CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	Housing co-operatives in Germany: 160 years of evolution and resilience
Authors	Pfatteicher, Peter Alexander Carl;McCarthy, Olive;Power, Carol
Publication date	2024
Original Citation	Pfatteicher, P.A.C., McCarthy, O. and Power, C. (2024) 'Housing co-operatives in Germany: 160 years of evolution and resilience', Journal of Co-operative Studies, 57(1), pp. 39–53. Available at: https://doi.org/10.61869/GCSP6342.
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's version	10.61869/GCSP6342
Rights	© The author(s) 2024. This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial 4.0 License (http://www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/) which permits non Commercial use, reproduction and distribution of the work without further permission provided the original work is attributed as specified on the Creative Commons website and the Journal of Co-operative Studies re-use guidelines - https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/
Download date	2026-11-05 19:17:38
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/16051

UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Journal of Co-operative Studies

Vol 57 No 1, pp. 39-53

https://doi.org/10.61869/GCSP6342

© The author(s) 2024

Housing Co-operatives in Germany: 160 Years of Evolution and Resilience

Peter Alexander Carl Pfatteicher, Olive McCarthy, and Carol Power

This paper examines the evolution and resilience of housing co-operatives in Germany from their beginning 160 years ago to the present against the backdrop of an ever-changing political, economic, social, and cultural environment. We divide the discussion into five parts: 1803-1914 — The Rise of Housing Co-operatives; 1914-1933 — World War I and the Weimar Republic; 1933-1945 — Destruction of Housing Co-operative Values and Principles, and World War II; 1945-October 1990 — A New Beginning. Housing Co-operatives in East and West Germany; and Post-1990 — From Unification to Today's Challenges. We examine select events and developments and their impact on housing co-operatives. We argue that, despite challenges and threats, especially in times of crisis, housing co-operatives persevered, proving resilient and meeting members' housing needs, motivated by self-help and supported by established core values and principles. Meeting members' housing needs makes housing co-operatives especially relevant now, given Germany's ongoing housing crisis. Lastly, we argue other countries can learn from the experience of German housing co-operatives, and establish and support a co-operative framework that allows housing co-operatives to focus on core values and principles, which are the source of co-operative resilience.

Introduction

Housing co-operatives in Germany enjoy a long history, dating back to at least 1862 (Scheller, 2019, p. 59). They form part of the wider co-operative sector, which has over 22 million members (six times more than the total number of shareholders of listed companies) and 930,000 employees (Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 2018). The number of registered co-operatives declined from 52,000 in 1930 to 7,600 in 2012 (Dohmen, 2012) because of consolidation and conversion, but the sector's dynamism is reflected in the number of new co-operatives (2,379) established between 2005 and 2015 (Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 2018). At present, there are 1,801 housing co-operatives in Germany with 2.9 million members, 23,002 employees, 2.2 million housing units, and investment volume of EUR5.8 billion (EUR2.3 billion for new construction and EUR3.5 billion for maintenance and renovation) (DGRV — Deutscher Genossenschafts- und Raiffeisenverband e.V., & GdW Bundesverband deutscher Wohnungs- und Immobilienunternehmen e.V., 2022).

This paper examines the evolution of German housing co-operatives spanning the past 160 years and mapping their establishment and development against key changes in the political,

This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial 4.0 License, which permits non-commercial use, reproduction and distribution of the work without further permission provided the original work is attributed as specified on the Creative Commons website and the Journal of Co-operative Studies re-use guidelines.

economic, social, and cultural environment. Building on this discussion, the paper demonstrates the resilience of housing co-operatives against the backdrop of an evolving institutional framework, as well as a model for meeting individuals' housing needs, often during times of crisis, including the current housing crisis. Considering the current housing crisis and economic environment, this paper argues that housing co-operatives are especially relevant now. Additionally, this paper suggests areas where housing co-operatives in other countries can learn from the experiences of German housing co-operatives.

The paper is divided into five distinct periods: 1803-1914 — The Rise of Housing Co-operatives; 1914-1933 — World War I and the Weimar Republic; 1933-1945 — Destruction of Housing Co-operative Values and Principles, and World War II; 1945-October 1990 — A New Beginning, Housing Co-operatives in East and West Germany; and Post-1990 — From Unification to Today's Challenges. The paper provides an overview of housing co-operatives from the early nineteenth century, tracing select key driving forces and events that led to their establishment, to the present, examining select events and developments that had an impact on their evolution and that explain their current state. The significance of dividing the paper this way lies in the discussion chronologically following significant distinct periods in Germany's history.

This paper is based on an extensive review and analysis of literature and secondary data. The review initially identifies key events and developments, and subsequently considers their impact on housing co-operatives. The paper concludes with a discussion and analysis of the key takeaways, including the significance of housing co-operatives in providing solutions to individuals' housing needs in the current environment, and makes suggestions for further research and discourse.

1803-1914 — The Rise of Housing Co-operatives

Informal organised co-operation among individuals and within communities in Germany, the pre-cursor to formalised modern co-operatives, has a long history, dating back at least to medieval guilds in the Middle Ages (Patmore & Balnave, 2018; Schmidt-Wiegand, 1985). Brendel (2011) sees the origins of German co-operative 'organisations' as likely being in collective animal husbandry and farming of extended family units.

In the nineteenth century, Germany experienced profound economic and political changes, including the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy. The resulting urbanisation and demand for housing unquestionably shaped the environment in which early housing co-operatives evolved. The conditions of new low-income urban groups — inadequate, overcrowded and unsanitary housing, poor working conditions, poor health, and child labour — led to the establishment of political parties and unions, associations, and, importantly, co-operatives, including housing co-operatives (Brendel, 2011).

Formal co-operatives started appearing in Germany's urban areas in the mid-nineteenth century and had their origin in worker movements as self-help organisations, with significant growth following the 1848 revolution (Schillinger, 2020). Individuals, including workers, saw self-help organisations and, subsequently, co-operatives as a solution to poverty and poor living conditions. Early co-operatives focused on meeting the needs of urban workers, those engaged in trades, and farmers; support was often in the form of credit, the provision and procurement of raw materials, and the distribution and sale of products (Zolk, 2016). The pioneering models of these co-operatives, established by Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen, served as 'blueprints' for subsequent co-operatives in Germany (see Brendel, 2011).

