NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

3

ISSUE 3 2021

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
Nordic Journal of Architectural Research

3–2021

THEME ISSUE:
THE HOUSING QUESTION OF TOMORROW

Nordic Journal of Architectural Research
ISSN: 1893–5281

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5.5 Euro (for individuals who get access to the journal through institutions).

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Outside Sweden pay in Euro to Nordea IBAN: SE67 9500 0099 6034 4190 3253 BIC/SWIFT: NDEASESS

Published by SINTEF Academic Press
P O Box 124 Blindern, NO-0314 Oslo, Norway.

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SHARING IS CARING? KOLLEKTIVHUS, RESIDENTIAL HOTELS AND CO-LIVING IN THE CONTEXT OF HOUSING INEQUALITY IN SWEDEN

KARIN GRUNDSTRÖM

Abstract

Sharing housing is more often than not seen through a positive lens of togetherness, de-growth, community spirit and as a driver of the sharing economy – but as the urban population increases and affordable housing decreases, sharing housing is also a basis for economic profiteering. This article explores the socio-material differences in housing specifically designed to be shared, and which exist on the Swedish housing market in the 2020s. The historical trajectories of three key shared forms of housing in Sweden, the "kollektivhus", the "residential hotel" and the "co-living hub", are analysed after which a four-field figure is developed, coupling material and social aspects of shared forms of housing. The article argues that housing designed to be shared is both a way to counteract and a driver for spatial inequalities. There is a risk of inequalities in material standards, inequalities based on concentration or lack of facilities and services, and a risk of economic profiteering of vulnerable groups. One challenge for future housing in Sweden is to counteract housing inequality by supporting affordable housing designed to be shared, while at the same time safeguarding the interests of vulnerable groups.

Keywords:
Co-housing, Housing-inequality, Singletons, Sharing, Sweden

Introduction

The rise of people living on their own for longer periods in their life is changing how we live in cities, how we house people in cities and which spaces we share. Increasingly and for various reasons, sharing housing with non-family members has become a way to reduce costs while pursuing autonomous yet communal living throughout the life-course. Shared forms of housing are proposed to achieve everything from housing affordability, to promote creative work styles among young professionals, to reduce loneliness and isolation and to increase integration among age and ethnic groups. Home-owners may take in lodgers to cover housing costs, commuters may share housing while maintaining dual residences, precarious work careers and longer educations can make sharing a preferred housing arrangement for young adults and single parents as well as retirees who may share housing to enable mutual support (Druta, Ronald & Heath, 2021). In short, shared forms of housing have been gaining appeal. For some it is a way to enable communal sharing, but for others however, the main reason is the lack of alternatives on the housing market. In the metropolitan regions of Europe, Australasia and North America, numbers of "singletons", i.e. one-person households, are soaring (Klinenberg, 2012). Due to increasing costs and lack of housing, generations of singletons have no option but to share housing. Research on "Generation Share" (Maalsen, 2020) reveal the exploitative conditions generations of sharers experience as they rent a bed/room and share apartment space with other renters. The rise of the millennial commune of "global nomads", i.e. international knowledge economy workers (Tegan, Gorman-Murray & Power, 2020), and the "housing precariat" (Dorling, 2014) are faced with cramped housing and risk meeting exploitative housing conditions.

In Sweden, the number of singletons in the metropolitan regions is steadily increasing (Statistics Sweden, 2019) while the availability of affordable housing is decreasing (Boverket, 2017). This means that more singletons will need to share housing in the coming decades. In 2020, co-housing based on intentional sharing, togetherness and de-growth (Jarvis, 2017; Westholm, 2019) is paralleled by financially driven, exploitative forms of sharing housing (Tegan et. al., 2020, Listerborn, 2018). This contradictory development of various forms of sharing housing is one of the important challenges for future housing in Sweden, especially set in the context of growing numbers of singletons and growing spatial inequalities. The past decade has seen a proliferation of housing designed specifically to be shared, aimed at socio-economically contrasting groups. On the one hand, co-housing, or *kollektivhus* in Swedish, and exclusive *residential hotels* comprise fully equipped flats combined with shared lounges, restaurants, spa and fitness centres. These forms of housing build on ideas of developing well-being and a sense of togetherness for residents (Grundström, 2021; Sandstedt & Westin, 2015). On the other hand, housing for less affluent groups comprise only private

bedrooms, while the kitchen, showers and toilets are shared. Even though these forms of housing may build on ideas of togetherness, there is also evidence that sharing may lead to overcrowding and restricted future life choices (Tegan et. al., 2020; Heath, Davies, Edwards, & Scicluna, 2018). Thus, Sweden has a history of shared forms of housing supportive of wellbeing and community spirit, but recent changes suggest that new forms are introduced to the Swedish housing market. On which ideas and previous practices are these new typologies based, and how may they influence the current context of spatial inequality? The aim of this article is, first, to identify and analyse the historical trajectories of key typologies of housing designed to be shared. Which political-ideological ideas are the different typologies embedded in? What types of spaces and uses are shared between residents? Secondly, the aim is to explore the challenges of shared forms of housing in the context of housing inequality.

Materials and methods

Housing specifically designed to be shared comprises design ideas of how to (re-)organize everyday life, of which activities that should be carried out in which physical space and by whom. In order to explore the shifts over time, and of how housing has been specifically designed to be shared, three cases were selected. The first one is a *kollektivhus* – the *Markeliushus* constructed 1932–1935 in Stockholm. *Kollektivhus* is a form of housing grounded in European models and introduced in Sweden in the 1930s. This form of housing has existed ever since in a limited number. The second case is the *residential hotel – Victoria Park* an exclusive form of housing that was introduced in Malmö in 2009. In contrast to collaborative forms of *kollektivhus* in which residents share reproductive work, the *residential hotel* is a form of apartment complex with in-house staff and shared facilities. The third case is the *co-living hub* introduced in Stockholm in 2019, marketed to young professionals who share kitchen, lounges and spaces for work and yoga. These cases were chosen since they represent extreme/deviant cases: “unusual cases, which can be especially problematic or good in a more closely defined sense” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230). The housing complexes are each the first examples of a new form of housing that, when they were built, represented the latest trend of living and sharing in daily life. While they are different regarding how sharing is represented as luxurious or as a basis for togetherness, they are similar in that they are forms of housing that in their design combine private and shared facilities. The fact that they display similarities in architectural design on the building scale, while differing significantly in how they relate to the urban fabric, makes it interesting to compare how sharing has been formed and designed. In addition to the three cases, the article draws on official documents, previous research and qualitative data from an earlier research project on Victoria Park, 2015–2017. References to these studies, secondary information from previous research, official reports, statistics and

media debates together comprise the basis for this article. Finally, each of the cases is presented in the context of the housing policy and planning ideology of its time. The housing complexes are each primarily interesting for being an extreme kind of housing that represents a way of living in housing designed to be shared in their respective periods. This would entail a contextualisation through multiple sources, which is what this article strives to do.

In the article, the term "sharing housing" relates to all forms and practices of sharing. The term "housing designed to be shared" is used for forms of housing that were architecturally designed to house residents who share common facilities. Internationally, the term co-housing is one of the most commonly used. But "co-" in co-housing can stand for "collaborative", "community" or "collective" (Lang, Carriou, & Czischke, 2020; Kries, Müller, Niggli, Ruby & Ruby, 2017; Vestbro, 2010), terms that vary in meaning. Given the complexity of the social and material conditions, "sharing housing" and "housing designed to be shared" are the two terms used to capture the scope of a new field of housing as it emerges in Sweden. After this introduction, the article starts by presenting singletons and sharing housing set in the context of housing inequality. This is followed by an analysis of the trajectories of the three cases after which a four-field figure is developed, coupling material aspects to the role of reproductive work in housing designed to be shared. The article argues that housing designed to be shared is both a driver for and a way to counteract spatial inequalities. In conclusion, one of the challenges for future housing in Sweden is to counteract housing inequality by supporting affordable housing designed to be shared, while at the same time safeguarding the interests of vulnerable groups.

