

Research Article

© 2022 Letizia Carrera. This is an open access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)

Received: 22 August 2022 / Accepted: 20 October 2022 / Published: 5 November 2022

Co-Housing as a Strategy to Combat Relational Poverty of Older People

Letizia Carrera

University of Bari Aldo Moro, Piazza Umberto I, 1, 70121 Bari BA, Italy

DOI: https://doi.org/10.36941/mjss-2022-0043

Abstract

The pandemic experience from Covid-19 has heightened the awareness of the impact that relational poverty has on the quality of life, especially of older people's lives. The obligation to stay inside their homes to protect them from the risk of infection has had the indirect effect of precipitating many elderly people into a state of solitude from which, at least in part, the city had been protecting them until then. The pandemic has shown how older citizens live the shortage of relationships and the solitude of housing as factors that can heavily affect the quality of their lives. But this difficult historical moment has been an opportunity to implement a series of projects dedicated to over 65 people so that they could be guaranteed a fullness of possibilities. Within them there is "CondiViviamo" activated in Bari (Italy) and focused on the possibility of realizing an experience of cohousing as an instrument to contrast the economic uneasiness and, above all, the relational poverty. The starting assumption is both to guarantee older people a better existential condition, and to make them protagonists of this process. The project, carried out in a multifactorial perspective, is initially aimed at a limited number of elderly subjects, but it has the secondary purpose of defining a model exportable to other cities in the same territory of Apulian region and even at national level. The analysis of the outcomes of the project will also be functional to the definition of future operational guidelines for public social policies.

Keywords: Co-housing, Strategy, Poverty of Older People

1. Introduction

The pandemic experience from Covid-19 has heightened the awareness of the impact that relational poverty has on the quality of life, especially older people's lives. The obligation to stay inside their homes to protect them from the risk of infection has had the indirect effect of precipitating many elderly people into a state of solitude from which, at least in part, the city had been protecting them until then. The plurality of cultural, socialization and leisure opportunities offered by public and semi-public spaces, together with the attempt to extend that offer even beyond the city center by pursuing the principle of territorial democracy, had guaranteed opportunities and possibilities of daily practices able to mitigate, at least in part, the condition of residential solitude.

The pandemic has shown how older citizens, whose high share will grow in the coming years and decades, live the shortage of relationships and the solitude of housing as factors that can heavily affect the quality of their daily lives. But this difficult historical moment has been an opportunity to

implement a series of projects dedicated to over 65 people so that they could be guaranteed a fullness of possibilities, starting from highly "capacitive" processes that call attention to the *capabilities* about which Ralph Dahrendorf wrote. The starting assumption is both to guarantee older people a better existential condition, and to make them protagonists of this process. Rather than imagining them as recipients of interventions, the choice has gone in the direction of projects that see elderly subjects as fully protagonists of processes about their active inclusion. One of these projects is "CondiViviamo" realized in the city of Bari and centered on the possibility of realizing an experience of cohousing as an instrument to contrast the economic uneasiness and, above all, the relational poverty. The project involves older people who currently live alone and are in a condition of economic hardship and it is characterized by a collaboration between public institutions, private social cooperative and the university. It also pursues the objective of defining a model that can be exported to other territories.

The project "CondiViviamo" has avoided to propose itself as a top-down proposal on the daily life of older people, preferring instead the definition of social interventions co-built to deal with the gap between the potential content of the project and the concreteness of its implementation.

The experience of cohousing, which in Europe is already consolidated, at least to a certain extent, is still an almost experimental experience in Italy. The project, carried out in the city of Bari, is initially aimed at a limited number of elderly subjects (about 10), but it has the secondary purpose, as previous mentioned, of defining a model exportable to other cities in the same territory of Apulian region and even at national level.

The project, which provided for the initial activation of a multifactorial network and in constant interaction with the territory, pursues clear objectives: lowering the risk of institutionalization, and overcoming the condition of loneliness, sometimes of abandonment and socio-economic hardship, overall improvement in the quality-of-life level.

The entire project was preceded by a process of analysis of the representations of older people and their families on the theme of cohousing and it will be accompanied by a constant monitoring process. The analysis of the outcomes of the project will also be functional to the definition of future operational guidelines for public social policies.

The European design on the theme has been the constant reference already in the phase of planning, but in the full awareness of how much the territorial and cultural specificity is an element able to heavily influence the representations of the theme and must, therefore, be one of the key factors to keep constantly under control.