Furthermore, early co-operative organisations were established under laws applicable to other organisations (Gleber, 2020). Brendel (2011) explains that co-operatives were not legal entities and members were required to act in their personal capacity, including assuming liability, on behalf of the co-operative. This changed, however, when Schulze-Delitzsch introduced a bill specific to co-operatives in 1860 in Prussia's Parliament. It passed in March 1867 (First

Co-operative Act) and in 1868, it was adopted in the Norddeutscher Bund. The law (Second Co-operative Act), with modifications, notably limiting member liability, became effective across Germany on 1 May 1889 (Crome, 2007; Steding, 2004), laying the foundation for the current Co-operative Act (last amended in July 2022).

Housing co-operatives were relative latecomers to the co-operative movement. The first housing co-operatives were formed in the mid-nineteenth century in response to the worsening urban housing crisis, precipitated by an increasing urban population, arising from rural-to-urban migration (Crome, 2007). According to Scheller (2019, p. 59), the first housing co-operative, the “Häuserbau Genossenschaft zu Hamburg” (House Construction Co-operative of Hamburg), was established in 1862; it was “the first homeownership housing co-operative”. The first rental housing co-operative was established in 1885 in Hannover (Brendel, 2011; Cameron et al., 2012).

Early housing co-operatives were based on the interplay of saving, building, and living (Herrmann, 2016). One of the oldest surviving housing co-operatives is the “Baugenossenschaft von München 1871 eG” (Construction Co-operative of Munich) (VdW Bayern, 2021). As with non-housing co-operatives, individuals looked to housing co-operatives as an answer to poor social conditions. Even though, as Crome (2007) explains, the primary focus of housing co-operatives in the first 50 years was worker housing, “Bürgertum” (bourgeoisie) contributed organisational skills and capital to housing co-operatives and they were founded by and for specific groups, such as civil servants.

An important proponent of housing co-operatives, as well as other co-operatives, was Victor Aimé Huber, who saw the main obstacles to the prosperity of workers in their exploitation by landlords and small-scale entrepreneurs. He saw worker associations as a way to economic independence and to instil thrift and prudence (von Liliencron, 1881). Huber envisioned his ‘mission’ as raising awareness, through personal engagement, relationships, and contacts with the co-operative movement and became an early expert on co-operatives.

Another housing co-operative pioneer was Eduard Gotthilf Pfeiffer. From his early focus on consumer co-operatives, starting in 1864, Pfeiffer later focused on housing co-operatives and activities related to improving the lives of workers and their families (Bau- und WohnungsVerein Stuttgart e.V., 2016). Together with one hundred influential and affluent local residents, he founded the “Verein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen” (Association for the Benefit of the Working Classes) on 20 March 1866, in Stuttgart with a focus on education, nutrition, hygiene and, importantly, the improvement of the housing situation through self-help. In the 1890s, the association, based on the results of its survey of 3,000 workers, started building seven housing projects, providing homes for about 1,500 families. New in these projects was the concept of “Mietkaufsystem” (a ‘rent-to-own’ system), where lower income groups were able to purchase a home.

Early housing initiatives, including housing co-operatives, gradually moved to a member subscription/saving model where members contributed periodic payments to achieve the co-operative’s principal objective: the provision of housing. Moreover, the implementation of social security insurance schemes in the 1880s (Deutsche Rentenversicherung Bund, 2023) enabled housing co-operatives to access long-term low-interest loans from semi-public institutions as an additional funding source (Schillinger, 2020). Additional financial support came through tax exemption in conjunction with non-profit (“gemeinnützig”) housing, including housing co-operatives (Selle & Schmitt, 2005).

Notably, the First Co-operative Act of 1867 did not limit co-operative member liability; many early housing co-operatives failed in the aftermath of the 1873 stock market crash (Holm et al., 2015), undermining confidence in the model. The Second Co-operative Act (1889), created an environment more conducive to the establishment and sustainability of housing co-operatives by limiting member liability and providing additional targeted tax exemptions. By 1899, 289 of the 384 non-profit housing organisations were co-operatives (Lieberknecht, 2013).

The impact of these developments is reflected in the following statistics: in 1870, there were three housing co-operatives. This number increased to 48 in 1874, but declined to 28 in 1888, possibly as a result of the long-term effects of the 1873 stock market crash. Following the Second Co-operative Act (1899), which limited member liability and introduced further tax exemptions, the number of housing co-operatives rebounded to 50 in 1890, 361 in 1900, and 764 (including 753 with limited liability) in 1908 (Brendel, 2011, pp. 21–24) (see Figure 1). These trends largely followed economic cycles and legislative changes.

Figure 1: Number of housing co-operatives in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (1870 to 1930) (derived from Brendel, 2011; Drupp, 1987)

Year	Number of housing co-operatives
1870	3
1874	48
1888	28
1889	289
1890	50
1900	361
1908	764
1918	1,402
1919	1,506
1920	2,131
1921	2,497
1922	3,065
1923	3,265
1924	3,377
1925	3,710
1926	3,834
1927	3,998
1928	4,095
1929	4,132
1930	4,390

Note: Numbers are shown only for the years where data are available.

Attempting to solve the urban housing crisis became part of achieving self-determination and self-expression for large sections of the population, away from purely economic considerations, and housing co-operatives became pioneers in the movement toward democratic participation, secure tenancy, innovative architecture, and innovative social and cultural institutions (Amann et al., 2017).

The period between 1871 and 1914 was a time of continuous changes, including ongoing industrialisation, and political and social developments, profoundly impacting society and individuals. Housing co-operative relevant events during this period include: the stock market crashes in 1873 and the resulting economic depression (1873-1895) (Kruse, 2012); the effective date of the Civil Code on 1 January 1900, in conjunction with a new version of the Commercial Code, the foundations of the current civil and commercial codes (Hofer, 2019); and the start of World War I on 28 July 1914 (Dirlmeier et al., 2013). Notwithstanding the instability of this period, housing co-operatives built circa 105,600 homes (out of about 160,000 homes built by non-profit housing enterprises) between 1889 and 1914 (Schildt, 1998).

1914-1933 — World War I and the Weimar Republic

Until World War I, most housing co-operatives were founded by the “Bürgertum” and focused on the construction of worker housing. Between 1914 and 1918 (World War I), no new co-operative housing construction took place. This resulted in a subsequent post-war housing crisis and, furthermore, inflation prevented co-operatives from constructing housing in the first few years after the war (Selle & Schmitt, 2005). In subsequent years, however, housing co-operatives received state financial support and became important providers of housing, with the core value of self-help again coming to the fore (Selle & Schmitt, 2005).

