Cohousing and social cohesion: consideration of habitus

The case of Berlin Baugemeinschaften

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Chapter 1. Introduction.

In the following master thesis the research we concentrate our attention on a phenomena of cohousing and its possible affects on the neighbourhood. We focus a particular attention on cohousing impact on social cohesion of the neighbourhood. This impact will be studied from a certain theoretical perspective which will be described in more details below.

Relevance

Both of these notions (cohousing and social cohesion) start to gain more and more attention in both academic and practical realms. The cohousing phenomenon has already quite a long history. It originated in Northern Europe (Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands) in 1970s (Cheng et al., 2006), where it became rather popular due to various factors. The main of them, according to such authors as Williams (2005), Vestbro (2000), Fallov (2010) are affordability, community-orientation and possibility to self-regulate the process of construction and development management. Moreover, for some decades most of the cohousing projects aim to provide a more ecologically friendly type of housing (Durett, 2009), energy- and consumption-efficient. These cohousing features (self-organization and ecological awareness) go hand in hand with a global trend towards sustainable development (Williams, 2005), which is already an important point of relevance for the research on this topic.

However, the focal point of the current research is not on the interconnections between cohousing and sustainable development, even though this research can possibly make a contribution to this debate. The very focus of this study considers another interrelationship: between cohousing and *social cohesion*. These terms are also a part of a huge debate going on in many (Hulse, 2007) European countries (most notably, in the Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom, and on the European Union level). A significant number of studies on this topic was conducted since the beginning of the 20th century - first by sociologists (Chicago School scientists made arguably the most prominent researches). Later, spatial specialists and professionals made a contribution to the researches on the topic of social cohesion (Morrison, 2003). Major and the most general goals of these studies were to understand what affects social cohesion, what its attributes are, how it is possible to raise it, if it is necessary to do so, and by what means (normally, policy-making is treated as the most suitable instrument).

The two notions which are of high significance for this research (cohousing and social cohesion) can be easily connected, according to some authors (Williams, 2005, Marcus, 2000). For example, Williams (2005) states, that cohousing follows several major principles, such as:

• Strong social networks and social cohesion
• Social inclusion
• Pro-environmental behaviour
• Reduction in resource consumption
• Well-being
• Affordability

Social networks, strong community spirit, sense of place, place attachment, common values goals and values, and shared practices - these are the major arguments of the

researchers, which can be used while substantiating the role of cohousing in raising social cohesion. However, does cohousing contribute to social cohesion of the whole neighbourhood? Or, does it rather develop a closed community, which is cohesive inside, but promotes urban fragmentation on the neighbourhood level? And, either so or not, why does it happen, how does the communication between cohousing project and adjacent neighbourhood occur? These questions help provide a preliminary understanding of this research perspective.

All in all, the current study topic is relevant two-ways: on the one hand, cohousing is becoming more prominent and even more popular on the housing market. On the other hand, there is a certain connection of cohousing with social cohesion, the term which is currently one of the central points of socio-spatial policies of many European countries.

Research perspective

Prior to identification of the research objective and questions, there is a need to explain which perspective and theoretical background will be used in this study. The current master thesis provides an enquiry of a relationship of social cohesion and cohousing by emphasizing specific traits of two groups: cohousing community and adjacent neighbours. These traits, drawn from views of French philosopher and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, are social form of capital and cultural form of capital, which affect a common habitus of a group. Throughout the study, researcher will gain insight into social and cultural forms of capital of both social groups. Following these findings, common habitus of the social groups will be described. Based upon this knowledge, social cohesion of the communities will be discussed, and connections between social and cultural capital, habitus, social practices of inhabitants, and social cohesion within and between social groups will be made. Later, this new perspective on social cohesion will be used as a basis for a consideration of existing social cohesion policies.

To illustrate this theoretical perspective we will take two case-studies in Berlin, Germany. In short, Berlin has several advantages for a researcher of cohousing. First, Berlin is the place where experimental housing models, including cohousing groups, called Baugemeinschaften and Baugruppen in Germany (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtenwicklung, 2006), are showing huge popularity nowadays (Heyden et al., 2007; Tummers, 2011, Kunze, 2003). Second, a significant number of cohousing projects are both developer-led and resident-initiated (*ibid;* Ring, 2007), which enlarges opportunities for a comparative analysis. Third, there is an evident governmental appreciation of self-organized housing entities, which is expressed in Berlin Senate-supported projects (Suckow, 2009).

Besides, Berlin is a prominent case to study due to the problematic situation which the city met in early 1990's right after the Berlin Wall fall. The issues the German capital has encountered are very complex and draw researchers' close attention (Becker, 2003, Beer, 2003). The most striking of the problems, which Berlin policy-makers and academicians deal with, is a lack of social cohesion. It is caused by a number of factors and reasons, which will be considered more precisely in Chapter 3, such as out-migration, migration between the East and the West of Berlin, economical system change, lack of adequate infrastructure etc. (Beer, 2003). Berlin Senate takes certain steps in order to tackle these problems and raise level of social cohesion (Silver, 2006). On of the major activities is an adoption of a social cohesion policy, which will be considered in this research. This policy is a joint programme 'Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City'. This programme had started in 1999 and covers big German cities, including Berlin.

The substantiation and more thorough description of a case-study location choice, and further elaboration of research perspective will be provided in Chapter 1.

Thereby, Berlin-based case-study allows researchers to conduct an investigation of opportunities of cohousing in relation to social cohesion policy. Moreover, this one will study social cohesion and its possible ways to be promoted in a problematic background, which

Objective

In the current research we will find out if cohousing communities influence social cohesion of the neighbourhood. Then, the research is to explore the reasons for this influence. To do so, we will study cohousers' incentive for a certain behavior, or habitus, which is formed by their cultural predispositions forming cultural capital, and their social networks forming cultural capital. Same information will be collected for the residents of adjacent neighbourhoods. Afterwards we will research urban policies aiming for more social cohesion on the neighbourhood level, and will presume the way cohousing could be incorporated into the policy.

Overall, the objective of this master thesis is:

> To gain insight into habitus of cohousing communities, and identify opportunities for promoting social cohesion through the inclusion of cohousing term into socio-spatial policies

Research Questions

In order to achieve the objective of our research, some questions need to find answers. Since the major outcome of the current Master Thesis is the identification of opportunities of cohousing in socio-spatial policies to promote social cohesion, the core research question is:

> Is cohousing able to act as one of the instruments to achieve higher level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood, and in what way?

From our research perspective we presume that the answer to this question can be attained through gaining information about cultural and social capital of cohousers and their neighbours. Also, social cohesion policy has to be studied in order to understand how cohousing, and data about cohousing residents' habitus, can be used as an instrument on a policy-level. To attain this information, we will answer the following subquestions:

- what is the cultural capital and social capital of inhabitants of cohousing development and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?

- what are the main practices and activities of cohousing residents, and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?

- how can urban policy for social cohesion be promoted through the identification of intersections and differences between social and cultural capital (and, as a result, habitus) of cohousing communities and adjacent neighbourhoods?

By answering these subquestions we will gain particular data about traits and characteristics of cohousing communities expressed in their cultural and social forms of capital. Afterwards, this data will be transformed into habitus, or, in other words, an incentive for a certain type of behaviour, of cohousers.

Thesis Layout

In the first chapter the core notions of the research will be explained and defined. According to the theoretical background of this research, these notions are:

• cohousing
• social capital
• cultural capital
• habitus
• social cohesion

Also, the scope of the research will be defined, and the necessity of the neighbourhood level study is to be discussed. Finally, important notions will be incorporated into a general theoretical framework.

In the second chapter methodology of this study will be discussed. Choice of the major methods will be substantiated and explained. Also, methodological framework will be drawn, showing both a general approach on the way data is to be obtained during the research and the means of its analysis.

The third chapter of this thesis contains the analysis of the urban policy of the case-study city. Major aspects of it are to be categorized, such as: goals, level and area of implementation, reasons and history of the policy issues, major procedures and mechanisms, feedback made by officials and researchers, and, finally, a degree of actual impact on social cohesion within the neighbourhood.

In the fourth chapter case-study results will be presented. Two different cohousing projects are to be described and analyzed according to the theoretical framework notions: thus, cultural and social forms of capital will be prescribed for the communities under study, and, thus, their habitus is to be introduced. Also, differences between two cases will be discussed, with the main focus on their degree of capacity to influence social cohesion within the neighbourhood.

Finally, the knowledge obtained from the case-studies and policy analysis will be discussed in relation to each other. Possibilities for the dialogue between these two types of data will be identified as well as the opportunities for policy-makers.

In conclusion final remarks will be drawn up regarding the possibilities for policy-makers which cohousing might provide in relation to the topic of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level.

To sum up, the thesis intends to offer new ways for policy-makers to cope with growing gap between various communities, families and individuals on the neighbourhood level. In other words, this research will make suggestions for planning authorities on how to deal with a problem of lack of social cohesion and which role cohousing is able to play in this process.

Chapter 2. Conceptual framework.

In this chapter we will present a relevant description and substantiation of the main theoretical notions as cohousing, social and cultural forms of capital, habitus, social cohesion, and policies of social cohesion as represented in Germany. Besides, the relevance of studying social cohesion on the neighbourhood level will be presented in the very beginning of the chapter. The main outcome of Chapter 1 is a conceptual framework, in which important terms mentioned above are demonstrated in relation to each other, and links between them are explained.

2.1. Relevance of a neighbourhood level research

First of all, we need to highlight the importance of a research of the neighbourhood level social practices when discussing the issue of social cohesion. As Morrison (2003) cites Healy, "neighbourhoods have always provided a useful scale for studying social relations of everyday life worlds and they combine both social and spatial dimensions". Other authors (Forrest and Kearns, 1999, Guset and Wierbicki, 1999) mention that neighbourhoods should be considered as a series of overlapping networks, acting as an important source of social identity, sense of belonging and a definition of personal and social position. We assume that if social cohesion can be achieved on the local level, it is able then to be extrapolated at the broader societal level. In this case, residential-based networks (neighbourhoods) become the building blocks to an upper-level social cohesion (Castells, 1997).

In other words, social cohesion is derived from the neighbourhood since neighbourhood provides its important components: social identity and solidarity, sense of belonging, or sense of place, platform for interactions, communal values and positions. These components in particular and a general term of social cohesion will be described more thoroughly later in this chapter.

In order to better understand the level of this research, an abstract model of urban structure was brought up in relation to the notion of neighbourhood:
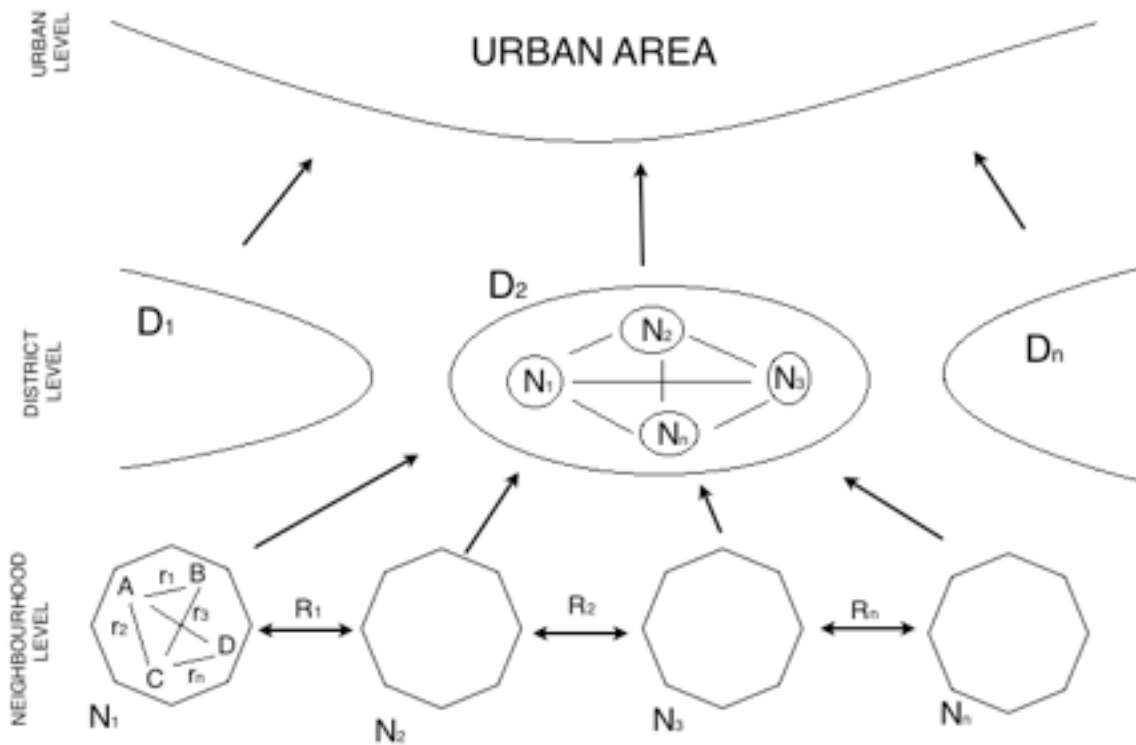
Figure 1. Urban structure model

In Figure 1 we can observe the relationship between neighbourhoods (micro-level), districts (meso-level) and urban area (macro-level) illustrated in a schematic manner. $N_{(n)}$ stands for various neighbourhoods with relationships $R_{(n)}$ between each other. A,B, ..., Z stand for various individual or collective actors, who are both main objects and subjects of human practices within the neighbourhood, and which have a relationship $r_{(n)}$ to each other. In case of our study we will concern our attention on two groups of collective actors: cohousing communities (A) and adjacent neighbourhoods (B). $N_{(1)}$, $N_{(2)}$, ..., $N_{(n)}$, which are presented in Figure 1, form districts ($D_{(n)}$), which, in turn, form an urban area. The main focus of this research is $N_{(n)}$ and $r_{(n)}$, especially since the latter variable can be considered as a reflection of the social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. In other words, $r_{(n)}$, or relationship between individual or collective actors on the neighbourhood level, represents a degree of social interactions, place attachment and neighbourhood solidarity, and level of social control. All these phenomena listed are the components of social cohesion according to Forrest and Kearns (2001) and will be described in more details further in this chapter.

2.2. Cohousing

In this research, the neighbourhoods which are to be studied have a specific feature: they include so-called cohousing communities. This term has a history of 40 years. Initially it was first referred to collective housing models which were introduced in Denmark in 1970's. Throughout the next decades this phenomenon spread over Europe (most notably, in the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Germany) and Northern America (United States and Canada).

Initial meaning of this term from first Danish experiments is "a collective central kitchen building" (Vestbro, 2000). Cohousing had transformed its definition throughout the

decades and gained different meanings in various contexts. For instance, Vestbro (2000) emphasizes 5 models of cohousing:

1. collective housing unit with a central kitchen and other collectively organized facilities (Swedish experience):
   a. collective housing unit, based on services through employed staff, aimed at reducing housework
   b. collective housing unit, based on communal work
   c. service housing for the elderly combined with cohousing, where communal facilities are used by both categories of residents
2. Collective housing to create a stronger sense of community, rather than to reduce the burden of housework (Danish experience)
3. Collective housing with a service block or integrated service center to provide with collective services in order to facilitate housework, care, and communal participation
4. Collective housing for special categories such as elderly people, students, and residents with various types of dysfunction
5. A commune of more than four persons (not relatives), living and eating together, usually in a large one-family unit

However, this classification may seem too strict, as most of the cohousing projects combine various aspects of Vestbro's (2000) typology. Broader definitions were provided by other researchers. For example, Williams (2005) came up with a definition, which tends to stay rather broad in order to be able to encompass various collective housing projects. For Williams cohousing is a development, which, combining the autonomy of private dwellings with the advantages of community living, encourages a collaborative life-style and greater interdependence between residents. This results in building strong and vibrant communities, sense of these communities, and a positive attitude towards social interaction.

Also, it is worth clarifying the definition of cohousing in the context of Berlin, since in this master thesis we take Berlin cohousing communities as the case-studies. In German planning practice cohousing is referred as either Baugruppe, or Baugemeinschaft. According to Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment web-site (2012), Baugemeinschaft is a joint building venture, which obtains the following traits:

• cost-effectiveness;
• community-building;
• collaborative house planning and designing process;
• shared space;
• social engagement on the neighbourhood level;
• high environmental standards.

These traits come across with the Williams' definition of cohousing. Community and neighbourhood life engagement, collaborative management of the project, shared space are the components of both Williams' and Berlin Senate's definitions. Generally, notions of Baugruppe and Baugemeinschaft fit a broad cohousing term explanation of Williams well.

Following Williams' (2005) ideas, cohousing forms personal and communal behaviour through the impacts on various sets of factors:

• Personal factors

- Informal social factors
- Formal social factors
- Physical factors

Williams (2005) offered a scheme of the interaction between these factors (see Figure 2). This scheme is very important for the current research since it involves major concepts (though using different titles for them) which are to be studied here: social capital ([in]formal social factors), cultural capital (personal factors), and habitus (which could be considered as a behaviour in a narrow perspective).
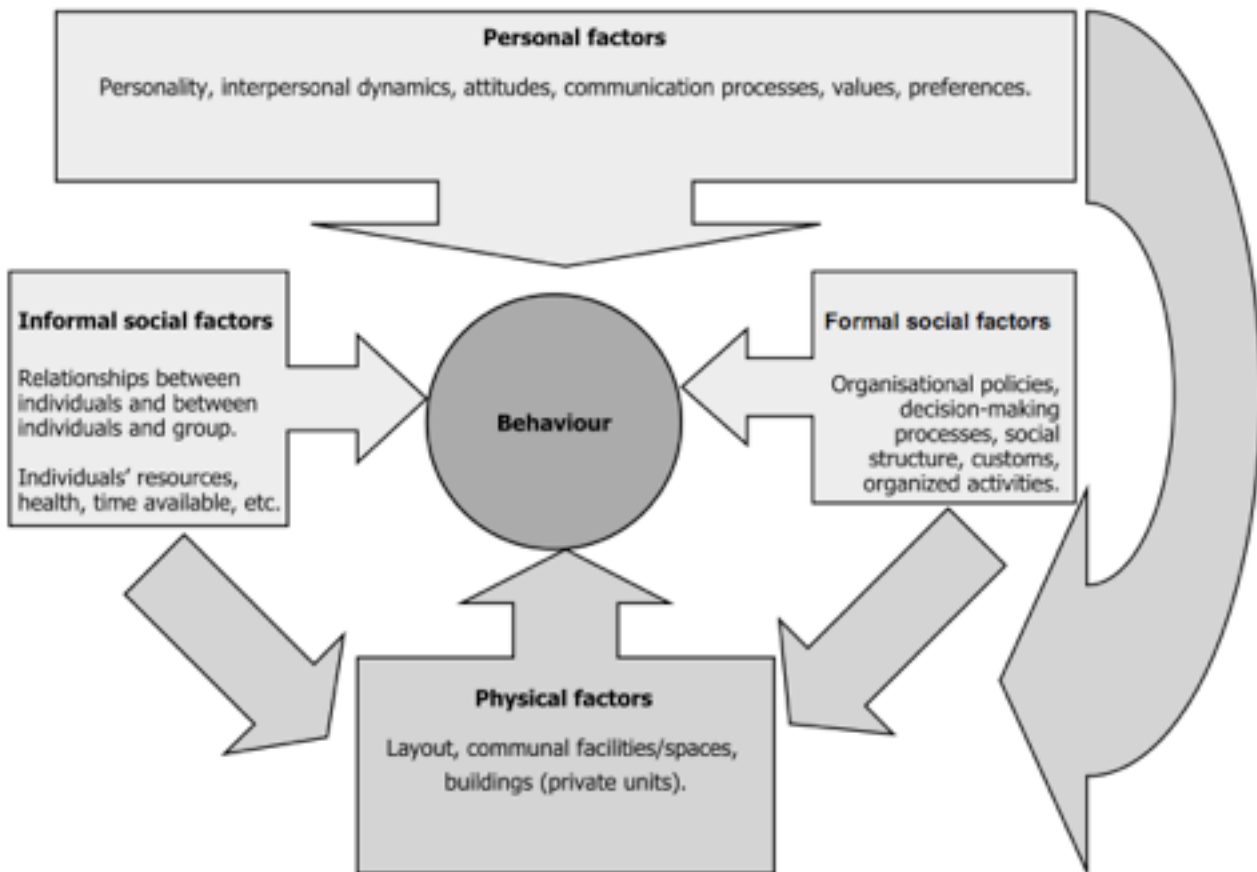
Figure 2. The interaction between physical, personal and social factors and impact on behaviour. Source: Williams (2005)

The scheme on Figure 2 is important for the current study since it shows the way social and cultural forms of capital are able to impact human behaviour and practices in cohousing. Also, it gives the exact components of both forms of capital. Notions of values, individual preferences, personality etc., listed under "Personal factors", and relationships between individuals, organizational structure etc., listed under "Formal and informal social factors", clarify particularities influencing communal activities of cohousers. These activities, in turn, constitute behaviour of cohousing community. In our research, however, we are looking for not the behaviour itself, but for an incentive for it, formed by social and cultural forms capital of Berlin Baugemeinschaften residents. From the perspective of this master thesis this focus can be a basis for more profound information about causes of cohousers' behaviour. The incentive, which we are researching, is a habitus, a notion, which, along with cultural and social capital, was widely exploited by Pierre Bourdieu in his theory of practice. This term will be described further in this chapter in a more scrutinous manner.

