The Social Manager as driver of social innovation and of inclusive growth in the regeneration of built environment

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Abstract. In the last decade, social housing entered the real estate market and became a real estate product able to offer affordable housing and services on the market. The realization of social housing involves private and non-profit organizations - in support of public welfare – in order to achieve a housing policy of public interest. The researches by Housing Europe show that the most effective way to reach this objective is represented by Social Management, which is the capacity to join management of real estate and social aspects, promoted by independent private subjects with a mission of public or philanthropic interest. Social Management consists in the provision of social promotion and asset management services and is distinguished from a traditional management for the central role of inhabitants and community receiving the services. In addition to Building and Facility Management activities (and partly Property Management) aimed at preserving real estate value, the Social Manager carries out all activities addressed service beneficiaries attributable to Community Management area, characterizing them with the centrality of the community through an integrated management model. When the role of the Social Manager is carried out by Cooperatives Enterprises, the instance of defining collaborative communities is intrinsically fulfilled through the skills deriving from the cooperative tradition who by their nature represent an important asset for structuring this type of management. In the Social Housing sector, the Social Manager, the more Cooperative, with its significant track record in implementing the practices of conjunction between owner and inhabitants, represents a potential for carrying out the important guarantee function referred to at the beginning. It is in the management of the community of beneficiaries of social housing that the guarantee element for the achievement of the general interest in housing policies realized in the forms of private public partnership. The Social Manager can in fact constitute the guarantor of the service of general interest contained in the general definition of "social housing" introduced by the D.M. April 22, 2008. The paper presents the results of the research “How to create and regenerate social value through social housing” promoted by Politecnico di Milano and Legacoop Abitanti; it’ll describe how the social housing management enterprises could represent the driver of social innovation and of inclusive growth in the regeneration of built environment.

1. Scenario: living conditions
The possibility of living through accessible conditions represents a fundamental principle as well as a strategic area of the Agenda 2020 adopted by the EU, in order to prevent and fight social exclusion in...
the EU countries\(^1\). In fact, in Europe next to the theme of the quality of living, the urgency of responding to the growing need for new housing remains crucial, to protect the dignity of the individual and to curb the phenomenon of social inequality. The Europe 2020 strategy indirectly contributes to the achievement of some sub-objectives of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development [1]. Currently 23.5% of the European population is at risk of poverty (about 120 million people) [2] and in Agenda 2020 it has been set the goal of relieving at least 20 million people from poverty and social exclusion by 2020. In this regard, Eurostat has implemented new indicators to monitor the process and facilitate the evaluation of results and "The European Union Statistics on the Income and Living Conditions" (EU-SILC) represent the reference source for comparative analysis on the distribution of income, poverty, social inclusion and living conditions of the population in the Member States. Among EU-SILC indicators it is defined the rate of serious housing discomfort that corresponds to the proportion of the population living in a dwelling affected by severe problems\(^2\). Housing can also be analysed through the "overload rate" of the incidence of household costs on the household: this rate shows us that about 11.1% of the EU-28 population spends more than 40% of your disposable income to "live".

**Table 1.** Key indicators of the Europe 2020 strategy: the situation according to the Report published by Eurostat on 17 July 2018 in order to monitor the progress towards the objectives of the strategy.

| Indicator                                      | Previous situation | Actual situation | 2020 Objective |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| People at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Millions) | 116.1              | 118.0            | ≤ 96.1         |
| Persons at risk of poverty or social exclusion (% of total population) | 23.7               | 23.5             | -              |
| People living in families with very low work intensity (%) | 9.2                | 10.5             | -              |
| People at risk of poverty after social transfers (%) | 16.6               | 17.3             | -              |
| People physically deprived (%)                  | 8.5                | 7.5              | 6.7            |

Looking at the Italian context, employment and poverty are two crucial issues concerning the objectives of Agenda 2020: in 2016 there were more than 18 million poor and at risk, while the national target (about 13 million) requires a decrease of 5.2 million. This scenario is further exacerbated by the migration phenomenon: one of the most dramatic contemporary stories of the last fifty years, defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) "the greatest migration crisis in Europe since the Second World War". More than 5 million applications for protection have been presented in the European Union in the nine years from 2008 to 2016, with an explosion of the three-year period 2014-2016 with more than 3.2 million requests\(^3\) [3].

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\(^1\) For more information: Brussels, 3.3.2010 COM(2010) 2020 COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION EUROPE 2020 - A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.

\(^2\) Dwellings can be "Overcrowded", or affected by structural deficiencies, or with lack of adequate sanitation facilities, or with closing elements not sufficiently insulating with respect to atmospheric agents, or with insufficient openings towards the outside.