The project follows a line of action also confirmed by a recent survey carried out in the period of the so-called Fase1 of the Covid-19 health emergency, when "the absence of and from the city" due to the invitation, then became mandatory. The obligation to remain inside each own homes, has brought out the extremely differentiated impact of personal resources owned by older citizens, resulting in an individual variability in the representations and behaviors in response to the apparently "same" condition (Carrera 2020). The interviews clearly showed how a widespread condition of relational poverty represents, especially for older people, a real existential danger that could affect, even heavily, both the quality of psychoemotional life, and also on the state of physical health.

2. Old Age Between New Challenges and Old Limits

The elderly represents a phenomenon of great importance on the economic, social and political levels, and is taking on completely new features compared to the past in terms of social representations and, above all, self-representations of older people. These subjects are one of the challenges that society and, in particular, cities are and will be called to face in an increasingly pressing way.

¹ The project "CondiViviamo" is realized by the social cooperative "Occupazione e Solidarietà" of Bari in collaboration with the University of Bari Aldo Moro and financed by the Department of Welfare of the Municipality of Bari.

Italy, in line with a European and world trend, is an increasingly old country. The value of the average age rises steadily - rising from 41.9 years in 2002, to 43.4 years in 2010 and up to 45.7 years in 2020 with a positive delta of 3.8 years in less than twenty years. The trend appears to be growing strongly also in the demographic projections that indicate at least 47.2 years in 2030, 48.2 in 2040 and even 48.6 in 2050. The direction of a progressive ageing of the population, again in analogy with what is happening at European level, albeit with less marked trends, is readable also looking at the natural growth rate that now has a negative balance with increasing values. Looking only at the last few years, in Italy it has gone from -0.3 in 2002, to -0.4% in 2010 to jump up to -3.6% in 2019 (Istat 2020).

These trends are influenced both by the declining birth rate and by rising life expectancy. This first factor is, the factors are dramatically consolidated due to the choices of families to have fewer children than in the past, to the generations of the baby boom of the 1960s now on the border of the third age and to the shrinking number of new citizens, whose entry had long sustained the Italian population growth and which now no longer supports the general decline in births. With regard to the second factor, which is the increase of the proportion of elderly people among the total population. According to Istat projections, the percentage of over-65s could increase by a further 9 or 14 percentage points in 2050, depending on the more or less optimistic assumptions.

Beyond the specificities on the territorial level, the overall figure is an aging phenomenon transversal to the Italian national territory with more marked trends in the Southern regions that, although presenting different starting situations, are tending to align with the values of the other territorial compartments.

These important quantitative changes have been combined with other, equally significant, qualitative ones related to the process of substantial change in the social representations of the third age and therefore of the meaning attributed to being elderly. In the past being elderly meant being «placed on the margins of society. [Elderly people] were entrusted with the paradoxical task of finding meaning in their own existence while, at the same time, this sense is denied by the more or less forced separation from all the centers of social life» (Jedlowski 1989: 119)². In recent decades, however, being elderly has begun to be considered no longer a mere residual condition compared to adult working life, but rather a real new phase full of opportunities and possibilities, but also of limits and difficulties.

First, this cultural transformation has generated the need to deal with the extreme diversification within the "old age" label (Gilleard C., Higgs P. 2002). Some necessary time intervals have been defined, and testified how old age, or rather aging, has begun to be looked at rather than as a situation, as a process that identifies life stages whose quality depends not only on a mere biological datum linked to the definition of health in the strict sense, but rather to a wider condition of well-being, both lived and perceived (Caradec 2001; Bai 2014). One of the strongest signs in this direction is the choice of the national geriatric community to replace the term "young elderly" in reference to the age group 65-74 years, with "late adults", as recognition of the vitality of this segment of the population. Beyond this first group of subjects, the "elderly" was distinguished for the 75-84 cohort, and the "old seniors" for that one over 85 years of age, to which are added the "big old" over 90 years, the over centenarians and the super-centenarians (one hundred and ten years and over). These labels make evident the extreme heterogeneity of the subjects, different in terms of lifestyles, experiences, needs, desires, projects (Alwin, Hofer 2011).

While there is no doubt that aging is a condition of progressive deterioration of the state of health of the body, it is equally true that the socio-economic-cultural conditions within which this process takes place are able to profoundly influence its outcomes. The subjective factors intersect with the objective factors of context, which lead the definition of the quality of life of the elderly.