The Weimar Republic

Non-profit housing changed during the Weimar Republic (November 1918 to January 1933). Whereas previously, housing and housing construction, including non-profit (gemeinnützig) housing, was in private hands, after World War I, providing housing became a public endeavour with the right to adequate housing enshrined in the constitution. The housing crisis impacted all income groups. The state intervened in the market with rent caps and, in 1924, collected a special tax (“Hauszinssteuer”) from property owners, using the funds collected to subsidise housing co-operatives and support their development (Bau- und WohnungsVerein Stuttgart e.V., 2016).

The Weimar Republic was characterised by political, social, and economic changes. Preceding the armistice, ending World War I on 11 November 1918, Germany experienced, large-scale strikes, against the backdrop of food shortages and general economic and social pressure, and, at times, a civil war-like environment. The national assembly, tasked with writing the constitution, eventually settled on a parliamentary form of government. The constitution was flawed in that it contained provisions undermining the separation of powers and opened the door to continuous changes in governments, parliaments, elections, attempted coup d’états, and political paralysis (Heil, 2013). These culminated in 1923, in hyperinflation and a severe economic crisis, impacting housing co-operatives.

As Heil (2013) explains, the hyperinflation in 1923 created winners and losers, the former being the German state, debtors, speculators, and enterprises and the latter being workers, pensioners, and savers, causing wide-spread poverty. Housing co-operatives were ‘winners’ in that, for example, “… house prices are an inflation hedge in the long run” (Anari & Kolari, 2002, p. 68) and “the main economic effect of hyperinflation was to benefit debtors at the expense of creditors” (Haffert et al., 2021, p. 667). They were ‘losers’ in the sense that the mortgage market collapsed (Kohl, 2017) and, as such, access to capital closed and operating costs increased. Currency reform in 1923 laid the foundation for what Piper (2021, pp. 41-59) calls “Goldene Zwanziger Jahre” (Golden 1920s), with relative political and economic stability (1924-1929), marked by significant cultural, artistic, and scientific achievements.

Housing was a key policy area during the Weimar Republic and tenant protection regulations, public housing provision, rent caps, and financial construction support were used as policy tools. Non-profit housing co-operatives contributed to the relative success of housing policy in the 1920s. Increasingly, the state and municipalities participated in constructing housing and intervened in the market, especially on the supply side. In many areas, only housing co-operatives were able to address the housing shortage, whereas other (private) enterprises struggled from a lack of capital, construction material shortages, and cost inflation. In 1918-1922, while the number of housing co-operatives doubled from 1,402 to 3,064, partly driven by individuals’ speculative interests, motivated by self-enrichment, this did not translate into actual construction. Also noteworthy here is that, in the same period, 1,449 housing co-operatives were dissolved due to financial difficulties. By 1930, the number of housing co-operatives had reached a high of 4,390 (Drupp, 1987) (see Figure 1). The stock market crash on 24 October 1929, set off an economic decline and a global recession and marked the eventual end of the Weimar Republic. This reverberated across Germany with mass unemployment and poverty, a banking crisis, deflation, and an economic policy crisis (Piper, 2021), impacting the operating environment for housing co-operatives.

Housing co-operatives were encouraged to join auditing associations to strengthen governance and financial management, and to allow auditing associations to represent them and influence political institutions and legislation. It was not until December 1930 that a legal framework (in the form of requirements and based on existing tax regulations) for non-profit housing, including housing co-operatives, was established (Drupp, 1987).

Even though non-profit housing, including housing co-operatives, began in the mid-nineteenth century, it was only in 1930 that a non-profit ordinance provided a legal framework. This was followed by a non-profit housing law in 1940, creating defined operational requirements, exempting non-profit housing organisations from corporation tax, trade tax, wealth tax, and real estate transfer tax, and providing a discount on property taxes (Lieberknecht, 2013). Ironically, these housing co-operative support measures came at a time when, simultaneously, the co-operative values and principles were undermined by political developments.

1933-1945 — Destruction of Housing Co-operative Values and Principles, and World War II

30 January 1933 marks the beginning of a dark period in German history that lasted until 8 May 1945, existentially impacting all housing co-operatives, and the principles and values under which co-operatives operate. Specific to co-operatives was the mandatory membership in auditing associations, which was included on 30 October 1934, in the revision of the Cooperative Act (Deutscher Bundestag, 1952). Kaltenborn (2015, 2020) views the auditing association membership requirement and the destruction of co-operative identity, principles, and values, as mechanisms being used to establish control over and subservience to the state. Importantly, Kaltenborn (2015, 2020) concludes with the need to reconcile the role of co-operative associations in 1933-1945 and rejects the argument that auditing association membership mitigates insolvency risk, which was then and is now still used to justify the requirement.

The Ministry of Labor assumed control over housing co-operatives (and all nationwide housing matters) with powers to intervene by appointing boards and officers, excluding members, and changing by-laws, among other actions, eliminating co-operative principles and values. Particularly noteworthy is the anti-Semitism that was evident in the co-operative movement, including the forced cancellation of housing co-operative membership and forced eviction from co-operative housing. In 1941, consumer co-operatives were completely abolished (Brendel, 2017).

The period from the end of the Weimar Republic in 1933 to the end of World War II in 1945 was challenging for housing co-operatives as the economic, political, and social environment deteriorated. Initial economic and social improvements were offset by economic pressure in the immediate pre-war and war years. Individual economic hardship returned, including persistent inflation (beginning in early 1938), stagnant and falling real wages, shortages and rationing of food, the tax burden of certain social groups, and high taxes on certain consumer goods. The number of small- and medium-sized businesses fell because of increasing labour shortages and state control over the economy. The disastrous economic policy, such as land reform, extended also to the agricultural sector, leading to poverty among farmers (Kitchen, 2011).

In summary, housing co-operatives were established, initially by affluent supporters, to enable a self-help response to poor living conditions and unmet housing needs. Over time, as political participation through political parties and worker unions evolved, the legal framework was established and adapted to support the development of housing co-operatives. However, housing co-operatives were also influenced by economic cycles and, from 1933 to 1945, came under political control through a direct attack on established values and principles and to the point of near destruction of the co-operative movement. Figure 2 summarises the key events between 1862 and 1940, highlighting their importance in a housing co-operative context.