The rise of singletons and sharing housing in the context of housing inequality

Singletons sharing housing

In the metropolitan regions of Europe, Australasia and North America, numbers of singletons are soaring. According to Klinenberg (2012), the rising number of singletons in the U.S. is the most significant demographic shift since the baby boom. In his study, *'Going Solo'*, most singletons were leading more active, happier, more fulfilling and even more environmentally friendly lives in comparison to other households (ibid.). Sweden is interesting in this context since the country has one of the highest percentages of single-person households globally. According to Statistics Sweden (2021) (the government agency that collects official statistics about Sweden), 45 to 55 per cent of the population in the metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Malmö and Göteborg are single persons without children.

In spite of the high numbers of singletons, sharing housing has historically not been a significant form of housing. One reason is the *Folkhem* [Peoples' Home] housing provision model, initiated by the Social Democratic party during the 20th century. Through a complex system of subsidies and regulations, coupled to the development of new institutions and municipal housing companies, housing standards and housing size increased, and the housing shortage was eradicated by the end of the 1970s (Grundström & Molina, 2016). The model resulted in one of the highest housing standards and housing size per persons globally and an urbanism based on a distinct differentiation between subdivisions for housing, workplaces, shopping and leisure (Nylander, 2013). This was an urbanism based on "dispersion" (Grundström, 2017b). In the *Folkhem* city, affordable housing was provided for people, and sharing was the sharing of common resources and public facilities dispersed throughout the city, such as the *Folkets hus* (Peoples house, i.e. community centres) and public sports- and leisure centres. Affordable and available housing meant that generations of Swedes had the opportunity to move out of their parental home to a dwelling of their own at a very young age. Similarly to Klinenberg's statement about the "surprising appeal of living alone" (2012), Swedish research shows that singletons residing in a dwelling of their own are very satisfied with their housing situation (Sandstedt, 1991). Thus, for decades, urban singletons were not forced to share housing for economic reasons. However, since the 00s, the number of singletons who share housing has increased. According to Statistics Sweden (2019), approx. 500.000 individuals share housing with non-family members. In addition, there is a continuous growth and interest in various forms of housing specifically designed to be shared. In spite of lacking statistics[1], a rise in interest can be identified through discussions and debates in the media (Bejerot, 2018); in the real estate business (Nordlander, 2019); in the national organisation for co-housing (Kärnekull & Jalakas, 2019); and in reports and research on shared forms of housing (Grundström, 2017a; Westholm, 2019). All these sources report an increase in both demand and construction of shared forms of housing directed at socio-economically different groups.

1 In 2020, there are no official statistics on the number and typology of shared housing, since Statistics Sweden only takes into account whether individuals share the same dwelling, and not whether shared facilities are included in the housing complex.

In summary, we are witnessing a rise in singletons sharing housing. This is true for Sweden, as well as other metropolitan regions of advanced economies, where the increase in singleton populations is coupled to increasing costs and lack of housing. This calls for explorations of the new notions of sharing that are evolving and the inequalities that are forming.

Housing Inequality

In spatial terms, inequality can be understood as a concentration of wealth and poverty at specific locations in cities (Lefebvre, 1974; Harvey, 2011; Madden & Marcuse, 2016); places in which physical and social positions in space overlap (Bourdieu, 1994). Resulting on the one hand

in spaces of misère, marginality and stigmatization (Bourdieu, 1999; Wacquant, 2007) and on the other in spaces of affluence and privilege (Bauman, 2000; Atkinson & Blandy, 2006). Swedish metropolitan regions have gone through a process of social and geographical polarisation and increasing economic inequalities since the 1990s. Spatial inequality in Swedish cities has been defined as a process of "social polarization", defined as a process of super-gentrification (increase of wealth in already wealthy areas) on the one hand and of low-income filtering (deepening poverty) on the other (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg, 2012).

Internationally, housing inequality has been related to income and wealth and to social and racial inequality. Several scholars across Europe, in Australia and the U.S. point to increasing economic disparities, with disadvantaged prospects among youngsters and vulnerable groups contrasted by the emergence of a substantial, secondary, property market, leading to capital accumulation for rentiers (Arundel, 2017; Dewilde & Decker 2016). This research also points to the growing role of housing capital in wealth accumulation for the middle and upper middle class on the one hand and the decrease of affordability and access to quality housing for working class and poor groups on the other. In Sweden, homeownership, and in particular the private housing association [bostadsrättsförening], has increased since the 1990s (Boverket, 2017). In a longitudinal study on how homeownership is transferred between generations, Christophers & O'Sullivan (2018) investigated the correlation between place of birth and parental tenure status. The study shows that the correlation is additive; being born in Sweden and having parents who are homeowners makes individuals doubly likely to be homeowners. In contrast, to be overseas-born and have parental non-owners showed a disadvantage by lower homeownership rates. These findings confirm that the distribution of homeownership, and thus implicitly housing wealth, is highly unequal, and that inequality in homeownership may be hardening.

While it is correct that already vulnerable groups suffer most from housing inequality, inequality affects all groups in society. Madden & Marcuse (2016) argue that while privileged groups are hoarding housing and profit financially, poor groups are deprived of housing and home through processes of residential alienation, considered a form of "symbolic class violence" (ibid., p. 73). Similarly, Dorling argues that there is a need to be concerned "not only about homelessness and those who are very insecurely housed, but also about the very rich, the affluent and the average and the modest and the poor and other minorities, if we are to ensure that the current deleterious housing situation improves" (2014, p. 52). One reason is that growing income inequalities allows people to segregate more through their housing choice. Housing choice (or lack of choice) in turn influences people's access to and quality of assets, such as education for children, access to health care, job-markets and social services (Dorling,

2014). In addition to access to assets, housing inequality influences people's ontological security of home; of either having permanent residency and stability, or risking eviction, homelessness and residential alienation (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Hoolachan, McKee, Moore & Soaita, 2017). In Sweden, vulnerable groups are affected by the renovation programmes of the large estates from the 1960s and 1970s, leading to eviction, so-called "renoviction". As landlords increase rent due to renovation, tenants are systematically put under pressure by landlords through legal threats, personal harassment and reminders of the futility of resistance, leading to insecurity, anxiety and forced displacement (Baeten, Westin, Molina & Pull, 2016).

Stigmatization and vulnerability of poor groups is yet another important theme in housing-inequality research. One growing, vulnerable group is 'generation share' who are forced to be flexible and mobile due to unstable employment and welfare cuts (Maalsen, 2020). This leads to difficulties in settling down and benefiting from the positive qualities of home (Hoolachan et al., 2017). In a Swedish, national study on the changing role of the Municipal Housing Companies (MHCs) [Allmännyttan] after de- and re-regulation, Grander (2018) found that the MHCs primarily accept renters with higher income and long-term social contracts. The consequence of the new role of the MHCs is that they choose renters with a steady income, in a similar way to the private rentiers, and in so doing exclude vulnerable groups. This contrasts with the previous, universal role of providing housing for "all" assigned to the MHCs at their inception. Another line of enquiry has investigated the experiences of people who find themselves excluded from the housing market. These people are part of a larger group identified by Listerborn (2018) as the "housing precariat", a heterogeneous group with different social and ethnic backgrounds, living in temporary housing outside the regulated housing market. The experience of the housing precariat is, on a general level, that housing is constructed solely for the rich; all newly constructed housing is too expensive; first-hand rental contracts are near impossible to come by; the second-hand rental market is like the "wild west" and discrimination is widespread (ibid.). While the precariat has evolved as a substantial group, home ownership has evolved in parallel, resulting in an increase of housing inequality.