3

² Jedlowski wrote (1989), recalling the novel by A. Cross, about possessing time or the world: the elderly finds themselves possessing a disproportionate amount of "time", but just when those subjects are losing "the world" when they no longer have recognized activities, relationships, power.

Among the factors attributable to the individual subject there are the state of health, the level of autonomy, the endowment of economic and cultural capital, the quality of family and friend networks. Instead, some of the factors of context are the equipment of the different territories in terms of quality of public spaces, safety, accessibility of places, provision of green spaces and equipped parks, places and cultural opportunities, sociality, leisure. «For this reason we are witnessing today a progressive difficulty in defining a priori the physiognomy of these transition phases. In particular, it is increasingly difficult to correlate them to precise anagraphic outlines» (Facchini, Rampazi 2006, p.62), apart from the other variables. The third age can be, paradoxically beyond the age itself and the state of health, a phase characterized by fullness and realization, by a new planning and a renewed search for meaning, or instead, by fragmentation, loss of self, loneliness and isolation, up to marginality and social exclusion.

The progressive increase in the share of the elderly population combined with the lengthening of life expectancy, increasingly raises the question of the responses that public social and health Welfare is and will be called to give to the specific segment of the elderly who are not self-sufficient. Subjects whose conditions and corresponding demands will also be fragmented and individualized according to the specific personal, family and social conditions lived. The analysis of the needs related to the issue of the elderly not self-sufficient, their condition of vulnerability and the specific needs and expectations, are focal issues already today and destined to increase their relevance in the near future (Ranci 2001; Pavolini 2002, 2004), but it goes beyond the objectives that we intend to pursue in this essay. The present analysis, in fact, aims to look at the conditions experienced by elderly self-sufficient subjects and the new and increasingly articulated demands that they address to their cities in view of a full statement of what they perceive as their rights. The right to mobility, to care, to safety, to proximity, to a habitat adapted to their changing needs, to an equipped public space, to urban greenery, to leisure and sociality, that can be synthetized in the «right to the city» about which Henri Lefebvre (1967) wrote fifty years ago, and which today, even more than in the past, must be declined in the possibility of a differentiated and individualized use of the city itself (Harvey 2016).

3. The *New* Elderly

In addition to the persistence of the elderly who respond to the traditional model of representation of the third age, the model of the *new* elderly who are characterized by a different vitality and often by a different economic and cultural opportunities is becoming increasingly established. They are bearers of needs that go far beyond the merely health needs and move toward the desires of sociality, cultural activities and leisure for the satisfaction of which they look in a particular at the city.

In fact, it is not only the social representation of old age that has changed profoundly, starting from the lexical choices made to define this phase of life - think of the weight of the word "old" in the daily lives of the subjects, used in an almost derogatory sense - but also to the self-representation that older subjects have of themselves. In recent decades, the elderly have begun to perceive themselves in a completely different ways from the past, increasingly capable of desires and life planning.

The protagonism that older subjects claim for themselves is evident in their desire for purchase and consumption that implies a tension towards an active life characterized by a lasting search for experiences and existential fullness. These needs, before the social and urban welfare sector, which often seems to have difficulties to interacting with its older citizens, have been grasped and reinforced by the market that, recognizing them as carriers of a high (or at least certain) purchasing power and a desire for sociality and leisure, has started to offer them specific products like cruises and trips, infrastructural interventions in homes, and other ones designed for this specific target of consumers. Objects like simplified mobile phones with the most visible keys and the highest volume ringtones, beds and reclining chairs with electric controls, multivitamins for greater physical efficiency, invisible hearing aids, and many more, represent a daily presence among the commercials offers. The supply and the demand of this type of objects does not testify so much to the decay of some age-related abilities, but rather to the desire of elderly subjects to live their lives to the full despite that.

In this changed and changing scenario, the cultural and political challenge is twofold. It consists firstly in recognizing the specificities of these new subjects and the differences from which they are characterized and of which they are carriers; secondly in detecting their demand for cities, even if it is specific and segmented, and needs equally specific answers and inteventions.

