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COLLABORATIVE HOUSING: MUTUAL AID, COOPERATIVES, AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC PROMOTION POLICIES FOR HOUSING

VIVIENDA COLABORATIVA: AYUDA MUTUA,
COOPERATIVISMO Y PARTICIPACIÓN EN LAS
POLÍTICAS DE PROMOCIÓN PÚBLICA DE
VIVIENDA

HABITAÇÃO COLABORATIVA: AJUDA MÚTUA,
COOPERATIVISMO E PARTICIPAÇÃO EM
POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE HABITAÇÃO



Figure 0. Image from the complex of 1,472 homes of the Martín Freire Group, Schamann, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph..

Research made thanks to the Housing Consortium of Gran Canaria, by promoting the Housing Laboratory (Vivienlab).

RESUMEN

La presente investigación se enmarca en los resultados de la confluencia entre dos ejemplos de intervención pública en materia de vivienda en España, por un lado, y por otro, del inicio de un camino por un modelo extendido de vivienda colaborativa en la isla de Gran Canaria. La investigación analiza la denominada vivienda colaborativa y su relación con los mecanismos de gestión que pueden o deben acompañar a las políticas públicas de vivienda, a través de la observación de los casos de Andalucía y Barcelona, ambas inspiradas en el modelo de vivienda cooperativa de Uruguay. Tras estudiar el caso de la isla de Gran Canaria, se propone la necesidad de políticas de vivienda que incorporen la ayuda mutua, la cesión de uso, el cooperativismo o la participación ciudadana.

Palabras clave: vivienda, participación, cooperativismo, mediación, arquitectura

ABSTRACT

On one hand, this research is framed within the results of two Spanish public housing interventions, and on the other, the beginnings of an extended collaborative housing model on the island of Gran Canaria. The research analyzes collaborative housing and its relationship with the management mechanisms that can or should accompany public policies for housing, by observing the cases of Andalusia and Barcelona, both inspired by Uruguay's cooperative housing model. After studying the case on the island of Gran Canaria, the need for housing policies that incorporate mutual aid, transfer of use, cooperativism, or citizen participation is proposed.

Keywords: housing, participation, cooperativism, mediation, architecture

RESUMO

Esta pesquisa está enquadrada nos resultados da confluência entre dois exemplos de intervenção pública em habitação na Espanha, por um lado, e o início de um caminho em direção a um modelo ampliado de habitação colaborativa na ilha de Gran Canaria, por outro. A pesquisa analisa a chamada habitação colaborativa e sua relação com os mecanismos de gestão que podem ou devem acompanhar as políticas públicas de habitação por meio da observação dos casos da Andaluzia e de Barcelona, ambos inspirados no modelo de habitação cooperativa do Uruguai. Depois de estudar o caso da ilha de Gran Canaria, propõe-se a necessidade de políticas habitacionais que incorporem ajuda mútua, transferência de uso, cooperativismo e participação cidadã.

Palavras-chave: habitação, participação, cooperativismo, mediação, arquitetura.

INTRODUCTION

Spain is lagging behind other European countries in terms of available public housing stock, which, according to Bellart and Meda (2018, p. 18) stands at just 2.5% compared to 30% in the Netherlands, 24% in Austria, or 20% in Denmark. Another difficulty is that, at present, more than 80% of the housing stock is owned. In addition, the population aging index, and the age of emancipation for young people are well above the European average. These are just some of the factors that are driving housing authorities to innovate in regulatory, typological, programmatic, or management solutions. They are also reflecting, through different proposals, on the way of living in our time. Should we resign ourselves to living in spaces that were designed at the beginning of the 20th century and that are not responding to the needs of the 21st century?

Colin Ward, in his article "Housing, an Anarchist Approach" (Ward, 1998), reviewed the three themes that have an anarchist inspiration in architecture: collective housing, mutual aid - closely related to participation - and energy saving. This research has been made using precisely these three issues, with special emphasis on the first two, linking the public-private promotion of collective housing, citizen participation, and sustainability as necessary elements for new public housing policies.

Throughout the 20th century and in the first decades of the 21st century, housing has gone from having a use value, which led the research of the interwar period, to having an exchange value, with a clear origin in the developmentalism of the 1950s and 1960s. Given the proliferation of empty housing in large cities or the growing speculation in prices, some authors have come to consider current housing as a non-place (Alonso Cano, 2012, p. 114), as spaces waiting for a visitor who does not arrive.