2.3. Social and cultural capital

As noted previously, notions of social and cultural capital are derived from the social theory of a prominent French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu. He made a proposition that capital goes beyond its monetary limits, and, besides, implies resources which cannot be directly quantified, or transformed into quantifiable data (Lemert, 2004). Therefore, Bourdieu offers 3 forms of non-quantifiable capital: human, social, and cultural. In our research, the latter two are the most significant as they are representing interaction factors of cohousing communities, as shown on the Williams' scheme.

When defining cultural form of capital, Bourdieu distinguishes 3 types of it:
• corporeal form:
    • enduring dispositions,
    • skills,
    • capacities;
• objective form:
    • paintings,
    • books,
    • software, etc;
• institutionalized forms:
    • educational diplomas,
    • certificates,
    • titles of nobility.

In this research corporeal form is the most significant as it includes enduring dispositions: values, beliefs, knowledge, manners, linguistic habits (Calhoun, 2003). They are shared by cohousing residents (Williams, 2005), which is one of the reasons of high level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood (Morrison, 2003). Objective and institutionalized forms of cultural capital are important since they underpin and reflect enduring dispositions. For example, a person with a higher educational diploma in literature (institutionalized form) and expressed interest in modern art paintings (objective form) will obtain corresponding knowledge of modern culture, and will be able to speak a corresponding language. The two latter forms of cultural capital are also important because they provide a basis for a researcher to judge about respondent's enduring dispositions. In other words, by asking questions about objective and institutionalized forms of cultural capital (which are rather straightforward) it is easier to understand and get data about the corporeal form.

Since cultural capital can be transferred (thus, specific forms of knowledge and particular skills can be taught), we come to the notion of a network, through which knowledge is delivered. Various networks, 'social connection lines' obtained by individuals, form their social capital. The more connections a person has with individual or collective actors, the bigger is his social capital. Also, as Lemert (2004) cites Bourdieu, social capital can be distinguished in terms of 'quality'. Even though the notion of quality is rather subjective in this case (is it possible to quantify the quality of social connections?), Bourdieu claims that children of richer people have better opportunities in their lives due to their parents quality social capital. In this example it means, that parents have connections with those who obtain a high level of economic and cultural capital.

Social capital is used for a transfer of the cultural capital. Both cultural and social capital, though initially addressed as individual phenomena, are able to be shared by a group of actors. They are extremely interconnected between each other. The higher level of social capital an individual has initially (for instance, a young politician at the starting point of his

career), the easier it is for him to obtain new skills and adjust new dispositions (that is, cultural capital) (Healy, 2004). And, conversely, the higher level of cultural capital an individual obtains, the easier it is for him to appropriate new 'connection lines' of the social network (that is, social capital).

So, since close the various forms of capital are closely interrelated and intertwined, it is sometimes difficult to see the distinction between them. Sometimes it is a reason for a merge of the notions of social and cultural capital for some social scientists. For instance, while Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Lemert, 2004), Fukuyama explains it "simply as the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them". The latter definition obviously implies cultural form of capital (norms, values) and observes "cooperation" between these elements of cultural form as a network to transfer. The Bourdieu interpretation of social capital is followed by Wacquant (1998): "Social capital consists of the total sum of resources an individual or a group has by virtue of being embellished in networks of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or through membership in a group". At the same time, Putnam (see Morrison, 2003) as well as Fukuyama includes elements of cultural capital in order to define social form of it: "social capital (...) refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit; social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital". Norms and trust are taken as the constitutes of social capital. However, in our Bourdieuan research perspective they are considered as part of enduring dispositions of community's residents, which is, in turn, a components of corporeal form of cultural capital.

The proximity of the two terms may be the reason that cultural capital, often being included into the definition of social capital, is rarely discussed separately in relation to social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. This, in turn, is one of the reasons in this research to take a closer look at cultural capital in relation to social capital, social cohesion, and to what Williams defined as actor's behaviour at the neighbourhood level (see Figure 2), and what in this research is defined as habitus.

2.4. Habitus

Habitus is perhaps the most outstanding and controversial term proposed by Bourdieu, though it was first introduced by Aristotle centuries ago (Wacquant, 2011; Calhoun, 2003). As Calhoun (2003) cites a French philosopher's definition, habitus is an "embodied sensibility that makes possible structured improvisation". In this definition, under 'improvisation' one can understand human practices, actions and behaviour (as observed on Williams scheme in Figure 2). So, according to Bourdieu, habitus is not an 'improvisation'-behaviour, itself, but is a sort of incentive for the 'improvisation'-behaviour. This incentive is formed due to the fact that "objective structures and internalized subjective structures converge, rendering an illusion of immediate understanding of our life-world, a comfortable illusion we dare not to give up; this world structure is called habitus" (De Jong, 2007).

Habitus, on the one hand, represents each individual's characteristic set of dispositions for action, a social process of matching these dispositions in the social order. On the other hand, it is a meeting point between bodies and institutions, the way to connect each person as a biological being with a socio-cultural order (Calhoun, 2003). In other words, it

allows to institutionalize individual aspirations upon the following action, which makes habitus to be not just an individual capacity, but an achievement of the collectivity.

Habitus, either individual or collective, represents a consistent set of perspectives that encompasses observations, evaluations, and predispositions to act in certain ways; habitus generates   meaningful social actions and perceptions, fitting the social context from which they emerged (De Jong, 2007).

Thus, the various definitions converge at the point that habitus can be seen as a set of dispositions formed throughout the cultural history and practical experience of the collective and produces individual and collective practices (Wacquant, 2011). As such, it becomes evident that habitus is based upon cultural and social forms of capital. Individual and collective dispositions, such as cultural background, specific knowledge, experience, values, cultural preferences etc., and institutionalized networks to transfer those dispositions are the basis for individual and collective habitus. Dispositions themselves are not able to produce a collective behaviour, because there is a need in networks to transfer these dispositions between individuals. When these networks are established, habitus of the community is fully formed. This relationship can be illustrated in a schematic manner as shown on Figure 3.
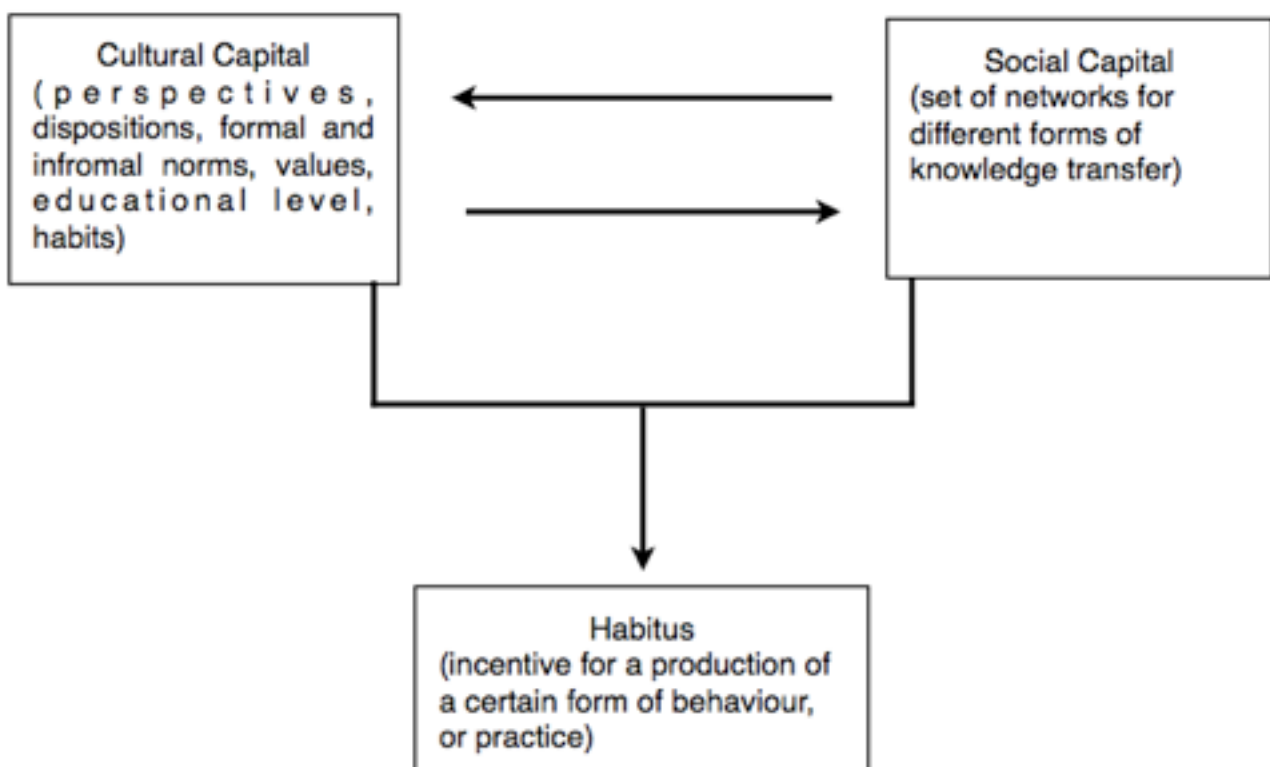
Figure 3. Cultural capital, social capital, and habitus relationship

Common, collective, or shared between individuals within one group, habitus implies a shared cultural and social capital. This leads to the idea, that communities with shared collective habitus tend to have stronger social cohesion. For example, cohousing communities, according to Williams (2005), have a set of shared beliefs (cultural capital), common space for practices (field for knowledge transfer), and common social networks (social capital). Following the formula brought up above (C.C. x S.C. = H), we can assume, that cohousers share the same model of behaviour, that is, habitus.

2.5. Social cohesion

Social cohesion, the "glue holding society together" (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004), was a topic of many sociological inquiries for quite a long time (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Since the beginning of the 20th century it had become one of the central elements of social sciences studies, with the most notable studies conducted by Chicago School representatives (first half of the 20th century). They attempted to study a shift to a more industrialized city and the way this influences social interaction and relationships between individuals, social groups and institutions.

In the second half of the 20th century the notion of social cohesion had started being studied even more extensively, both by social scientists and spatial planners. The reason for this was quite the same as it was for Chicago sociologists earlier: the society started experiencing another shift - from industrialism to a new technological era, era of knowledge, a shift to information society (Castells, 1997).

This shift influenced existing means and mechanism of community building and of inter-individual communication. In particular that meant that local level formations, such as neighbourhood, stopped being as important as the were in earlier centuries. Thus, for many researchers (Koonce, 2011; Beauvais and Jenson, 2002) it appeared that "the social cement of a previous era is crumbling and that we are being collectively cast adrift in a world in which the previous rules of social interaction and social integration no longer apply" (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). The reasons for this perspective rest in a prediction that new technology and virtual reality for social networks in new era are damaging place-attached social bonds, creating the situation where values and cultural preferences are not shared on the local level. This, in turn, harms the major domains of social cohesion brought up by Forrest and Kearns (2001): social order and social control; social solidarity; social capital; place attachment and identity.

However, some authors (Pahl, 1991) tend to believe that neighbourhood significance, though being undermined recently, is too underestimated by social and spatial scientists as Kearns and Forrest. According to Pahl's ideas, everyday practices, individual activities and routine are not under very dramatic change. Teleworkers, for instance, still require personal interaction, and, thus, since they are not able to obtain it through the institution of locality-attached work (meaning, office) will need it on the local level at their living environment. This might be the reason for the neighbourhood significance to raise in the future.

Therefore, neighbourhood-based practices still remain the major 'source' and of social cohesion, and neighbourhood itself is a level of its production. Kearns and Forrest (2001) define social cohesion as the high degree of the major domains mentioned above:

• common values, aims and objectives shared by majority of the group/neighbourhood members, common code of behaviour and moral principles (in short, the notions, which form *cultural capital* in terms of this research);
• high level of social order and control - reciprocate respect of group members, conflict-less atmosphere;
• sense of group solidarity (which obviously reflects this list's first domain);
• high degree of social interactions, civic engagement, associational activity;
• strong attachment to the place.

It should be kept in mind that strong social cohesion of a single group/neighbourhood can cause a situation of conflict or tension with representatives of another group/neighbourhood. It is important to note that even within one neighbourhood there could be various groups which obtain a high level of all the social cohesion domains proposed by Kearns and Forrest, but social cohesion of the very neighbourhood is still low due to unresolved problems and tensions between these groups. Also, even if there are no open or latent conflicts, neighbourhood social cohesion level is still considered as low if there is lack of interaction between the groups, or in case they do not share values and cultural preferences and so on; in other words, "strengthened social cohesion within neighbourhoods can lead to a situation in which a city consists of neighbourhoods that have little to do with each other" (Van Kempen, 2008).

So, a wider definition of social cohesion is in use for this research since there are two reasons for doing so. First, we have to incorporate Kearns and Forrest perspective on major components of social cohesion. Second, we have to take into account the worries about possible adverse impact of high level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood identified by many authors (for example, Van Kempen, 2008). The definition, brought up by Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee of British House of Commons in its "Social Cohesion" report (2004), states that "a cohesive community is a community that has naturally many cross-links, where people from different race, age, background, feel free and happy to mix together in housing, in education, in leisure facilities (...) and which has the following attributes:

• there is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities;
• the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated
• and positively valued;
• those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and
• strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods."

This definition brings together the essential preferences of social cohesion developed by Kearns and Forrest, and at the same time emphasizes the importance of providing cohesion between strong social groups within the neighbourhood.

2.6. Social cohesion policy

Various governments in Europe have set the goal of enhancing social cohesion through a number of policies. The most outstanding attempts were experienced in such states as United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France (Bacqué, 2011; Cassiers and Kesteloot, 2012). In our research we concentrate attention on the policies which are being developed in Germany, specifically, in Berlin.

German urban policies, which have been developed in this country recently (last 15-20 years), have three major traits. First, the policies aim to raise the social cohesion level not through social policies only (such as immigrant communities assimilation, or economic regeneration of the low-scale area programmes). Instead, they rather integrate social and spatial arrangements in policy-making process. Second, a spatial planning approach is under a constant revision within Berlin planning agencies and has gone through many changes since the beginning of 1990's (Bockmeyer, 2004). Third, both the former and the latter traits resulted in a governmental understanding that technical attitude to existing urban problems is no longer relevant. This, according to some researchers (Silver, 2006),

follows the world management trend of "integrated approaches" in urban (and not limited to urban scale) governance.

The focus of this study in particular is the policy, which had started being implemented in Berlin since 1999. The policy was called 'The Joint Programme Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City'. It attempted to bring the foreign experience (for example, Dutch 'The Big Cities' policy (Van Kempen, 2008)) and to apply this in the policy-making process In Germany. Particular attention of the programme is paid on the policy goals. As mentioned above, its general objective is to achieve a higher level of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. This goal is underpinned by two 'supporting' objectives. One of them is to build a solid integrated approach while reaching the main goal. An other goal is to create a new participatory mechanism. These two latter goals help reaching the major goal of higher social cohesion and are the instruments for that.

Besides, policy-makers clarify which problems they have to tackle in order to fulfill the main objective. In particular, policy-makers claim that the programme's objectives come across such issues, as socio-spatial fragmentation, lack of social networks, demographic problems of different type (migration and aging processes), inadequacy of housing market in Berlin (Beer, 2003, Becker, 2003). These issues are the main reasons for the policy implementation.

According to the policy-makers (Becker, 2003), the problems mentioned above should be addressed with certain mechanisms introduced by the programme. The most prominent mechanism is the Neighbourhood Management. It includes measures, activities, activation and revitalization processes for the neighbourhood, which will lead to a solution of the problems and to the fulfillment of the goals. Since the three aspects mentioned (goals, problem identification and development of management mechanisms) are emphasized by the policy-makers, we will focus on them in our policy description in Chapter 4.

In sum, this research will make an attempt to study the way cohousing is able to position itself in current social cohesion urban policy in Berlin, and how it is able to affect (positively or negatively) cohesive practices on the broader neighbourhood level. As it was stated in Dutch "Big Cities Policy" (Dekker and Bolt, 2004; Dekker and van Kempen,2004), which was among the influential policy documents for Dutch practice, "homogeneity of the population is detrimental to social cohesion" (Van Kempen, 2008). Therefore, drawing on this experience (which is rather common for many of the cohousing groups around the world) this research will also search for the ways of interweaving homogenous cohousing group practices into broader neighbourhood activities in order to build stronger (in terms of social cohesion) district. It also can be assumed that some of cohousing communities are already contributing to neighbourhood's cohesive practices, but some are having adverse affect on then (Marcus, 2000; Marissing et al., 2006). In general, knowledge obtained from both cases should be applied during the process of complementing the policy of strong urban districts.