\(^3\) Germany, where almost 1.8 million applications were submitted over the nine years, is followed by France with over 550,000 applications and Sweden with 480,000 and Italy with 410,000. «In the 2016 Migration Report of the ISMU Foundation an estimate is made of the total foreign presence in Italy that to regular foreign residents (5.026.000) adds regular foreigners but not residents, in possession of a regular residence permit but who are not enrolled in the registry office of no Italian municipality and that are estimated at 410.000 at 1st January 2016. Overall, there are just over 5.4 million regulars including three categories of migrants: asylum seekers, those who have just arrived and are not yet included in statistics, and irregular migrants. Overall, the ISMU - taking into account attendance in the SPRAR system and the requests for protection being assessed - estimates them in over
Housing communities can be used as a resilient infrastructure system to help the integration process following the principle of social inclusion, in order to face the impact produced by this dynamic demographic structure [4].

Another factor contributing to the strong increase in the levels of precariousness and unemployment concerns the global financial crisis started in 2008. It strongly affected the housing sector resulting in an increase in evictions, homeless people, waiting lists for social housing and household indebtedness, throughout all Europe. The social categories most affected by the long wave of the crisis are the so-called “Internal EU migrants” (young people affected by unemployment); the “Hidden homelessness” (people who are not able to provide independent living and live with their families of origin or with friends, often in conditions of overcrowding); the “Working poor” (people who work with precarious contracts, which in fact represent the limit to their stable access to housing); to these categories is added a progressive impoverishment of the “middle class families”, families that due to unemployment have become single-salary and are in positions of progressive vulnerability. In Italy the categories more affected by poverty are represented by those who should enter the labour market and contribute to the growth of the country that is young people (ISTAT, 2017), together with the increase of people belonging to the so-called "grey area" that risks being in a condition of emergency housing4.

In this scenario can be found a new and different social morphology, which sees the family units increasingly reduced to one person (single, city user, nomad worker, elderly, divorced) with consequences on styles and housing modalities, housing design and their sizing. These demographic changes result in a real estate market mainly oriented towards small dimensions and "variable geometry" spaces with places dedicated to "welfare services to the person" to meet the demand and the needs of a new user profile, liquid, versatile and multicultural.

In order to promote an inclusive growth (objective of the Europe 2020), welfare services to person play a key role to strengthen the offer and the network of social housing, both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view. The development of the stock of social housing and the creation of collaborative communities of residents are two solutions to face housing problems that have as a common factor the role of services attached to the housing function, modelled by the inhabitants according to a welfare model. Within this context, social housing represents the crux of a widespread infrastructural service system, in which the accompaniment to living is a process that needs the skills and the knowledge of technical tools and techniques not lower than the design and construction techniques. In the building of social housing, the "constructive" process and the "management" process of housing should be considered as a "finite" dimension with respect to the mutualistic and social impact dimension. The identification of effective ways to answer to such a composite housing demand, which promotes social mix and inclusion, is the priority factor in fighting phenomena of conflict and in encouraging empowerment, collaboration and a sense of citizenship.

Looking at the Italian real estate residential sector can be found a lack of diversified products, innovative models and, almost at all levels3 [5], of an offer in line with demand, especially in large cities. Italy (together with other eight EU countries) has been warned by ESRB (European risk regulator) about two dangers to which they are exposed: the excessively high real estate debt and the overvalued cost of housing on the free market. In fact, a shock on the real estate market can impact the entire economy and

4 In 2016, it is estimated that 1 million and 619,000 households are living in conditions of absolute poverty, in which 4 million and 742,000 individuals live while the incidence of absolute poverty for families is 6.3%. Concerning relative poverty, in 2016, it regards 10.6% of resident households, for a total of 2 million 734,000, and 8 million 465,000 individuals, 14.0% of residents. Relative poverty affects young families more: it reaches 14.6% if the reference person is an under 35 while it falls to 7.9% in the case of an ultra-sixty-four years old. The incidence of relative poverty remains high for workers and similar (18.7%) and for households with a reference person looking for employment (31.0%).

3 Except in the first-class residential application
hit the middle class and the poor harder. This is because house prices have risen much faster than citizens' incomes.

Cédric Van Styvendael, president of Housing Europe⁶, said in a recent interview [6] that, in this market, access to credit remains inaccessible "to those who need it most", especially to younger and more vulnerable families; that it is dangerously returning to annual growth rates of house prices very close to those of the years before the 2008 crisis and that regulatory mechanisms should be put in place to avoid a new housing bubble in Europe.