Figure 2: Select key events and their impact on housing co-operatives: 1862 to 1940

	Event	Importance
1862	Establishment of “Häuserbau Genossenschaft zu Hamburg”	First housing co-operative and the first homeownership co-operative
1867	Passing of the First Co-operative Act in parliament	Clear legal framework for co-operatives
1868	Effective date of the First Co-operative Act (in the Norddeutscher Bund)	Extension of the legal framework to the Norddeutscher Bund
1871	Establishment of “Baugenossenschaft von München 1871 eG”	One of the oldest housing co-operatives still in existence
1873	Stock market crash (depression until 1895)	Many early housing co-operatives failed during the economic depression
1885	Establishment of first rental housing co-operative in Hannover	First rental housing co-operative
1889	Effective date of the Second Co-operative Act (across Germany)	National legal framework; limiting member liability; support from tax exemption
1900	Effective date of the Civil Code and the Commercial Code	Nationwide legal framework for private and commercial relationships, including co-operatives
1914	Start of World War I	No new housing co-operative construction (until 1918)
1918	End of World War I	Housing crisis; housing co-operatives receive state financial support
1923	Hyperinflation and severe economic crisis	Positive and negative impact on housing co-operatives
1924	Introduction of a special tax (“Hauszinssteuer”; state intervenes in the housing market	Special tax is used to subsidise housing co-operatives and support their development
1930	New legal framework for non-profit housing, including housing co-operatives	Number of housing co-operatives reaches 4,390; operational requirements and tax provisions
1933	Beginning of the destruction of co-operative values and principles	Increasing direct influence and control over housing co-operatives
1934	Introduction of mandatory auditing association membership	Mechanism for exerting control over housing co-operatives
1940	Non-profit housing law with operational requirements and tax exemptions	Operational requirements for housing co-operatives and tax exemptions

Source: Brendel (2011), Kaltenborn (2015, 2020), Kitchen (2011).

1945-October 1990 — A New Beginning. Housing Co-operatives in East and West Germany

Post-war Germany

The end of World War II (1939-1945) heralded a new beginning for housing co-operatives. As a result of the unconditional surrender, Germany was divided into four occupied zones by the US, the UK, France, and the USSR. The US and the UK focused on economic, social, and political reconstruction. In 1946, the Allied Control Council placed housing under the administration of housing offices, regulating occupancy rights, instituting rent caps, and prohibiting evictions. More than fifty per cent of all homes had been destroyed during the war, and there was an influx of ten million displaced persons, peaking towards the end of 1946. In 1950, there were 14.6 million households in ‘normal homes’ (including 136,200 makeshift homes and more than 23,400 homes in buildings in danger of collapse), 628,800 households in emergency housing (such as huts, corrugated iron barracks, etc.), and 762,000 households in other accommodations (such as camps, guest houses, etc.) (Dirlmeier et al., 2013, p. 383).

West Germany

May 23, 1949, marks the establishment of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland (West Germany) within the framework of the occupation (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung [bpb], 2011a, 2011b; Frech, 2019). The revitalisation of housing co-operatives started in the western zones with the lifting of the restrictions imposed after the war. The motivation was to support Germany's self-sufficiency. Housing co-operatives focused again on core principles and values. In early 1949, the Association of Non-Profit Housing Construction Enterprises was established, consisting of housing co-operatives but also public companies and corporations that focused on non-profit housing construction, supported by low-interest government funding and tax relief measures. Housing co-operatives thrived because of the support measures and the general housing shortage (Brendel, 2011).

In 1950, West Germany's Bundestag reaffirmed the government-controlled approach to housing and only gradually returned housing to free market forces in 1960 with the introduction of social rent laws (Bartholomäi, 2004). West Germany's economy grew significantly during the 1950s, up to the late 1960s, and experienced what was called a "Wirtschaftswunder" (economic miracle), driven by increased productivity, exports, and economic output, bringing prosperity, rising living standards, and social and political stability. However, in 1966-1967, 1974-1975, and 1981-1982, West Germany experienced economic crises with increasing unemployment, inflationary pressure, and other consequences, bringing about changes in government.

The economic policy objectives in 1967, as part of the "Stabilitätsgesetz" (Stability Act) (Plumpe, 2017), were price stability, full employment, non-economic balance, and adequate economic growth, allowing and requiring the government to intervene in the economy. Economic policies increasingly reflected social goals, resulting in a more normalised and sustainable economic performance in a progressively neoliberal environment, which started in the late 1970s/early 1980s (Plumpe, 2017). Germany has undergone, and continues to undergo, structural changes with profound economic and social consequences, including for housing and co-operatives.

Housing construction started again in 1948 with the economic support of the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program) and collective public efforts, helped by the first home construction law (1950) (Martens, 2011). Crome (2007) notes that the requirements tied to this legislation, such as tenancy conditions, occupancy rules, size, and furnishing of homes, conflict with co-operatives' democratic self-determination. Despite this, Kluge (2012) identifies the period as the heyday of housing co-operatives in Germany. Many housing co-operatives were established in areas where displaced persons settled. More housing co-operatives were founded in the 1950s than previously.

In the early 1960s, the government started liberalising the housing market, especially rental housing (Haas, 2020; Schildt, 1998), increasingly exposing housing co-operatives to market forces and policies focused on the landlord-tenant model. In the mid-1970s, the housing market reached a temporary equilibrium and new housing construction by non-profit housing businesses, including housing co-operatives, fell to ten per cent of annual new construction (Brendel, 2011). The focus changed from quantity to quality, with the aim of improving the housing stock.

Support for the preferential treatment of non-profit housing organisations, including housing co-operatives, started to wane in the early 1980s. The government sought to reduce subsidies as part of lowering the overall tax burden. The scandal surrounding the failure of Neue Heimat (a large non-profit housing business) in 1982 (Wiedemeyer, 2019), and the need to address perceived distortion of the housing market, led to the Tax Reform Law 1990, which included a repeal of the non-profit housing law, effective on 31 December 1989. Around 1,800 non-profit housing enterprises were impacted, losing tax exemptions and gaining operational 'freedom' (Lieberknecht, 2013). From that point onwards, housing co-operatives were no longer non-profit organisations. In other words, the purpose of housing co-operatives to provide non-profit housing changed (Bayer et al., 2022). Housing co-operatives are, however, exempt from trade

tax, if also exempted from corporation tax, provided ninety per cent or more of total revenue is generated from members' rent/usage fees (Schlüter et al., 2019).