While housing inequality is increasing in the Swedish metropolitan regions, more singletons enter the housing market. Certainly, this will lead to more people sharing housing in the coming decades, which raises issues of the challenges and opportunities of sharing in relation to socio-economic differences. The field of sharing housing in Sweden by 2020 comprises a large variation of material and social conditions of sharing, and seemingly new forms have been designed and developed. Yet, the current forms of housing designed to be shared have historical roots and follow trajectories decades and centuries back in history. In order

to identify the current situation, there is thus a need to go back in time to find the origins, to establish the shifts in the ideologies and material conditions of sharing housing.

Trajectories of housing specifically designed to be shared

Tracing the origins

One of the first architectural designs of housing specifically designed to be shared was Charles Fourier's Phalanstère, or "Social Palaces", elaborated in 1808 (Helm, 1983). Fourier proposed large building complexes, where communities consisting of a mix of professions and social classes would live and work together according to the principles of collective property, social interaction and sexual freedom. The importance of equality between classes and between women and men was a central feature in the design. Fourier was one of the first male, socialist thinkers to claim that "the vindication of the rights of women is the basis for all social progress". The shared interior spaces of the Phalanstère thus included dining rooms, libraries, nurseries for children, meeting rooms and walking gallerias for the benefit of all. Still today, these types of physical spaces continue to be included in housing designed to be shared.

Fourier's concept developed into housing in support of workers; one example is the Familistère built by industrialist Godin in Guise, France, 1859–84; another is the mill village New Lanark, Scotland by Charles Owen, based on principles of philanthropy, education and the welfare of the mill workers in the 1810s. Fourier's ideas also transformed into social housing, such as the Hull house in Chicago 1889, and the Brumleby housing in Denmark, 1854–56. Yet another strand of development was the housekeeping movement, which aimed to liberate women from housework, and the cooperative movement, which aimed to provide workers with food at affordable prices (Kries et al., 2017). In her book *The grand domestic revolution*, Dolores Hayden (1981) uncovers the history of feminist home design and community planning, based on utopian ideas in the U.S. For six decades, between the 1860s and 1920s, the material feminists expounded the idea that "women must create feminist homes with socialized housework and child care before they could be truly equal members of society" (ibid., p. 3). The material feminists challenged the separation of household and public space and the separation of the domestic and political economy. In opposition of the prevailing norms and ideals, they developed housewives' cooperatives, kitchen-less houses, day-care centres, public kitchens and community dining clubs. Domestic work was to be industrialized, and women were to gain control over their labour. Melusina Fay Pierce proposed urban plans with kitchenless houses and community kitchens, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman and the feminist Alliance developed designs for Apartment hotels with

kitchen-less apartments, collective housekeeping facilities and roof-top nurseries. The apartment house, or "French flat", was by the feminist Alliance considered a middle way between the U.S. row houses and the *Phalanstère* suggested by Fourier. In the apartment building, nurseries, libraries and services for residents could be included in the design. The aim was to rearrange home life so that women could combine a career and marriage successfully. At the beginning of the 20th century, design ideas of communal housing, cooperative grocery stores and kitchen-less houses proposed by the material feminists spread across the U.S. and to Europe (Hayden, 1982). The struggle for women's suffrage, the industrialization and rationalization of domestic work were ideas that travelled also to Sweden. The ideas of apartment buildings with shared spaces reached Sweden in 1835, when C. J. L. Almquist proposed the construction of "Universal hotels", but it was not until 1905 that the first housing complex with kitchen-less apartments and a communal kitchen, *Hemgården*, was built in Stockholm. The introduction of functionalism in the early 20th century laid the ground for projects and plans for "rationality and collectivism", and the first Swedish *kollektivhus* was designed and built.

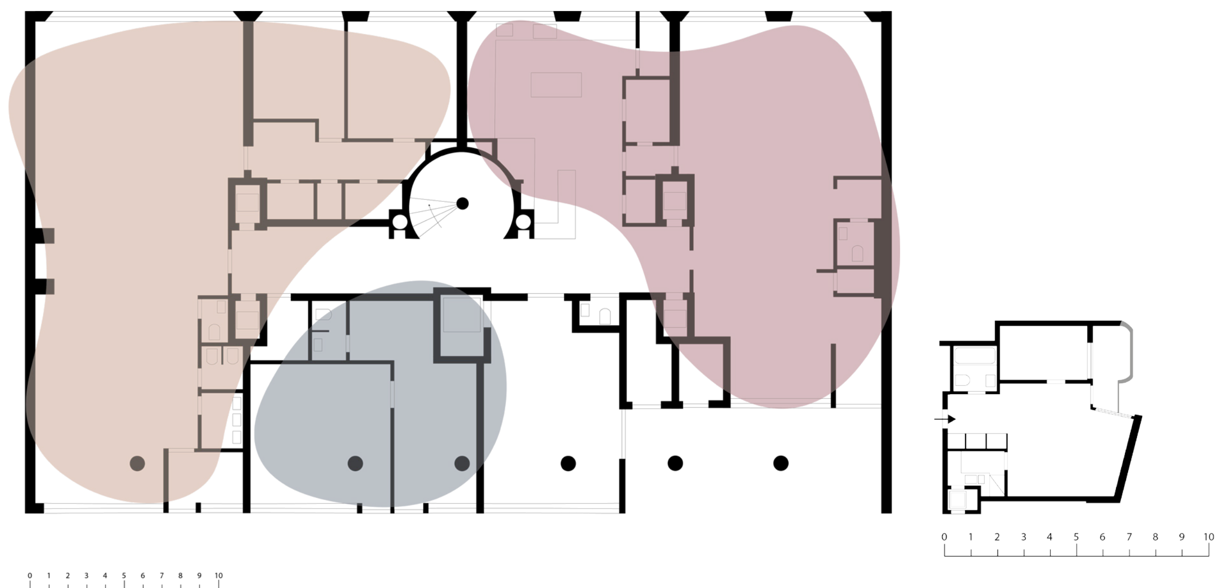


Figure 1a and 1b The Markeliushus. Above left (1a): Ground floor with shared spaces. At the time of construction, the ground floor included a day care (left); food store (centre) and restaurant (right) combined with workspaces for hired staff. Above right (1b): One bedroom apartment. The design included small but fully equipped apartments and a few studios.
ILLUSTRATIONS: EDITH GRUNDSTRÖM

Kollektivhus

The first *kollektivhus*, the so-called "Markeliushus", was designed by architect Sven Markelis and built 1932–35 in Stockholm. It comprised fifty-four apartments and a ground floor with a restaurant, a food store, laundry facilities and a nursery. Each apartment had a food-elevator so residents could order food and have it sent to their apartment and, in addition, a laundry drop leading directly to the ground floor. The day-care centre was another modern function, based on the pedagogical ideas of Alva Myrdal (Akner, 2020). Alva Myrdal and the architect Sven Markelius were two of the leading pioneers of "functionalism", i.e. the modern

movement, in Sweden. Housing would contribute to a new, modern, rational and democratic citizen. In a rational society, both women and men needed to contribute to production, to work outside the home, and thus housing needed to be organized and designed in support of the new societal organization (Hirdman, 2000). It was the collective – hence the name *kollektivhus* [collective house] – that was the overarching principle for the new society. Alva Myrdal argued against the organization of families who, together with their maids, lived in individual apartments.