2. Social housing: the Italian model between public and private initiatives

In all Europe, social housing experiences show an expansion of the perimeter of living to the wider scope of services and collaboration, opened to the urban scale, proposing a dynamic system of welfare. In Italy, Community Foundations⁷ and the Housing cooperatives had crucial importance in the last decade, representing a key role in the sustainable development of new social housing communities, with the implementation of forms of hybrid and innovative collaborations in social housing interventions. The concept of sustainability is highlighted in the context of 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development⁸. Since the current model of economic development is considered not sustainable by the Agenda from an environmental, an economic and a social point of view, each country is called to commit to defining its own sustainable development strategy that allows to reach the SDGs, within a process monitored by the UN. It is therefore required a strong involvement of all the components of society, starting from the subjects that work for the creation of social infrastructure through the definition of new welfare⁹ models.

In Italy, the public housing model (the so-called "edilizia popolare") has long been affected by the limited public resources and the inability to support investments in the maintenance of the building stock as well as in the construction of new areas¹⁰. So, it is proper to investigate whether this model is still actual and how it could still represent a valid answer to social inclusion needs.

With the new century the need of rethinking housing policies emerged in Italy: this review must be seen in a dual optics. One evokes a reunion with the past, when the "house" theme was a topic of programming and of political and economic effective intervention while the other concerns taking note of a basically heterogeneous housing demand to be met by targeted and non-standardized interventions. Observing the presence of diversified forms and paths of social vulnerability, filling the need for

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⁶ Housing Europe “The European Federation for Public, Cooperative and Social Housing” is a network active since 1988 of 45 national and regional federations that collect 43,000 accommodation providers in 24 countries.

⁷ The Community Foundations are non-profit organizations with legal, private and autonomous personality that are born and developed also on the initiative of institutional, economic and Third Sector subjects of a specific territory. The community foundations have as their purpose the promotion of the culture of the donation and aim to stimulate disbursements and contributions in favour of social utility projects by removing all the cultural, fiscal, legal and administrative obstacles that normally prevent the members of a community to contribute to the development of the common good. In Italy Fondazione Housing Sociale belongs to this category and it is the advisor of “Fondo Investimenti per l’Abitare” (FIA) promoted by Cassa Depositi e Prestiti Investimenti Sgr.

⁸ It is an action program for people, for the planet and for prosperity signed by the governments of the 193-member countries of the UN (2015). It includes 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), articulated in 169 Targets to be reached by 2030. It represents a historical event, for the overcoming of the concept of sustainability relegated to the single and for the affirmation of an integrated vision of the different dimensions of development.

⁹ These new welfare models envisage forms of cooperation between public authorities and private individuals for the provision of services of public interest (Public Private Partnerships - PPPs) and the use of private capital dedicated to the social impact (Impact Investing).

¹⁰ In the public sector, the former IACP, transformed by the Regions into Public Housing Companies (Aziende Casa) currently manage the most important part of the heritage of Public Residential Construction (ERP). Specifically (Federcasa, 2018): 760,000 rented accommodation allocated to low-income households; 25,000 residential social housing (ERS) housing with a reduced fee rent; 52,000 redemption fee housing; 270,000 non-residential property units for rent. Overall, they still manage approximately 900,000 houses. With these numbers, Italy is at the bottom of the European ranking for the percentage of social housing calculated on the total rented stock.
affordable housing implies paying attention not only to economic features but also to the characteristics of sociality, civic sense and territorial belonging. To do that it is necessary to promote those practices of empowerment of citizenship aimed at discouraging the formation of environments of marginalization and promoting paths of social upward mobility. So, housing practices and policies can be considered as urban planning instruments in a broad sense and the answer to the demand for “affordable housing” is represented by the evolution of a centralized welfare model, generated by a regulatory framework that, starting from 2008, has triggered a deep change in the social residential building sector, calling together the resources of private economic subjects for the provision of a “service of general interest”.

"Social housing” is now considered a financial and real estate product offering accommodation and services on the market at affordable and accessible costs for the so-called «Grey band». Searching for a balance between past and present, social housing represents an integral part of a social genesis and of a new idea of city. It is a research that involves a multiplicity of variables (financial and management, urban and architectural) revealing a complex articulation in the planning phase and a very difficult predictive capacity regarding the social outcomes of the interventions.

About that, in Italy, since 2008 a new path has been opened to create the necessary conditions to integrate the quantitative approach (of the requirement) with the qualitative approach (of the need), placing a strong emphasis on the forms of cooperation between public, private and social private, according to the project financing model. Within this framework, the experimentation on a national scale of the Integrated Fund System is still underway, a form of Private Public Partnership (profit, non-profit and limited profit) that, by adopting the logic of project financing, has succeeded in triggering a synergistic process of privatization (through off-balance-sheet investments of the public sector), financialization (through ethical real estate funds) and socialization (through social management) in the home sector. This process is functional in overcoming market imperfections due to the lack of enough public resources and the difficulty for individuals to invest in a profitable way. Almost a decade later, this model offering house and services aimed at strengthening social cohesion (in its declination of local funds) is exploring all the possibilities that lead to the maximization of functions pursued by operators in the public, private and social sectors (inhabitants' and social cooperatives), exploiting their complementarity.