Background

In recent years we have followed the evolution of different housing programs throughout the Spanish state, with a starting point in the self-construction program of the Andalusian Government (Díaz García, 2008), and a finishing point in the cohabitation or collaborative housing interventions of the Barcelona City Council. The research that has led us to visit these developments tries to bring both models closer to the context of the Canary Islands, where housing cooperativism has hardly any history. The Canary Islands, despite having a long tradition of public social housing policies, have seen a decline in access to housing for underprivileged sectors in recent decades. As Casariego (1979) reminds us, John Turner, in his 1977 book, "Housing, by people. Towards autonomy in building environments", referred to a public housing intervention on the island of Gran Canaria, regarding how the neighbors built on a

hillside, as “an aesthetically hideous, socially alienating, and technically incompetent architecture” (Turner, 1976, p. 67).

Since starting the study on the self-construction program of the Andalusian Government, this research has followed a path to the past and the future. For the former, namely, going back, it looks at the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay and the emerging participatory experiences of the 1960s. On the other hand, moving forward, it addresses the most recent experiences of collaborative housing, particularly the case of Barcelona, and future interventions on the built heritage of public housing found in all major Spanish cities.

This research looks to take a first step on the island of Gran Canaria for the possible implementation of these new ways of living. Specifically, in 2019, the Gran Canaria Housing Laboratory (Vivienlab) was launched, in collaboration with the Gran Canaria Council, with the commitment to promote collaborative housing on the island. Methodologically, this challenge has been addressed in three aspects: information on best practices presented here; visualizing what has been done so far, with an accessible map of public housing on the island of Gran Canaria; and, finally, defining a broader framework or extended model, here called collaborative housing.

As for the information, in February and April 2017, the first stones of two housing cooperatives were laid in Barcelona for the assignment of use. The first was a building of 28 apartments promoted by the La Borda cooperative, in Can Batlló, a former textile factory in the neighborhood of Sants, with the technical assistance of the architects cooperative LACOL. The second initiative consisted of the rehabilitation of 5 floors in a municipal building located at Calle Princesa 49, in Ciutat Vella, promoted by the City Council itself with the technical collaboration of the Sostre Civic cooperative. In 2022, as an important milestone of these policies, both the LACOL and La Borda cooperatives were awarded the *Mies van der Rohe* emerging architecture prize. Both cases, as well as the homes in Andalusia, were visited during the research, and, in the case of Barcelona, they are the subject of research projects such as those of Girbés-Peco et al. (2020) and Tordable Calvo (2020).

What happened in 2017 in Barcelona harks back to two other similar chapters in the history of cooperative housing. The first took place in Uruguay in 1966 with the birth of housing cooperatives, with two inland experiences, in the towns of Fray Bentos and Salto. Thanks to a project promoted by a group of technicians from the Uruguayan Cooperative Center (CCU), financed with international cooperation funds, three workers' cooperatives were established, which, by contributing work as builders instead of money, became pioneering experiences and the basis for drafting the National Housing Law, approved at the end of 1968.



Figure 1. Image from the complex of 1,472 homes of the Martín Freire Group, Schamann, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph.

Figure 2. Complex of the 74 houses of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, La Isleta, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph.



The second chapter takes us to the construction, in 1978, of the *Tinggarden* residential complex, located at *Herfølge*, a city southeast of Copenhagen in Denmark. This was the result of an architectural competition called in 1971 won by the *Vandkunsten* Studio of young architects. In 1981, as had happened in Uruguay, the Danish Government also passed the *Cooperative Housing Association Law* to facilitate the development of co-housing. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Denmark and Uruguay today are the two countries where this model is most widespread.

A previous research project was used for the visibility provided by the accessible map, where a database of publicly promoted social housing complexes built on the island of Gran Canaria in the second half of the 20th century had been developed (Figure 1). Thanks to Vivienlab, it was possible to dump this information into the Gran Canaria Spatial Data Infrastructure (IDEGranCanaria), using the project to show the efforts made by public administrations in the field of social housing (Figure 2).

With regard to the expanded model of collaborative housing, the proposal consisted in making a conceptual and complex framework that would accommodate not only the experiences that are presented here (Uruguay, Andalusia, or Catalunya) but also others that are taking place daily in our cities with cooperation and collaboration guidelines.

