

‘Urban interventionism’ in welfare and planning: National typologies and ‘local cultures’ in Europe

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Abstract

Comparative research on welfare and planning has traditionally been based on broadly defined typologies of national welfare state and planning systems, thereby neglecting the role of local ‘cultures’ that help sustain and redevelop underlying institutions and practices. Drawing on a European-wide survey of city mayors, we explore how well the established typologies are reproduced in local welfare and planning cultures, as reflected in Mayoral attitudes, and whether there are systematic variations of welfare and planning cultures even within the same country. The findings suggest that nationally-based categories of welfare regimes and planning systems do not necessarily correspond with mayors’ preferences for “urban intervention” in service delivery, housing provision or planning. Local specificities, including permeability to the influence of European institutions and policies, may in fact have a significant impact on mayors’ attitudes in these fields, possibly creating new local understandings as well as pressures for reforming national welfare and planning systems. These conclusions strengthen the argument that ‘local cultures’ are presenting a challenge to national typologies of planning and welfare, and are important elements to take into account when exploring the evolution of urban policies at the local level.

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Introduction

There is a strong tradition of comparative research within the social sciences that explores welfare regimes and planning institutions using broadly defined typologies applied at the national level (e.g. Esping-Andersen, 1990; Fenger, 2007; CEC, 1997; Nadin and Stead, 2008). This body of work sheds light on different approaches to welfare and planning regimes and their possible outcomes, and explores these typologies as a reference framework for identifying similarities and differences between different countries. However, to date there has been a lack of systematic analysis of their interpretation and support at the local level, limited to surveys in selected European cities and city regions of Europe (e.g. ESPON, 2013). This paper aims to address that gap, by investigating ‘local cultures’ of welfare and planning through a survey of over 2,600 mayors in Europe, to explore distinctive understandings of policies and instruments perceived as appropriate at the local level that might either support or challenge national welfare and planning systems. Such local understandings are particularly influential when held by mayors, whose inclinations might lead to locally specific adaptations of national spatial planning structures and welfare systems or, when efforts are hampered, lead to pressures for national reforms.

At the level of the city, the different typologies of welfare regimes and planning systems would be expected to translate - at least to some extent - into varying degrees of support for what we term ‘urban interventionism’. We define ‘urban interventionism’ as practices in relation to public policy fields that are implemented at the city level, such as local public service delivery, housing policies and urban planning. For example, ‘urban interventionism’ in public service delivery would support public sector delivery, as opposed to delivery through the private sector or public-private partnerships. Similarly in housing, this would involve public sector intervention to supplement market provision. In urban planning, urban interventionism would be manifest in support for project-based planning such as local integrated infrastructure projects that supplement higher-level planning guidelines, rather than regulation-based planning. However, since mayoral attitudes towards ‘urban interventionism’ need not generally be consistent with national welfare and planning regimes, we might find countries where ‘local cultures’ of welfare and planning more generally stand at odds with, or have become detached from, these national frameworks. We note that our definition of ‘urban interventionism’ differs from that in

urban design, where ‘urban interventions’ are seen as temporary actions in urban space, that typically respond to community, locational identity and the built environment (Pinder, 2008).

Taking our policy-focused definition of ‘urban interventionism’, this paper aims to address this little explored area, that of ‘local cultures’ of welfare and planning, through an analysis of mayoral attitudes towards local approaches related to urban interventions. Here we define ‘local cultures’ as being the “values, attitudes, mind sets and routines” (Fürst, 2009) shared by those taking part in planning and welfare decision-making. The focus of the paper is urban interventions in three policy domains that play a key role in local politics: service delivery, housing and planning. These domains were selected due to their importance in strategies of urban governance, and their intersection with the planning and welfare regimes that we are interested in. The research draws on the results of POLLEADER II, a recent European survey of mayors in cities with a population of more than 10,000 across a total of 29 countries (Heinelt et al, 2018), carried out between 2014 and 2016¹.

The aim is to explore mayoral attitudes to public policies, focusing on urban interventions in particular domains, and how these relate to national typologies in welfare and planning. The paper examines how mayoral preferences reveal ‘local cultures’ of urban interventionism in welfare and planning, contributing to our understanding of how national typologies might be complemented and possibly challenged by these ‘local cultures’, and pointing also to a degree of convergence in local approaches to welfare and planning, through for example, processes of Europeanization. Our interest lies in exploring the concept of local welfare and planning cultures which go beyond mayoral preferences, as a way of capturing norms, and furthering our understanding of local differences in ‘urban interventions’.

The research questions that we explore are the following:

¹ The survey covered mayors in over 2,600 cities, from the following countries: Albania, Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Serbia, Spain, Sweden and UK (England). The survey also included Cyprus, Ireland, Latvia, Slovakia, and Romania, but only countries with more than 20 responses each were included in the comparative analysis, with the exception of Iceland, where the survey attained a response rate of 83.3 %.

1. How do established national-level typologies of welfare regimes and spatial planning systems match local welfare and planning cultures, as reflected in mayoral attitudes towards local urban interventionism in different policy fields?
2. How have Europeanization on the one hand, and the recent financial crisis on the other impacted upon traditional welfare and planning cultures?
3. Are there systematic variations *within countries*, in mayoral attitudes towards policies related to urban interventionism in public service delivery, housing and planning?

The paper is divided into the following sections. Section 2 explores the theoretical background on welfare and planning regimes, and presents a number of hypotheses related to local cultures of welfare and planning. Section 3 examines mayoral attitudes towards different local urban policy interventions in the domains of public service delivery, housing and planning, across different national welfare states regimes and planning systems in Europe, also exploring the role of Europeanization and the recent financial crisis on local planning and welfare cultures. The final section argues for the usefulness of comparing the general frameworks with local experiences, demonstrating how national typologies can provide essential context for local phenomena, while in turn local phenomena can contribute to a gradual transformation of overall institutional contexts over time, and thus possible shifts in national frameworks. This is useful for exploring how ‘local cultures’ can provide the genesis for system change that impacts on the future of contemporary urban space.