11 The possibility of activating social housing programs was introduced by the Italian State in 2007 with the 2008 Budget Law (Law 224 of 24.12.07), which was followed by the D.M. April 22, 2008 which provides the general definition of “social housing”, the objectives and methods of implementation. "It is defined as social housing the real estate unit used for permanent residential lease that performs a function of general interest, in the preservation of social cohesion, to reduce the housing discomfort of disadvantaged individuals and families, who are not able to access the rental of housing in the free market. Social housing is set up as an essential element of the social housing system consisting of a set of housing services designed to meet primary needs”.

12 D.p.c.m. July 16, 2009 - approving the national housing plan so called House Plan (Piano Casa) - expressly provides, as a first line of action, the establishment of an integrated national and local real estate funds system for the acquisition and construction of buildings for social housing, or the promotion of innovative real estate financial instruments, with the participation of public and private subjects for the enhancement and growth of the rented housing offer.

13 The Investment Fund for Housing (FIA) was set up by CDPI Sgr (“Cassa Depositi e Prestiti Investimenti Sgr”) on 16 October 2009. The management regulations were approved by the Bank of Italy with resolution no. 167 of 11 March 2010. Type: closed-end real estate investment fund reserved for qualified investors. Mission: investments in the private social housing sector to increase the offer of social housing for rented rentals and sale at agreed prices, to support and integrate the sector policies of the State and local authorities. The goal is to build affordable houses for families unable to meet their housing needs on the market, but with income higher than those ones that qualify for public housing assignments (the so-called "grey belt"). Amount: € 2 billion and € 28 million, of which € 1 billion subscribed by CDPI, € 140 million from the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport and € 888 million from banking and insurance groups and private pension funds. Duration: 35 years, plus any extension not exceeding 3 years.

14 It is thanks to this complementarity that, by allowing to reduce the economic asymmetries (Costs> Revenues, NPV, etc.), financial (time lag between sources and negative Cash Flow) and social (risk of late payments, risk of social exclusion), through the countervailing measures implemented by the involved parties, all the social housing
Today, combining the processes of privatization, financialization and socialization represents an alternative way capable of producing added value according to the economic dimension (material wealth), the economic-financial one (greater and better housing supply), the social one, in terms of production of relational goods aimed at strengthening the sense of belonging to the community and creating social value (interpersonal relationships, welfare services to the person, networks, etc.) and the cultural one through the diffusion of values of collaborative communities, fairness, tolerance, conflict management, solidarity and mutuality.

In social housing intervention, real estate aspects must be studied according to social contents, in order to work in support of public welfare. The dual objective must be promoting housing policies and extending to larger sections of the population the right to live in safe contexts and in communities based on inclusion and capability [7]. For this reason, the social value can be effectively obtained only with the balance of the three components.

Concerning the financialization of services of general interest (such as housing, education and health) the subject of the accountability\textsuperscript{15} of the entities is fundamental (in their production and provision of services). Because of the absence of systems for assessing social impact, control and economic accountability on operating results, in the long term, formal control guidelines may prevail, with the risk of transforming into a "card" \textsuperscript{8} a service provided through public funds, but also of disregarding the expectations of the settled communities. Therefore, the most guaranteed partnership formulas are those that foresee the direction of the local authority and the joint management of the real estate and social aspects by individuals (independent and private) with a mission of public or philanthropic interest.

Housing cooperatives and Social Cooperatives (having typically a non-profit or limited profit legal form) rely for their functioning on solid participatory grounds, in fact, inhabitants are adequately represented and participate, where possible, also to the services creation and management. The social entrepreneurship and the capacity building of this type of operator, called "social manager", represent one of the most qualifying contents of the model and of social housing projects in Italy.

Social housing research project experimented till now in Europe has produced valuable indications about practices and strategies to facilitate the achievement of a complex objective that foresees to fill the mismatch between the demand and supply of housing and services; to implement financially sustainable interventions and to consider the communities of inhabitants as a real stakeholder of social housing interventions. The direction of the public subject, which guides policies, assigns the guidelines and watches over the achievement of strategic objectives represents a common denominator of these realities.

2.1. An overview of European practices

In Europe, welfare policies (housing, work, income support, social inclusion) are interconnected and every Country, indeed every territory, shows its own typical approach to the topic. For this reason, it is difficult to analyse and compare instruments used in the various EU countries on the housing theme. However, it is possible to distinguish two macro-models to guarantee the right to housing in Europe. A universalist model widespread in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands and a selective one reserved for some disadvantaged categories, widespread in the rest of the EU.