2.7. Conceptual Framework

In general, the conceptual framework aims to show the relationship between all the interconnected terms and phenomena described above. The interrelationship of these notions has already been discussed before in this chapter, and the following framework is used to visualise and summarise the relationship between major concepts of the current research.
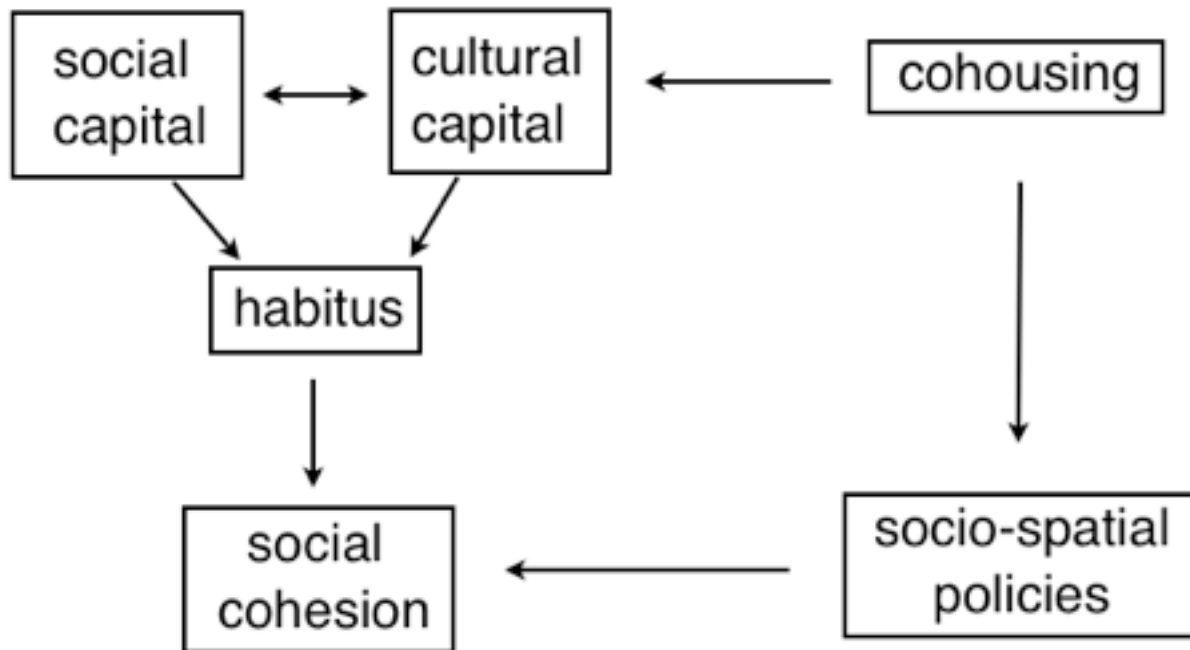
Figure 4. Conceptual Framework of the current research

In Figure 4, the general framework demonstrates that cohousing, as a phenomenon gathering people with certain interconnected cultural and social forms of capital obtains a special communal habitus. Through the habitus cohousing as a spatial model is supposed to impact social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. Social cohesion of the locality, in turn, is influenced by socio-spatial policies (in case of this research - Socially Integrative City programme which is being implemented by Berlin government). The relationship between "Cohousing" and "Socio-spatial policies" represents the actual core question of the research: is cohousing able to act as one of the instruments to achieve higher level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood? In the following parts of the thesis the answer for this question will be discussed and sought.

Chapter 3. Methodological framework

In our research we have identified core research questions, which are to be answered through certain and appropriate techniques. The goal of this chapter is to describe the methodology of this study, substantiate it, and figure out the methodological framework.

First, it is worth drawing back on the research questions which were set up in the beginning of the research:

- what is the cultural capital and social capital of inhabitants of cohousing development and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?

- what are the main practices and activities of cohousing residents, and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?

- how can urban policy for social cohesion be promoted through the identification of intersections and differences between social and cultural capital (and, as a result, habitus) of cohousing communities and adjacent neighbourhoods?

After an initial documents check, we found that there are not many studies completed in the context of collective housing, which grounded on the theory of either forms of capital, or habitus. This means that there is a necessity in the field work as a strategy of gaining empirical data for analysis. To do so, we conduct expert semi-structured interviews with project initiators and developers. They, in turn, are underpinned by interviews with local residents. Also, desk research of existing policies and documents takes place in the research design.

3.1. Advantages of a semi-structured interview for the current research

First, interviews are to be taken with various interviewees. Since our target research group is not homogenous, questions should not repeat precisely from one case to another. In other words, each interview is varying "according to the interests, experiences and the views of the interviewees" (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). This feature is typical for both semi-structured and unstructured types of social inquiry, however, degree of freedom certainly differs between them. Such qualitative methods have various advantages, which are valuable for our research:

1. Qualitative research methods are better suitable for complex social issues (Folkestad, 2008), such as, in case of this study, social cohesion, cultural capital, social capital, and habitus. Qualitative methods work well because the terms and notions which are used and studied in this inquiry (habitus, cohesion etc.) are ill-defined. It means that it is possible to prescribe various meanings for them, depending on respondent's background. Therefore it is very important to have a chance to clarify position of interviewee on a certain question, to understand the context of his opinion, which is only possible through extra-questions (response check via different forms of the same questions, as an example), dialogue, and which is missing in quantitative research methods, such as structured interview or questionnaires.

2. Qualitative interviews are more people-oriented. This trait means that a topic of the conversation can be fluid and change depending on the knowledge and experience of respondent. This brings the opportunity to cover a wider range of questions and issues,

which were not thought to be in the interview-guide initially, but still have a great chance to add value for a research (Turner, 2010). This is especially valuable for our research as a most of the information will be gained from experts (developers, community leaders, policy-makers), whose competency might be wider that expected, and is not easy-predicted before the conversation itself. Therefore, the result of semi-/unstructured interviews is "rich, detailed, multi-layered and producing a deeper picture" (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). So, unpredicted, but still valuable topics are often to be carried out through methods, which are not strictly structured.

3. O'Connell Davidson and Layder (*ibid*) emphasize the importance of qualitative methods (in particular, interviews) in the context of research of either individual or collective values, beliefs and thoughts. This statement reflects our research questions, especially which concern cultural capital (values, beliefs, dispositions) of the group.

Unstructured (or, sometimes called as "free") interview implies that researcher only sets direction for a respondent's monologue on a topic of the interest. This technique is often used when a topic of study is not very clear, or while dealing with complex issues as a person's deep perception of some events and their influence on the individual level of life (e.g. how does a fundamental political/economical change affect someone's life). While conducting the unstructured interview the interviewer is left with a role of nearly non-active interlocutor. He or she only directs an interview in the very beginning and adds some remarks when it is necessary to either encourage respondent to give more information on the topic, or to change the subject in case if interviewee is dismissing from the main course of interview objectives.

The design of the current study, however, there be have more certain structured. This is a result of the main theoretical notions which are being studied through the interviews. These notions are: cultural capital and social capital (building a vision of a community habitus during the data analysis); cohousing and residents experience attached to this notion; and social cohesion and socio-spatial policies dealing with this phenomenon. Therefore, it is worth using semi-structured interview while interviewing residents and policy-makers with certain thematic blocks related to each of mentioned notions.

The interview design follows the tradition of general interview guide approach. It is more structured than informal conversational approach (noted above as unstructured from of interview); however, it provides more flexibility compared to so-called standardized open-ended, or structured, interview (Turner, 2010). Semi-structured interview, represented through general interview guide approach, allows researcher to hold the steering of the conversation, but leaves him enough of flexibility for information deeper inquiring through additional questions.

For this research the guide for the interview with the residents was developed. It has 5 blocks of questions, each of which is aiming to get the information to answer research questions. These blocks are:

• introduction block of questions
• cohousing block of questions
• cultural capital block of questions
• social capital block of questions
• social cohesion block of questions

Also, the guide (see Appendix 1 and 2) includes additional questions, which are useful in case if respondent wants to add some information on the topics which were not discussed.

3.2. Relevance of an expert interview for the current research

As mentioned above, in addition to conducting interviews with residents, also expert interviews are undertaken in this study. Expert opinion analysis is especially valuable as it has several advantages for a research (Vrije Universitijt Brussel, 2007):

1. Experts obtain deep insights into the topic; their experience can help to obtain information which is sometimes impossible to obtain differently.
2. Experts can represent data which could not be collected through a quantitative survey procedure as they keep knowledge of their "clients" (literally clients for developers, and residents for policy-makers) perceptions on much of the topics, issues and problems related to the subject of researcher's interest.
3. Experts are motivated and interested in giving as much helpful information as they are able to: on the one hand, they might be interested in promoting their perspective on the topic; on the other hand, they are often interested in the end-results of the research as it may add value for their own practice.
4. Experts obtain the "network knowledge": they can be helpful in a "snowballing" strategy of interviewee searching.

It is important to keep in mind, that data provided by experts (especially in not fully structured questionnaire) should be treated as not completely objective; information should be analyzed with a high level of scrutiny. According to Meuser and Nagel (Vrije Universitijt Brussel, 2007), expert is a person, who:

• is responsible for the development, implementation, or control of solutions/ strategies/ policies;
• has privileged access to information about groups of persons or decision processes.

In case of this study, the experts who are fulfilling criteria of Meuser and Nagel, are area developers and group leaders/initiators. As a result, a head of a developer company will be interviewed in frames of this research. He is running the company for already 11 years and since has brought to life 15 cohousing projects. The developer is able to provide valuable information about the social and cultural capital of the cohousers since he communicates with every client prior to the project start.

Also, two group leaders of a cohousing group will be interviewed. They have started the implementation of their project (Beginenhof) ten years ago, and are living in this cohousing community for five years already. The group leaders have initiated several activities on the ground of their project and are running them for few years. They are the most active representatives of the group and are able to offer a valuable information about the project inhabitants' practices, cultural and social capital.

Certainly, expert interview should be underpinned by conversation with residents, and therefore, overall 6 inhabitants will be interviewed. Information provided by these two groups of interviewees can be even compared in the process of analysis later. Unfortunately, practical limitations do not allow do conduct a large number of interviews with residents (partly on this reason expert interviews are also conducted); however, residents perception and reflection on the topic of the research provide extremely important and data on social and cultural capital of the neighbourhood. Ideally, residents'

interviewing should prevail on other means of data collection when talking about such private subject as social and cultural capital (and, thus, habitus); however, here it should be mentioned again, that due to some physical and temporal limitations it is not possible to afford this type of research design in the framework of this particular study.

The interviewing process is accompanied by analysis of documents and scientific articles on the subject of socio-spatial cohesion. This analysis is to be conducted through content-analysis.

3.3. Methodological model

Generally, the methodological model of current research can be represented in two following steps.

Step 1.

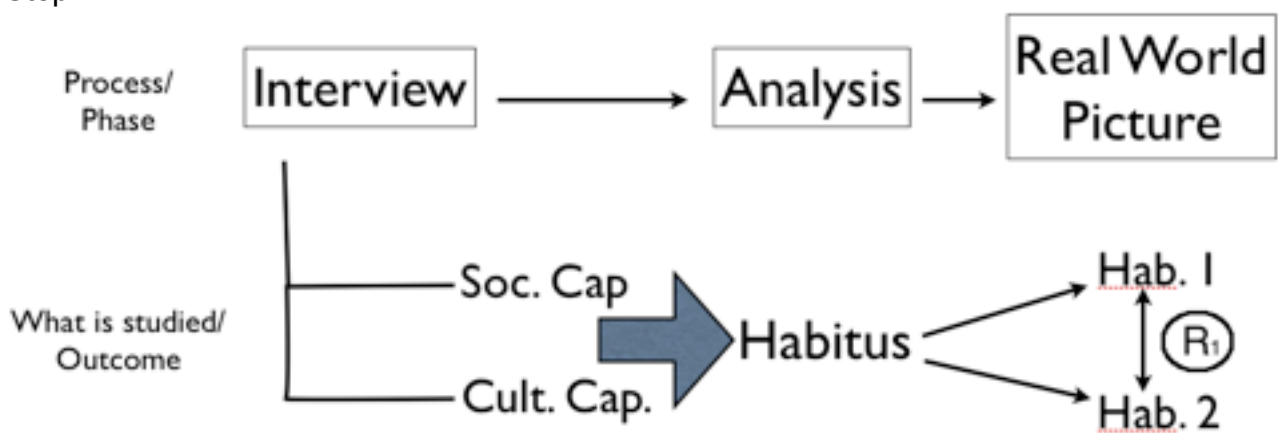*Figure 5. First step of methodological model of the current research*

On Figure 5 we observe R(1), which represents relationship between Habitus (cohousing) and Habitus (outer neighbourhood). The habitus of two groups is a result of the analysis of their social and cultural capital, which we will derive from the interviews.

Step 2.
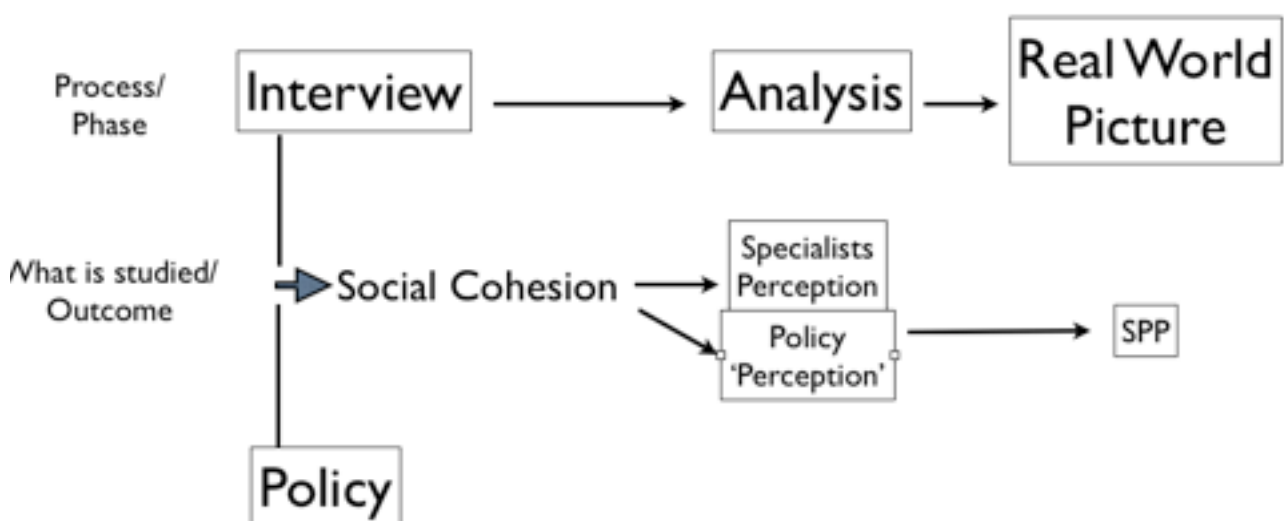
Figure 6. Second step of methodological model of the current research

On Figure 6 SPP represents a specialists'/policy perspective on social cohesion policies. It is derived through the analysis of the policy documents and the scientific articles concerning the topic of social cohesion in Berlin. Afterwards, we will find the relationship R2 between SPP and R1, which represents how R1 can add value to SPP (thus, recommendations are made).

Text of the interviews is to be analyzed through the model, which can be illustrated in the following figure (see Folkestad, 2008; Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003).
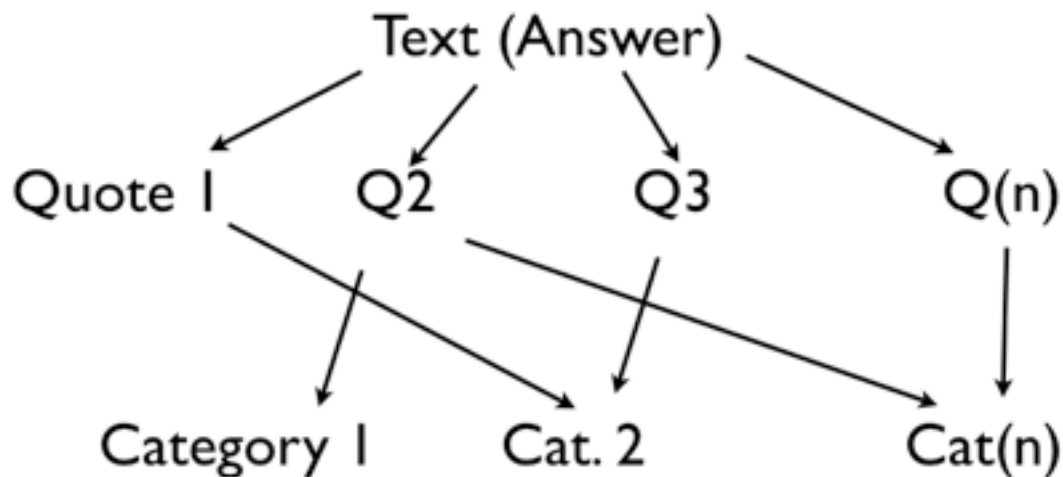
Figure 7. Analysis logic of Level 1 'raw' interview and policy text

The text of the interview is to be divided on the certain quotations, which are to be prescribed with appropriate meaningful categories for further analysis.

The logic of analysis is following the line of the text deconstruction (Lacity and Janson, 1994) which is followed by the re-construction of it with using of new categories which lead to the meaning of the group habitus.
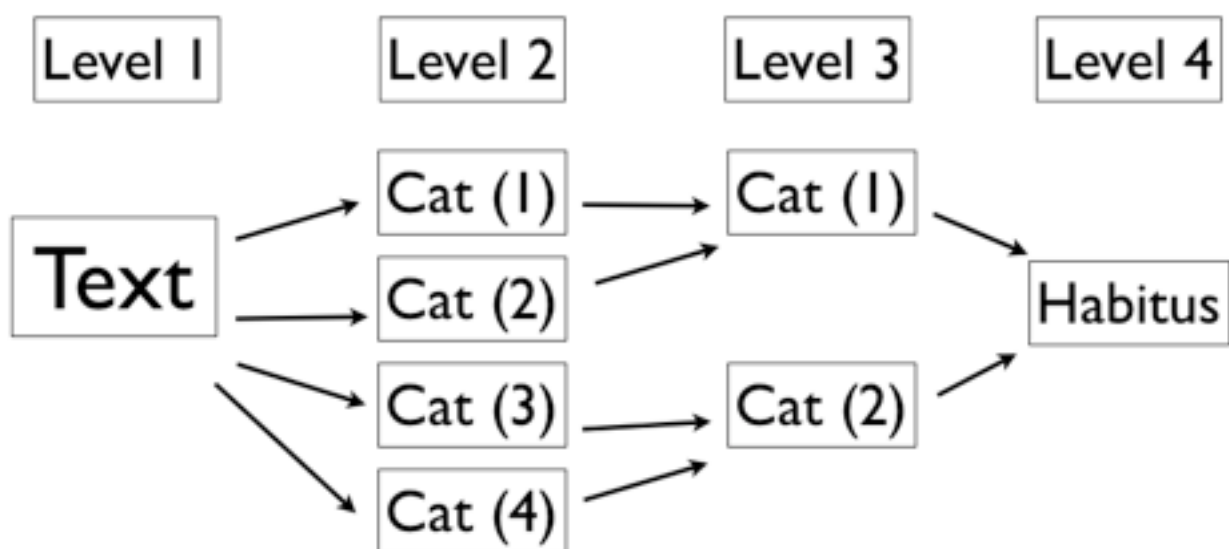
Figure 8. General methodological framework of the research

By "Text" the actual interview raw transcript is meant. In order to analyze it, it is necessary to categorize it. In terms of this research, Category (n) on Level 2 can imply "Cultural

preferences", or "Political views", or "Connections with the surrounding neighbourhood". The full list of these categories follows the line of Bourdieu theory (Lemert, 2004; Calhoun, 2003) and implies:

• education;
• reasons for cohousing;
• experience of cohousing management;
• political preferences;
• cultural preferences;
• financial situation;
• values shared with other cohousing participants;
• occupation;
• origin;
• family situation;
• connections (activities).