This expanded housing model tried to combine, in a matrix model, the importance of the process that starts from existing experiences (such as those collected on the map) to then continue progressively approaching new models for living. In the diagram in Figure 3, the importance of bottom-up construction is presented on the vertical axis with models that can come from local or private initiatives, up to public initiatives, through cooperative experiences. On the other hand, on the diagonal axis, the experiences are organized from researching, then from making visible, promoting, activating, and finally experimenting.

	REALITY	PROCESS	NEW MODEL
PRIVATE	RESEARCHING collaborative housing experiences	MAKING Ways of living VISIBLE	PROMOTING good neighborhood + collaboration + accessibility
SHARED	MAKING the current ways of sharing spaces VISIBLE	PROMOTING housing cooperatives in the assignment of use and communities	ACTIVATING participation and patronage
PUBLIC	PROMOTING public housing and assignment of use	ACTIVATING public promotion tools	TESTING innovation and cooperation in governance

Figure 3. Outline of this expanded vision of collaborative housing. Source: Vivienlab



Figure 4. Self-built Homes in Santiponce, Seville. Project located next to the Archaeological Complex of the Roman city of Italica. Source: Author's photograph.

The self-construction program of the Andalusian government

The self-construction program of the Andalusian Government was a public housing program that had the following objectives: on one hand, to promote the construction of public housing in small and medium-sized neighborhoods; on the other, to improve the quality of the design of public housing by holding, among other things, architectural competitions; and finally, to promote mutual aid as a way to create citizenship and, in some cases, to support the training and employability of self-builders in the different construction trades.

The origin of the program is found in a conference held in Seville in 1986 where, among other Latin American experiences, the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay were presented. The Andalusian Government technical expert, Luis González Tamarit, who promoted and attended these conferences, was in charge of drafting the decree that in 1988 launched the self-construction program, following the steps of the Uruguayan experience, although adapted to the Andalusian reality of the time.

As for the program, the Andalusian Government was in charge of the following processes: first, to process the administrative file with its personnel, both from the provincial delegations and in the central services; secondly, to provide the money needed to buy materials to build the houses¹; thirdly, to make geotechnical studies of the terrain; and finally, to make the call through

1 At the beginning of the program, in 1988, each dwelling was awarded €18,000, and by the end, in 2007, this amount was €24,000 per dwelling.

architectural competitions to select the project's technical drafters and the construction managers. The councils, for their part, provided the land for the houses, selected the self-builders, and, in some cases, technically supported the execution of the houses (Figure 4).

On the other hand, the group of self-builders was in charge of building the houses, organizing the shifts, the tasks, the contributions, etc. In the same way, the architectural teams had the task of both writing the project following the criteria of the Andalusian Government's General Directorate of Architecture and Housing and directing the execution of the work. In this way, the projects had to be adapted to the place, to the specificity and needs of the group of self-builders, as well as to their capacity to do the work.

In 2020, the Andalusian Government supported the call for a new edition of the self-construction program², but with some improvements from the previous one. One of the novelties consisted in encouraging housing cooperatives as a management model through a contribution made by the Government of a loan worth €25,000 per house for the purchase of materials and the housing's execution. For their part, the municipalities provided the land, and the cooperativists, the labor. In total, 10 projects have been awarded, 85 for self-build housing³ and 23 for self-promotion housing. Most of these are currently under construction.

The assignment of use

The case of Barcelona

Co-housing is a formula based on the assignment of use of a property or a building with the aim of it being used as a home by a group of people - often grouped in cooperatives - and for a given time. In Spain, this phenomenon is rapidly growing, especially in the case of the so-called *senior cohousing*, where a group of people approaching retirement age decides to support a residential complex that, in addition to the private space, contains a significant percentage of community spaces⁴.

Despite this exponential growth in recent years, the assignment of use for housing remains little widespread in Spain where, according to data from the INE in 2016, 77.1% of households or families lived under an ownership system, 16.3% under a rental one, and only 6.5% under a free transfer regime, which is not an assignment of use of the housing.

Regarding the background, it is important to highlight that Ada Colau, the current mayor of Barcelona, had a key role as the spokesperson for the Platform of those Affected by Mortgages (PAH, in Spanish) between 2009 and 2014. The PAH emerged at the beginning of the 2008 crisis to fight evictions, and its reflections were incorporated into the program that the "Barcelona en Comú" platform presented in the local and municipal elections of May 24, 2015. This program included five basic demands: 1) the dation in retroactive

2 According to the "Order of February 6th, 2020, by which the call was made for the declaration, under a competitive call, of protected self-built housing and semi-promotion housing, and the granting of aid for their financing"

3 There will be 74 self-construction homes in Seville, 16 in Cádiz, 10 in Málaga, and 8 in Jaén, while the 23 self-promotion homes will be built in Castilblanco and Villaverde, both in Seville.