East Germany

7 October 1949, marks the establishment of the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (East Germany), within the framework of the occupation (bpb, 2011a, 2011b; Frech, 2019). East Germany had three housing ownership models: state-owned, co-operative, and private. The currency reform in 1948, and government policies at the beginning of the 1950s, which saw housing co-operatives as institutions of capitalistic ownership, left housing co-operatives insolvent. However, this changed as the government focused again on housing co-operatives as a reaction to the workers' revolt on 17 June 1953, leading to the reconstitution of socialist worker housing construction co-operatives in 1954 and non-profit socialist housing construction co-operatives.

Although both state-owned and co-operative housing were dominant in the first half of the 1960s, in the second half, most housing was state-owned and financed by the central budget (Schildt, 1998). From the 1970s, housing co-operatives came under pressure as they were seen to be outside of the centrally planned economy (Schildt, 1998).

Post-1990 — From Unification to Today's Challenges

The unification of Germany in October 1990 brought social, economic, and political changes, and raised important questions. An urgent question was how to treat the debt of housing co-operatives in the former East Germany. Targeted legislation — Altschuldenhilfe-Gesetz (AltSchG) 1993 (Legacy Debt Support Act) (Bundesrepublik Deutschland — AltSchG 2020, 1993) — provided a framework to assist municipal housing businesses and housing co-operatives, specifically, to support the management of housing by improving access to credit and enabling investment, while simultaneously privatising housing and providing tenants with access to homeownership. On unification, many state-owned housing estates were converted into co-operatives (Lerbs, 2014).

In 2008-2009, Germany was impacted by the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). Housing co-operatives proved resilient, however, given their comparative advantages: member ownership, stakeholder-aligned purpose, governance, funding, and capital structure (Birchall & Hammond Ketilson, 2009). At the end of 2008, 1,897 housing co-operatives, organised in the GdW Bundesverband deutscher Wohnungs- und Immobilienunternehmen (Association of the Housing Industry — Federal Association of German Housing and Real Estate Companies), managed 2.2 million units, representing 38 per cent of the association's housing stock (Brendel, 2011). Furthermore, the wider co-operative sector demonstrated apparent resilience through the recent pandemic. Creditreform (Verband der Vereine Creditreform e.V., 2022) reports an overall insolvency rate for co-operatives of 0.1 per cent in 2022, unchanged from 2020 (data are not available by co-operative type).

Legal framework changes

In 2006, the Co-operative Act was amended to enhance the competitiveness of co-operatives in the following areas: co-operative purpose (now also social and cultural), investing members, minimum number of members (three), organisational structure, capital structure, auditing requirements, provisions for large co-operatives, member decision-making and equity, member rights, supervisory board, and linguistic adjustments, with positive results (Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 2013). In 2006-2009, the Act was further modified, simplifying the registration process, enhancing audit quality and co-operative management, updating the language and references to relevant laws/regulations, and incorporating co-operative specific accounting laws and regulations (Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 2013).

In 2017, the Co-operative Act 2006 was amended to reduce the administrative burden and enhance governance, with changes in the auditing process (beneficial for small-sized

co-operatives), funding, administration (using digital channels), and member and public protection (Ott, n.d.). Many West German municipalities financially supported housing co-operatives to provide housing for certain residents, such as low-income groups. Only after the amendment of the Co-operative Act in 2017, were municipalities able to gain a board seat to secure representation (Bayer et al., 2022), which is positive for the development of local housing co-operatives that can benefit from municipal resources.

Figure 3: Select key events and their impact on housing co-operatives: 1945 to 2022

	Event	Importance
1945	End of World War II	Wide-spread housing, including co-operative housing, damage and destruction
1948	Currency reform in the western occupied zones	Kick-started co-operative housing construction
	Currency reform in the eastern occupied zone	Limited impact on housing co-operatives
1949	Germany's division; West Germany's reconstruction	Separate frameworks and policies for housing co-operatives; revitalisation of housing co-operatives in West Germany
1950	West Germany's controlled approach to housing; Marshall Plan; first home construction law	Departure from housing co-operatives' democratic self-determination
1960	West Germany: Beginning of the liberalisation of housing market, especially rental housing	Increasingly housing co-operatives are exposed to market forces
1970	West Germany: Housing market reaches a temporary equilibrium	Housing co-operative construction falls; focus on qualitative aspects of housing
1980	Declining subsidies for non-profit housing	Declining financial and general support for housing co-operatives
1990	West Germany's Repeal of the non-profit housing law; Germany's unification	West Germany: Co-operatives lose tax exemptions but gain operational 'freedom'; housing co-operatives no longer non-profit organisations
1993	'Legacy Debt Support Act' passed	Financial support for former East German housing co-operatives; conversion of state-owned housing into co-operatives
2006	Amendment to the Co-operative Act	Improved the competitiveness of housing co-operatives
2008	Global Financial Crisis (to 2009)	Housing co-operatives prove resilient; number of housing co-operatives reaches 1,897 (organised in GdW)
2009	Amendments to the Co-operative Act and related laws	Simplified registration process, improved audit quality and governance; inclusion of accounting regulations
2017	Amendments to the Co-operative Act and related laws	Reduced administrative burden and improved governance; municipalities can gain board representation
2018	Amendments to the Co-operative Act and related laws	Quality control of audit associations; implementation of trade registry requirements
2020	Amendments to the Co-operative Act and related laws	Improved transparency of annual financial reports
2021	Amendments to the Co-operative Act and related laws	Qualification requirements for supervisory board members; support for female leadership positions
2022	Amendments to shareholder/ membership meetings	For co-operatives, virtual/hybrid member meetings are now permanently possible

Source: Bayer et al. (2022), Bartholomäi (2004), Brendel (2011), Plumpe (2017).

Housing co-operatives, especially small-sized ones, benefited from the aforementioned legislative changes and subsequent changes in 2018 (quality control of audit associations; application of trade registry requirements), 2020 (transition regulations of transparency measures for uniform annual financial reports), and 2021 (supervisory board members may need expertise in the co-operative's business; transition regulations to support the participation of women in leadership positions) (VirHVEG Artikel 6, 2022). These changes not only reduced the 'administrative burden', similar to previous changes, but also supported the competitiveness of housing co-operatives and harmonised the support available to other organisations with that available to housing co-operatives.