These categories are the basis for identification of social and cultural capital of cohousers and residents of adjacent neighbourhoods.

These Level 2 categories are later to be transformed into two major Level 3 categories: social and cultural capital. Finally, these categories will form the final outcome - habitus of the group.

Policy analysis also takes a significant place in the methodological framework of the research. According to the main research question in the research we enquire if cohousing is able to become one of the policy instruments to enhance social cohesion. To do so, we will conduct the document analysis. The documents include: policy documents published by Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development and Berlin Senate; appraisals of the policy conducted by DIFU (German Institute of Urbanistic); critical reviews of the programme conducted by independent researchers (Silver, 2006; Franke, 2007; Beer et al., 2006; Kil and Silver, 2006; Bernath et al., 2009).

First, in these documents we will search for the reasons of the policy implementation. In this section the problems which Berlin has encountered recently will be introduced. This will give an appreciation of the kind of issues which the policy tool has to address. Second, the goals of the programme will be derived. Both the policy documents and critical articles set a number of objectives of the policy. Therefore, it is necessary to structure and to understand the difference and the interrelationship between them. Third, the level and the authority of the policy implementation will be described. Fourth, the major instruments and procedures will be introduced and their structural characteristics will be illustrated. We will pay our particular attention on the Neighbourhood Management as the main instrument of the Socially Integrative City programme. Information about this tool will help find out how cohousing can be introduced into the policy procedures.

Also, the governmental and researchers' feedback on the policy will provide an insight into the programme's impact on the social cohesion within the neighbourhood. Both positive and negative feedback will be considered. We will identify the problems which yet remain unresolved, and search for the reasons for this in critical reviews of the programme. Later in the research these issues will be discussed from the perspective of the cohousing communities' potential to address them.

Chapter 4. Policy analysis

The following chapter will describe, discuss and present a policy which has been implemented in Germany in order to tackle social exclusion, segregation and urban fragmentation. In other words, the policy aims to raise the level of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level within special districts in various German cities. This chapter will follow the following structure:

The most important part of this chapter will consider all the data obtained through policy document text analysis and desk research into conducted policy studies will be considered from the perspective of its influence on social cohesion. Policy implications in the theoretical framework (in particular, of its 'social cohesion' part) will be presented. The relationship between the analysis information and the research's definition of 'social cohesion' will be also discussed.

4.1. Analysis of the policy

In this part the "Social City" policy's analysis will be delivered.

4.1.1. Reasons for the policy implementation
In recent years the German government has started the implementation of a new programme within the major cities and Länder. The programme, named Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City (for short, Soziale Stadt, or Social City), aims to address urban issues, which had become increasingly striking since the unification of the country and, subsequently, after the fall of the Berlin wall. These issues were especially new for the Eastern part of Berlin, which had, for example, never experienced foreign immigration or problems associated with the market economical model. The goal of the new programme was to make a substantial change in the approach towards tackling urban problems from a technical, physical change planning perspective, to a more community-oriented one. Thus, as Hilary Silver (2006) points out, the programme was focused on including social objectives and encompassed such activities as: employment, qualifications and training, social activities and social infrastructure; schools and education; health promotion; transport and the environment; urban district culture; sports and recreation; the housing market and housing industry; living environment and public space; image improvement and public relations; and integration of diverse social and ethnic groups. These "social objectives" did not imply that physical change was not part of the programme's agenda from the very beginning. It certainly took place, especially as the Eastern part of the city needed physical renewal (Levine, 2004).

However, for the first time social objectives strongly prevailed over the construction ones on a policy level.

As previously mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, some motivations for the programme implementation in 1999 are strongly related to the unification of Germany in general, and of Berlin in particular, which led to a *socio-spatial fragmentation* of the German capital. Firstly, the unification had exposed the fact that a planned economy model, typical to GDR, was not able to withstand a transition "from an industrial to a knowledge society" (Beer at al, 2003). As a result, Berlin suffered the decline of 220 thousand industrial jobs. This led to a significant number of unemployed, particularly among non-German workers (up to 44%). This, in turn, became the basis for a growing statistics of benefit recipients, a dark economy, and socio-spatial segregation. Secondly, the housing market created social and spatial fragmentation, by driving "residents in higher wage brackets to abandon disadvantaged areas" (Becker et al., 2003); moreover, the number of disadvantaged areas was constantly growing during the 90's due to East-to-West migration within Germany. Thirdly, since the very beginning of the *Gastarbeiter* practice (which invited thousands of labour migrants from outside of the EU, predominantly Turks and Arabs) immigrants were placed to live in certain areas; thus, they forming their communities and organizations (especially in Kreuzberg and Wedding), where the was an evident lack of native Germans. The same issue came up with the increasing of immigration of "Soviet Germans", who "settled in specific areas such as Marzahn-Nord (Beer et al., 2003).

In addition to the growing fragmentation within the city, Berlin districts experienced a *lack of social networks*. This was caused, mainly, by insufficient social and cultural infrastructure in the area: lack of green and open space, paucity of decent playgrounds and collectively-used place for common practices, generally inadequate leisure facilities and provision of educational institutions, poor commercial infrastructure. Also, high level of unemployment, immigration and aging German population caused mistrust in the neighbourhoods, which put a harmful affect in the social networks.

Furthermore, the *housing market* of the new Federal Republic of Germany capital proved to be unready for radical changes in the economical and political system. Housing units suffered from physical dilapidation and required urgent renovation (Levine, 2004). A lot of problems of the housing market were, of course, worsened by the fragmentation and inadequate social networks in the city, which led to a disinvestment in this market segment (see also Murray and Neill, 2011). This was especially relevant in the Eastern part of Berlin, which experienced massive in- and out-migration processes. Eastern Berliners were leaving the city in search of better job opportunities in Western Germany, and Eastern Berlin, due to its cheap housing, started to become very attractive for students, squatters and the so-called 'creative class' (painters, architects, representatives of intelligentsia). This created social turbulence and uncertainties both on the community level (conflict between old-timers and newcomers), and in the housing market itself.

The migration processes themselves formed a separate impetus for the new Social City policy implementation as they caused a *demographic decline* in the area. The aging population among native Germans in the 1990's was only partly "covered" by in-migration behavior of students and creative class specialists. The upper class were moving to the suburbs, leaving the central areas of the city for social groups which were unable to afford the house in the suburbs. These social groups also included immigrant communities taking advantage of the cheaper housing market, and other disadvantaged, or deprived groups.
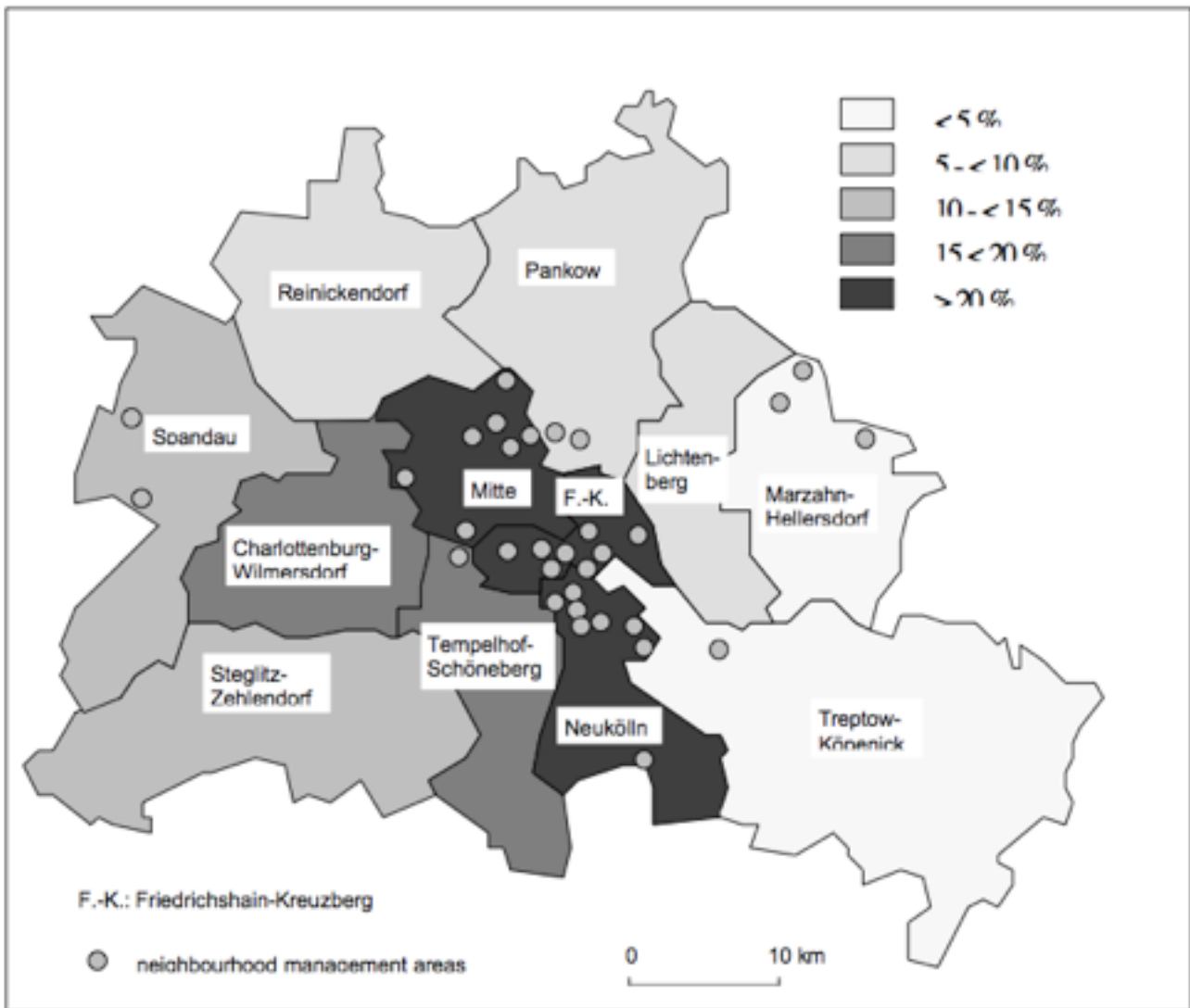
Figure 9. Distribution of non-German population in Berlin and Neighbourhood Management mapping (Beer, 2003)

In general, the problems mentioned above are the evidence of a very low level of social cohesion within the areas which became the main subject of the 'Neighbourhood with special needs - Social City' programme. The policy report's documents state that as a result of the unresolved issues of the target districts were: "concentration of underprivileged households, conflicts between different population segments, vandalism and crime, inadequate health services, school problems among children and teenagers, no community spirit, loneliness, anonymity, hopelessness and lack of perspective, drug and alcohol abuse, little resident initiative" (Becker et al, 2003).

Overall, it became evident that a conventional approach towards a physical/technical change of spatial preferences was not able to overcome these problems alone. Therefore, a new programme was developed on a federal level and brought with the 1998 coalition agreement between the German Social Democratic Party and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Alliance 90/The Greens).

4.1.2. Goals

Since the very beginning, the Social City programme had (and still has today) fixed goals. The core objectives were stabilization and promotion of development in urban areas or districts with particular urban development needs (Beer et al., 2003). In other words, the policy aimed for a sustained improvement of the lifestyle of the people residing in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Becker et al., 2003). The neighbourhoods that obtain those "special needs" were identified through a number of factors, listed below:

• urban design, construction and ecological deficits,
• infrastructure deficits,
• economic stagnation at a low level,
• rapid decline in economic activity,
• uneven development in the resident population,
• high levels of unemployment,
• high level of dependence on social welfare payments,
• high proportion of non-Germans, especially in the case of children and young people,
• high levels of mobility (moving away, in particular in the case of families, those in (regular) employment and higher income households),
• increasing social and cultural segregation and exclusion,
• increasing criminality in public places.

These criteria do overlap and relate to the core disadvantaged neighbourhood problems mentioned in part 3.1.1. The list shows a significant number of "social" problems which became the target issues for the programme. Subsequently, the policy aim was to address the issues listed - tackling segregation, social exclusion and, thus, raising social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. Moreover, the programme intended to exploit a comprehensive integrated approach towards neighbourhood development, which will be discussed further in the text in more details. Finally, policy makers aimed to take account of residents more in the neighbourhood management process (also, see below for more details). Ideally, this approach would "underscore the existing potential to improve local living conditions and erect ideally self-supporting structures" (Becker et al., 2003). Thus, policy goals are not limited to either technically tackling sole urban design inconsistencies, or complicated social issues, but attempt to build a new approach of integrating the work of various public agencies' and to develop a self-supporting system, in which residents would be self-sufficient in their neighbourhood management (Ministry for Economic Affairs, Energy, Building, Housing and Transport of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, 2010; Neumann et al.). The goals of the policy are summed up in the following scheme:

GOALS

Social Cohesion Objectives

- Tackle social and cultural segregation
- Promote economical activity of the area
- Improve infrastructure development of the area
- Fight neighbourhood mistrust

Integrated Approach Implementation

- Integration between various governmental agencies
- New cooperation forms in funding
- Integration action plan development

Participation Mechanism Development

- Promotion of neighbourhood management mechanism
- Erecting self-supporting structures
- Cooperation with 'strong groups'

Figure 11. Goals Scheme of the Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City Programme

At the same time it should be noted that the major goal of the policy is within the frames of what is called here 'Social Cohesion Objectives'. Implementation of an integrated approach and development of participative mechanisms, though also considered as self-standing goals, are rather treated as means to tackle social and cultural segregation, promote economical activity of the area, improve infrastructure development of the area and fight neighbourhood mistrust.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the programme objectives correlate with the following attributes of social cohesion which were defined in the first chapter:

• *common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities*
Presumably, this attribute is to be achieved through erection of self-supporting structures, cooperation with 'strong groups' and promotion of neighbourhood management.

• *the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated*
• *and positively valued*
This preference of social cohesion is related to the Social City programmes objectives to fight mistrust on the neighbourhood level; tackling social and especially cultural segregation is also very important for this attribute. Moreover, setting up a well-functioning neighbourhood management is an important factor to contribute to a respective attitude to

various people's perspectives, their cultural traits, backgrounds and problems/issues visions.

• *those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities.*
This trait of social cohesion is also treated within the framework of Social City Berlin urban policy. According to the policy (Beer, 2006) it can be attained through the promotion economical activities in the area, improving of its infrastructural development (for example, schools with special treatment of immigrants' children in neighbourhoods with high proportion of foreigners).

• *strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods.*
Last but not least, this attribute of social cohesion is related to goals of the policy as giving more incentives for economical development of the area, cooperation with 'strong groups' (for instance, immigrant organizations), better infrastructure provision for the residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

The attributes of social cohesion considered within the current study are closely interconnected. Subsequently, the various goals of the Social City programme are able to contribute to different social cohesion traits. For instance, attaining a neighbourhood management mechanism is a quite broad objective and can be an important factor in developing a common vision and sense of belonging among neighbourhood residents. This could be done helping them with setting up a certain arena for developing a shared perspective on various issues which the neighbourhood came across with. At the same time, this mechanism can enhance the appreciation of different people's cultural backgrounds as it creates conditions for a fruitful dialogue. However, one also should remember that the neighbourhood management structure itself is not a panacea for all the problems which community encounters with, and should be in a constant cooperation with other objectives of the policy. This, in turn, can be achieved through interdepartmental coordination at the Berlin government level.

All in all, the goal analysis and its relation to social cohesion definition is certainly rather idealistic and does not yet regard various difficulties of the implementation process. However, while analyzing the goals of Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City programme it is possible to notice that it has a certain correlation with this research perspective on the problem of the development of cohesive community.

4.1.3. Level of the policy implementation

The joint programme Districts with Special Development Needs – The Socially Integrative City is a federal-level policy which was promoted by a new German government. In 2010 it included 603 sites (that is, neighbourhoods) in 375 municipalities all over the country.

4.1.4. How is it implemented in Berlin?

A particular interest of this chapter is to take a closer look on the implementation practice of the "Social City" programme within the capital of Germany. Initially, 15 disadvantaged areas were set as the target neighbourhoods for the local officials. Since the objectives of the programme were rather broad in the documents, a solid and definite instrument was necessary for their fulfillment. This instrument was found through so-called *Neighbourhood*

Management (Quartiersmanagement); at the same time, the policy treats an *Integrated Action Plan* as a major tool for attaining these objectives.