Starting from the transformations in social representations and in self representations of the elderly people, it is necessary to re-read and to reformulate the indicators of quality of urban life in the name of principles of territorial democracy and social justice (Carrera 2020). The unavoidable awareness to recognize the right to a differentiated and even personalized use of the city itself, urges public institutions to consider the personal and the context specificities and context experienced by older citizens who ask, in a more or less conscious way, a full recognition of their diversity. For elderly people as for any other category of citizens, the variables that affect the quality of their urban life are, as noted, both personal and context ones, but older subjects have specificities that accentuate the weight of the second type of variables. The demands of the elderly are in fact first of all a question of proximity, deeply innervated in an age friendly urban habitat which is, in turn, strongly linked to the quality of the territorial public welfare in order to guarantee their right of aging in place (Pani-Harreman et al. 2000; Moreno 2020).

4. The Role of Urban Space

Beyond the individual physiological and socio-psychological specificities, therefore, it is in the urban space that a progressive internal diversification of the elderly population takes shape, in terms of quality of life and available opportunities (Balthes and Mayer 1999; Lalive D'Epinay et al. 2000; Caradec 2001; Gilleard and Higgs 2002).

The awareness of the centrality of urban space is the basis for the choice of the World Health Organization (WHO) to start the program of age-friendly cities. The initiative, which began in 2006 with a preliminary analysis of various cities around the world, and an evaluation of the facilities and services that make a city *age-friendly*. The first step of the program was to set up a commission with representatives from 33 cities in 22 countries around the world, which produced a guide and a checklist, aimed at collecting the testimonies of senior citizens. The data gathered highlighted the changes that would make cities more suitable for people over the age of 60^3 . The aspects on which the greatest dissatisfaction and also the most marked needs have been reported are:

- social participation
- respect and social inclusion
- communication and information
- community support and health services
- access to public transport
- the presence of equipped public spaces.

Following the collection and analysis of data, the WHO recognized that the characteristics of cities could be a decisive variable in defining the conditions of the quality of life of the subjects, especially the most vulnerable. It has therefore decided to establish an age-friendly city network with a dual objective: on the one hand, to allow the exchange of information between cities, speeding up their transformation into centers suitable for elderly people lives, and on the other hand, to provide guidance for the development of policies on this issue also at regional and citizen level (Carrera 2021).

The cities are called to play a key role, because in those places take shape, and only sometimes find answer, the daily needs of elderly citizens who look right to the city both for the answer to their most immediate needs - health facilities and therapeutic pathways, mobility, housing, home care, measures to counteract economic poverty (Slughter Brown 2017; Wise 2004)-, but also to those, no less relevant, of social and leisure -, such as day care centers, equipped public places, public events

³The article "Network of cities tackles age-old problems", published in the bulletin of the WHO, tells the path of this first phase of the program.

and, more generally, measures to combat relational poverty. The consolidated awareness of how much the quality of the territorial context is able to heavily influence also the conditions and the chances of life above all of the elderly subjects, ensuring or not opportunities sometimes compensatory of the deficiency of personal resources possessed. In the case of older people, given the possible problems of access to different forms of mobility, not only the characteristics of the city as a whole, but also those of the more specific territory within which they live, are particularly important.

The different needs expressed by an increasing number of elderly subjects, therefore, represent an important challenge that Italian cities are and will be called to confront. What is surprising is how even today the cities seem unwilling to cope with these changes. They have not prepared significant interventions, if not patchy on the national, regional and even municipal territory, and often not yet of a structural nature, in terms of the infrastructure of public spaces, the adaptation of mobility, integrated local systems and the overall rethinking of the urban system, in view of the specific and differentiated needs of this equally specific and differentiated category of citizens.

This protagonism to which the cities are called is also destined to increase since the trend of progressive urbanization of the population does not show any signs of possible trend reversals⁴. Most large cities, already in the next decade, will have a quarter of the population over the age of 60 who will tend to concentrate in the central areas of the compact city.

In synthesis, cities are simultaneously growing and aging with incredible speed.

This has generated and will continue to do so in the near future, a level of demand for integrated territorial welfare services, opportunities and rights, conditions for an active life, not only free of disease but full of opportunities.

Today the concept of well-being involves plans that refer to the complex concept of quality of life and pushes to look at public institutions at various territorial levels, as important interlocutors for the necessary implementation of effective answers to new requests. The right to the city of the elderly is becoming more extensive, incorporating new and unthinkable areas, and represents a key to reading the new demand for their centrality and protagonism.