Embracing 'digital', on 6 July 2022, the Legal Committee of Germany's Parliament approved an amendment to a bill allowing co-operatives to hold virtual meetings. Previously, the law restricted virtual shareholder meetings to public companies, but temporary legislation during the pandemic (originally due to expire on 31 August 2022) allowed virtual shareholder/member meetings for public companies and co-operatives. This temporary legislation has now been made permanent. On 8 July 2022, the law (and amendments to related legislation) was passed (Deutscher Bundestag, 2022).

In summary, after World War II, housing co-operatives were revived to address urgent housing needs, supported by low-cost funding and tax relief measures. Initial government support for housing co-operatives in West Germany waned, as the housing market was increasingly 'liberalised' and exposed to free market forces; in East Germany, housing co-operatives, after coming under significant financial and other pressures in the post-war period, operated within a centrally controlled economy. In the unified Germany, efforts to support housing co-operatives reaffirmed their values and principles and co-operatives were increasingly seen as alternatives to other housing models. Subsequent changes to the housing co-operative legal framework recognise the challenges in a changing economic environment. They aim to support housing co-operatives by reducing the administrative burden and improving the competitiveness against other market participants, without distorting free market forces and competition. Figure 3 summarises the key events from 1945 to the present and their importance in a housing co-operative context.

Discussion and Conclusion

Throughout German history, housing co-operatives have been viewed as either an opportunity or a threat, depending on political, social, and economic beliefs and circumstances, and their fortunes have reflected these changing viewpoints. Built on the principles and values formulated by early co-operative pioneers, housing co-operatives were established as self-help organisations to alleviate poor housing and social conditions, an alternative to state initiatives and a response to market failure.

Between 1933 and 1945, housing co-operatives were effectively eliminated through an attack on their core principles and values, in particular their autonomy and independence (International Cooperative Alliance, 2018). However, they enjoyed a revival in the context of post-war reconstruction, especially in West Germany; although, over time, explicit support for housing co-operatives waned and housing co-operatives were exposed to 'free market forces'. In East Germany, housing co-operatives may not have been *bona-fide* co-operatives, but Germany's unification returned them to their 'roots' — to established values and principles. Housing co-operatives also received public and private financial support to strengthen their capital structure to ensure their viability.

More recently, housing co-operatives are again seen by the public and government as an alternative to other housing models, given the ongoing housing crisis. There is recognition of the role housing co-operatives have played, and continue to play, in the housing market, built on established values and principles, including democratic decision-making, as well as

having withstood political, economic, and social threats and crises. However, policymakers fear interfering in a 'free' market to the detriment of landlords or tenants and taxpayers, and this remains an argument to withdraw state support from housing co-operatives.

Importantly, a housing co-operative puts individuals and communities at the centre of its activities, motivated by self-help. The principles and values provide the internal framework and 'roadmap' for housing co-operatives and have remained a constant. Self-help, combined with the principles and values, means housing co-operatives can meet their objective of providing housing for members, especially during times of crisis. What other countries can learn from the experience of Germany's housing co-operatives is that by establishing and supporting a legal framework for co-operatives, they enable housing co-operatives to focus on established core principles and values, and on self-help, resulting in their resilience and sustainability.

More can still be done to encourage housing co-operative development. Specifically, Bayer et al. (2022) recommend: 1) promoting co-operative values and principles; 2) supporting municipalities as stakeholders and members; 3) providing advisory services and support to start-up initiatives; 4) establishing a co-operative development education qualification; 5) initiating tax and legal changes, especially for small- and medium-sized co-operatives, focusing on 'de-bureaucratisation', competition among auditing associations, digitalisation, tax changes for voluntary co-operative work, and complete corporation tax exemption; and 6) creating an industry network and 'secondary co-operatives'. Extending the discussion of Bayer et al. (2022), we suggest that another area of reform is the auditing associations ("Prüfungsverbände"). In general, they are legally organised as associations ("Vereine") under the framework of the Co-operative Act (Genossenschaftsgesetz — GenG, 1889), instead of as co-operatives. If they were organised as co-operatives, this would support the sixth principle of "co-operation among co-operatives" (ICA, 2018). Most recently, in July 2023, the Ministry of Justice, recognising the importance of co-operatives, proposed changes to the Co-operative Act, especially support for digitalisation, the attractiveness of the legal structure, and member/public protection, and called for expanding the rights, obligations, and oversight of auditing associations (Bundesministerium der Justiz, 2023).

Beyond the discussion in this paper, an area of further research may be to examine whether housing co-operatives are an economically and socially effective approach to addressing the current urban housing crisis in Germany and around the world, specifically the shortage of affordable and accessible private residential owner-occupier units. Further research could study the co-operative housing model with a focus on the economic and social benefits, threats, and challenges. Additionally, research could examine whether and how housing co-operatives can influence the accessibility and the affordability of residential housing.

The Authors

Peter Alexander Carl Pfatteicher is a PhD student at the Cork University Business School, University College Cork, Ireland. Dr Olive McCarthy is a Senior Lecturer at the Cork University Business School and Researcher at the Centre for Co-operative Studies, University College Cork, Ireland. Dr Carol Power is a Lecturer at the Cork University Business School and Researcher at the Centre for Co-operative Studies, University College Cork, Ireland.

References

Amann, R., Lönnecker, D., Neugebauer, M., & Schmitt, T. (2017). 125 Jahre Chronik. Berliner Bau- und Wohnungsgenossenschaft von 1892 eG. https://1892.de/wer-wir-sind/downloads/

Anari, A., & Kolari, J. (2002). House prices and inflation. *Real Estate Economics, 30*(1), 67–84. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6229.00030

Artikel 6 Änderung des Genossenschaftsgesetzes (VirHVEG, 2022, July 27). Buzer-Rechtskataster. https://www.buzer.de/gesetz/15423/a288539.htm

Bartholomäi, R. C. (2004). Die Entwicklung des Politikfelds Wohnen. In B. Egner, N. Georgakis, H. Heinelt & R. C. Bartholomäi (Eds.), *Wohnungspolitik in Deutschland: Positionen — Akteure — Instrumente* (pp.17-36). Schader-Stiftung.