France is one of the countries with the highest number of housing in Europe (57.7% is owned; 25.2% is a free rent and up to 14.6% is a social rent). Affordable housing in France is considered an essential element to reduce social inequalities and protect the most vulnerable people\textsuperscript{16}.

\textsuperscript{15}The responsibility of administrators who use public financial resources, to report on their use both on the level of regularity of accounts and on that of management effectiveness.

\textsuperscript{16}At the policy level, the Solidarity Act and Urban Renewal establishes the obligation to achieve a minimum percentage of 20% of affordable housing (increased to 25% in some cases) in all municipalities of over 200,000 inhabitants. In this way, the regulation of real estate markets is facilitated, regulating also speculative practices, promoting access to housing for families and inducing innovation and transparency in the residential real estate sector.
Looking at Germany, rented accommodation is the most common (53%), with 43% housing properties. Its social policies, inherited from the Weimar Republic, are based on three fundamental principles: preserving the rights of the tenants and making them equal to those of the owners, maintaining the quality of housing and the constancy in the production of housing stock.

From a practical point of view, the practice of the so called "Bündnisses für bezahlbares Wohnen und Bauen" (alliances for housing and accessible buildings), must be highlighted. They are coalitions that bring together all the actors involved in the construction and modernization of housing in a technical-social working table and that, in urban regeneration interventions, directing the residential real estate market towards a preference for products at affordable prices17.

In the Netherlands, there is the highest percentage of social housing in the EU, 33% (in addition to 10% of free rented housing). Social housing has been a constant priority for all governments and in cities like Amsterdam, it accounts for 48% of the entire stock (the remaining is divided between 28% of housing property and 24% of accommodation with free rent). In the Netherlands, those who provide social housing are the Woning corporaties: private non-profit organizations and their task is to give priority to families with lower incomes. They work in a market regulated by the state, but they are independent organizations that set their own goals and have their own financial responsibilities.

The United Kingdom Government has recently presented a White Paper on housing, involving the participation of various actors in the reformation of a housing market considered inefficient. The aims consist in identifying areas for new buildings or areas to be regenerated; in the acceleration of the construction process (facilitating the task of builders and developers); in the diversification of the market; in identifying support measures for people (maintaining and strengthening social policies that facilitate access to housing).

2.2. Italian models
Concerning Italian situation, it is necessary to ask whether social private can implement integrated policies against marginalization, investigating the emerging alternative models.

In the scenario of a new economy that will be increasingly prefigured by the impact of Italian investing, it is very important that the public actor take a central role in housing policies (in the light of European governance models) and it is also desirable a trend towards the industrialization of social entrepreneurship (social enterprises, housing cooperatives, social cooperatives) dedicated to the creation and management of communities of inhabitants, through standardization and optimization of processes, the strengthening of organizational structures and the acquisition of new technical and digital expertise in the field of managing public and private real estate assets to be allocated to the creation of our country's social infrastructure. Believing in the need of our country to move from business entrepreneurship to a social entrepreneurial dimension, it is necessary to hasten to fill some gaps of cultural and self-referential nature. As stated by Stefano Zamagni18, it is necessary that impact finance "be on the ground", understanding how to be close to the needs of people and communities and contributing together with other specialized subjects to civilize our market economies. In the real estate sector, social entrepreneurship will have to accept the challenge of "industrialising" the production of social value through: the ability to meet the demand for social impact investments with the demand for housing and services; the possibility of creating the link between the public sector and the needs and the resources present in the area; the ability to transform the need for housing into communities that are resources for the territories; the ability to exploit underused real estate assets to create social infrastructure; the ability to generate social value through community management. Therefore, the impact investment sector must find an ally in the private social sector that can provide the tools to guide

17 In recent years, the federal government has tripled the federal public building funds to over € 1.5 billion and has created an urban tool called "city of short distance", a flexible tool designed to facilitate the construction of housing in the centre of city and commercial areas through a greater density.

18 Speech by Prof. Stefano Zamagni to the Assembly “Unlocking Impact Capital” organized at Palazzo Marino in Milan, 19 march 2018 by “Social Impact Agenda per l’Italia”, in collaboration with the Association “Innovare per Includere”.

projects and models of intervention and management; understanding how to intercept the real demand and make it sustainable; able to know how to transform the needs of local communities into provision of services and into new, pervasive urban infrastructures made of collaborative networks, power for innovation and for inclusive cities.