> *An apartment house, where meatballs are cooked in twenty small kitchens above and next to each other, and where many small nurseries ... each house a dwindling and confined human sapling - does it not call for a planned organization, an organization in the spirit of collectivism?* (Myrdal, 1932)

In the rationally organized society, women and men would work and participate in political meetings and debates, and sports and recreation facilities would contribute to a healthy population (Vestbro, 2006). Therefore it was housework, the reproductive work, which needed to be organized in a more rational and efficient way. Housemaids and nannies would provide the work and services residents required, but more efficiently through the help of appliances and good design and for less cost than if each family would hire their own maid and nanny. After the *Markeliushus* was built, the design and construction of similar housing complexes continued, but at a rather slow pace. After WWII, shared forms of housing aimed to also integrate urban functions into the housing complexes. One of the most well-known examples is *Unité d'Habitation* by Le Corbusier, built in Marseille, France, 1947–52, which included shops, restaurants, child-care and health facilities combined with indoor streets. This approach may have influenced another well-known, Swedish kollektivhus, the *Hässelby Familjehotell*, built by Olle Enquist in the 1950s. This *kollektivhus* comprised 328 apartments, a common dining hall, club lounge, café, sauna, sports facilities shared with the local school and a serviced reception (Blomberg, 1986). Residents would dress up for dinner and the staff was dressed in uniforms, all signalling the notion of a family-hotel geared towards affluent residents. The *kollektivhus* form of housing that included paid labour lasted until the late 1970s in Sweden.

The early kollektivhus-movement in Sweden sprung out of socialist and feminist ideas that combined the notions of rationality and the emergence of the modern family. It turned out that the collective form of housing was preferred by the middle class and, as Vestbro (2006) argues, by intellectuals – rather than a form of housing addressing the needs of workers. The *Bostadskollektiva kommittéen* [the housing commission for collective forms of housing], 1948–1956, initially favoured *kollektivhus* and supported the idea of subsidizing it as a form of social invest-

ment. However, at the end of their work, the commission came to the contrasting conclusion that *kollektivhus* was a form of housing primarily geared towards middle-class, working women, and should thus not receive subsidies or support from society (SOU, 1954, p. 3). The 1950s initiated a backlash for collective ideas. Decades of inventions and notions of sharing housing were defeated in the U.S. during this decade. According to Dolores Hayden (1981), the backlash entered the stage as a political-ideological construction of “Madame Kollontai and Mrs Consumption”. Madame Kollontai represented the “red fear” of communism, coupled to collective ideas of U.S.S.R. housing with low standard and overcrowded communal kitchens (Sangregorio, 1994). Mrs Consumption represented the “own your own home” movement and the use of modern appliances for domestic work, such as gleaming new dishwashers, washing machines and new electric appliances. The consequence of the backlash of collective ideas was that housework was individualized as the ideal of the 1950s’ housewife spread across the Western world.

While the first wave of *kollektivhus* was related to the development of the labour movement and the first wave of feminism and suffrage, the second wave of feminism during the 1960s and 70s altered the focus. Instead of paid services, the *kollektivhus* enthusiasts returned to the second strand of the original ideas of the 19th century, that of sharing the reproductive work. In 1982 the BiG group launched their idea of sharing based on “arbetsgemenskap”, which literally translates to “work-based togetherness”. While the material feminists a century earlier had proposed sharing reproductive work between women, the housing solutions of the 1980s suggested sharing the reproductive work between all residents, both women and men (Sangregorio, 1994). Preparing meatballs in Swedish kitchens was no longer an issue of collectivism and efficiency of hired staff, but of sharing work and creating a sense of togetherness. If housework was done collaboratively, it could contribute to a reduction of time spent on housework and to forming a community, instead of seeing reproductive work as tedious and a waste of time. Also, political concerns were raised about the issue of hiring poorer women to do the housework for residents. According to Sangregorio (1994), the grounding ideas were to “save material resources and liberate human resources”. The design of the houses was built on ideas of “more for less” (Kärnekull, 1991). The overall design included fully equipped apartments and shared spaces, typically a shared kitchen, dining room, laundry and workshop spaces. If fifteen households would give up ten percent of their floor areas to shared facilities, residents could instead have a dining room, TV room, sauna, laundry room and workshop. If forty households would give up the same floor area, they could in addition have a table tennis room, library, play room and several workshops (ibid). The first apartment housing specifically designed according to these principles was “Stacken” in Göteborg. The original building was a multi-storey building built in the 1960s in one of the vulnerable areas of the city. The munici-

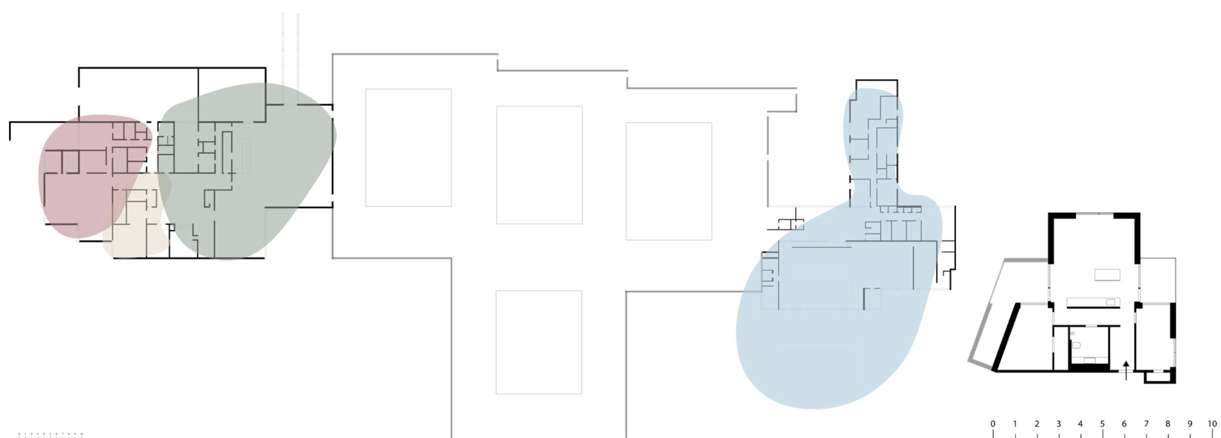
pal housing company agreed to rebuild the house, and one of the top floors was redesigned in 1979 to comprise shared spaces for a communal kitchen, play spaces for children, workshops and dining room (Caldenby & Wallden, 1984). Between the 1980s and 2000s, around fifty *kollektivhus* based on sharing reproductive work were built in Sweden. In 2005, the organization *Kollektivhus Nu* was set up to promote the development of housing based on ideas of sharing reproductive work.

In 2020, there is a revival in the interest and construction of *kollektivhus*. While some, as for example the "Kollektivhus the Red Oasis" signal a political standpoint, others such as "Kollektivhuset Färdknäppen" are focused on the second half of life with a less outspoken political standpoint. Even though sharing in *Färdknäppen* is based on "Bund" (Sandstedt & Westin, 2015), rather than political ideology, kollektivhus is still often understood as a "leftist" form of housing. Even though sharing is not solely "leftist", it is correct that in contrast to the rational solutions of the first *kollektivhus* built between the 1930s and the1950s, current forms of *kollektivhus* are all built on collaboration. Similarly to co-housing in other European countries (Lang et al., 2020), it is shared reproductive work, such as cooking, maintenance, gardening and social activities, that form the basis for sharing in the *kollektivhus* of the 2020s.

Undoubtedly, *kollektivhus* is the most well-known form of housing designed to be shared, and the one that has existed for the longest period of time. But after almost a century long trajectory of *kollektivhus*, a seemingly new form of housing designed to be shared entered the Swedish housing market in 2009 – the *residential hotel*.