4.1.4.1. Instrument, tool and procedures.

Neighbourhood management is a key strategic *instrument* for achieving the goals of the programme. It is described as a "ground for the necessary measures, activities, activation and revitalization processes for the neighbourhood (...) to handle the complex tasks and objectives of integrated urban district development" (Becker, 2003). In order to achieve these goals, neighbourhood management implies an organization of comprehensive urban district development at various operational levels. Figure 12 shows the organization of the neighbourhood management process and identifies the major actors and their responsibilities.
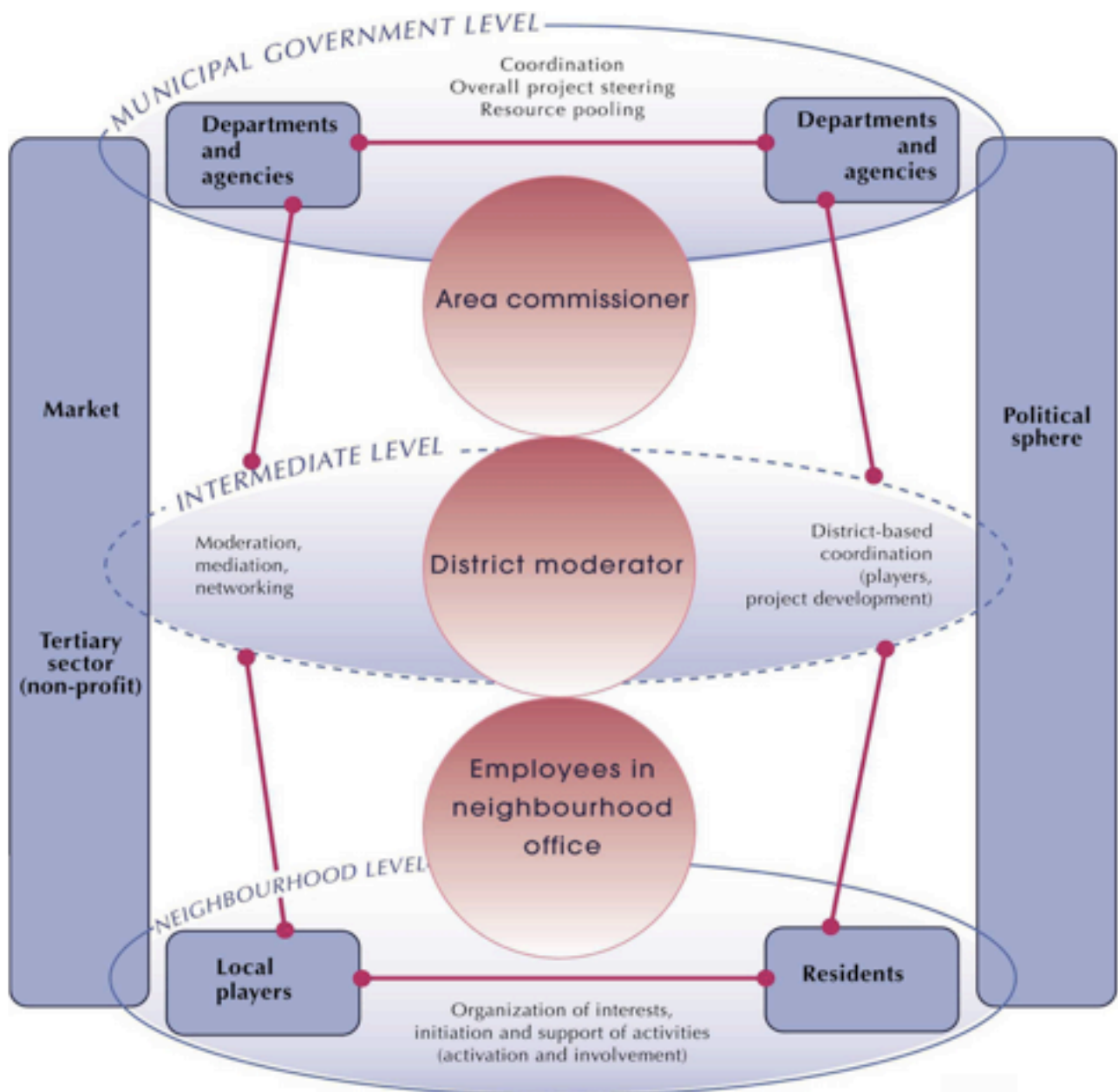
Figure 12. Areas of responsibility and organization of neighbourhood management *(source - German Institute of Urban Affairs, 2001)*

Generally, Neighbourhood Management aims to guarantee horizontal and vertical cooperation between various levels of urban area. This is achieved through collaboration between local players (groups and residents), municipality, political parties (local parliament), business and non-governmental organizations. This collaboration is managed with the introduction of new personnel units which are arguably the principal elements of the coordinating system of Neighbourhood Management as a key policy instrument. The first unit, **area commissioner**, is responsible for (Becker, 2003):

• horizontally networking participating agencies (district-based, interdepartmental cooperation)
• controlling the investment of municipal resources in consultation with the competent departments/agencies (harmonization responsibility)
• establishing goals/standards/indicators
• supervising the whole project/coordinating implementation of the Integrated Action Plan
• managing individual projects;
• acquiring funds, providing financial planning and advice;
• reporting to political committees;
• monitoring

The second important personnel unit, which was implemented within Social City programme, is a **district moderator**, whose duty is to:

• horizontal networking of and cooperation with local players
• general activities and outreach work/activation of neighbourhood residents (including developing contacts; guaranteeing availability; getting to know key players, communication structures, problems and potential in the district; motivation and activation of inhabitants; counseling; information services; interest and topic pooling; project initiation)

The last element of this coordinative system within the Neighbourhood Management procedure is a number of e**mployees in the neighbourhood office**. Their responsibilities are:

• pooling and diagnosis of various forms of neighbourhood needs and feeding of information into the neighbourhood (vertical networking between local government and the «real world»)
• circular networking between municipal government, policymakers, business and «civil society» (partly to activate the relevant human and material resources)
• assurance of information flow between municipal government, neighbourhood and intermediate level and between integrated urban district development players
• assurance of information flow between municipal government, neighbourhood and intermediate level and between integrated urban district development players
• creation of procedural transparency
• development and stabilization of local cooperation and communication structures
• moderating, mediation, dialogue management
• project initiation
• public relations work within and beyond the neighbourhood.

Even though Neighbourhood Management form is varying depending on the Land within Germany, it has a common goal and some attributes shared by many Länder. A broad goal of this instrument is to promote a strategy to reach and construct "self-supporting, sustained personnel and material structures for neighbourhood development" (Becker,

2003). Also, all over the country Neighbourhood Management incorporates the following traits:

• targeted investment of municipal resources
• incorporation of the district-related neighbourhood management process in a citywide development policy
• operations spanning various fields of activity and levels
• activation and empowerment of residents, with close involvement of local businesses, neighbourhood institutions (schools, preschool facilities, churches, police) and local societies, initiatives and associations

One of the Neighbourhood Management functions is also to develop an Integrated Action Plan of disadvantaged areas. Policy treats Integrated Action Plan as a strategic tool of the programme. Official documents ascribe it the following definition: "a long-term, integrated, district-based urban development policy action plan to support measures. The action plan (preparation and implementation model and cost and financing overview) is intended to offer targeted, integrated solutions for complex problems, feature all steps required to achieve the goals – including those of developers, builders and funding providers – and present spending estimates and means of financing" (Becker, Böhme and Meyer, 2001).

4.2. Governmental feedback on the programme

The programme is the object of a constant governmental appraisal. Programme evaluations took place several times since the beginning of its implementation. Evaluation has identified both positive achievements and problematic situations and issues which were raised by this new policy. In general, this section (as well as Section 3) is to gain insight into which problems the policy faces in the process of realization. Later these difficulties will be incorporated into the conclusions and recommendations chapter, where it will be discussed whether cohousing is able to contribute to their solution.

4.2.1. Positive feedback

In the feedback documents provided on the official web-site of the programme (www. sozialestadt.de) it is stated that, in general, "the programme is going in the right direction, furnishing important stimuli for the stabilization of living conditions in disadvantaged urban districts and taking initial steps towards constructing a sustainable infrastructure" (Becker et al., 2003). Among the strengths of the policy there were identified:

• new awareness of the local problems and capabilities;
• organization of experience-sharing forums;
• number of joint activities of different Land departments is growing showing the potential of interdepartmental cooperation;
• improved chances of residents to participate (Silver, 2006).

4.2.2. Negative feedback

Despite of a generally positive tone of appraisals there are certainly some problems which the policy has faced since the beginning of the implementation. For example, one of the major problems is that local governments are not flexible enough to implement the programme and to address its goals and problems in full. This is obvious in particular

cases when cooperation (though started and potentially fruitful) between different governmental agencies and departments is too slow and formal. Thus, there is an evident lack of collaboration experience. Besides, there are the following areas of cricisism which were found and studied in the governmental feedback on the programme:

• approaching disadvantaged segments of society is too slow, meaning that many of the activities related to the policy are concentrating on the "middle class";
• there is a lack of multicultural activities;
• housing companies and enterprises are not adequately involved.

4.3. Researchers' critique

Various independent (meaning, not government-affiliated) researchers also conducted analysis and appraisals of the new policy. Their specific focus was to understand how successful was a governmental transition from completely physical urban development to a development with more social objectives.

4.3.1. Positive feedback

As it was investigated by researchers (Silver, 2006; Kil and Silver, 2006; Bockmeyer, 2004), generally the communication form utilized by the policy sometimes is rather formal, which excludes less-educated residents out of the collaboration process. However, in Berlin, on the contrary, government managed to achieve some effective ways to involve the residents into the decision-making process. Even though the process of participation was not really integrated into the wide-city planning procedure, as OECS (2003) cites Häusermann, a new "Social City" policy was "undoubtedly a great success", and new organizational structures introduced by the policy are the steps in the right direction.

4.3.2. Negative feedback

While criticizing the Social City programme Marcuse, cited by Silver (2006), doubts that the policy is supported by sufficient funding. Moreover, he notes that even though the starting funding doesn't seem to be enough in order to achieve the set of goals, it is getting even smaller. Also, he argues that expenditures on the programme are harming other policies of the area. Besides, Silver notes that there are some doubts whether the programme really deals with deep root reasons of the problems which Berlin encounters with recently. Per contra, there is still a possibility that it delivers solutions for a 'top of the iceberg' which is not substantially improving the situation with current issues of German capital: "Targeting districts with "special development needs" risks equating the problems with the people who live there, rather than with external causes of spatially concentrated disadvantage" (Silver, 2006). Following Marcuse logics, new form of Neighbourhood Management only makes some cosmetic improvements and feeling of participation, even though in fact it disables more opportunities for residents to find the ways for protests.

Moreover, Marcuse notes that a current management plans propose the actual "dissolution of communities" (Silver, 2006), which means the disregard of existing self-organized communities and attempts to rebuild the current social structure of the neighbourhood. This is especially interesting in regard to cohousing communities which will be discussed more precisely in the next chapter, and also might cause tensions between immigrant communities and either district moderator or employee in a neighbourhood office.

Same worries are expressed by Bockmeyer (2004): "As a top-down structure, residents' input comes into play only in the final stages of program construction". Therefore the whole neighbourhood management participative model might seem just as an "image-making" procedure which goal is to bring the residents the knowledge about the ideas of "managers", who are the outsiders for the neighbourhood. She mentions that in general, bringing residents together for a real cooperation appears to be the most significant weakness of the policy which is followed by poor communication to the policy's goals.

In this chapter we attempted to provide a short description and analysis of the Socially Integrative City programme in relation to the main goal to achieve a more cohesive community on the local level within Berlin. Major traits of the policy (reasons, goals, tools and instruments) were discussed and related to a theoretical concept of social cohesion. Also, some opportunities and weaknesses of the programme were identified. In the final chapter, Conclusions and Recommendations, an attempt to incorporate intentional communities (cohousing) into the policy procedure will be made. Therefore, there will be a try to find the ways to address the problems and achieve the goals of the policy with keeping in mind possible shortcomings of existing practice of the programme, and opportunities which cohousing provides for it will be drawn.

Chapter 5. Case-study

To start with, it is necessary to clarify that the term of cohousing is not in common use in Germany, but is closely related to the idea of Intentionale Gemeinschaften. This was proved by preliminary desk research of the scientific works which are focussed on intentional communities within Germany. For example, Dierschke (2003) mentioned that by the beginning of the 2000's there were at least 109 recognized intentional communities, and in fact this number may be significantly higher (Diershke, 2003). These projects included ecovillages, squats, Baugemeinschaften and communities of artists. Among these intentional communities Baugemeinschaften are the most significant within the urban context in Germany. This perception was also compounded through a number of interviews with both experts and residents of such intentional communities. Moreover, the term of Baugemeinschaft is very close to an international definition of cohousing and has similar traits and attributes as many projects all over the world (for example, compare to Williams (2005) and Markus (2001)). These traits include community-orientation, environmental awareness, shared space and form of organization and planning of the project.

According to the conceptual framework the communal habitus of cohousing residents and their neighbours in the outer community was to be studied through the acquisition of information regarding their cultural and social forms of capital. In order to achieve this, case-studies were conducted. In particular, two cases in Berlin were investigated due to the active role of the German capital in building cohousing communities. For example, the Senate of Berlin promotes and leads several Baugemeinschaften projects and tends to appreciate their significance (Suckow, 2009). At the same time, a significant number of projects are developed by either private companies (i.e. developing companies), or by future residents themselves. In this chapter the latter two, private developers- and residents-organized and led, cohousing projects will be described.

The case-studies' description is based on the interviews conducted with eight respondents in total. The respondents form two groups: experts and ordinary cohousers. The expert group includes a head of the developing company (AREA Agentur für räumliche Entwicklungsalternativen - the Agency for the Spatial Alternative Development; developer for the Eschengraben Straße project) and two Beginenhof group leaders, both of whom are currently running some activities. The second group of interviewees consists of the resident of the Beginenhof project and four habitants of the Eschengraben Straße project. Therefore in the two cohousing projects both experts and ordinary residents were interviewed. More detailed information about the interviewees is provided in Appendix 3.

5.1. Description of the projects

5.1.1. Beginenhof project

To start with it is necessary to make a distinction in the form of the organization and initiation of these two types of cohousing. The first project, Beginenhof, started in 2002, and was fully organized by the residents themselves from the beginning. They were involved in issues such as the purchase of the land, hiring of the architect and discussion of the project among all the residents. Furthermore, the residents arranged financial support for the project from investors.

The Beginenhof project is located in the district of Kreuzberg, Berlin (Figure 13). The area around the project, Kottbusser Tor, is a subject of Socially Integrative City programme

implementation. The neighbourhood is considered as a district with special needs (Beer et al., 2006). The reason for this status is the problems which the district has faced after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Among them is the outmigration of "middle class, while poor, older and "deeply rooted people have remained" (Beer and Munsch, 2002). Secondly, demographic situation is considered as problematic (*ibid*): the concentration of foreign population and a general population decline are typical for the area. Thirdly, the district shows a high rate of unemployment and social assistance recipients, which is caused by poor economical attractiveness of Kottbusser Tor.

Figure 13. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district of Berlin. Source: en.wikipedia.org

The Beginenhof project is not a part of the Socially Integrative City programme and is not involved into the neighbourhood management process. It is now run by a group of 53 residents, the vast majority of which are women in the age of 50-60 years old. Only three residents living in the Baugemeinschaft are male. The initial idea of the initiators - to bring single women together - demonstrates the influence of feminist movement ideas in 1970-1980s.

The initiation phase of Beginenhof started in 2002, and the construction phase was completed in 2007. The Baugemeinschaft includes about 50 apartments, a community garden and two common areas: roof terrace and a common room. All the inhabitants of the cohousing project are free to take advantage of this shared space. As a result of this there are many events taking place in the common room and the community garden.

5.1.2.Eschengraben Straße project

In contrast to Beginenhof, the Eschengrabenstraße project was originally initiated by a developing company, which is specialized in promoting Baugemeinschaften in Berlin. The

company coordinated the planning process, contacts with land-owners and architects, and cooperation between participants of cohousing project. An interview with the developer reveals the intricacies of this latter requirement: "We are the agent, and the developer, and the moderator, and a psychologist for the group" (*interview with the developer*). That is, people who are interested in the project, though generally are having a similar background, goals and values (as will be described below), are still varying in their perspective on different details of their future home and require discrepant treatment. These might include different views on house planning attributes and solvency: "if people will start making their own decisions on the stairs, they will kill each other, because it influences the prices of all the flats" (*ibid*). Therefore, the construction and planning phase of the project on the Eschengrabenstraße was mostly controlled and managed by the developer, though future residents were still able to participate in the project development and decision-making.

The Baugemeinschaft is located on the South of Pankow district of Berlin. The neighbourhood is not a subject of the Socially Integrative City programme. Comparing to Cottbusser Tor, the area of Eschengrabenstraße project is less problematic. According to the Office of Economic Development of Pankow (http://www.pankow-wirtschaft.de), the rate of immigrants is rather low (5,8 %), and the majority of population (75%) is aged between 15 and 65 years old. Pankow is considered as a middle-class resort and gained this status after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when rather prosperous Western Berliners started moving to the area in search of better housing opportunities. This trend persist nowadays, and the households tend to be richer on the North of Pankow, according to the interviewees.

Figure 14. Pankow district of Berlin. Source: en.wikipedia.org

The Eschengraben project consists of 5 different houses. The initiation and planning phase took place in 2007-2008 depending on the building. Nearly all the construction works were completed by 2010. However, there are still some plans to be realized, such as community houses in the garden. Each building, 5 or 6 stored, has about 15-20 flats. Each house has its own common space on the roof, which includes both community rooms and terraces. Besides, even though the buildings are not interconnected, there is a garden which is shared by all of the residents.

In this chapter, the habitus of these two cohousing groups and their neighbours will be presented. In order to do so, the following categories of the social and cultural capital of cohousers were derived from the interviews with Baugemeinschaft residents:

Cultural Capital:
• financial situation;
• origin;
• education;
• political preferences;
• cultural preferences;
• occupation;
• family situation;
• reasons for cohousing;
• values shared with other cohousing participants.

Social Capital:
• experience of cohousing management;
• connections and activities.

5.2. Cultural Capital

As stated in Chapter 2, these categories are the most significant traits of social and cultural capital according to Bourdieu (2002). Education, cultural and political preferences, origin, financial situation and occupation are the basic elements of cultural capital identified by Bourdieu (2002). In Chapter 2 we emphasized their importance in constructing individual values and, therefore, behaviour. Such elements as origin and financial situation demonstrate which opportunities the cohousing residents obtain and what influenced the formation of their values, including political and cultural preferences, education, occupation and family situation. These values lead the research to the reasons which were important for inhabitants to join a cohousing group. Also, with the information about these elements of individual cultural capital we can conclude about values shared by the group, and identify the communal cultural capital. This order, as demonstrated on Figure 13, is the basis for the description of the cultural capital in this chapter.
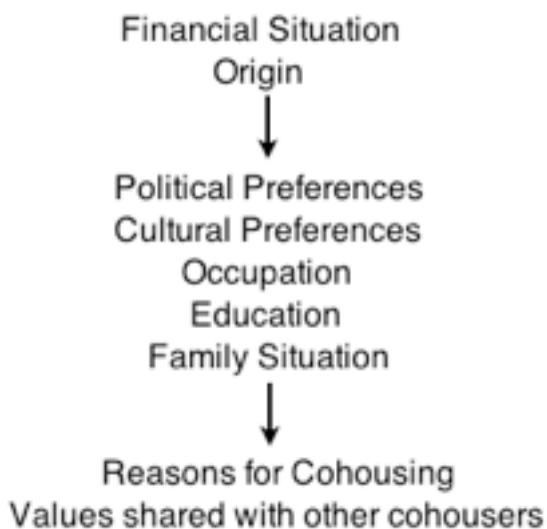
Financial Situation
Origin

↓

Political Preferences
Cultural Preferences
Occupation
Education
Family Situation

↓

Reasons for Cohousing
Values shared with other cohousers

Figure 15. The formation of shared cultural capital of cohousers

It is necessary to note that during the research there were some practical issues with conducting interviews with representatives of adjacent neighbourhood. Only four short conversations took place; however, a lot of information was obtained through the interviews both with experts (developer and group leaders) and cohousing project residents. Certainly, this research could be deepened in the future through applying quantitative technique in order to get more information about habitus of adjacent neighbourhood. In this research habitus of this group was obtained basically through perception of cohousers. This, however, does not seem to be a problem since still demonstrates relationship between two groups and their habitus.

5.2.1. Financial Situation

Both projects' residents are able to afford to buy an apartment, sometimes even for a big family (2-3 children). Following the information which was obtained through the interview with the developer of cohousing communities, the average price of the apartment is about 2300 EURO per square meter. Though this is generally cheaper than the average price of a 'regular' apartment in the same district, the financial situation of cohousers is rather strong: "Each women owns a flat, and has to pay a lot of money just to get the flat" (*interview with Beginenhof group leaders*). A developer labelled the residents of his projects as upper-middle class, even though "in Germany you don't talk too much about classes" (*interview with the developer*).

It is worth mentioning that some of the cohousers of Eschengrabenstraße received financial support from their parents while buying the apartment. Generally, both Baugemeinschaften residents are coming from middle-class families, which were able to support them while they were getting education.

Neighbours living close to the Beginenhof project are experiencing an instability in their financial situation. Most of them are not able to get included into the economical and labour system of Germany due to their immigrant origin (see also the next part for details). As a result, up to 40% of the local residents are unemployed (Beer and Munsch, 2002). Those in the neighbourhood who managed to integrate into the labour market are in the niche of low-paid work force.