3. From social housing to collaborative living: the key role of Housing Cooperatives in Italy

In the European framework the increasing inequality and difficulty in access to housing are contributing to a social exclusion effect. In absence of strong national programming, city systems are called to meet new needs, with respect to phenomena like: the weakening of housing policies, the impact of migrations on housing needs and the market speculations. The report of the United Nations Human Rights Council [9] argues that the access to housing must be central to policies and must be treated as a right and not as a "commodity". In "Housing at the centre" and in the strategic objectives of the new Urban Agenda (2016) it’s highlighted a shift of the goal from the production of buildings to the management, towards a global vision in which housing supply must be coordinated with urban planning, putting people and the rights to housing at the first place to develop social cohesion. The access to housing and the participation of the inhabitants with respect to an inclusive development strategy is also included among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations: the objective 11 - Sustainable Cities and Communities - is no coincidence that includes in the title itself the Communities as the driving force behind this strategy. This scenario draws a need for "democratic" access to house with a parallel change in the modalities and needs related to living. In fact, referring to the most advanced experiences of social housing, in Italy and in Europe, a new dimension that integrates the use of spaces in a collaborative way can be found together with a project of house that opens to the urban scale, proposing itself as a welfare system.

Concerning Italian society, in a generalized sense of insecurity, increasing precariousness and fragmentation, statistical surveys reveal an increasing tendency to find forms of new solidarity in an ever-weaker welfare. The SWG National Survey (2017) concerning the value-based profiles and the pressures to action, shows a willingness to personal commitment of 24% to "share, do things with others"; 35% of the sample considers the "sharing of services", within the new forms of micro-economic organization (sharing, reuse, gift, etc.) one of the best alternatives to the classic ones of the modern capitalist economic system. These data therefore confirm a need for social protection and an active availability. Therefore, it is necessary to ask how the world of cooperation fit in with the economic and social changes that are taking place.

In Europe, cooperative form is experiencing a season of rebirth and reconversion with respect to new social needs: 127 million members, that is 1 every 5 people is a member of a cooperative. In June 2017 the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the EU agenda for collaborative economy to provide guidelines to economic entities, consumers and institutions: this document recognizes the growing importance of this type of economy in the growth and creation of new opportunities, that with a turnover of 28 billion euros in 2015 is now much more than an eccentric trend.

The Collaborative economy has many common elements with the cooperative movement: exchange and collaboration principles belong to both entities, just as the community dimension represents a common ground for action. Recognizing a "growing interest in the collaborative economy based on cooperative business models" the EU parliament shapes the European interpretation of the collaborative economy towards democratic values, equal rights and opportunities. Collaborative Economics are defined by Cooperatives Europe as "a wide and varied range of innovative practices and models that use digital technologies to facilitate collaboration and exchange between a community of “equal citizens”, to maximize the use of underused resources”. They are models that represent "systemic processes of value generation conducted by the communities and producing benefits for the community" to be applied and experimented in housing models.

At European level of urban development can be found many experiments promoted and conducted by communities in a cooperative form. In a transition phase of European societies, the importance of self-organized inclusive community networks is a social response to resilience. Assuming different forms and strategies, these entities assume increasing roles in opening new paths for urban development.
They build access paths to the house with innovative mechanisms concerning also the collection of financial resources. Innovative social infrastructures have been designed with various organizational and financial models (real cooperatives, community land trusts, crowd-funding platforms, ethical banks, ethical funds, impact finance). These solutions are proving to be increasingly interesting to meet the challenge of offering accessible accommodation in a context of reducing the presence of the public funds, of social segregation and of climate change.

The role of housing cooperation has evolved over time. Since the end of the Nineties, the building cooperatives have turned into housing cooperatives, that is from cooperatives that declare themselves through a function ("making the house") to cooperatives that declare themselves through the people that constitute them (the inhabitants). Almost a century and a half later, we could say that the social housing offer has modalities and aims that reflect the old idea of the first cooperatives: the social and cooperative housing is aimed at a range of housing demand that fails to access the market, and which becomes part of housing contexts that somehow foresee a form of participation, just as at the end of the nineteenth century they referred to workers who had "a honest conduct".

Listening to the countless stories told by the members of some Housing cooperatives during the National Seminar of the Alliance of Italian Housing Cooperatives that took place recently, it is clear how people have been accompanied by the cooperatives around their need for a house and their complex life project. It is evident the sense of a housing cooperative function in the social evolution of the country: cooperatives assured protection to their members, they produced value that was passed on to the generations and they contributed significantly to the economy and welfare. Cooperatives have been one of the tools of housing policies in our country answering to the housing need in a mutual way, aggregating needs, collaborating with public policies, using resources and tools: to date, there are about 300,000 homes built in Italy and 40,000 undivided property housing.