Figure 2a and 2b Victoria Park. Under, left (2a): Ground floor with shared spaces. At the inauguration, the ground floor included a restaurant (left side of drawing); meeting room available as a working space (centre left); a lounge with reception, coffee lounge, library, billiard room, wine cellar and cinema (centre) and a fitness area with spa, gym, sauna, sun lamps and swimming pools (right). Under, right (2b): Two-bedroom apartment. Victoria Park include a variation of apartment sizes, from one bedroom to penthouse suites. Most apartments are fully equipped one- and two-bedroom apartments.
ILLUSTRATIONS: EDITH GRUNDSTRÖM

Residential hotels



Victoria Park in Malmö, inaugurated in 2009, was the first of a series of "residential hotels" (Grundström, 2017a) built in Sweden. The initiator and owner of Victoria Park was influenced by ideas from the US, and sought to fulfil a rising demand for comfortable housing with services included, marketed as "living in a hotel – but at home" (Victoria Park, 2007). The housing complex is a redesign of the international head offices of Euroc Cement, designed in 1977 by

architect Sten Samuelsson. The original design of this high-security building strove for a refined expression, intended to attract and impress customers from all over the world. The redesign into a residential development added apartment blocks, and repurposed the original ground floor into 3.500 square meters of shared amenities. When finalized, Victoria Park will comprise 133 apartments and shared facilities that include a serviced reception, a lounge with a grand piano, billiard room, cinema, wine cellars, meeting rooms, a restaurant, a spa with sunlamps and sauna, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, a gym and a small park with tennis courts, boule and barbecue facilities. Since the construction of Victoria Park, similar housing complexes have been built in Stockholm and Göteborg, and it has inspired the inclusion of lounges, receptions and fitness facilities in housing designed to be shared.

In contrast to the *kollektivhus*, the *residential hotel* is politically and ideologically geared towards the so-called "creative class" (Florida, 2001) and their demand for housing that caters for a life on-the-move, a life in "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2000). While at home, residents have access to service staff and to the option of socializing and lounging with like-minded residents. While travelling, either for work or leisure, their property is kept safe behind gates, locks and codes, and the staff function as a communication node, affording both longer and shorter stays outside the residence. It is no longer the "collective" or the "collaborating community" who are in focus, but instead the "creative individual" or the global elite (Florida, 2001). Catering for the needs of a life on-the-move in a luxurious environment, the *residential hotel* references and incorporates hotel architecture and the hotel as an exclusive environment (Avermaete, 2013). A first distinctive feature of residential hotels is the inclusion of a reception where hired staff cater for residents' needs and wishes. One example is Svea Fanfar in Stockholm, which offers a reception and concierge to "facilitate daily life and contribute to a golden experience" (Svea Fanfar, 2015). At Svea Fanfar, residents can choose various extras, including cleaning, gym, guest room and holiday services. The *Sädesärlan* complex, also in Stockholm, was completed in 2013, and offers "a hotel feeling with a unique service concept". A hostess and fulltime staff provide services to residents of the 80 apartments. The *Sädesärlan* brochure explaining their service concept describes amenities available that range from cleaning and catering to services available during vacations and periods of absence (Veidekke Bostad, 2014). Similarly, the residences at Karlavägen 78 offer "inhouse services" and a "revived version of room service" as well as "dog-walking". A second distinctive feature of residential-hotel housing is a lounge that offers a space to socialize for residents. Victoria Park was the first housing complex to term their main meeting space a "lounge", and others have since followed. Sannegården in Göteborg offers a "lounge where residents can relax, read newspapers and magazines and chat with neighbours. Here, you will always find activities and relaxation from dawn until dusk"

(Veidekke Bostad, 2013). Likewise, Svea Fanfar offers "a comfortable lounge where you can share a cup of coffee, read newspapers and magazines" (Svea Fanfar, 2015). In the lounge, residents socialize not as in a public hotel lobby but rather with other like-minded people, since the lounge is reserved for residents. Finally, fitness and wellness amenities are central to residential hotel housing in Sweden. Victoria Park, Svea Fanfar, Sädesärlan, TureNo8 and Karlavägen 78 all include various swimming, spa and gym facilities, combined with healthy food, yoga and beauty or wellness treatments to support the 'lifestyle' of their residents. The *residential hotels* are limited in number, and belong to the most exclusive forms of housing designed to be shared. Even so, they have also inspired construction of less exclusive housing, such as "Bovieran" [Housed at the Riviera] apartment housing with a shared courtyard that comprises an exotic garden and meeting rooms.

Residential hotels strive to provide a "good life" for individual professionals who travel extensively in their work, or for retirees who enjoy leisure and lounging (Victoria Park, 2007). "A good life" is interpreted to mean something similar to the objectives of the Baden-Baden hotel prototype, built in 1807: the "luxurious possibilities of a good kitchen, bath, garden, casino, billiard room and library" (Bollerey, 2013). More importantly, the spatial relations are reconfigured in comparison to the *kollektivhus* form of housing. Practices have changed from sharing daily house chores, including cooking, gardening and care (Sandstedt & Westin, 2015), to togetherness based on "situational control" (Bauman, 2000) by individuals who decide when and where to "interface" and when to move on. New spaces in the form of lounges, receptions and workspaces are introduced, and practices formed around sharing private, exclusive facilities, sharing paid services and sharing spaces for both home and work (Grundström, 2017). Residential hotels concentrate privilege. They combine apartments with hotel architecture; they are serviced by hired staff; they are located in already privileged, urban districts with seamless access to high-speed transportation and digital infrastructure. In contrast to housing complexes such as Unité d'Habitation, which aimed to make the housing complex part of the urban fabric and available to all, thus adding value to the city, the residential hotels privatise facilities for the use of residents only, and thus subtract value from the city. For the past decade the *residential hotel* has inspired luxurious and shared facilities in apartment housing.

The emergence of exclusive sharing is recent and new to Sweden. In addition to this, and similarly to other advanced economies, yet another form of hotel-inspired housing designed to be shared has been developed in Sweden – *co-living housing*.