4 According to data from the Alternative and Solidarity Economy Network (REAS) in 2021, there were 12 projects in operation throughout Spain, 9 projects with land acquired, waiting to be built, and 8 projects with cooperatives set up, looking for land.

Figure 5. The green box shows how the spaces have greater flexibility and adaptability than the floor plan of the building reflects. Source: Author's photograph.

Figure 6. The floor plan of the La Borda building, Can Batlló, in the Sants district, Barcelona, allows different solutions depending on the type of living unit. Source: Archive of LACOL



payment; 2) affordable rents; 3) stopping evictions; 4) more social housing and, 5) guaranteed basic supplies (Martínez et al., 2022). The implementation of these measures has been one of the main actions carried out by the Mayor's Office of Colau in her mandate.

Since 2007, the Barcelona Social Housing Council has been operating as an advisory and institutional body, comprising technicians from the Generalitat of Catalunya and the Barcelona City Council. In October 2015, the new government team of the Barcelona City Council supported a "Cooperative Housing Panel" to encourage the creation of housing under assignment of use, among other initiatives.

In addition to the initiatives of Can Batlló (Figures 5 and 6) and Ciutat Vella, which were approved by specific agreement, a series of competitions have been held⁵ under the name of cohousing. In them, the City Council offers plots for assignment of use for a period of 75 years. This new formula for assigning use has been highlighted by the City Council Councilor for Urban Planning, Josep María Montaner, who pointed out in 2019 that this proposal "(...) implies a paradigm shift in housing policies, promoting an alternative formula, the assignment of use, which avoids speculation, guarantees stability over time for users and promotes community life" (Montaner, 2019; Montaner, 2016).

Extended version of collaborative housing

In 2021 and 2022 and up until now, the authors of this research have been collaborating with the Housing Consortium of the Gran Canaria Council to develop an extended version of collaborative housing on the island of Gran Canaria. Faced with the trend seen in the case studied to define what we call *cohousing* in a precise, although also limited way, but also faced with the need to find an appropriate framework to define housing cooperatives under the assignment of use, Vivienlab proposed that collaborative housing transcends these specific models and was representative of a third way, beyond buying or renting (Figure 7).

The La Dinamo Foundation, on its website, defines cooperative housing under assignment of use as a "cooperative and non-profit organization to provide decent housing at an affordable price to its members. These enjoy an indefinite right of use for one of the houses, by paying a down payment and an affordable monthly usage fee." It also establishes the five fundamental principles that characterize the cooperative housing model: 1) The absence of profit and the preservation of collective ownership; 2) The affordability and inclusiveness of projects; 3) The promotion of self-management and community building; 4) The commitment to the growth of the model and inter-cooperation; 5) Co-responsibility with the environment and the right to housing.

Collaborative housing should not have a marginal character compared to the other majority ways, such as buying or renting. This approach of

5 Specifically, in January 2018, 4 projects with 92 homes were awarded, in Ciutat Vella, Sants-Montjuïc, Nou Barris, and Sant Martí to the cooperatives La Xarxaire SCCL, Llar Jove SCCL, Associació Cohabitatge Cooperatiu, and Sostre Cívic SCCL. In July 2020, another 3 with 102 homes were awarded, in Sants-Montjuïc, Sant Andreu, and Nou Barris, to the cooperatives La Mangala (Sotraco), Cohabitem Sant Andreu, and Cohousing Barcelona, SCCL, and in July 2021, three more with 150 homes in Horta-Guinardó, Sant Andreu, and Sarriá, to the cooperatives Fem Ciutat, La Regadora, and Torrent Viu.

Figure 7. Detail of the inventory of publicly promoted housing in Gran Canaria created by the Housing Laboratory for the Housing Consortium of the Gran Canaria Council [Vivienlab], (2022). Source: accessible at <https://visor.idegrancanaria.es>



maximums implies including in this category not only the examples outlined under the denomination of cooperative housing, *cohousing*, or *senior cohousing*, which in some cases are affordable for the middle classes and medium-high income levels but also to all public housing, which, although no longer public property, is the object of replacement, rehabilitation, regeneration plans, etc. Taking into account the urgent need for the urban regeneration of our cities, as well as the gentrification processes of some traditional neighborhoods, it is necessary to incorporate mechanisms of citizen participation, assignment of use, energy efficiency, or cooperation, which could turn city segments, street sections, and housing developments into collaborative housing. This research is committed to this extended version of collaborative housing, more as a story than as a physical reality.