In an evolutionary phase concerning the function of the housing cooperation, one of the innovative drivers is undoubtedly that of Social Management in PPPs for social housing interventions. Fundamental are the Social Housing innovative projects born under the FIA. As part of the FIA's investment activity, the key point that qualifies the "social" nature is the definition of Social Housing (DM 2008). It includes very heterogeneous projects: those which involve the creation of "simple" rental apartments and projects that involve the construction of neighbourhood characterized by a big effort of place making, with services and the construction of networks of relationships that increase the quality of the place and the profitability of the leases. This second type of project requires a greater effort with social implications determined by the quality of the housing offer and by the soundness of the management model. In these contexts, houses and communities are designed as systems that must necessarily interact in a consistent body. Housing projects built for this purpose have the potential to become one of the possible forms of the Community Hub, just as the experiences that build spaces of urban generative process begin to be defined. Communities engage in the commissioning and driving of inclusive processes of territorial development, with a strong social base. Through a propagation approach, the Community Hubs thus make the local development a community development process, based on plurality, coproduction, circulation and redistribution of value perceived on several levels.

These Community Hub scenarios describe situations with a bottom-up trigger, otherwise in the cooperative housing and social housing projects a dual process develops: the communities created have basically a characterization of sharing a need with an active push (bottom-up) and on this base the sharing of intentions with respect to a purpose of housing well-being is grafted, which sees action by external entities working as facilitators of this process (top-down). In fact, in order to achieve such ambitious goals, able to produce results of real welfare, communities, especially in social mix contexts, assume that the urban generative process is supported and promoted with projects aimed in this direction. The activation of processes that lead the inhabitants to plan together requires the presence of "facilitators" who carry out this function with a professional capacity.

These skills are emerging, ranging from innovative architectural design, to service-design, to the functions of technical social advisors with community start-up skills, up to the Social Manager that is the person who starts, supports and leads the whole housing process. The innovative "figure" of the Social Manager entity is mainly to integrate hardware and software skills with respect to housing: from
administrative and building management to skills linked with social relationships. The Social Manager also relates to the urban context, acquiring potential and offering positive externalities in terms of social cohesion. Obviously, this activity must be sustainable from an entrepreneurial point of view, therefore Social Management can only be a new form of entrepreneurship, where the challenge is to bring the model of housing cooperation, with its stratification and his story, in a "trade" made of skills built over time, of new skills to be acquired, of creative visions to be designed.

For this purpose, in 2017 it was started by Legacoop Abitanti, Finabita and Fondazione Housing Sociale, as part of the Alliance of Italian Housing Cooperatives, with the sponsorships by Coopfond and Cooperhousing and with the participation of the Department of Architecture, Built environment and Construction engineering - ABC - of the Politecnico di Milano, a research path entitled "The Cooperative Social Manager, social housing infrastructure". The Laboratory aimed to question the social housing sector in relation to the theme of Social Management made by the Housing cooperatives (Cooperative Social Management) and to build a path of participation as wide as possible for the definition of a model of a “Cooperative Service Level Agreement for the Collaborative Living” to be adopted as a quality protocol in social housing interventions. This path followed the centrality of social management with the aim of building collaborative communities, including also a series of thematic workshops on the national territory (Milan, Bologna, Florence, Rome) aimed at defining the salient aspects of social and real estate management and at the creation of a protocol.

From the research path it has emerged that the specificity of cooperative management lies in the ability to horizontally integrate the skills of Property, Facility and Community Management into a single interlocutor for the inhabitants and the cooperative management model can guarantee in the long term the community construction and maintenance; it is a chance for the territory and a safety factor for the investors about the quality level maintenance of the properties and the performance targets. The research highlighted the sharing of best practices, the critical analysis of procedures and the identification of improvement proposals to increase the competitive capacity of the cooperative model of social manager and to evaluate developments of the Social Management activity in contexts such as public assets management of new cooperative interventions and of urban regeneration projects. The cooperative proposal has recommended to take a step forward and to promote a range of social management services in areas where this offer is not currently adequately structured and/or operational (Southern regions, Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Rome, Umbria and other) and at the same time to deepen all the issues related to social management by defining tasks and responsibilities\textsuperscript{19}.

4. Conclusion: social cohesion paths for a new community welfare
During the National Seminar of the Alliance of Italian Cooperatives of Housing held in Rome on December 4\textsuperscript{th}, 2018, with the end of this process some observations and some future paths were reported. Being promoter and manager of numerous initiatives, the cooperative world has a consolidated position