For these new elders, the perception in new and different ways takes shape in claiming for themselves a right to the city (Lefebvre 1967; Harvey), to live it fully and to find in it the answers not only to the needs, but also to their desires. In some cases, that is, older people believe that they have the right to seek the conditions and possibilities of the other city, the one that does not yet exist, but that can be the outcome of a different and shared urban project about which older people feel they can be an active and important part.

The demand for habitat that includes but exceeds the right to one's own dwelling has a fundamental role in this process of re-signification of the elderly condition.

On the one hand, in fact, the right to stay in your home is central even when the health condition and the level of autonomy begin to decline. Once again it is the market that has enhanced this need. Among the products designed and offered to the elderly, in fact, the forms of regeneration of individual living spaces take a central role in order to make them functional to the changed abilities and needs of the elderly subject, to allow them to stay in their own home. This choice fully implements the right to ageing in place, ensuring the elderly to maintain both the bond with their home as an affective place, and also the network of social relationships that branch off from this, combating the loss of social identity that often is linked with retirement or old age.

On the other hand, the right to urban habitat gives shape to the demand for quality of urban life starting from the presence of conditions of proximity and social connections. The increasingly widespread and pressing demands made by older people are focused on accessible public spaces, territorial medicine centers, home services, proximity, mobility, spread throughout the urban territory. Integrative or excluding processes find an effective materialization in the forms in which

⁴ Estimates indicate that in the near future, the majority of the world's population will be concentrated in cities: according to UNICEF, in 2030 about 60% of the population will be urban, in 2050 the share could be around 70%.

6

the city and its public spaces are built, in its compact or widespread urban form, in the way in which services are located, in the characteristics of public places (Ciaffi, Crivello, Mela 2020, 66). Secchi writes: «to name, to locate, to define, to specify and to delimit, to separate and to remove, to bind and to join, to open or to fence, to give concrete dimensions to each set of artifacts or to every single urban material (...) are the main features of the city and territory project, at the same time, is the main virtuous or perverse distribution devices of well-being» (2013, 24). The organization of public space, its level of accessibility also in terms of infrastructure, its widespread quality in the city, have a central role in defining the conditions of use of a city and the specific possibilities afforded to the different types of citizens, especially those more socially fragile and vulnerable (Bonoli 2004, Esping-Andersen 2000, Emerijck 2002, Pavolini 2002).

5. The Elderly and the Need for Sociality: The Challenge of Co-Housing

Responding to the fundamental social demand, the choices adopted by some cities that have provided protected, accessible and equipped spaces are interesting in order to answer to some specific need of elderly citizens. An example is the temporary parks created in the poor suburbs of some large American cities, such as Boston and Baltimore, and entrusted to neighborhood groups, which have the declared function of slowing down the vicious circles of degradation by positively modifying the image of the neighborhood. But in fact they are important places that allow social occasion and relationship that benefit especially the elderly who, by caring for the flower beds and gardens, find an active role in the community and opportunities for an intergenerational socialization. For these reasons, these parks have often been renamed silver temporary parks (Amendola 2018). In many Italian cities, even in the suburbs, the experience of urban gardens, community gardens and green roofs, has been established as places of encounter and socialization. In this way takes shape an environmental sustainability increasingly interconnected with the social one. An important role can be played by cohousing, senior housing or new forms of housing modelled on the beguinage (in Dutch "Begijnhof"). The first provides for cohabitation, even undifferentiated on the generational level, of elderly subjects and young couples5. The latter can thus find a solution both to the difficulty of finding housing, a problem enormously accentuated by the continuing economic crisis, and to manage their children, facing the historical shortage of Italian social welfare. The second, born in Northern Europe, and precisely in Denmark, at the turn of the 70s, in the last few years has been experimented also in Italy. It is not only a new housing model, but a real form of living, a lifestyle that guarantees an active existential dimension and represents a valid possibility to preserve sufficient levels of autonomy and improve the quality of life. At the core of this new and different form of living there are some shared spaces6. The holiday centers, the stays of relief, the climatic stays, the definitive housing solutions7 and those of cohousing between elderly subjects are

⁵ In Rome, for example, co-housing has been practiced for a long time, that is, the sharing of the apartment among people with economic difficulties. Thus six elderly people find themselves under the same roof to share expenses and maintenance of the apartment placed at their disposal under the supervision of the Community of Sant'Egidio. In Milan, the Province and the association "Meglio Milano" have created the initiative "Take a student at home": thanks to this idea young students looking for cheap accommodation and elderly people left alone have the opportunity to share the apartment and expenses.