Bau- und WohnungsVerein Stuttgart e.V. (2016). *150 Jahre Festschrift*. https://www.bwv-stuttgart.de/unternehmen/150-jahre

Bayer, K., Flieger, B., Menzel, S., & Thürling, M. (2022). *Bürgergenossenschaften in den neuen Ländern – Engagiert für das Gemeinwesen: Studie im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Wirtschaft und Energie* (BMWI). innova eG. https://www.bmwk.de/Redaktion/DE/Publikationen/Studien/studie-buergergenossenschaften-in-den-neuen-laendern.html

Birchall, J., & Hammond Ketilson, L. (2009). *Resilience of the cooperative business model in times of crisis*. International Labour Organization. https://www.ilo.org/publications/resilience-cooperative-business-model-times-crisis

Brendel, M. (2011). Genossenschaftsbewegung in Deutschland - geschichte und aktualität. In M. Allgeier (Ed.), *Solidarität, flexibilität, selbsthilfe: Zur modernität der genossenschaftsidee* (pp. 14–36). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92814-2_1

Brendel, M. (2017). Genossenschaften im Nationalsozialismus. In B. Biesold, M. Bremdel, W. Holman, J. Keßler & J. Zolk (Eds.), *Genossenschaften in Zeiten, Schriftenreihe Umbrüche* (Heft 21, pp.12–26). Schulze-Delitzsch. https://genossenschaftsmuseum.de/publikationen/

Bundesministerium der Justiz. (2023). *Eckpunkte eines Referentenentwurfs für ein Gesetz zur Stärkung der genossenschaftlichen Rechtsform*. https://www.bmj.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Gesetzgebung/Eckpunkte/Eckpunkte_Genossenschaftsrecht.html

Bundesrepublik Deutschland — AltSchG 2020. (1993). *Gesetz über Altschuldenhilfen für Kommunale Wohnungsunternehmen, Wohnungsgenossenschaften und private Vermieter in dem in Artikel 3 des Einigungsvertrages genannten Gebiet.* Bundesministerium der Justiz. https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/altschg/BJNR098610993.html

Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. (2011a). *Deutschland-Chronik bis 2000: II/6. Konstituierung der beiden deutschen Staaten. 24. Mai 1949*. bpb. https://www.bpb.de/themen/zeit-kulturgeschichte/deutschland-chronik/131275/6-konstituierung-der-beiden-deutschen-staaten/

Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. (2011b). *Deutschland-Chronik bis 2000: II/6. Konstituierung der beiden deutschen Staaten. 7. Oktober 1949*. bpb. https://www.bpb.de/themen/zeit-kulturgeschichte/deutschland-chronik/131275/6-konstituierung-der-beiden-deutschen-staaten/

Cameron, J., Thorogood, J., & Wood, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Profiles of a movement: Co-operative housing around the world*. CECODHAS Housing Europe/ICA Housing. https://www.housinginternational.coop/resources/profiles-of-a-movement-co-operative-housing-around-the-world-volume-one

Crome, B. (2007). Entwicklung und Situation der Wohnungsgenossenschaften in Deutschland. *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung (IzR)*, 4, 211–221. https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/veroeffentlichungen/izr/2007/Heft04Wohnungsgenossenschaften.html

Deutsche Rentenversicherung Bund. (2023, June 6). *Unsere Sozialversicherung: Wissenswertes speziell für junge Leute* (überarbeitete Auflage), 51. https://www.deutsche-rentenversicherung.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Broschueren/national/unsere_sozialversicherung.html

Deutscher Bundestag. (1952). *Entwurf eines Gesetzes über Wirtschaftsprüfer im Genossenschaftswesen* (Drucksache Nr. 3033). https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente

Deutscher Bundestag. (2022). *Virtuelle Hauptversammlungen künftig dauerhaft möglich.* https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2022/kw27-de-virtuelle-hauptversammlung-902468

Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste. (2013). *Novellen im Genossenschaftsrecht von 1990 bis heute: Die Fortentwicklung des Genossenschaftsgesetzes im wiedervereinigten Deutschland*. (WD 7 — 3000 — 092/13). https://www.bundestag.de/analysen

Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste. (2018). *Zur Geschichte und aktuellen Situation von Genossenschaften*. (WD 1 — 3000 — 001/18). https://www.bundestag.de/analysen

Deutscher Genossenschafts- und Raiffeisenverband e.V., & GdW Bundesverband deutscher Wohnungs- und Immobilienunternehmen e.V. (2022). *2022 Zahlen und Fakten der Genossenschaften in Deutschland*. https://www.dgrv.de/newsroom/publikationen/

Dirlmeier, U., Gestrich, A., Herrmann, U., Hinrichs, E., Jarausch, K. H., Kleßmann, C., & Reulecke, J. (2013). *Deutsche Geschichte*. Philipp Reclam jun. GmbH & Co. KG.

Dohmen, C. (2012, July 7). *Die Rückkehr der Genossenschaften. Deutschlandfunk*. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/die-rueckkehr-der-genossenschaften-100.html

Drupp, M. (1987). Gemeinnützige Bauvereine im Wohnungswesen der Weimarer Republik. In W. Abelshauser (Ed.), *Die Weimarer Republik als Wohlfahrtsstadt: Zum Verhältnis von Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik in der Industriegesellschaft* (pp. 124-146). Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden-GmbH.

Frech, S. (2019). Das Grundgesetz [Editorial]. *Bürger & Staat, 69*(1), 2-3. https://www.buergerundstaat.de/#c61398