RESULTS

As a result of the self-construction program, it is seen that, between 1988 and 2007, 216 developments were made with a total of 3,373 homes in 152 municipalities, with an average of 15 homes per development. As for the quality of the actions, after having visited 150 developments, it was found that the self-build housing developments, given the involvement of the beneficiaries who participated in the construction, had many improvements compared to other public housing programs. With architectural quality, in addition to many recognitions and awards at a regional level, two of the developments obtained the National Architecture Award: the 20 homes in La Lantejuela, Seville, of Blanca Sánchez Lara, in 1999, and the 25 homes in the Town of Doña Blanca, in El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz, by Ramón Pico Valimaña and Francisco Javier López Rivera, in 2001.

On the other hand, in the new self-build program launched by the Andalusian Government in 2020, where the use of the housing cooperative

formula as a management model was proposed, unfortunately, this formula is not applied with the clarity with which it is being carried out in Barcelona. In the first cases studied, which are still in the construction phase, it has been proven that it is instrumental to use the cooperative for the construction phase. However, the program does not prevent that, once the work is completed, the cooperative is dissolved and the property passes to the beneficiaries. Therefore, although the new program was going in the right direction, since it was intended to foster a self-construction formula that seemed to have been exhausted in the first decade of the 21st century, opting for the figure of the cooperative, the authors also believe that it may not be enough to achieve the objective that public housing developments become a wake-up call of social transformation.⁶

As far as the city of Barcelona is concerned, the Cohousing program has awarded 9 developments that comprise a total of 127 homes. Of these, the first four have already been completed: La Borda, La Diversa, La Balma, and Princesa 49⁷. It should be noted that this model continues to grow and expand to other autonomous communities.

Beyond the presence of a very deep-rooted cooperative tradition, in Barcelona neighborhoods such as Sants or Gracia, it is relevant to mention the role that technical experts have taken on in this new stage. In this vein, cooperatives such as Sostre Civic or LACOL are not only accompanying these developments as technical teams but are also involved as cooperative partners. As for the LACOL architects' cooperative, it should be mentioned that its origin dates back to 2009, when a group of students from the School of Architecture rented premises in the Sants neighborhood, to create this initiative. In 2014, it became a cooperative made up of 12 working members. Currently, LACOL participates in different projects at the technical level in already awarded developments. Likewise, five of its members have benefited from housing in the La Borda development, while four others are participating in the construction of a nearby development, led by the Sotraco cooperative.

First of all, two housing programs, used by different public administrations for policies that result in improving the living conditions of many families, have been shown. In the first case, the self-build program of the Andalusian Government represents a clear commitment to citizen participation in the creation of housing and the city. In the other case, cohousing promoted by the Barcelona City Council represents a clear boost in the assignment of use model. Thus, it is highlighted that both examples have as a basis the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay. The third element that has been reviewed in this research is the housing inventory on the island of Gran Canaria, which demonstrates the great efforts made in terms of public housing promotion and that is undoubtedly extensible to the rest of the national territory. After a few years of reduced activity, the new public promotion housing formulas may

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

⁶ As Bellart and Meda (2018, p. 23) state, "This public money, in addition to being allocated to the original objective of promoting privileged access to affordable housing, should have conditioned this benefit to a subsequent public control of the transfers of housing and their price."

⁷ This information can be consulted, updated in the Cooperative Housing Observatory, <https://www.llargavista.coop/>

be the result of lessons learned where the best of each case studied can be taken onboard.

If Colin Ward talked about collective housing and mutual aid as anarchist-inspired themes - which appear in the first two cases studied -, the idea of the island as a laboratory refers to the third theme, which is saving energy, which has not been dealt with in this article, but which will surely lead to future research being made.

The support by the different administrations is not the only thing that can be seen in these developments. There is also a commitment to the emerging systems that authors such as Christopher Alexander, Jane Jacobs, and John F.C. Turner had already proposed. Christopher Alexander addresses a complex systematization of architecture based on its pattern language (1977). On the other hand, the American activist Jane Jacobs, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), makes a critique of the modern city based on sociological and economic analyses, defending an intervention “from the particular to the general” and “vindicating the complexity and dynamism of the life of cities” (Díaz García, 2008, p. 147). Turner, for his part, proposes the rational use of local materials and waste, making a firm commitment to cultural diversity and user participation” (Díaz García, 2008, p. 152).