\textsuperscript{19} Some steps: (I) 21 March 2018, at Legacoop Abitanti, Rome. Seminar "Cambiare l'Abitare Cooperando. Il Gestore Sociale Cooperativo come infrastruttura dell’housing sociale e del welfare urbano. (Collaborative and Cooperative Living. The Social Manager as key player for social housing infrastructure and urban welfare)". Authors: R. Zaccaria, G. Ferri, A. S. Pavesi, published by Bruno Mondadori in the series "Tools for social housing", created in collaboration with Fondazione Housing Social and Cariplo Foundation. (II) 7-8 September 2018, Bologna. RESILIENCES FESTIVAL 2018. (III) Resilient communities: living, sharing, including in future societies. www.resiliencesfestival.it. (IV) 13-14 September 2018, Riva del Garda - Trento. XVI WORKSHOP ON SOCIAL ENTERPRISE "New forms of living" www.workshop.irisnetwork.it. (V) 26 September 2018, Milan, Urban Center: How and through which paths are innovative processes of innovation and urban transformation activated in the field of living? (VI) 28 November 2018, Milan. Politecnico di Milano - Aula Magna - XI Edition Permanent Observatory on Local Public Administration (OPPAL) of the Politecnico di Milano: "The residential thematic with particular reference to the types and tools of financing and management". Initiative by the Politecnico di Milano - Dept. ABC, in collaboration with the patronage of ANCI, Assoimmobiliare and Federimobiliare. At the end of the research process, the following book was published: "Cambiare l’Abitare Cooperando. Il Gestore Sociale Cooperativo come infrastruttura dell’housing sociale e del welfare urbano". Authors: R. Zaccaria, G. Ferri, A. S. Pavesi, published by Bruno Mondadori in the "Tools for social housing" series.
within the integrated system of funds\textsuperscript{20}. The Cooperation of Inhabitants continues to promote innovative interventions of collaborative living and social inclusion also in terms of environmental sustainability throughout the national territory in collaboration with the Public Administrations\textsuperscript{21}.

In the emerging sector of social impact investments there is a need to create precise and measurable positive externalities, confirmed by the attitude of cooperatives to answer to emerging housing needs of increasingly large sections of urban population and to design new welfare infrastructures\textsuperscript{22}. Cooperatives have to push on the accelerator of innovation, to acquire sophisticated evaluation tools for these positive externalities and to assess the social impact coming from the Social Cooperative Management of social housing interventions and not only. In absence of predefined metrics, it's necessary to start paths to identify "tailor-made" tools for impact assessment, firstly through the awareness of its own track record, then through tools able to capture the effects of the values expressed by the management\textsuperscript{23}. Moreover, it should not be neglected the observation of the phenomenon from the sociological point of view, in a multidisciplinary collaboration relationship for the choice, the concertation and the development of the evaluation methodology and the tools with which it is implemented. It is complex to certify the social value generated by a complex management system, which combines the real estate component of Property, Facility and Building Management, the management of the community of inhabitants, in the construction of forms of collaborative and mutual housing. In the field of social housing, the model of cooperation of inhabitants can continue to guide policies, supporting the public administration in the choices of models to be implemented and, reversing the paradigm, supporting impact finance to intercept the real demand for housing and services.

In Italy, housing cooperatives are the bearers of a mutual organization history of housing needs with democratic governance, which has been able to renew itself in the last decade and enter the more complex arena of Community Making and Community Management of urban challenges. Cooperation of inhabitants has the potential to involve its own cultural, ethical and operational tools but also the awareness of the need to measure itself with a "way" under complete redesign with respect to the objectives and the inherent connections developed between entities inside and outside of the housing context. The Collaborative Housing is strictly connected to new welfare community challenges, to the allocation of real estate assets for social infrastructures and to the urban regeneration. For these reasons the Collaborative Housing can find in the housing cooperatives those partners able to understand the request both for affordable housing and for new welfare services, with the necessary technical skills to promote, support and manage these long-term experiences.

\textsuperscript{20} They are cooperative structures or promoted by cooperatives that provide social management services to the Funds already operating in Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany, Parma, Friuli and other start-ups are in progress in Rome and Umbria.

\textsuperscript{21} It can be demonstrated by the cases of: Abitcoop Housing cooperative in the province of Modena since 1976; Andria Cooperativa di Abitanti - Emilia-Romagna since 1975; Apulia Student Service Cooperative since 2014; DAR=CASA housing cooperative with undivided ownership since 1991; The Building Cooperative "G. Di Vittorio " with undivided property since 1972; UniAbita Soc. Coop. born of La Previdente 1903.

\textsuperscript{22} The report of the European Commission "Boosting Investment in Social Infrastructure in Europe. Report of the High-Level Task Force on Investing in Social Infrastructure in Europe", January 2018, estimates that the current investments in social infrastructures in the EU amount to about € 170 billion a year and identifies a vacuum of at least 100-150 billion euros. Within this gap, the lack of investments in affordable and sustainable housing in terms of energy system stands at around 57 billion euros.

\textsuperscript{23} Such as: the construction of mixed indicator sets; the cost-benefit ratio; the definition of parameters relating to savings in public expenditure in the implementation of welfare mix systems; the analysis of users' perceptions; the counterfactual analysis; the descriptive analysis of the perceived improvement of housing conditions (storytelling, interviews with the direct and indirect beneficiaries); the analysis of indirect effects, such as the increase in the level of joint responsibility and awareness or the quantification of the community savings in the construction of economies of scale.
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