⁶ A first virtuous example of senior housing, or senior living, the term by which it is also known, is the one that was born in the municipality of Trento three years ago: the institutions have in fact started the construction of a series of housing in cohousing - then shared spaces - dedicated to the over 70. Just as in 2018 it was announced in Milan the project of Hines, the creation of shared housing formulas for the elderly where a large part of the spaces, over 50%, will be dedicated to aggregation, with libraries, yoga rooms for a full and vivid life.

⁷ Among others, the experimentation started in 2012 with the research project Abitare Leggero, promoted and funded by the CARIPLO Foundation and carried out by the Housing Sociale Foundation and the La Meridiana Due Cooperative. http://www.fondazionecariplo.it/it/strategia/osservatorio/quaderni /abitare-legger-verso-una-nuova-generation-of-services-for-the-elderly.

examples of this kind of housing proposals. The third, however, refers to an autonomous community of Beguines, typical especially in Northern Europe, a group of integrated buildings, usually built around a tree-lined courtyard, which includes not only domestic and monastic structures, but also the laboratories used by the community and an infirmary. Distinct from these habitat models is social housing, social private housing that provides housing at calm prices in buildings with high quality standards, offered to those, including the elderly, who are in disadvantaged social-economic conditions.

5.1 The CondiViviamo project in Bari

As it emerged during the dramatic pandemic crisis, the number of elderly people living alone is more exposed to the risks of relational poverty. Given the specificity of the elderly condition due to reduced mobility, living alone raises the risk of loneliness and a progressive pathologization of life condition. If on the one hand, as noted, cities play a fundamental role, on the other hand it is essential to pay attention to the private space of the house that has an important role for the quality of the daily life of elderly subjects. These are the premises within which the project "CondiViviamo" took shape.

The project aims to promote an active ageing model through cohousing and self-help practices involving older people. The aim of this project is to spread a new style of living that guarantees better conditions of well-being and life quality for people over 60.

Co-housing is one of the most interesting solutions proposed to meet the needs connected with housing emergencies that families, single young or old people are facing. The application of this housing model to older people is an opportunity to recognize their full active character, making them not passive subjects of this solution but, on the contrary, protagonists of their own change, starting from the housing solution, toward a new approach to sociality and life.

The goal, already expressed in the title of the project in Bari, is to support in a particular way the elderly in conditions of hardship so that they can define new relationships and ties thus becoming an active part of a new community. Among the expected outcomes, therefore, there are both to ensure quality living by creating the conditions for a functional relational dimension, and to reinforce the sense of self-efficacy of subjects that become resources for themselves and for others.

The objectives of the project can be synthetized as follows:

- de-institutionalisation and socialization in favor of older citizens, with a view to integrating
 private and public provision of services, aimed at promoting the quality of life and ensuring
 the right to a dignified ageing;
- ability to recognize the condition of isolation and overcome it through the acquisition of a different lifestyle of sharing and daily coexistence;
- the elderly person's willingness to make available their own capabilities or to be a beneficiary of mutual care;
- overcoming situations of loneliness, sometimes abandonment, and socio-economic hardship, through the reception in a shared home where the entire organization is based on the centrality and support and resources of the elderly.
- strengthening, in quantitative and qualitative terms, links with the informal network (family, friends, volunteers, etc.);
- involvement of the elderly in decision-making and practical processes; greater self-care, in terms of physical and psychological health; and active role in supporting the social path shared with the Territorial Social Services.

The start of this cohousing project was preceded by a phase of needs detection that used both the tool of the online questionnaire administered to elderly people and their families, and the semi-structured interviews aimed at key people that, in different ways, represent privileged witnesses of the phenomenon. The needs perceived by elderly subjects were investigated, leaving some questions open to grasp needs and requests beyond those indicated in the questionnaire itself. A second object

investigated was the knowledge and the evaluation of cohousing to understand the resistances and instead the potential that characterize it in the representations of the subjects interviewed. Finally, the content and the objectives of the project "CondiViviamo" were presented, in order to assess the impact and the level of interest generated in the specific territorial area.

The data collected during the first quantum-qualitative phase were the basis on which the communication campaign, which started in September. In the following months, the identification phase of the subjects, who will be directly involved in the cohabitation experience, will be carried out. The process will be constantly monitored.