Co-living

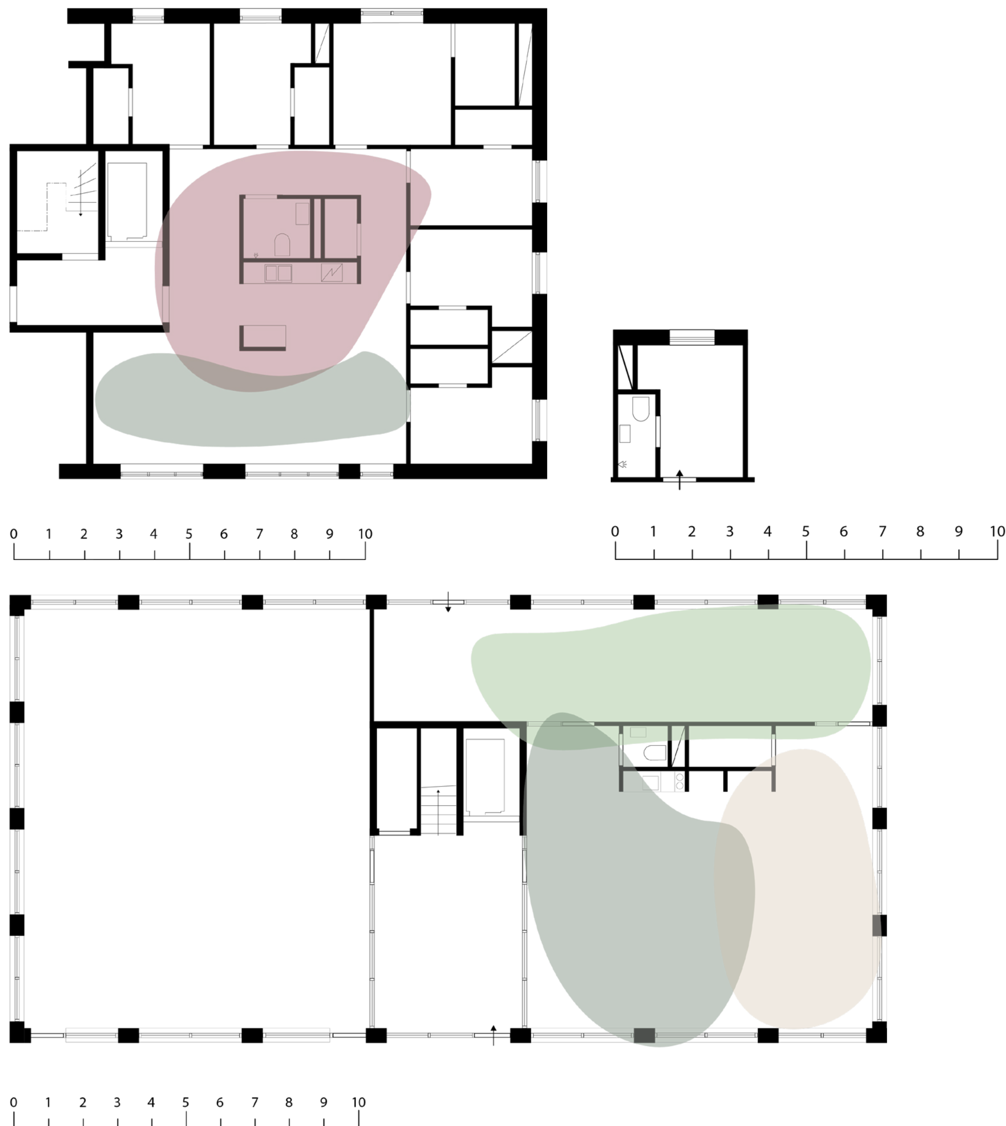


Figure 3a, 3b and 3c Co-live hubs. Co-living is planned and built in several Swedish cities. This design is planned for a future expansion. Top left (3a): Co-live apartment. Each co-live apartment includes six bedrooms and a shared space with a kitchen and living room. Top right (3b): Private bedroom. The private space consists of a bedroom and toilet (as previous examples with shared toilets have not been favoured by residents). Left (3c): Ground floor shared between several apartments. Each hub shares a space on the ground floor which includes laundry facilities, waste sorting and a lounge for co-working and socializing. In addition, the ground floor also contains spaces to let (left).

ILLUSTRATIONS: EDITH GRUNDSTRÖM

The lack of housing at an affordable cost, and the difficulties for young adults to enter the housing market, are reasons behind the emergence of "co-living" in Sweden. The first "co-living hub", is a housing complex with shared flats, where residents have a private bedroom and share kitchen and bathroom with the other residents. Similar to the *residential hotels*, *co-living* includes an environment designed by an interior decorator and it includes extras, such as cleaning services. In contrast, this form of housing does not have individual, fully equipped apartments (or roof-top penthouse flats) but has minimal private space. The first *co-live hub* "Colive Lab" with eleven residents was inaugurated in 2019 in Stockholm (Colive, 2020). Since then "Parkstråket" with seventeen shared apartments for one hundred residents, or co-livers, has been built, and new hubs are planned in Stockholm and in Lund. Before moving in, an application system is set up to combine residents, or roomies, that will

work well together. Questions about habits, interests, food preferences, and values are asked. Based on the answers, selected residents are assigned to an apartment. According to the representatives of the co-live industry, this form of housing is:

> …*driven by the younger generation's demand for more urban and more social forms of housing at affordable prices. This together with the target group's desire for flexibility and a positive attitude to sharing resources, both reduce costs and reduce the burden on the environment*. (Colive, 2020)

Undoubtedly, members of the younger generation have a positive attitude towards sharing resources and de-growth, but that is not the only reason behind the development of co-living hubs, nor their historical predecessor, the *apartment hotels*.

As mentioned above, the "material feminists" proposed to construct *apartment hotels* as a form of housing that would support marriage and a working life for women. Because of heated debates about moral and women's responsibilities as mothers (Hayden, 1981), this ideal type was never built. However, the idea took another turn in the U.S. By the end of the 19th century, hundreds of apartment hotels were built in New York and other cities on the East Coast. This type of housing was profitable for developers, since they were regulated according to the building laws for hotels. Apartments could be built without kitchens, and bathrooms could be shared between apartments. The typology offered flexibility in apartment design, since single rooms either could be rented or function as a connection between larger apartments. This meant that all rooms were more easily let, providing a variation of tenants, families or bachelors who could occupy the rooms and apartments. The overall reduction of cost made the provision of domestic services in apartment hotels affordable for the middle class (Puigjaner, 2017). One of the more famous examples was the New York, Ansonia Apartment Hotel that offered 200 kitchen-less bachelor rooms, as well as 140 luxurious, fully equipped apartments. In addition, the Ansonia offered dining rooms, baths, domestic services, a pneumatic tube system for sending mail and a roof-top farm that provided residents with fresh eggs and milk. The building regulations were altered in 1929, the apartment hotels became less profitable for developers and thus slowly disappeared from history, only to reappear a century later in a somewhat new form: the *co-living hub*.

Co-living has become a multimillion-dollar industry, spreading across the globe from San Francisco and New York. Origins can be found in the tech boom and subsequent housing crises, which made co-living popular after Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg lived in a five-bedroom, shared "hacker house". Coliving thrives on the idea that entrepreneurship develops when like-minded, creative, mobile millennials are sharing housing.

The creative class of Florida (2001) is replaced by the "digital nomads", in this context interpreted as the millennial commune of knowledge economy workers who "can work anywhere as long as they have laptops and a good internet connection" (Müller, in Tegan et al., 2020). Co-living is marketed through the benefits of community and friendship of other forms of housing, such as collaborative co-housing. Even though co-living is marketed as a positive social experience for residents and, even if they often come with yoga, latte and cool interior decoration, they have given rise to debates and research on economic profiteering of residents. Tegan et al. (2020) argue that co-living alters the meaning of home, from a private, secure and long-term living space that provided reprieve from work to a precarious mobile space, which is also a workspace and a space for social networks. Furthermore, the authors argue that co-living is a commercialised response to precarious labour conditions of workers in the international, creative economy (ibid.). As co-living has spread, so has debate. The Guardian wonders whether "Co-living is the end of urban loneliness or cynical, corporate dormitories?" (Coldwell, 2019), and the New Yorker questions the application process of co-living hubs "Applying to live in Pure House co-living is a little like signing up for an online dating service" (Kaysen, 2015).

Designing and building co-living is recent in Sweden. Still, several developers have started to plan and build co-living hubs. In addition to the developers Wallenstam who are building Parkstråket in Stockholm (colive.se) and plan to expand to Lund under the slogan "Stay alone – Live together", TechFarm offers "Smaller Space– Bigger Life" at the K9 co-living in Stockholm and a previous co-living hub called Hus24, also in Stockholm (www.k9coliving.com). The developers Allihoop (all and everyone in English) offer "Scandinavian designed co-living homes for people on the move" in two existing and one planned co-living hub in Stockholm, and plan to expand to Paris (www.allihoop.se/). In the city of Växjö, Spelkollektivet offer *Co-living for Gamers* (www.spelkollektivet.com). The developer Stenafastigheter has developed "We share" – as their co-living concept. According to We Share "Coming home should be like a cruel Spotify list". Stena owns co-living in Stockholm, and plan to expand in both Gothenburg and Malmö. Even Scandic Hotel in Stockholm has initiated a form of co-living called "Downtown Camper by Scandic – a basecamp for urban explorers". Yet another developer is Akademiska Hus, who primarily develops and owns student housing, but in addition has launched co-living concepts aimed at both students and young adults (Akademiska hus, 2020). Where the co-living trend will lead is, at the time of writing, uncertain but, due to increasing costs for newly constructed housing, it is likely to continue developing. Common to all of the above mentioned is that the private space is solely a bedroom, and sometimes even just the bed, while all other spaces are shared.