Genossenschaftsgesetz - GenG, 1889 (Neugefasst durch Bek. v. 16.10.2006 I 2230; zuletzt geändert durch Art. 4 G v. 11.4.2024 I Nr. 120). https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/geng/BJNR000550889.html
Gleber, P. (2020). Nur wer weiß, woher er kommt, weiß, wohin er geht. 15 Jahre Genossenschaftshistorisches Informationszentrum. *Archiv und Wirtschaft, 53*(2), 60–67. https://www.wirtschaftsarchive.de/publikationen/archiv-und-wirtschaft/2020-2/
Haas, H. (2020). Paradigmenwandel der Wohnungspolitik: Zur Stellung und Entwicklung der Wohneigentumsförderung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. In O. Depenheuer, E. Hertzsch & M. Voigtländer (Eds.), *Wohneigentum für breite Schichten der Bevölkerung* (pp. 35–49). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-61287-3_3
Haffert, L., Redeker, N., & Rommel, T. (2021). Misremembering Weimar: Hyperinflation, the Great Depression, and German collective economic memory. *Economics & Politics, 33*(3), pp. 664–686. https://doi.org/10.1111/ecpo.12182
Heil, W. (2013). *Zeitgeschichte: Das 20. Jahrhundert.* Kohlhammer. https://doi.org/10.17433/978-3-17-023322-5
Hermann, H. (2016). *Foreword. Wohnungsgenossenschaften als Partner der Kommunen. Bündnis für bezahlbares Wohnen und Bauen*. BSSR. https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/veroeffentlichungen/sonderveroeffentlichungen/2016/wohnungsgenossenschaften.html
Hofer, S. (2019). *Leitfaden der Rechtsgeschichte: Quellen und Grundzüge der Rechtsordnung*. Böhlau Verlag. https://doi.org/10.36198/9783838552231
Holm, A. J., Horlitz, S., & Jensen, I. (2015). *Neue Gemeinnützigkeit: Gemeinwohlorientierung in der Wohnungsversorgung*. Arbeitsstudie im Auftrag der Fraktion DIE LINKE. im deutschen Bundestag. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. https://www.sowi.hu-berlin.de/sowi_p52/de/lehrbereiche/stadtsoz/mitarbeiterinnen/copy_of_a-z/holm/publikationen
International Cooperative Alliance (2018). *Cooperative identity, values & principles*. ICA. https://www.ica.coop/en/whats-co-op/co-operative-identity-values-principles
Kaltenborn, W. (2015). *Verdrängte Vergangenheit: Die historischen Wurzeln des Anschlusszwanges der Genossenschaften an Prüfungsverbände*. Books on Demand.
Kaltenborn, W. (2020). *Die Überwältigung: Die deutschen Genossenschaften 1933/34, der Anschlusszwang und die Folgen*. Books on Demand.
Kitchen, M. (2011). *A history of modern Germany: 1800 to the present* (2nd ed). Wiley-Blackwell.
Kluge, A. (2012). Regionale Genossenschaftsgeschichte am Beispiel der Wohnungsgenossenschaften in Hof und Umgebung. In Heinrich-Kaufmann-Stiftung (Ed.), *Geschichte und Potenzial der Selbsthilfe: Die Wohnungsbaugenossenschaften. Beiträge zur 6. Tagung zur Genossenschaftsgeschichte am 28. und 29. Oktober 2011 im Museum der Arbeit in Hamburg* (pp. 61–75). Books on Demand.
Kohl, S. (2017). *Homeownership, renting and society: Historical and comparative perspectives*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315628455
Kruse, W. (2012, September 27). *Industrialisierung und moderne Gesellschaft*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. https://www.bpb.de/themen/kolonialismus-imperialismus/kaiserreich/139649/industrialisierung-und-moderne-gesellschaft/
Lerbs, O. (2014). Germany's rental property sector: A cornerstone of housing market resilience? *Housing Finance International, XXVIII*(4), 38–44.
Lieberknecht, C. (2013). Die Entwicklungsphasen der Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeit. *Die Wohnungswirtschaft, 66*(10), pp. 86–88.
Martens, H. (2011). Erich Klabunde und das Erste Wohnungsbaugesetz von 1950. In Heinrich-Kaufmann-Stiftung (Ed.), *"Miteinander geht es besser": Beiträge zur 1. Tagung zur Genossenschaftsgeschichte (2006)*, (pp. 73–79). Books on Demand.
Ott, E. (n.d.). *Novellierung des Genossenschaftsgesetzes*. Deutscher Genossenschafts- und Raiffeisenverband e.V.. https://www.dgrv.de/novellierung-des-genossenschaftsgesetzes/
Patmore, G., & Balnave, N. (2018). *A global history of co-operative business*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315638164
Piper, E. (2021). *Weimarer Republik*. Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
Plumpe, W. (2017). *Wirtschaftskrisen: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (5th ed.). C. H. Beck.
Scheller, D. (2019). Hamburg: Housing movements and local government. In P. Hagbert, H. G. Larsen, H. Thörn & C. Wasshede (Eds.), *Contemporary co-housing in Europe* (pp. 57–73). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429450174-4
Schildt, A. (1998). Wohnungspolitik. In H. G. Hockerts (Ed.), *Drei Wege deutscher Sozialstaatlichkeit* (pp. 151–189). R. Oldenbourg Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1524/9783486703009.151
Schillinger, W. (2020). *Genossenschaften: Bausteine einer fairen zukunft*. Books on Demand.
Schlüter, T., Luserke, M., & Roth, S. (2019). *Handbuch Wohnungsgenossenschaften: Genossenschaftsrecht für die Praxis* (2nd ed.). Haufe.

Schmidt-Wiegand, R. (1985). Die Bezeichnungen Zunft und Gilde in ihrem historischen und wortgeographischen Zusammenhang. Vorträge und Forschungen, 29, 31–52. https://doi.org/10.11588/vuf.1985.0.15771

Selle, K., & Schmitt, G. (2005). *Zukunft wohnen: Strategische bestandsentwicklung — 30er-jahre siedlung, Duisburg-Friemersheim.* RWTH Aachen.

Steding, R. (2004). *Eine Reform des Genossenschaftsgesetzes — mit oder ohne Schulze-Delitzsch. Schulze-Delitzsch* und Gedenkstätte des deutschen Genossenschaftswesen e.V. https://genossenschaftsmuseum.de/publikationen/

VdW Bayern. (2021, October 26). *Deutschlands älteste Wohnungsgenossenschaft wird 150 Jahre* [Press release]. https://www.vdwbayern.de/2021/10/26/deutschlands-aelteste-wohnungsgenossenschaft-wird-150-jahre

Verband der Vereine Creditreform e.V. (2022, December 13). *Insolvenzen in Deutschland, Jahr 2022.* [Press release]. https://www.creditreform.de/aktuelles-wissen/pressemeldungen-fachbeitraege/news-details/show/insolvenzen-in-deutschland-jahr-2022

von Liliencron, R. (Ed.). (1881). *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Vol 13: Holstein-Jesup). Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wiedemeyer, U. (2019, June 23). Der Skandal um die Neue Heimat: Korruption bei Wohnungsbaukonzern. *Der Spiegel*. https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/neue-heimat-skandal-1982-warum-das-wohnungsbauunternehmen-unterging-a-1273584.html

Zolk, J. (2016). Leben in einer bewegten Zeit - Zeiten des Wandels und Umbruchs in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert als Impulse für Genossenschaftsgründungen. Genossenschaften in Zeiten, *Schriftenreihe* (21), pp. 5–10. https://genossenschaftsmuseum.de/publikationen/