"CondiViviamo", therefore, proposes a housing solution that can achieve, in a systemic key, the objectives of protecting older people from economic hardship and countering relational poverty. It fits, thus, in the macro-objective of the full implementation of the right to the city that for elderly people takes the form of the right to an inclusive habitat, to a quality private and public space, streets, squares, gardens, entire age friendly neighborhoods, (re)designed from a social, architectural and urban point of view to ensure elderly subjects the possibility of an active aging in place.

References

Alwin D. F., Hofer S. M. (2011) Health and Cognition in Aging Research. The Journals of Gerontology: Series B, Volume 66B, Issue suppl_1, July 2011, Pages 19-116,

Amendola G. (2018), Una Città Amica dell'Età, in A. Quaranta, Vivere oltre la speranza, Adda, Bari.

Bai X. (2014) Images of Ageing in Society: A Literature Review. Journal of Population Ageing, volume 7, pp. 231–253.

Baltes, P. B., Mayer, K. U. (Eds.). (1999), The Berlin Aging Study: Aging from 70 to 100, Cambridge University Press.

Bonoli G. (2004), Modernising Post-War Welfare States: Explaining Diversity in Patterns of Adaptation to New Social Risks, paper presented at the discontinuous Conference, Oxford, September - .

Bruggencate T., Luijkx K., Sturm J. (2018). Social needs of older people: a systematic literature review. In *Ageing & Society*, 38, 1745-1770.

Caradec V. (2001), Sociologie de la vieillesse et du vieillissement. Paris: Nathan.

Caradec, V. (2001b). "Personnes âgées" et "objets technologiques": Une perspective en termes de logiques d'usage, Revue Française De Sociologie, 42(1), pp.117-148.

Carrera L. (2020). I nuovi anziani e la città. Bisogni, desideri, esperienze. Bari: Progedit.

Carrera L. (2021), Ageing in Europe. Reclaiming a Healthy and Age-friendly City, in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 8, 116-123.

Ciaffi D., Crivello S., Mela A. (2020, Le città contemporanee. Prospettive sociologiche, Carocci, Roma.

Ekerdt D. J. edited by (2002) Encyclopedia of Aging. USA: MacMillan.

Emerijck A. C. (2002), The Self-Transformation of the European Social Model(s),

Eping-Andersen, Gøsta (2012), Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies. Convivere con il "differente": il modello italiano alla prova dell'immigrazione 116 Rev. Inter. Mob. Hum., Brasília, Ano XX, № 38, p. 101-123, jan./jun. 2012

Esping-Andersen G. (2000), I fondamenti sociali delle economie postindustriali, Il Mulino, Bologna.

Facchini C., Rampazi M. (2006), Generazioni anziane tra nuove e vecchie incertezze, in Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, n. 1 Gennaio-Marzo 2006, pp.61-90.

Gilleard C., Higgs P. (2002). The third age: class, cohort or generation?, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harvey D. (2016). Il capitalismo contro il diritto alla città. Neoliberalismo, urbanizzazione , resistenze. Bologna: Ombre corte.

Lalive d'Epinay C. et al. (2000), Vieillesses au fil du temps. 1979-1994: Une révolution tranquille. Réalités sociales, Lausanne.

Lefebvre H. (1967), Le droit á la ville, Edition Anthropos, Paris.

Moreno C. (2020). Droit de cité. De la «ville-monde» à la «ville du quart d'heure». Paris: L'Observatoire.

Pani-Harreman K. E., Bours G. J., Zanzder I., Kempen G., van Duren J. (2000). Definitions, key themes and aspects of 'ageing in place': a scoping review. Published online by Cambridge University Press.

Pavolini E. (2001), Le politiche sociali della Regione Emilia-Romagna, in U. Ascoli, M. Barbagli, F. Cossentino, G. Ecchia (a cura di), Le politiche sociali in Emilia-Romagna. Primo Rapporto – febbraio 2001, Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino, pp. 63-143.

Pavolini E. (2004). Regioni e politiche sociali per gli anziani. Le sfide della non autosufficienza, Carocci, Roma Secchi B. (2013), *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Laterza, Bari.

Settersen jr R. A., Angel J. L. edited by (2011) Handbook of Sociology of Aging. New York-London: Springer. Slughter Brown V. (2017) The Elderly in Poor Urban Neighborhoods. New York: Routledge.

Wise D. A. (2004) Perspectives of Economics of Aging. Chicago-London: University Chicago Press