The Eschengraben Straße project adjacent neighbours, being the representatives of "a working class" (interview with the Eschengraben Straße project resident) are considered by cohousers as low-paid professionals. This is partially substantiated by the short conversations which took place during the case-study. However, due to the research limitations, such as time limit and reluctance of local residents to participate in the interviews, it is hard to judge about their financial opportunities.

5.2.2. Origin

As was noted by the vast majority of respondents, most of the people living in both projects are from Western Berlin. In Beginenhof most of the residents are from Berlin, although some may have been born in other parts of Western Germany: "many Berlin people were not born in Berlin, they came from the Western part mainly, only 2 are from Eastern part, I think, because they don't have the money, we have to buy the whole house, and in the Eastern part they don't have that much opportunity to save money for the project" (*interview with a Beginenhof group leader*).

In the Eschengraben Straße project the majority of residents are also from Western Germany, and most of them had been living in Berlin for some time. However, as one of the respondents had noted "we are quite mixed here" (*interview with a Eschengraben Straße project resident*), meaning that some residents used to live in the South of Germany, or were originally from the Eastern part. However, the majority of residents are from Western Germany and were living in Berlin for quite a long time before they joined Baugemeinschaft: "About 2/3, up to 60-75% have their origins in old Western Germany, even though here we are in Eastern Berlin, and all my projects are in Eastern Berlin" (*interview with a Baugruppen developer*).

Origin is important while understanding cultural capital of Berliners since the city was divided onto two parts for a long time. Most of the cohousers in both projects are either from Western Berlin or Western Germany. According to the interviews with them, they are more curious comparing with their neighbours, who were born in Eastern Berlin. It reflects in the choices which they have made in their life. Despite of living in the richer part of Berlin and Germany in late 80's-early 90's, cohousers felt adventurous enough to explore a new life in the 'socialist' part of the city. On the one hand, Eschengrabenstraße residents, who moved to the Eastern part while being students *(interview with a Baugruppen developer),* were looking for cheaper apartments and creative space. On the other hand, the Beginenhof inhabitants, also Western Berliners by the most part, were also looking for a place where their project could contribute to the community. While being a part of the problematic Kottbusser Tor neighbourhood, the Beginenhof cohousers started a number of projects, which do diversify cultural life of the neighbourhood and help integration processes of the immigrants.

Besides, from the interviews with Eschengrabenstraße project residents it can be derived that the inhabitants of the adjacent neighbourhood, Eastern Berliners by origin, tend to be less mobile. They have been living on the same place for decades. As one of the interviewees stated, Eastern Berliners often cannot afford to move out to other places because due to financial issues. Besides, "Eastern Germans don't like to get on debt with the banks" *(interview with the Eschengrabenstraße project resident).* So, they do not search for financial aid from the banks, which also finds a reflection on their mobility habits.

In this part we have touched upon the traits of the cultural capital of Baugemeinschaften residents and their neighbours, which are directly connected to their origin. Among them are sustainable financial situation, curiosity, high level of mobility of Eschengrabenstraße cohousers as Western Berliners, and poor financial situation, lower level of education and mobility for the residents of their neighbours. The traits the former group are also relevant for Beginenhof cohousers. At the same time, residents of Beginenhof's adjacent neighbourhoods are mobile since they are immigrants. Their education is either low, or is not accepted in Germany. Also, their immigrant origin puts some barriers to a communication process with native Germans. In the rest of the chapter, we will further discuss the traits, which were derived through analysis of the residents origin, and find their relationship to the other elements of cultural capital of cohousers and their neighbours.

5.2.3. Political Preferences

According to an interview with a cohousing developer, people living on the Eschengraben Straße (as well as in many other projects developed by the same company) "40% vote for Greens, as they are ecologically aware; 40% vote for Social Democrats, and 20% vote for Conservatives". It is important to note that these numbers are the approximation of a person, who worked with a large number of Baugruppen and Baugemeinschaften and, was therefore, in a good position to possess information regarding the personal perceptions and political preferences of his clients. However, he did not aim to get the precise information about their political views; these numbers are, subsequently, just an expert's personal approximation.

However, these numbers would appear to be fairly accurate since residents themselves were questioned on the same topic during the interviews. They indicated that a large number of residents (of those who were interviewed directly; the interviewee's perception of the political perspectives of the group were also asked and incorporated into the analysis process) would vote for Greens. This is mainly due to the fact that the vast majority of the cohousing residents are aware of global ecological problems. Furthermore, some of the projects are built in a way to be environmentally friendly and energy-independent, meaning that residents tend to set up a system for a renewable energy for their houses. The second reason was mentioned by one of the respondents, is that collaboration with various political parties on various questions connected to the neighbourhood development had shown that Greens are more open to dialogue, compared to other political forces from the perspective of those cohousers who were engaged in the process of conversation with those in power.

The second political force, the socialist-oriented Social Democratic Party of Germany, is also popular among the residents of the Eschengraben Straße project. This popularity is probably a result of the cultural and educational background of cohousers. Some of them mentioned that they support some of the socialist ideas and that other cohousers also support them. Moreover, some mentioned that it might be an impact of their student life in early 90's, when there was an interest in socialism as the political system of Eastern Germany.

As for Beginenhof, some of its residents also support socialist' ideas. Moreover, in 1970's and 1980's some of the project initiators took an active part in women movements. From the very beginning, the project was initiated by women who belonged to this political and ideological stream. However, later some of those initiators left the project for various

reasons, even though Beginenhof still keeps its main goal - to bring together women who do not want to get old alone and who are looking for a community. Furthermore, residents and group leaders recognized that the group initiators and participants were inspired by the squatters movement and that they support the their ideas. Thus, feminism and socialism are interconnected as the main and most prominent streams of political orientation of politically active residents of Beginenhof.

The Eschengraben Straße project adjacent neighbours' political preferences can be derived from the information provided by The Federal Returning Officer (2012) concerning the electoral activity of the Pankow district. According to this open data, a significant number of the Pankow residents support Die Linke (the left-wing socialistic party, 28,8%) and Die Grüne ("the Greens", 16,3%). Thus, political orientation of the cohousing community and their neighbours appear to be similar, at the first glance. At the same time, 27,4% of the electorate votes for Social Democratic party of Germany, which does not find much support among the cohousers.

5.2.4. *Education*

The residents of both projects are predominantly educated to a higher level. Moreover, according to data gained from interviews, all of the residents hold a diploma of higher education. The only exception is that on Eschengrabenstraße, where there are some students who are still in the process of getting their degrees. However, they are already in the system of higher education and are likely to obtain degrees in the future. The degree fields of cohousers are very diverse: social sciences, mathematics, programming, natural sciences. It is interesting to note that in Beginenhof there are more inhabitants of 'social' educational background (that is, social work, education studies, cultural studies, sociologists); while in the Eschengrabenstraße project there are more people with degrees in technical (IT, programming, engineering) and creative (design, architecture) studies.

The information of an educational level of cohousers' neighbours was also derived from the interviews. The neighbours of the Beginenhof residents have a low standard of education, according to the cohousers' opinion. This data is proved by policy documents (Becker, 2003), which include Cottbusser Tor into a list of the neighbourhood having various problems, including a low educational level.

The data about educational level of the neighbours of Eschengraben Straße project is rather subjective, since it was derived solely from the interviews. Most of the respondents identify their neighbours as representatives of a working class having lower educational level comparing to cohousers. Some respondents also connected their neighbours' educational level to their Eastern Berlin origin. In their opinion, there were less opportunities for Eastern Berliners to receive a higher education.

5.2.5. *Occupation*

Due to the wide rage of the educational background of the cohousers, their professional experience is also extremely diverse. In Beginenhof residents are predominantly teachers, social workers and historians; professions linked to their 'social' education. On Eschengrabenstraße the occupational experience is more diversified: there are politicians, architects, designers, professors (of linguistics, for instance), small business representatives. As emphasized by the developer of the project, there are no 'working class' people in Baugemeinschaften (not only on Eschengraben, this is also a general

trend for cohousing communities, at least in Berlin). In both projects there are a number of residents with Ph.D. degrees. However, the majority of cohousers posses Master's degrees and most of them are working in a field relevant to their university studies. Some, however, either changed their academic interests over time (from IT to linguistics, for example), or have simply started working in a field which is not directly connected to their degree.

As mentioned above, the adjacent neighbours of the Eschengraben Straße project are characterized as a "working class". Therefore, their occupation is not connected with intellectual labour or creative industries. This was proved by short talks with some local residents, whose occupation was identified as "shop assistant", "postman" and "unemployed". However, this section of the research could be improved in the future by conducting more interviews with the residents of adjacent neighbourhood.

As was mentioned above, the Cottbusser Tor neighbourhood is identified by the policy makers as the area with the special needs (Becker, 2003; Beer, 2006). A high level of unemployment is among the traits of the area. Besides, as derived from the interviews with Beginenhof residents, the occupation of the immigrants living in the neighbourhood is connected to their communities. This implies a number of neighbours involved into an immigrant community-related business. Therefore, there are two rather large groups in the neighbourhood in terms of their occupation: unemployed and employed at local business entities. The unemployment rate is about 40%, and "low levels of education and vocational training and language problems make it more difficult to compete even for insecure and badly paid jobs, and bar access to training positions (Beer and Munsch, 2002). As a result of this inability to integrate into the labour market, many young immigrants get involved into the dark economy, in particular, drug business.

5.2.6. Cultural Preferences

Since the vast majority of inhabitants of the cohousing projects in Berlin which were studied, possess a degree of higher education, their cultural preferences often reflect this background. For instance, one resident of an Eschengraben Straße project who has a degree in design is still interested in design, as well as in arts even though this resident is not working in this field anymore. The same sort of situation is observed in Beginenhof: some women with an educational background in social sciences or history are running a political, reading or history club.

All the respondents have shown an interest in different types of literature: post-modernism, contemporary literature, both in German, English or other languages, specialized academic books. Interviewees of both projects noted that they read regularly. Regarding their cultural preferences a developer of the Eschengraben Straße project noted that the residents are "are not just sitting at home and watching TV" (*interview with a developer*), meaning that they have a wide range of cultural preferences and that they are interested in various forms of cultural life.

Also, people living in Baugemeinschaften are evidently interested in art. They attend various art exhibitions, their music preferences are not limited with "typically pop music" (*interview with a resident*). Respondents at the Eschengraben project are interested in either different kinds of rock or classical music. Now they attend philharmonic concerts and theatrical plays from time to time. At the same time, nearly every interviewee

mentioned that they would visit various concerts, exhibitions, plays more frequently, but their priorities changed a bit when they started their family.

Comparing to the Eschengraben Straße cohousers, the Beginenhof residents are more active in organizing cultural events. For example, there are various club-attached activities, which are run by the participants of cohousing and which are open to the a wider public: literature club, political discussions, dancing club. Moreover, they periodically arrange art exhibitions of young Berlin painters. These exhibitions take place regularly and aim to support the artists who are at the beginning of their creative career.

All of the respondents speak English. According to their perception and experience, as well as to experts (developer and group leaders) most of the residents speak English; though the percentage of people speaking this language in the Eschengraben project might be slightly higher due to the fact that their education was generally more internationally oriented since they were studying at a later time compared to Beginenhof residents, the vast majority of Beginenhof residents speak some foreign language. Moreover, in both of the projects some residents speak other languages as well: French, Dutch, Russian, Turkish and Turkish dialects (even though they are native Germans).

The adjacent neighbours of the Beginenhof project mainly follow the traditions typical to their cultural background. Sometimes this causes the problems for the integration processes, since the Cottbusser Tor residents of Turkish origin do not demonstrate the will to participate in the leisure activities offered by local authorities (Beer and Munsch, 2002). For example, "for material and cultural reasons, many Turkish and Arab parents to not allow their children to attend kindergarten or use school recreational facilities, thus restricting opportunities for integration" (*ibid*). However, the residents demonstrate the will to make a dialogue with local officials and "they put forward ideas and show creativity" in organizing new cultural projects (*ibid*).

5.2.7. Reasons for cohousing

The community in Beginenhof seems to be closer to the initial "idealistic" idea of cohousing in that it is community-oriented, with a strong shared idea and value behind the group. It is not just "Baugruppe" (meaning, "Building group", a group of people whose main shared goal is to build together), where a strong community, while still an important component, is nevertheless only one of the reasons to gather people together. In a classic Baugruppe (Eschengraben case) the price is also a very important consideration. Moreover, this factor becomes even more significant over time. However, people initially coming to the Baugruppe form of cohousing seeking a cheaper means of living, later tend to change their attitude to community life and its opportunities. Also, in the "classic" Baugruppe, the family situation is also important. Newcomers often (mentioned by an expert and by 5 out of 5 interviewees) seek for more room for their growing family. All the interviewees have families with 2 kids or more. In general, on Eschengraben Straße young families with children prevail over families without children, and over singles.

In Beginenhof , the price of the project didn't seem to be the major motivation for residents to join the cohousing project. The group leaders referred to the project as "Wohngemeinschaft", which basically means "community to live together". They articulated that it ceased to be "Baugemeinschaft" immediately after the completion of the final construction works. Residents here pay significantly more attention to various common activities: history, art exhibitions, dances, literature club, shared meals are cooked regularly. These practices also involve visitors. Most of the events are open to friends and

acquaintances of Beginenhof residents. However, there is little intention to create publicity for the events for the neighbourhood which is adjacent to the project. This could be one of the reasons for the exclusion of the residents of those neighbourhood, but not the major one. Also, visibly there is more common space, compared to the Eschengraben Straße project: a large community garden, a sizable common room on the ground floor (with a collective kitchen next to it), and open space on the roof.

5.2.8. Values shared by the cohousing residents

In this part we will point out which values are common for the most of cohousers. The most important value for residents of the Beginenhof is "to live together, not to be alone". They also specify: to live together with other single women who "think the same, who do the same and who they would like to speak with". Thus, since the very beginning it was very important to build a strong community, to live in a friendly and open atmosphere. Also, residents tend to be ecologically-minded, which is reflected in Beginenhof project design as well: the building of the project is energy-efficient. Moreover, there are a lot of vegetarians in the project; women living in Beginenhof (in their 50's and 60's mainly) appear to care about their health, food and habits.

As it was mentioned almost all of the residents have a higher education. People in Beginenhof are united by the intellectual work which they were/are involved in as professionals. Besides, for the majority of residents this work was/is connected with providing aid to different groups of people: among cohousers there are many social workers, teachers, professors. Thus, the value of helping those who are in need is derived from their educational and professional background.

Also, there are some social researchers, who are still active in exploring current social issues in Berlin. The "social orientation" of cohousers' occupation partly defined their attitude to the neighbourhood around them. They are united by their will to search for the ways to contribute to the community around them to transfer their knowledge, which will be described in more details in the "Social capital" part of this chapter.

In the Eschengraben Straße project the major value that is shared by almost all residents is a family and children: nearly every apartment is occupied by a family with at least 2 children. The value of a family, which they share and respect, gives the residents a sense of community. The recognition that they are living with neighbours who have the same situation in terms of family and work, enables them to find a person to talk to and to get help from.

Furthermore, residents in this project are close in terms of age, education and financial situation and form an upper-middle class community. They share the similar life-style, most of the residents value similar types of literature and styles in music and do appreciate various forms of art (sculpture, painting and design).

All of the Eschengraben Straße Baugemeinschaft inhabitants have shared an urban experience. According to the developer opinion, they want to live in the urban entity, and they want their children to be raised in a livable city center. "They have a special mentality" (*from the interview with a developer*) to improve their area, which is not confined by their own flat or community garden, but is much wider. This gives them an incentive to build a dialogue with the officials to get more trees and the playground in the neighbourhood. These practices demonstrate their desire to contribute to the

neighbourhood lay-out and to improve the local facilities open to every inhabitant of the area.

5.3. Social capital

As stated in Chapter 2, social capital represents "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Lemert, 2004). In other words, it reflects how people are able to exchange their ideas, knowledge, preferences, that is, cultural capital, and which networks they use. In our case-study we explored the networks of cohousing residents in relation to each other, adjacent neighbourhood representatives and connections within the whole city. Partially, it is also possible to judge about the social capital of the neighbours of cohousers. However, the judgements about their social capital are relevant only in relation to the cohousers.

To understand how cohousers exchange cultural capital we explored their activities and connections with representatives of their Baugemeinschaft and of the wider community. This information demonstrates the process of socialization of cohousing residents and of transferring knowledge, values and ideas between them.

5.3.1.Beginenhof project residents' connections and activities

Since the initiation phase of the project future cohousers had meetings to understand each other's aspirations from the project. The appointments' discussions included issues about the design of the building, garden and community space. They were organized on a regular basis and aimed to find solutions suitable for most of the cohousers. These meeting were the first element of the social capital, which started their network. As noted in the interviews, many of possible residents dropped the project because they did not manage to find enough support for their ideas during these appointments with the prospective neighbours. Those who stayed in the project agreed on the solutions for principal problems and, therefore, formed a group of close-minded people.

Now the residents have a set of activities which are shared by the group members. In the Beginenhof a number of activities is significantly larger than on the Eschengraben Straße projects. The activities include a history salon, a book reading club, dances, a political discussion club, and artist exhibitions. At these events residents share their cultural capital: reading, musical, art and political preferences. Besides, some of the residents participate in scientific conferences regarding Baugemeinschaften all over Germany. These practices involve the academic social networks into cohousers' social capital.

The activities arrange socialization patterns for cohousers strengthening their sense of belonging to the place. Besides, most of the activities aim to invite the wider public to participate. Usually "the wider public" implies guests from all over the city of Berlin but not the neighbourhood surrounding the cohousing community. So, social capital of cohousers is not limited by their own group connections. Beginenhof events attract other Berliners whose cultural capital has the intersections with the cultural capital of cohousers. The events, such as art exhibitions and political discussion club, build a platform, which enables the transfer of cultural capital of various groups.

Group leaders noted that they are not actively seeking to invite their neighbours to their activities. It means that they do not organize events especially for them and do not make

any special announcements for the neighbours. However, Beginenhof residents found other ways to communicate with the neighbourhood. At least four of the project residents are involved into the educational activity of the local children, who are Turkish and Arab immigrants. They are working as volunteer assistants in a local school, helping children to integrate into German culture and society. Moreover, through contacts with the children, some of the cohousers found a way to communicate with their parents. Now some of them are helping those parents who do not speak German to learn more of it. Also, they are providing assistance in their neighbours' everyday practices, such as shopping or visiting hospital.

The respondents have identified their wish to communicate with local authorities in order to get more opportunities for their activities. They noted that they realize the importance of the practices encouraged by their Baugemeinschaft. At the moment they do not experience any governmental support. At the same time they do not actively communicate with the governmental representatives, but are open for a dialogue and feel that they could add value to the governmental projects in the area.

5.3.2. Eschengraben Straße project residents connections and activities

The Eschengraben Straße residents' communication with the neighbourhood has an indirect form. They had some direct connections with the neighbours mostly during the project construction phase, and this communication was not very successful due to the noise produced by construction. Cohousers' neighbours complained about the nuisance and inconvenience caused by project implementation, and therefore there were some tensions between cohousers and their future neighbours. This is one of the reasons why direct communication between the two groups is rather weak. A rare communication is opening up between the children of the two groups. This occurs when the children attend a common school or a kindergarten or in instances in which children from the neighbourhood visit their friends from cohousing. However, this latter scenario is uncommon and rather exceptional due to certain characteristics of the adjacent neighbourhood such as lack of young families (as derived from the interviews with the cohousers and the developer).