Who should prepare the meatballs and how should private and shared space be organized?

As mentioned above, the design of housing to be shared evolves around ideas of how to (re-)organize everyday life, of which activities that should be carried out in which physical space and by whom. The trajectories of *kollektivhus, residential hotels and co-living* show the historical roots and development of current forms of housing designed to be shared in Sweden. Even though they vary politically and ideologically, they all comprise the question of what spaces that should be shared or private, and who should carry out the reproductive work, such as domestic services. The architectural designs evolve around private and shared spaces. Either the private space is a fully equipped apartment or a single bedroom. The two can be combined in one housing complex, as in the Ansonia and the Markeliushus, or they can be allocated to different typologies, for example bedrooms in *co-living hubs* and apartments in the *residential hotel* Victoria Park. The shared spaces tend to signal the political-ideological focus of the housing complex; a pool and wine cellar for affluent housing; a shared kitchen and workshop for co-housing and a combined yoga and workspace in co-living hubs. Also the question of who should carry out the reproductive work is embedded in the architectural design, especially concerning the design of shared facilities. The issue of reproductive work has been fundamental ever since 1932, when Alva Myrdal was concerned about the inefficiency of maids preparing meatballs in individual kitchens. One solution has been to share the reproductive work, including cooking, cleaning, gardening and maintenance, which is the choice of collaborative forms of housing designed to be shared. Another solution has been to hire staff that provide services to residents, as in the first *kollektivhus,* and, in 2020, in *co-living* and *residential hotels*.

An emerging field of housing designed to be shared

The longest trajectory of sharing housing in Sweden is undoubtedly the *kollektivhus*. But during the past decade, new forms have entered the scene, and there is an emerging field of various forms of housing designed to be shared. Based on the two issues of how to organize private and shared space and how to organize the reproductive work, the four-field figure below (Figure 4) aims to capture this emerging field in Sweden of the 2020s. It may be argued that there are also other important factors, such as the management of housing, forms of tenure and number of residents who share housing. While this is correct, the material conditions and the role of reproductive work, which are in focus here, have been central to the debate on sharing housing for more than two centuries. Also, they have been the basis for the design problem of how to re-organize daily life, and have thus been interpreted in the architectural designs. Contrasting the material conditions with the organization of reproductive and domestic work aims to provide a way of thinking about and categorising the shifting forms of housing

designed to be shared that exist in the Swedish housing market, and internationally, in the 2020s.

In Figure 4, one axis represents the material conditions and the other represents the organization of reproductive work. Throughout history, the issue of how to "solve" the reproductive work has been central. From the earliest ideas with kitchen-less homes, central community kitchens and nurseries – to the domestic staff and "holiday services" offered in the 2020s. This question circles around who should carry out the unpaid labour: women who share the work among themselves, as the "material feminists" suggested, hired staff as in the *residential hotels,* or through collaboration based on working together [arbetsgemenskap] as in the post 1970s *kollektivhus*? It should be noted that the main form of reproductive work that was organized differently is work that historically was considered "women's work": cooking, cleaning and child-care. Depending on the political ideological focus of the housing complex, additional activities have been added as time has passed. This could be a shared wood workshop or shared gardening activities, or it could be to hire a receptionist and someone to walk the dog. The other central issue circles around the architectural design and material standard of housing designed to be shared. The floor size of apartments has been a key factor. History shows that everything from fully equipped, penthouse apartments as in the Ansonia in New York, Ture8 in Stockholm or Victoria Park in Malmö, to single bedrooms without cooking facilities or bathrooms, have played a role in housing designed to be shared. Adding to this is the issue of what facilities residents share and what they signify. In housing complexes based on sharing work between residents, the kitchen and the workshop are key; in the residential hotel the lounge, fitness centres and Buddha statues signal an international 'air' and, finally, co-living with yoga and a lounge for working is offered to the "digital nomads".

The emergence of the exclusive residential hotels and the co-living hubs signal a shift between typologies. On the one hand, there are housing complexes with fully equipped, private apartments combined with exclusive facilities and new service-concepts. On the other hand, there are housing complexes with solely private bedrooms where residents share kitchen, shower and toilets. In addition to the organization of private and shared spaces, there is the organization of reproductive work. While co-housing share reproductive work, co-living and residential hotels hire staff to carry out domestic services. In order to show how the typologies differ, examples of existing and planned housing complexes have been added to Figure 4. The most exclusive with in-house staff are the residential hotels, exemplified by *Svea Fanfar*. Similarly exclusive is *Botium*, a collaborative form of housing where residents in individual row-houses collaborate on gardening and share leisure facilities. The *kollektivhus* based on collaboration has a more moderate material standard in order to – at least to some extent – consider affordability for residents. *Co-live* has no fully equipped apartments for residents, only private bedrooms. Still, the co-livers have access to cleaning services and someone who maintains the coffee machines. The co-living concept seemingly aspires to a higher standard than what it offers in

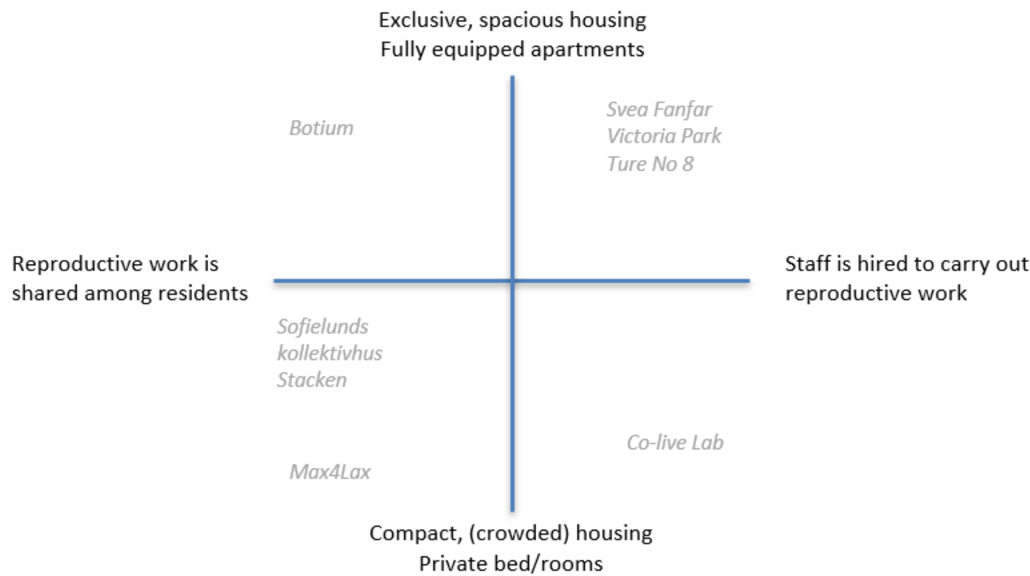


Figure 4
Field of housing designed to be shared. The responsibility for reproductive work and housework is represented by the axis from left to right; either residents share house chores or staff is hired to carry out house chores. The material conditions vary between exclusive, material conditions and exploitative conditions on the top to bottom axis. While the more affluent have both fully equipped apartments or row-houses plus shared facilities, the less privileged have solely a private bedroom plus restricted amount of shared space. Examples of housing are given within the four different fields.

square meters by including domestic services in the fee. Yet another example is *Max4Lax*, a design proposal that suggests sharing housing for single, elderly women with minimum pensions. In this case, residents only have access to a private bedroom while they share kitchen and bathroom with other, elderly residents.

