International Comparative Analysis of Housing and Land Use Planning

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Structure

• The challenges of inter-national and inter-disciplinary comparative research
  – The use of theories and methodologies
• The ideal type as an useful tool for comparative analysis
  – Examples (typologies of welfare state, housing and planning)
• Some results and discussion
• Conclusion
International comparative studies

• Comparative studies aim to understand and explain the differences / similarities, permanence / changes across space and/or time

• Can focus on different parts of policy: general goals, specific programmes, strategies and/or tools (e.g. inclusionary planning mechanisms)

• They might be formulated and implemented by a variety of actors
The purpose of comparative studies

• To produce critical knowledge and innovative recommendations for policy making

• This can follow an inductive vs deductive logic
  – The deductive: based on theoretical propositions
  – Inductive logic: follows from the observation of cases or empirical manifestations of a phenomenon, rather than theory

• Scientific thought should be constantly moving between empirical environment and a metaphysical environment
The importance of theory

• Theories are generalisations that try to rationalise and explain the world. They can be tested against empirical data.

• The nature of research questions will dictate the methodologies that will be adopted

• A mixed research methodology is useful in comparative studies.
  – Quantitative methodologies are important for classification, measurement and analysis
  – Qualitative methodologies are important for understanding the ‘why?’ and ‘how’ questions - they allow for more nuanced and in depth analysis
The importance of theory – some examples

• Politics is about making choices and about how to act in response to circumstances.

• Theories of urban politics revolve around two fundamental questions: who has the power in the city, and what they do with that power (Short, 2006)

• Critical theory emphasises the disjuncture between the actual and the possible (Marcuse, 2012)
The importance of theory – some examples

- Legal and institutional contexts (laws and institutions) provide the framework within which decisions are made.
- The rationale beyond their action and their effects (e.g. on issues of governance inequality) can be scrutinised.
The ideal type

• The concept of “ideal type” (Idealtypus) was created by Max Weber in 1904 (Bruun, 2007)

• It is a conceptual instrument for comparison and measurement
  – It helps to build theory & guide the formation of research questions
  – It helps the exposition of scientific results

• “It is the beginning of a theory about the subject matter used to classify the cases” (Peters, 2013)
The ideal type

- Systems of classification have a long tradition in social and natural sciences
- They use specific criteria and approaches (deductive/inductive) to group empirical cases
The ideal type

• The ideal type is therefore like a model, that encourages moving beyond the particularities of each case and identifying patterns and regularities across case settings
Welfare State Changes and Outcomes – The Cases of Portugal and Denmark from a Comparative Perspective

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Abstract
It is well known that welfare states ensure a certain level of social protection affecting levels of well-being and the extent of inequalities in society. Changes within crucial domains of social policy, such as education, health, or social protection, have, therefore, a major effect upon individuals’ opportunities. In this article I compare the effects of these changes in two countries from the mid-1990s to the financial crisis of 2008. Portugal that was a latecomer in welfare state development and Denmark was at the forefront of de-communisation and universalisation of social right. The conclusion of this article is that income inequality has been steadily increasing in Danish society; while in Portugal, despite improvements in many social domains (healthcare, poverty alleviation, unemployment protection), problems of inequality remain deeply embedded in the country’s social and institutional structures.

Keywords
Welfare state regimes; Welfare state outcomes; Inequality; Portugal; Denmark
Theory of Welfare State

• What does Esping-Andersen mean by ‘welfare state’?
  – a theoretical construct for the measurement of the position of each country, with regard to its capacity to support the welfare of households

• The WS is not just a mechanism that intervenes in, and possibly corrects, the structure of inequality, but it is, in its own right, a system of stratification” (Esping-Andersen, 1990)
Three ideal-types of welfare regimes

• Level of decommodification
  • the degree to which individuals or families can enjoy a socially acceptable standard of living, independently of market participation

• Type of stratification produced by the state
Esping-Andersen (1990) identifies three ideal-types of welfare regimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Democratic</th>
<th>Corporatist</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High levels of de-commodification</td>
<td>Intermediate level of de-commodification</td>
<td>Modest levels of de-commodification</td>
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<tr>
<td>Universalism and solidarity are the key values of the system</td>
<td>Individual freedom</td>
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<td>Well-funded public welfare benefits financed by taxes</td>
<td>Levels of social protection depend on the history of paid contributions</td>
<td>Social benefits are means-tested, conditional on the beneficiary's income / wealth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>France, Portugal?</td>
<td>England</td>
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The Mediterranean welfare regime (4th)

- A qualitative different arrangements between the state, market and family
  - highly fragmented system of protection
- The role of reciprocity, or mutual help, provided by family and friends, tries to compensate for the insufficiencies of state intervention
Testing Kemeny’s theory of the rental markets

**Integrated**
- Long-term state investment in cost renting
- The non-profit rental sector is accessible for all - not limited to income!