At the same time, the indirect communication takes a specific form: Eschengraben Straße cohousers are looking for the ways to influence and improve the spatial traits of their neighbourhood. As noted above, they have fought for the right to plant trees on the street, and were successful in the process of dialogue with local authorities. Their "special mentality" appears here as well: cohousers are ready to spend their own money to plant the trees as the city does not have sufficient funds for it. Also, they managed to persuade the Pankow authorities to find funds for construction of a playground for the children of both groups. In this way, the cohousing group is influencing the neighbourhood socio-spatial characteristics and behavioral pattern of their neighbours.

The respondents from Eschengraben Straße have emphasized that they faced misunderstanding of their issues while communicating with most of the local representatives of the political parties. The only party which took their considerations into account and agreed to give some assistance was the Green party. With the help of this party they achieved some results which are described above.

Besides the described elements of the social capital, the cohousers have the connections outside their neighbourhood and the project. Nearly all of the Eschengraben Straße project residents mentioned that they would say that they spend their time with their cohousing friends and external friends in 50/50 proportion.

5.4. Habitus

Prior to defining the habitus of the social groups described in this chapter, it is worth reminding the definition of habitus which was explained in Chapter 2. As Wacquant (2011) cites Bourdieu, habitus is a "set of dispositions formed throughout the cultural history and practical experience of the collective and produces individual and collective practices". In Chapter 2 we also emphasized that habitus is based upon cultural and social forms of capital. Individual and collective dispositions, such as cultural background, specific knowledge, experience, values, cultural preferences, and institutionalized networks to transfer those dispositions are the basis for individual and collective habitus. The relationship between social capital, cultural capital and habitus, which was drawn in Chapter 2, is demonstrated on Figure 16.
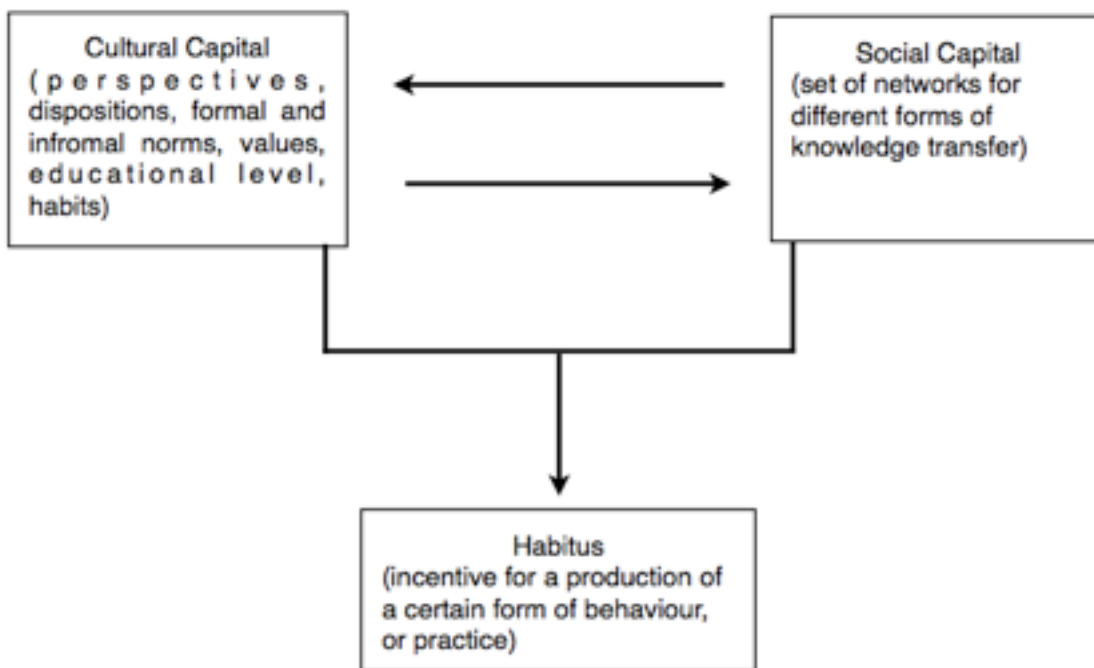

Figure 16. Relationship between cultural capital, social capital and habitus

Therefore, in order to define the habitus of any group, one needs to research its cultural and social capital. In this chapter we have described these forms of capital for two cohousing communities and their adjacent neighbourhoods. The major cultural dispositions and the networks for their transfer were identified. The habitus, which will be delivered in this part of the chapter, is the incentive for a behaviour aroused by these cultural dispositions and the networks.

5.4.1. Habitus of Beginenhof cohousing community

The incentive for behavioral habits of the residents of Beginenhof Baugemeinschaft is based upon a number of elements of their cultural capital. As was derived from the interviews, the residents of Beginenhof are socially active citizens who look for the opportunities to run various projects. They consider their projects, including the reading and dancing clubs, history salons and assistance at the local school, as their most important behavioral activity. Beginenhof residents' habitus represents the incentive to spread the ideas which they find to be valuable for the society within different social groups, and to encourage the diversity of the practices and activities for the

representatives of these groups. The groups include local immigrant community, Berlin artists, Berliners interested in art, history and politics. To spread their ideas, values, preferences and knowledge among these groups, the Beginenhof inhabitants exploit the networks resources which they obtain.

The Beginenhof residents form a group of people with some characteristics shared by most of its representatives. They are politically active people with emphasized socialistic, feministic and green political preferences. The cohousers obtain a degree of higher education in a number of fields, but the most common are social science, history and education. The vast majority of the residents have a deep interest in history, politics, literature and different kinds of art (painting and dancing). Most of them are from the Western part of Germany and their financial condition is rather strong.

The representatives of Beginenhof possess strong social networks among scientific and art-oriented community in Berlin. Besides, they have connections with residents from the adjacent neighbourhood, including a local school's teachers and students, and parents of the students. These networks, or the social capital, and the cultural capital form the cohousers' incentive, or habitus, for the behavioral practices on the neighbourhood level. Their habitus enables the incentive:

• to be open-minded to different cultures;
• to be ecologically-minded;
• to build a cohesive, supportive and strong community within their cohousing project;
• to build ties with adjacent neighbourhood;
• to use their knowledge, experience and background to help people;
• to encourage their connections with the Berliners interested in the creative industries;
• to contact with local authorities.

The first five incentives, as a part of the shared habitus, have produced certain practices and activities, which include:

• reading club
• political club
• dancing club
• history salon
• cooking group
• art exhibitions
• assistance at the local school
• assistance to the immigrants living in the neighbourhood
• communal gardening

The incentive to build a communication process with the local authorities has not resulted in any behavioral practices yet.

5.4.2. Habitus of the Beginenhof adjacent neighbourhood community

The habitus of the Cottbusser Tor community is also produced by its representatives' cultural and social capital. According to the interviews with the Beginenhof group leaders, and also to the policy documents (Beer and Munsch, 2002), up to 85-90% of the inhabitants of the adjacent neighbourhood are of the immigrant descent. They follow the cultural traditions of their mother lands (muslim traditions are the most striking), have a low educational level, experience the language barrier and problems with assimilation

processes (*ibid*). Up to 40% of the Cottbusser Tor residents are unemployed and dependent upon social assistance. The majority of employed inhabitants of the area work at the low-paid positions. Due to the low income and a high unemployment rate a lot of youngsters are involved into the drug-related business.

The neighbours of Beginenhof hold strong ties within their immigrant community and "seek to make their own way or support each other in their efforts" (*ibid*). Through the networks within the immigrant community they transfer their knowledge, sustain their traditions and support each other. Besides, they build a dialogue with the local authorities, which enables new networks for a knowledge, values and cultural dispositions exchange. Also, as was mentioned above, there are connections between the Beginenhof cohousers and their neighbours, which were established on the basis of the local school.

This combination of cultural and social forms of capital constructs the habitus of the immigrant community. This habitus has resulted in the residents' incentive to participate in a number of projects initiated by government (after the consultation with the locals) and the cohousers. These initiatives are not related to each other and coordinated separately.

The analysis of the cultural capital, social capital, habitus and the practices of both groups helps answer the research subquestions:

- what is the cultural capital and social capital of inhabitants of cohousing development and what is their relation to the adjacent neighbourhood?
- what are the main practices and activities of cohousing residents, and what is their relation to the adjacent neighbourhood?
- how can urban policy for social cohesion be promoted through the identification of intersections and differences between social and cultural capital (and, as a result, habitus) of cohousing communities and adjacent neighbourhoods?

In this part of the chapter we have described the social capital, the cultural capital and the habitus of the Beginenhof residents and their neighbours. Also, we have identified the practices which are aimed to exchange the cultural, and expand the social capital of both groups. Some of the practices connect cohousing and local immigrant communities. Other help building the bridges between the immigrant community and the policy-makers. At the same time there is a lack of communication between policy-makers and the cohousing community.
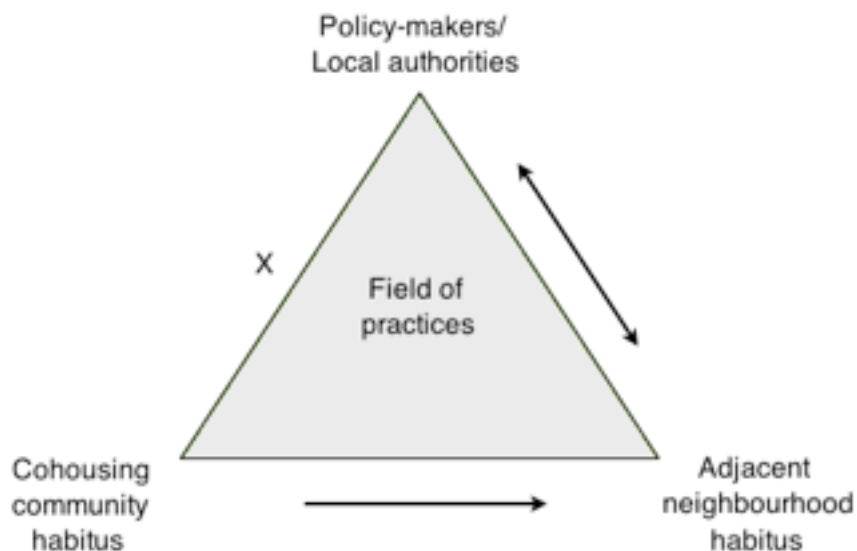
Figure 17. Relationship between the Beginenhof cohousing community habitus, the adjacent neighbourhood habitus and the policy-makers.

On Figure 17 we can observe this symbolic triangle representing the relationship between the habitus of two groups and their communicative practices. The habitus of the groups enables the practices on the neighbourhood level, which takes the form of various projects. "X" illustrates the absence of communication between the cohousers and the policy-makers/local authorities. In order to find "X", in Chapter 6 we will discuss if cohousing is able to be one of the instruments to promote social cohesion on the policy level, and in what way. This will provide the answer for the major research question and help fulfilling the objective of the research.

5.4.3. Habitus of the Eschengraben Straße cohousing project

The community of the Eschengraben Straße Baugemeinschaft also consists of people with shared elements of their cultural capital. Almost all of them have a higher education. Some of them did not limit their educational background with a Bachelor's or Master's degree, and finished the Ph.D. studies. The range of the residents' academic interests is very diverse: fashion design, sociology, social work, political studies, information science, programming, medical studies. Their professional experience is also very heterogeneous, including running own business, making researches at a university, politician, designer, doctor and many others. The vast majority of the residents of Eschengraben Straße project have young families, and were searching for a good place for their children to grow up in before moving to the Baugemeinschaft. They care about their living environment and are ecologically aware people. Besides, the inhabitants of the project are interested in art, literature and politics.

These traits of their cultural capital are actively transferred via the social networks they have. Comparing to the Beginenhof project, they do not spend as much time for their practices in the Baugruppe. The proportion of their connections within the cohousing and out of it is 50/50. They are less dependent on the group than Beginenhof residents. Their connections within cohousing form a number of practices, which mostly include leisure activities together with other cohousers. At the same time, they do not have nearly any connections with local residents. The cohousers noted that, first, they have nearly no common platform in the neighbourhood for practices shared with the neighbours. Second, the two groups had some tensions during the construction phase. Third, the Eschengraben

representatives noted that they don't feel that they have much in common with their adjacent neighbours: different origin, educational and professional background. This perception is based upon the limited experience of communication between cohousers and their neighbours. The only possibility for a direct interaction between the groups appears in their children's school.

However, they do contact the adjacent neighbourhood indirectly through a dialogue with local authorities and the activities, which are the result of this dialogue. The combination of this element of their social capital with the cultural capital elements as ecological and political awareness, the family values, openness for a dialogue with their neighbours, has resulted in a number of incentives for a behaviour:

• constant search for the way to change their neighbourhood;
• building a dialogue with political parties;
• building a platform for communication with the adjacent neighbourhood.

These incentives, as a part of the habitus shared by the group, has resulted in some specific activities of cohousers, which are changing the neighbourhood environment:

• planting the trees on the Eschengraben Straße;
• designing the playground open for all the neighbourhood inhabitants.

5.4.4. Eschengraben Straße adjacent neighbourhood habitus

According to the interviews with both cohousers and the developer, the adjacent community mainly consists of the Eastern Berliners, who have been living in the area for a long time. There are not much of young families in the neighbourhood, as the residents of the Baugemeinschaft note. Besides, the cohousers, as well as the developer, assume that the educational level of the adjacent neighbourhood is lower comparing to the cohousing community. This reflects their financial situation and the professional activity, which mainly does not require a higher education. The local inhabitants do not develop the connections with Baugemeinschaft residents or with local authorities. This interaction between the cultural capital and the social capital traits resulted in the habitus consistent of the following incentives:

• no intention to change their environment;
• being socially inactive;
• acting in a pre-determined, conservative way;
• no intention to develop the social networks within the wider neighbourhood.

This habitus did not generate any neighbourhood activities initiated by the adjacent community. In fact, the cohousers found themselves to be the most active group in the neighbourhood. They contact local authorities and political parties and convince them to take some certain steps to improve the neighbourhood urban design (planting trees) and facilities (playground), while the adjacent residents are not looking for contacts with either cohousers or officials.
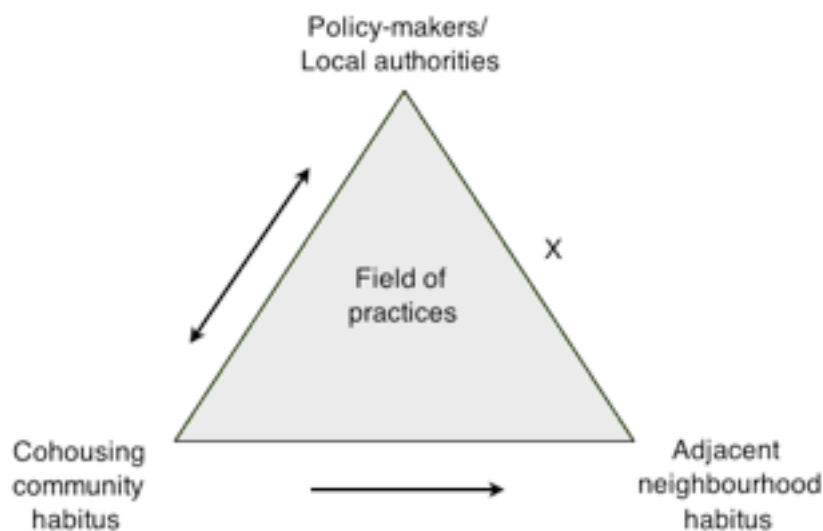
Figure 18. Relationship between the Eschengraben Straße cohousing community habitus, the adjacent neighbourhood habitus and the policy-makers/local authorities.

On Figure 18 we can observe that the cohousers' habitus enables them to interact actively with the local authorities. This interaction is reciprocal, even though is tough sometimes. The residents of the project found some support for their ideas from the representatives of the Green Party, and at least two of their proposed projects (tree planting and playground construction) are brought to life. The communication process with the adjacent neighbours seems to be deadlocked due to the range of reasons mentioned above.

5.4.5. Cohousing as a policy instrument

In this part we will answer the core research question: is Is cohousing able to act as one of the instruments to achieve higher level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood, and how? To do so, we explain, which problems and goals identified by the Berlin social cohesion policy can be addressed by the cohousing projects practices. Then, we will describe how the cohousing community can be interweaved into the procedures of the Socially Integrative City programme.

As was demonstrated by the analysis of the cohousers habitus, they are active in developing various forms of interaction with the surrounding neighbourhood. This implies both direct and indirect interactive practices between the cohousers and the residents of adjacent houses:

• improving green zones of the area (through taking care of their own community garden and greening of the surroundings which are in common use);
• engaging in a dialogue with local authorities on various topics;
• improving facilities for socialization (playground in case of the Eschengraben Straße project and various events (literature club, history salon, etc.) in the case of the Beginenhof;
• direct forms of communication are being built through the children (Eschengraben case) and through a personal interest in contributing to the community (helping neighbours of immigrant background in case of Beginenhof).

In the case of the Beginenhof, the community habitus implies the incentive to be open-minded to different cultures, ecologically-minded, socially active, to build ties and connections with local authorities and the neighbours, and to help those who are in need.

This elements of the Beginenhof habitus generated the practices, which address some of the problems identified by Berlin Senate in the Socially Integrative City programme (see Chapter 3). Among these problems are:

- urban design, construction and ecological deficits:
    - addressed by the green design of the project (community garden) and by the energy-efficient building design;
- high proportion of non-Germans, especially in the case of children and young people:
    - addressed by the projects helping the local children and their parent to integrate into a German society and culture;
- high levels of mobility (moving away, in particular in the case of families, those in (regular) employment and higher income households):
    - addressed by developing the social-cultural projects (political club, exhibitions) which attract middle and creative class visitors to the neighbourhood;
- increasing social and cultural segregation and exclusion:
    - addressed by assistance to local children and their parents to integrate into a German culture and society. The problem is also addressed by providing a common space for discussion of cultural, social and political issues (e.g. reading and political clubs);
- increasing criminality in public places:
    - addressed by the creation of new public space on the basis of the Baugemeinschaft, which is controlled and observed by the cohousers;
- the neighbourhood mistrust:
    - addressed by the provision of the platform for the communicative practices on the neighbourhood level.

Even though policy documents state the will to cooperate with so-called "strong partners" (housing companies or associations, churches, ethnic associations, charitable organizations) of the problematic districts, according to the case studies there is nearly no communication with the Baugemeinschaft initiated by the Senate. The policy states the goal to reach "self-supporting structures" (Beer, 2006). Nevertheless there is a lack of communication with already existing self-supporting structures, which is especially evident in the case of Beginenhof.

A dialogue could be reached between the Berlin Senate representatives and the Beginenhof group leaders in order to approach the policy goals faster and more efficient. The instruments which could be applied for this dialogue are already in the policy: neighbourhood management and an integrated action plan. Beginenhof could be an extremely important party in the neighbourhood level of the neighbourhood management system (see Figure 12). The part of this system labelled as "Local Players" could be complemented by identification of Beginenhof significance for the district. It will provide the opportunity for cohousers to widen the list of participants for their projects, to get more publicity and governmental funds. In this manner, the positive outcomes of the projects will be available for a broader group of the neighbourhood residents.