What we are witnessing is a differentiation of typologies, where some expand surface areas and add facilities and services, while others are increasingly limited in surface area and even share the bathroom. One main challenge for future housing is thus how to plan and build housing designed to be shared that is affordable yet not below an acceptable housing standard for permanent living. This issue leads back to the question of housing and spatial inequality.

Sharing is caring? the rise of inequality in housing designed to be shared

The proliferation of new typologies has prompted the Swedish National Authority for Housing [*Boverket*] to replace the general term *kollektivhus* with *gemenskapsboende* [togetherness-housing]. Gemenskapsboende is defined as “a form of housing that is characterized by increased opportunities for togetherness and community between those who live in the house” (Boverket, 2020). This definition signals positive attitudes towards sharing, but based on the analysis of the varying socio-material conditions of Swedish housing designed to be shared above, sharing is not solely a one-sided, positive, attitude of sharing and de-growth. As noted above, history shows a division between privilege and precariousness when sharing housing. Fourier imagined the Phalanstère as a “Social Palace” for its residents. And over time, shared forms of

housing have indeed been similar to a palace, as in the New York Ansonia, or the most exclusive residential hotels. But there is also a history of precariousness in sharing housing, for example conditions of the domestic workers in the apartment hotels, and in 2020, the precariousness of the increase in "generation share" (Maalsen, 2020), people who will (never) be able to live in a home of their own. Especially worrying is the combination of the decrease in housing standards and room size and the increase in costs – leading to economic profiteering disguised as collaboration and togetherness.

In spatial terms, inequality can be understood as the concentration of poverty or wealth in specific places in which physical and social positions in space overlap (Harvey, 2011; Bourdieu, 1994). While some groups are "hoarding housing" (Dorling, 2014), others are dispossessed of home and access to resources in their neighbourhood. International research shows that spatial inequality is also embedded in sharing housing. On the upper end of the echelon of housing designed to be shared, the existence of differences between exclusive residential hotels and gated communities has been questioned (Chiodeli, 2015), since both these forms are introvert and cater for residents only. At the other end of the echelon concerns about economic profiteering of residents in U.S. co-living (Tegan et al., 2020) and in Japanese "Shea Hausu" (Druta & Ronald, 2020) are raised. Adding to that, concern is raised about sharing housing as a substitute for care of the elderly or people with functional variations, as renters are expected to provide services to permanent residents to reduce cost of housing. The international development of exploitative and profiteering forms of sharing should also raise concerns in Sweden.

A primary concern is the growing inequality in material standards. On the one hand, there is a growing interest and demand for housing with shared facilities; for instance *kollektivhus* with shared kitchens, as well as *Bovieran* where residents share an interior garden with exotic plants. *Bovieran* is expanding, with twenty-six housing complexes already built and eleven planned in cities across Sweden. There is also the development of residential hotels and various privately-owned forms of exclusive housing with shared facilities. On the other hand, and as noted internationally and in Sweden, the notion of what standard that is acceptable as a permanent dwelling is decreasing. Since 2014, there is a decrease in minimum housing standards as Swedish building regulations are set to lower standards of light, ventilation and floor area, leading to new typologies of "small-apartments" [*smålägenheter*] (Grundström, 2016). Adding to this, the typology of the "shared flat" decreases the private space per individual to an absolute minimum. In co-living hubs, bedrooms as small as four-meter square are let, as are rooms with three roomies in one bedroom. The risk of profiteering is evident, seen from the perspective of the youngsters or the elderly who would use them as their permanent home (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016; Hoolachan et al., 2017). In addition, such lim-

ited living space can restrict future life choices of, for example, starting a family (Heath et al., 2018). In summary, there are on the one hand penthouse flats that in addition have access to exclusive shared spaces, while on the other hand, the bed is the only private space in flats where all other facilities are shared among residents.

A second inequality concerns what housing designed to be shared add or subtracts from the surrounding neighbourhood. As noted in the historical trajectories, there are examples of housing complexes that aim to incorporate and add to the overall urban fabric through the inclusion of cooperative shops, restaurants, shared sports facilities and outdoor spaces to which the general public is invited and has access. This is an extension of sharing that spreads also outside of the housing complex itself, thus adding value also to the neighbouring area. At the same time however, there are examples of *residential hotels* as well as *kollektivhus* that are solely and only reserved for residents. A positive aspect is that both the *kollektivhus* and the *residential hotel* can contribute to "club goods", in the sense that residents benefit from social, cultural and financial aspects of living in housing designed to be shared. But the challenge is that housing becomes an entry point for buying into private facilities, such as spa, gym or day-care, that were previously only available to all in the public sphere (Grundström, 2021). These housing complexes thus subtract value from the city, and add to the concentration of privilege and wealth in already wealthy areas. Sharing housing can thus be a form of housing that adds to the neighbourhood by expanding sharing outside the housing complex itself, but the tendency today is the opposite, the privatisation of facilities for residents only.

Finally, the growing number of singletons and the lack of affordable housing leaves people with few or no financial resources at risk of ending up in exploitative and profiteering forms of sharing. The de-regulation of housing policy (Bengtsson 2018), the changing role of the municipal housing companies towards profit making (Grundström & Molina, 2016) and the increasing numbers of a "housing precariat" (Listerborn, 2018) should give rise to concerns. The market of housing designed to be shared is divided between tenure forms, some are rented and others are private housing associations [*bostadsrättsförening*]. The distribution of homeownership, and implicitly housing wealth (Christophers & O'Sullivan, 2018), is thus inscribed also in this form of housing. There is a risk of a continued process of social polarisation (Hedin et al., 2012) if privately owned, exclusive, housing complexes equipped with private facilities are built in already wealthy areas, while rental co-living hubs are built in already vulnerable areas. In the latter case, there is a clear risk of stigmatization of vulnerable groups if specific forms of housing are built for the poorest and most vulnerable groups in society. Even though co-living suits and is preferred by some individuals, there is undoubtedly economic profiteering involved, and a risk of precariousness among ten-

ants who can only afford to rent a room. International research clearly shows that this situation is developing in the metropolitan regions of Europe and the U.S. (Tegan et al., 2020; Heath et al., 2018), and is one of the drivers of housing inequality. The overall cost of housing is, in addition to homeownership versus rental housing, one factor that may influence inequality. The more exclusive forms will continue to be built as long as there are customers. *Kollektivhus* and the *Bovieran* concept are examples that have attracted residents aged fifty and above who can afford to buy an apartment after selling their previous dwelling. The situation for younger residents is more challenging, since the cost of housing has increased, and newly built *kollektivhus* housing is often too expensive, even if they are rental and built by Municipal Housing Companies.

Shared forms of housing will continue to be built in Sweden. While there is a risk of profiteering of vulnerable groups, several housing complexes designed to be shared will undoubtedly lead to collaboration, positive feelings of togetherness and the striving for using less resources. So is sharing housing about caring? The answer is of course both yes and no. Sweden is a country with one of the highest percentages of singletons in urban areas. While living in an apartment of ones' own is highly appreciated, there is also a growing interest for sharing spaces with neighbours on an everyday basis. This is a positive development, given that there is sharing and porosity towards the neighbourhood and the outside world. Even so, the challenge in Sweden is to counteract housing inequality by supporting affordable housing designed to be shared, while at the same time safeguarding the interests of vulnerable groups. The emerging field of housing designed to be shared, and especially the minimum standard co-housing and co-living models under development, raises important questions of housing and home. What is a permanent dwelling, and who will have access to one? Will there be residents who are forced to always live on-the-move, with only their bed as a private space while hot-desking at work and sharing the shower? How will this liquid form of sharing – that contrasts with the cities we have planned and built during the past century – influence planning and design of not only housing, but also of cities to come?

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the two anonymous reviewers.

This research was supported by the Swedish research council Formas (grant number: 2019-00522).

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