What is the relationship between the community and your neighbours like?
3. Are any spaces, facilities or events of the community open to the neighbourhood?
4. Is the relationship to the neighbourhood important to you? Why or why not?

Closing Questions

1. What does living in a collaborative housing community mean to you?
2. What is most important to you about living in a collaborative housing community?
3. What do you think are the most important issues in your collaborative housing community?
4. What do you think are the biggest advantages and disadvantages to living in this collaborative housing community?
5. Do you have any other comments, thoughts, or opinions you would like to share?
6. Do you have any questions for us / me?

Appendix C

Art-based Workshop Guide

Introduction (5 minutes)

- Welcome and introduction
- Disclaimer about anonymity, names / personal information will not be used
- Ask for picture consent
- Introduce structure of the workshop
- Material: none

Activity 1: Warm up (10 minutes)

- Group activity - everyone
- Ask everyone to say their name, which community they are from
- Introduce brought objects and explain why they associate it with their collaborative housing community
- Share feelings and expectations about the upcoming workshop

- Material: none / brought objects

Activity 2: Free Writing Exercise (10 minutes)

- Individual writing exercise - will be shared with others
- Everyone receives a piece of paper/pen
- Prompt: Think of a situation within your housing community where you felt cared for/cared for another person. What happened? Who were the people involved? How did you feel? What did you learn?
- Material: pens, paper

Activity 3: Group Sharing / Brainstorming (15 minutes)

- Read/summarise the free writing to the group
- Identify commonalities and differences, identity key words or themes surrounding care and write them down on paper / sticky note: this will be the basis for the lino carvings
- Material: big piece of paper, sticky notes, pens

Break if necessary

Activity 4: Carving (1 hour)

- Short introduction to lino carving for those who have never done it before
- Disclaimer: emphasise that we are here to have fun and share with each other, not to make a perfect piece of art. Lino carving might be difficult in the beginning for those who have never tried, but the idea is to try something new and explore
- Everyone gets a piece of lino - they are cut into uneven pieces that come together
- Prompt: as a group, think of the themes which you identified and choose one that you feel most connected to. Try to carve it out on your piece (situation you witnessed, thing you would like to see more in the future, an object which is important to you)
- Material: carving knives, lino, pencils, tracing paper

Activity 5: Coming together, sharing (25 minutes)

- Each smaller group shares with the other groups what themes they found and how they represented it
- Everyone comes together to print on one shared piece of paper
- Everyone can also keep their piece and make as many copies of it as they want
- Material: Paint, roller, plastic to put the paint on, more paper (colorful?)

Concluding (5 minutes)

- Thanking participants, providing information on how and when the results of the thesis will be available to them
- Ask participants if they want to share how they are feeling and any insights they might have taken away from the workshop
- Ask for feedback for us for the future - share email address we can be contacted by