Moreover, since the Beginenhof project members are already running the well-working projects, the group leaders might be invited to the neighbourhood office (see Figure 12) as employee. It will bring more local knowledge and awareness of the neighbourhood problems into the local government level and will ease the communication between the neighbourhood level and the district moderator. Introduction of a new role for Beginenhof group leaders as a part of a policy implementation process would especially be useful in

conducting following responsibilities (see Chapter 3, part 3.1.4.1) of neighbourhood employee:

- assurance of information flow between municipal government, neighbourhood and intermediate level and between integrated urban district development players:
    - this role fits Beginenhof group leaders since they are looking for a dialogue with government and are ready to work and cooperate with it;
- development and stabilization of local cooperation and communication structures:
    - residents of Beginenhof (Bau)Wohngemeinschaft obtain local knowledge of the district with its problematic areas; also, they have experience in building communication with the neighbours;
- moderating, mediation, dialogue management:
    - cohousing inhabitants have certain connections with the neighbourhood and have a sufficient educational and professional background in working with very different social groups; thus, their experience could be useful in the process of building dialogue and moderating neighbourhood management process;
- project initiation:
    - Beginenhof cohousers already have a prominent experience in initiation of various projects.

Introduction of the Eschengraben Straße project into the policy practice is more complicated comparing to Beginenhof since the area of Pankow does not have neighbourhoods with special needs identified by the government. However, it does not mean that experience of this developer-led project cannot be useful for policy-makers. First, the policy indicates that there is a need in building a fruitful cooperation with housing companies. In case of the developer-led projects this cooperation is to be with the cohousing developing companies, which makes the dialogue with potentially strong Baugemeinschaften communities smoother and more efficient. This is the result of the fact that developer as an expert keeps an in-depth knowledge about possibilities of such projects and is able to give assistance to a district moderator or an area commissioner. By the assistance, in particular, is meant help in the following responsibilities (see Chapter 3, 3.1.4.1):

- For an area commissioner:
    - establishing goals/standards/indicators;
    - managing individual projects;
    - acquiring funds, providing financial planning and advice;
- For a district moderator:
    - horizontal networking of and cooperation with local players;
    - general activities and outreach work/activation of neighbourhood residents (including developing contacts; guaranteeing availability; getting to know key players, communication structures, problems and potential in the district; motivation and activation of inhabitants; counseling; information services; interest and topic pooling; project initiation).

Besides, the Eschengraben Straße project residents proved to be successful in cooperating with local representatives of the political parties. In fact, the Green Party has already committed the interaction between the residents and the local authorities who are in charge of the Pankow budget.

The both case-studies had shown the ability of cohousers to commit a huge contribution into the process of Integrated Action Plan development. In particular, participation of

cohousers themselves and companies developing Baugemeinschaften can possibly improve following details of Integrated Action Plan:

- identification of the central issues of the neighbourhood (cohousers have 'local knowledge' and already experienced some ways to tackle existing problems);
- formulation of an urban district development model, networking of goals from various fields of activity (this is especially substantiated by Beginenhof project and activities experience);
- presentation of strategies, measures and projects with data on providers, targets, financing, timetable for implementation (through making use of the cohousers' common practices);
- information on organization, project supervision and management (similar to previous elements, is to be improved through existing experience of cohousers to develop various projects; project supervision and management is conducted in a bottom-up manner, meaning that government has no need to spend too much resources on these purposes).

Overall, we can conclude that cohousing communities' practices address a number of problems identified by the Socially Integrative City programme. Their habitus enables them to contribute to the social cohesion set of objectives (see Figure 11) of the policy: to tackle social and cultural segregation, to improve infrastructure development of the area and fight the neighbourhood mistrust. Also, the cohousers are able to add value to the goal of an integration action plan development as stated above. Finally, their experience and networks help the local authorities to cooperate with them as a 'strong group', to arrange the self-supporting structures, and to add value to the neighbourhood management procedures.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The main goal of the current research was to gain insight into the habitus of cohousing communities, and identify opportunities for promoting social cohesion through the inclusion of cohousing term into socio-spatial policies.

In order to do so, it was necessary to answer several research questions with the core one being "Is cohousing able to act as one of the instruments to achieve higher level of social cohesion within the neighbourhood, and how?" To answer this question 3 subquestions needed to be replied:

• what is the cultural capital and social capital of inhabitants of cohousing development and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?
• what are the main practices and activities of cohousing residents, and what is their relation to adjacent neighbourhood?
• how can urban policy for social cohesion be promoted through the identification of intersections and differences between social and cultural capital (and, as a result, habitus) of cohousing communities and adjacent neighbourhoods?

The habitus findings

The three subquestions were answered in Chapter 4 and 5. The answer was searched through the case-study conducted in Berlin, the city where cohousing communities (Baugemeinschaften and Baugruppen) are being actively developed by both residents themselves and developers interested in their promotion. The Berlin urban policy was researched and analyzed in relation to social cohesion, and social and cultural forms of capital (and, therefore, habitus) of cohousers were identified.

Generally, according to the answers to the subquestions, it was found that the cohousers form a socially active group of people. Their cultural capital includes such elements as:

• high level of education;
• highly-skilled professionals;
• prosperity in terms of financial situation;
• Western Germany origin;
• political support of left-wing and green parties;
• deep interest in art, literature, music, theatre and languages;
• will to live and raise their children in a cohesive community;
• desire to improve the living environment;
• desire to help the people who are in need.

The cohousers social capital implies networks among different groups, both within and outside their neighbourhood. Beginenhof cohousers develop the direct communication with adjacent neighbourhood and representatives of creative industries from all over Berlin, and lack communication with the local authorities. On the contrary, the Eschengraben Straße project inhabitants experience an indirect interaction with the neighbours via making changes in the design of the area, and managed to build a dialogue with local authorities and political parties.

These traits of social and cultural capital generate a certain habitus, shared by the cohousers. Their habitus implies the incentive to be open-minded to different cultures, to be ecologically-minded, to build a cohesive, supportive and strong community within their

cohousing project, to build ties with adjacent neighbourhood, to use their knowledge, experience and background to help people,to contact the local authorities, to search for the ways to change the neighbourhood and to build a dialogue with the adjacent neighbours.

The habitus of cohousers is predominantly not shared by the adjacent community. The adjacent neighbours do not have an incentive to be socially active on the neighbourhood level, which is especially evident in case of Pankow community. The neighbours do not form a very cohesive and homogeneous group. Even the Beginenhof neighbourhood, even though rather homogenous in terms of origin and cultural values, is not cohesive which is proved by a bad criminal situation in the area, general mistrust, still rather low level of associational activity and weak attachment to the place. However, recently this situation in the neighbourhood has started changing due to the governmental Socially Integrative City programme. Nowadays the immigrants start building associations and demonstrate the incentive to participate in the governmental projects. Also, they take communicate with the Beginenhof project and start taking advantage from the cohousers' practices.

This positive trend is not applicable in the situation with the Eschengraben Straße adjacent neighbourhood. The residents' habitus still remains the same: inactive and demonstrating no will to make the contacts neither with cohousers, nor with the local authorities (see Figure 18). The only impact they get within the neighbourhood is that from the cohousers practices (tree planting and the playground construction).

As we observed during the research, this habitus of cohousers enables various practices, which can add value to the social cohesion policies. The activities of the cohousers help to enhance social cohesion in their community and address its major principles identified by Kearns and Forrest (2001, see Chapter 2):

• Cohousers build a strong community based upon the shared values, aims and objectives. The members of cohousing share a common cultural capital, including values, beliefs and behavioral aspirations.
• The groups members have a specific social order system, which is based upon their habitus. This situation became possible as a result of the residents' experience of common practices within the cohousing. They respect each other's views and are building a conflict-less and trustful atmosphere.
• Due to the shared cultural capital they have a sense of group solidarity.
• As mentioned above, the cohousers are looking for interactions within the wider neighbourhood in different forms. Often this communication (either with the officials or with local residents) produces activities shared by both groups.
• The cohousers find their project the most desirable place to live and to raise their children in; thus, they obtain a high level of attachment to the place.

Policy implication of cohousing

In order to answer the core question of the research and to fulfill the research objective, in Chapter 5 we have discussed the opportunities which the cohousing communities can provide for the social cohesion policy-makers. It was found out that cohousers activities facilitate a promotion of the social cohesion within the neighbourhood. This promotion is achieved through:

- the provision of various platforms for common practices and a dialogue between the residents of cohousing projects, the adjacent neighbours and the local authorities;
- addressing of the various problems of the neighbourhood, such as social and cultural segregation, low level of social facilities, neighbourhood mistrust and increasing criminality in public places;
- addressing the goals of the social cohesion policy;
- building a self-supporting group of people with a high level of the group social cohesion.

Due to these advantages of the cohousing groups, we have offered the ways to include them into the policy procedures. We concluded that the residents of Baugemeinschaften are able to add value to the policy instruments in various ways:

- stabilizing and developing local communication structures through the provision of shared space for various project;
- mediation and a dialogue management between different conflicting groups since the cohousers proved to be efficient while making a dialogue with representatives of different cultural background, and have a sufficient level of educational and professional background;
- initiating and supporting the existing projects as the cohousers have a rich experience in project-making;
- assuring the flow of the information about the local issues and problems as the cohousers have a lot of local knowledge of the neighbourhood;
- acting as a mediator between the government and the cohousing companies
- supporting the horizontal networking between the core local players.

These general findings are substantiated by the analysis of the opportunities which cohousing provide for the Berlin Socially Integrative City programme (see Chapter 5, part 5.4.5). These policy implication of cohousing can be also extrapolated within different social cohesion policies since cohousing facilitates the general principles of social cohesion. As was demonstrated by the Berlin Baugemeinschaften experience, cohousing has a potential to add value to the policies which aim to raise cohesion on the neighborhood level.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix 1. Interview Guide (For Cohousing Residents)

Hello, my name is Aleksandr Ignatev, I am a Master's student of University of Groningen. For my Master Thesis I am conducting a research with a goal to understand how cohousing (Baugemeinschaft/Baugruppen, or CPO) is influencing relations of different groups within the neighbourhood (developers and policy-makers: how cohousing is influencing social cohesion). All the information obtained from this interview will be used in a general manner, thus, I guarantee your anonymity.

Introduction Block of Questions:

Q1. For how long have you been living here, in cohousing project?
Q2. What were the initial reasons for you to join cohousing group?
Q3. When did you decide to become a participant of cohousing project?

Cohousing Block of Questions:

Let us talk a bit about your cohousing experience.

Q1. Did you know anybody who was already in cohousing (either where you moved in or not) before you move in this apartment/house?
Q2. What was your relatives' and friends' attitude to you decision?
Q3. Do you live here alone/with your child/family/partner?

Cultural Capital Block of Questions:

Now I will ask you a bit about your personal, educational and professional background.

Q1. What are your leisure preferences/hobbies. *Hint:*
• *art, genres in literature (if any), TV, exhibitions, concerts*
• *sports*
• *spending time with friends*
• *other*
Q2. Could you describe the family where you grew up? How would you describe social position of your family (*hint: upper, middle, lower class*)? What is your parents cultural and educational background/experience?
Q3. What is your education? Where did you study (what kind of high school, which university)? What speciality? Did you enjoy your study? How would you evaluate (define) your proficiency in any of the foreign languages?
Q4. How would you describe your job (*hint: what skills are required, does it reflect your "university/school knowledge", is it something you feel interested/confident in*)?
Q5. Who are your friends? How would you describe people who are close to you? (*hint: cultural background, education, occupation*)
Q6. Do you have friends among people who were born out of Germany/German-speaking countries/EU?
Q7. Do you feel that you have a lot in common with your cohousing-mates? What exactly is common? What is different?

Social Capital Block of Questions:

Q1. What do you consider as your neighbourhood?
Q2. Do you feel support from your cohousing-mates? How often do you ask them for favour or help (*hint: does it help you in your career/private life*)? Do you often help your cohousing-mates?

Q3. Where do you meet your friends more frequently: in cohousing, or out of it? Where, and with who do you feel more comfortable: within cohousing (thus, with your cohousing friends), or out of it (with your friends out of your place of living)?

Q4. Following the previous question, could you please try to estimate, where you have more friends: within cohousing, or out of it? Where do your closest friends live?

Q5. Where do you spend more of your leisure/hobby time?

Q6. Is it possible to say, that your friends out of cohousing are closer than those from the outer community?

Social Cohesion Block of Questions:

Q1. Do you consider your cohousing group as isolated/closed to inhabitants of the neighbourhood around your building?

Q2. How often do you contact with people from your near neighbourhood (NOT your cohousing neighbours)?

Q3. What type of contacts is it?

Q4. Do you feel trust to your neighbours? Do you think this feeling is mutual/reciprocal?

Q5. Are you willing to enhance/raise the level of your relationship with the neighbours?

Q6. In general, do you think cohousing may be a valuable platform for this enhancement? If so, in what way you think it is possible?

Additional Questions:

• Is there anything you can add on which we haven't touch upon, but which still can be valuable for a research?

• Certainly, it is possible for you to get results of this research. If you will to do so, would you like to receive it via e-mail?

Thank you a lot for your participation, your answers are very valuable for our research.

Appendix 2. Interview Guide (For Cohousing Experts)

Hello, my name is Aleksandr Ignatev, I am a Master's student of University of Groningen. For my Master Thesis I am conducting a research with a goal to understand how cohousing (Baugemeinschaft/Baugruppen, or CPO) is influencing relations of different groups within the neighbourhood (developers and policy-makers: how cohousing is influencing social cohesion). All the information obtained from this interview will be used in a generalized manner, thus, I guarantee your anonymity.

Introduction Block of Questions:

Q1. For how long have you been working with cohousing project?
Q2. What were the initial reasons for you to start these projects?

Cohousing Block of Questions:

Let us talk a bit about your cohousing experience.

Q1. How would you define cohousing? What definition of cohousing is the most appropriate for the projects you are related to?
Q2. What are the major characteristics of cohousing model? Is there anything outstanding, unusual in comparison with other (more common) housing models?

Cultural Capital Block of Questions:

Now I will ask you a bit about cohousing community, its cultural traits

Q1. If possible, could you describe basing on your professional background, does cohousing encourage common practices
Q2. I believe that while working on your projects you were in close contacts with the (future) residents of cohousing. Why, in your opinion, they decide to choose this type of housing?
Q3. If possible, I would like to ask you to give a description cohousers you have been working with, in a generalized manner, on the matter of different characteristics:
• cultural preferences/habits (cinema or theatre, pop-music or classical one, fiction or classic literature; manners; language they use);
• what kind of education they have;
• what their occupation is (how does it correlate to their education?);
• cohousers background (native Germans, 1st wave/2nd wave immigrants).
Q4. What common values do cohousing residents have?

Social Capital Block of Questions:

Q1. Could you define some frames for the neighbourhood, which is surrounding the cohousing project?
Q2. Where do cohousers meet their friends (where do they socialize) more frequently - within cohousing project, or out of it?
Q3. Is it possible to conclude that cohousing communities tend to be more supportive compared to more conventional housing models, or is it a kind of misperception?

Social Cohesion Block of Questions:

Q1. How do you build relationships with local authorities? Do you feel support from them? Do they feel that your activity is helpful for them in achieving the goals of some urban policies?

Q2. According to your experience, do cohousers have contacts with the residents of outer neighbourhood? What kind of contacts is that (e.g. longitudinal or short-term, trustful or not)? (*hint: isolated/closed or open group*)

Q3. How, in your opinion, cohousing design influence these relationships? Does it encourage closer communication through common space, or through special events?

Q4. What is your opinion: do cultural preferences and habits, which we have discussed previously, correlate (intersect) with the ones of the adjacent neighbourhood residents?

Q5. How does this difference/similarity influence relationship between the two groups?

Q6. Do you think that cohousing is able to enhance/raise the level of your relationship with the neighbours?

Q7. In general, do you think cohousing may be a valuable platform for this enhancement? If so, in what way you think it is possible?

Additional Questions:

• Is there anything you can add on which we haven't touch upon, but which still can be valuable for a research?
• Do you know any researchers, policy-makers, or project leaders/initiators whose opinion could add value to this study?
• Certainly, it is possible for you to get results of this research. If you will to do so, would you like to receive it via e-mail?

Thank you a lot for your participation, your answers are very valuable for our research.

Appendix 3. Interviewees Overview

Seven cohousers and a head of the developer company were interviewed during the case-studies in Berlin. They formed two groups of the interviewees with three and four representatives accordingly. Below the two groups are distinguished and the interviews' process is described.

1. *Experts*

   1.1. Ulf Maaßen, the head of AREA developing company - Agentur für räumliche Entwicklungsalternativen (maassen@area-berlin.de; www.area-berlin.de)
      • Location: AREA office (Buchholzer Straße 17, 10437 Berlin, Germany)
      • Date: 5th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration: 96 minutes
   1.2. Dr. Gisela Notz, the Beginenhof project group leader; the initiator of a number of activities on the ground of the project (gisela.notz@t-online.de)
      • Location: Beginenhof common room (Erkelenzdamm 51-57, Kreuzberg, Berlin)
      • Date: 4th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration (approximately 90 minutes)
      • Additional note: three people were being interviewed simultaneously (Dr. Gisela Notz, Gabriele Garms and Ursula Al-Sadoon)
   1.3. Gabriele Garms, the initiator of local students assistance activity (reached via Gisela Notz)
      • Location: Beginenhof common room (Erkelenzdamm 51-57, Kreuzberg, Berlin)
      • Date: 4th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration (approximately 90 minutes)
      • Additional note: three people were being interviewed simultaneously (Dr. Gisela Notz, Gabriele Garms and Ursula Al-Sadoon)

2. *Ordinary cohousing residents*

   2.1. Stefan Müller, the Eschengraben Straße project resident (Stefan.Mueller@fu-berlin.de)
      • Location: Eschengraben Straße Baugemeinschaft, private apartment, Pankow, Berlin
      • Date: 6th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration: 25 minutes
   2.2. Aniela Schobe, the Eschengraben Straße project resident (schobini@yahoo.de)
      • Location: Eschengraben Straße Baugemeinschaft, private apartment, Pankow, Berlin
      • Date: 8th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration: 32 minutes
   2.3. Elena Szameitat, the Eschengraben Straße project resident (elena.szameitat@web.de)
      • Location: Elena Szameitat's office, Pankow, Berlin
      • Date: 8th of June, 2012
      • Interview duration: 33 minutes
   2.4. EJ van Lente, the Eschengraben Straße project resident (ej.van-lente@gmx.de)
      • Location: Skype conversation
      • Date: 17th of June, 2012

・Interview duration: 26 minutes
2.5.   Ursula Al-Sadoon, the Beginenhof project resident (reached via Gisela Notz)
　　　・ Location: Beginenhof common room (Erkelenzdamm 51-57, Kreuzberg, Berlin)
　　　・Date: 4th of June, 2012
　　　・Interview duration (approximately 90 minutes)
　　　・ Additional note: three people were being interviewed simultaneously (Dr. Gisela Notz, Gabriele Garms and Ursula Al-Sadoon)