Regarding the proposals of these authors, Alvaro Baliña (2016) concludes that, first of all, there should be participation that guarantees the application of emerging approaches. Secondly, he also considers important, the simultaneity of a systemic vision of the habitat that is compatible with the scale of the individual participating in these developments, and finally states that “for complex systems to be adaptive, it is necessary to understand them from the bottom-up and intervene so that progressively greater degrees of autonomy are achieved” (Alvaro Baliña, 2016, p. 57). The programs studied here actually contain aspects related to emerging systems, complexity, and participation.

In a space shared between collective housing and mutual aid, there are other aspects such as the role played by the public utility or the common good (*Commons*) in this type of initiative (Candón-Mena & Domínguez-Jaime, 2020; Caprioli Fuentealba, 2020; Miralles Buil, 2020). For Candón-Mena and Domínguez-Jaime (2020), although their study focuses on the case of the Sevillian municipality of Marinaleda, the self-build program of Andalusia contains the elements typical of the Social Production of Habitat: self-management, mutual aid, and collective ownership, so close to Ward’s anarchist-inspired themes. It also refers to “The notion of the commons and its forms of management and governance developed by Elinor Ostrom” (Candón-Mena & Domínguez-Jaime, 2020, p. 696).

Meanwhile, Caprioli Fuentealba (2020) highlights the value of shared spaces in the La Borda collaborative housing development during the

COVID lockdown months in 2020, and Miralles Buil (2020) also mentions this experience of Barcelona within the Latin American concept of Social Production of Habitat (SPH) as a commitment of “militant” collectives differentiated from the political action of the City Council itself (Miralles Buil, 2020, p. 666).

We are also faced with the practical application of the so-called care architectures and the possible implementation of the so-called neighborhood cooperatives at a neighborhood scale (García Moreno et al., 2019). Similarly, although tangentially, it is possible to mention the cities in transition (De Manuel Jerez et al., 2012), the evolution in the ways of living (Montaner, 2019), or the role of citizen participation in social integration (Villasante, 2014). Although many authors emphasize these topics, since this research is at an initial stage, they will only be pointed out as part of future in-depth studies.

The result of this research confirms that, as has been seen in the housing inventory carried out in Gran Canaria, a public development has represented an important investment of public funds throughout the second half of the 20th century⁸, thereby contributing to greater diversity and integration of cities, neighborhoods, or localities. In fact, during the real estate bubble in Spain between 2000 and 2007, programs such as self-building continued to promote this type of public policy. However, faced with the possibility of implementing management models that reinforce the public nature of such interventions as a counterweight to the housing market, traditional housing policy has gone in the opposite direction by allowing all that public stock to have been incorporated into the real estate market, the homes passing to be owned by their beneficiaries. The example of Barcelona has led the rest of the administrations to introduce modifications in their legislation and their housing plans so that these new ways of living, such as cohousing, are possible.

Between Colin Ward's vision of the three anarchic themes (collective housing, mutual aid, and energy saving) and John Turner's vision of the consequences of the public housing policy (aesthetically hideous, socially alienating, and technically incompetent), there is a wide range of proposals. In this work, a path has been traced that runs from mutual aid and citizen participation contained in the self-build program of the Andalusian Government, through the transfer of use and cooperativism promoted by the Barcelona City Council, to the case of the Canary Islands, where the first steps are being taken to introduce housing policies that protect public ownership of land, through the assignment of use and that enhance mutual aid, promoting citizen participation, or housing cooperativism⁹. All of them are open and very active paths that will continue to be spoken about in future phases of this research.

8 According to data from the Architects' Trade Union and the Ministry of Public Works, more than 6.8 million protected housing units were built in Spain between 1952 and 2016 in any of their different modalities, which, on a residential stock of 25.5 million units (estimate of the Ministry of Public Works for 2016), represents that 26.6% of the total housing in Spain has been built with public support” (Bellart & Meda, 2018, p. 17)

9 On December 10th, 2022, Law 4/2022, of October 31st, on Cooperative Societies of the Canary Islands, was published in the Official Gazette of the Canary Islands (BOC), where the “collaborative housing cooperative” was created as a “comprehensive cooperative” modality.

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