**Dualist**
- Social housing reserved for the poorest segments of the population
- The social housing sector is strictly separated from the market renting sector

**From Public Housing to the Social Market**
Rental policy strategies in comparative perspective

Jim Kemeny
Kemeny’s Theory of Rental Housing Markets

• Explain the long-term structuration of rental markets
• The differences between the size and characteristics of the private rental sector (e.g. rents, secure of tenure, level of attraction) across countries
• Kemeny claims that each housing system is the result of different power structures, policy strategies
Theoretical approaches to comparative analysis

• Kemeny’s theoretical assumptions have been tested empirically (e.g. use of statistical and qualitative data)
• Questions about power and ideology, and their effects on the overall configuration of the housing markets
The structuration of a dualist vs an integrated rental system

Post-war period: acute housing needs & pressures from urbanisation

Two broad phases
- WWII to mid-1970s
  Public/council housing program
- Election of Thatcher government 1979
  Right to buy allows tenants to purchase at discount.
  Residualisation - public rental sector

DK Cost rental housing program
- Not for profit landlords (surplus retained in the sector)
- Mature cost rental - sector exert pressure on market rents

Graph:
- Occupied by the owner
- Occupied by the tenant

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Portugal

Dictatorship corporatist regime

Revolution 1974

Urbanization democratisation

Expansion of shanties

1980s Housing cooperatives

1993 PER – Large social housing estates + right to buy

Liberalisation of old contracts (first generation of rent control) - now: high rents, lack of security
Ideal types planning

- Reimar et al. (2014) compare the systems and practices of planning across 12 European countries, observing ≠ rationales for planning
- ≠ emphasis on economic environmental or social priorities
- ≠ mechanisms and tools used to regulate land use change
Ideal types of planning

• Legal and administrative structures within which planning operates
  – regulatory planning systems that use zoning to classify and qualify the permissibility of land uses
  – discretionary systems in which plans only have an indicative force
In both planning systems developers need **planning permission** to build, the level of uncertainty is however different.

Because planning permission increases the value of the land and requires public investment (infrastructure, etc.), LPAs have the power to negotiate **planning contributions** to capture part of the increased value.

In different countries, **planning contributions** are used to capture different things (roads, parks, social infrastructure) & with different results.
Ideal-types of planning

The urbanism ideal type - Portugal
Narrow scope of purpose when regulating land-use transformation
Lack of consistency in the application of rules and plans

The land-use ideal type England
Focus on development control, use of tools to reduce government spending
e.g. Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1990 for the provision of social and affordable housing

The comprehensive integrated ideal type
A decentralised planning system that allows the integration of policies
Site-by-site negotiations with planning agreements to secure the provision of affordable land for non-profit housing associations
Results

• In England, housing and land use planning have co-evolved, with planning as an important tool for securing affordable housing
• Planning obligations are used to capture planning gains, reduce government spending and promote mixed communities
Results

- In Portugal, land use planning has been guided by private economic interests, which has favored urban sprawl, social and spatial segregation
  - gap between existent statutory plans and the reality
  - non conformity of plans (in terms of land-allocation and land-use changes)
Results

• In Denmark, the planning system has acted as a coordinator of sectoral policies with spatial impact

• Policies aim to promote
  – Urban containment
  – Mixed communities
  – And affordable housing (for rent not for sale!)
Conclusions

• Contemporary research questions are more complex than ever, requiring mixed methods for finding answers to complex questions

• There’s potential benefit in using the ‘ideal type’ model, but we have to be aware of the many differences in national systems, legal arrangements, historical trajectories...
Conclusions

• The ‘ideal type’ is a useful tool to build theory, guide the formation of hypotheses and help the exposition of scientific results

• They are however challenging, as they require the production of knowledge that can be generalized across broader social and political contexts
Questions? Criticisms? Suggestions?
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