Theoretical background on welfare and planning regimes

National typologies of welfare regimes and planning systems have been applied for many decades in research that seeks to understand variations of approach in different countries. The macro processes of globalization and economic restructuring are mediated in different countries by national welfare regimes and planning systems. However, at the level of the city, ‘local cultures’ (Fürst, 2009) are also at play, that is, the collective ethos and dominant attitudes at the local level towards the appropriate roles of the state, market forces and civil society in influencing social outcomes (Sanyal, 2005).

Here, we bring together Janin Rivolin's (2012) discussion of the notion of 'planning cultures' (Sanyal, 2005; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009), with Kemeny's (2001) work on housing and welfare, through which both authors explore the links between national typologies/regimes and local level 'cultures' in the two broad policy fields of planning and welfare, as examples of policy areas that include what we define as 'urban interventions'. National level idealized systems are embedded in national institutions, and can thus be seen as rooted in their historic, socio-economic and political contexts at the level of the nation state. These are manifest through formal and informal institutions, national government structures and relevant legislation, and translate into idealized typologies or regimes for systems such as planning and welfare, that serve as models through which we seek to understand different national approaches.

However, as many authors have demonstrated (e.g. Silva and Acheampong, 2015), such idealized systems often do not reflect the reality on the ground, which generally demonstrates a complexity and nuance that is not captured by broad-brush typologies. Local 'cultures' are shaped by distinctive attributes that are grounded in their local context, be they socio-economic, political or cultural, and which shape local derivations of national systems and regimes. The local 'culture', influenced by these contextual specifics, manifests itself in various ways through, among other channels, local approaches to public policy intervention, which do not necessarily match the approach of the national level regimes.

Our aim here is to investigate local 'cultures' by exploring not actual policy interventions at the local level, but rather, the attitudes and preferences of urban political leaders in considering different aspects of 'urban interventionism' in the policy fields of welfare and urban planning, preferences which may or may not materialise in a given context. This approach is valuable in that it provides insights into mayoral priorities, in particular in situations where national level constraints may prevent a leadership bringing about these priorities, and thus, for research purposes, their interventionist stance wouldn't be visible on the ground. Similarly, this approach may also provide insights into policy domains where municipal leaders may move to exert pressure at the national level for regime reform, in order to open up possibilities for interventions at the local level that are more in line with the local 'culture'.

In this paper, we focus on a range of issues that urban political leaders are concerned with which were surveyed in POLLEADER II: firstly, public service delivery, taking the example of four broadly

welfare-related ‘urban interventions’: hospitals, public transport, maintenance of school buildings and care homes for the elderly; secondly, housing interventions; and thirdly, developing integrated urban projects as an example of urban planning intervention, as opposed to guidance-led planning. These offer a broad range of interventions through which mayoral attitudes to urban interventionism can be examined.

Before exploring the local ‘cultures’ of welfare and planning, we elaborate below on the national level typologies of welfare state regimes and spatial planning systems that have hitherto structured much research into welfare and planning. We also derive a number of working hypotheses related to ‘urban interventions’ in these spheres that will be tested in the following section.

Welfare state regimes

In *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Esping-Andersen (1990) presents a typology of welfare states based upon the principles of de-commodification, social stratification and the private–public mix, resulting of an analysis of the arrangements between market, state and family in 18 OECD countries. Although a seminal work, and validated by further research (Saint-Arnaud & Bernard, 2003; Fenger 2007; Buhr & Stoy, 2015 and others), this proposal has nevertheless not been spared from scientific criticism: due to its lack of attention to gender issues (Lewis, 1997), but also for leaving aside countries in southern Europe (Ferrera, 1996) and not accounting for the peculiarities of eastern European post-communist states (Fenger, 2007). However, the literature shows that the original categories tend to persist in different typologies (Fenger, 2007, Buhr & Stoy, 2015).

[Table 1 – insert near here]

In Table 1, we present a typology of European welfare states that includes Esping-Andersen’s three types and adds a fourth (Latin) and fifth (post-communist) type (Fenger, 2007; Ferrera, 1996). In 1) social-democratic welfare states, mostly Nordic, the level of de-commodification, taxes and public expenditure are high and the benefits are universal and highly redistributive. Correspondingly, well-being levels are also high. The 2) corporatist-conservative states, like Germany and France, are

characterized by moderate levels of both de-commodification and government expenditure. The state tends to restrict its direct action to income maintenance benefits related to occupational status. The 3) liberal welfare state type, found in Anglo-Saxon countries, is in turn characterized by a low level of government expenditure, means-tested assistance and little redistribution of income, and thus by high levels of inequality. The 4) Latin/southern European type shares characteristics with the conservative, but has specific features: a fragmented system of welfare provision and the reliance on family and the voluntary sector (Bambra, 2007). Portugal, Greece and Spain are classified in this group, while Italy is often categorised as conservative (Bambra, 2007), following Esping-Andersen's initial classification. 5) Post-communist welfare states "cannot be reduced to any of Esping-Andersen's or any other well-known types", but a specific type of post-communist welfare state does not emerge from the data analysed by Fenger (2007: 27).

Esping-Andersen's model has equally been criticised for concentrating on welfare transfers and not considering the provision of social services such as healthcare, education systems or social care (Isakjee, 2017; Buhr & Stoy, 2015). In this domain, the relationship between welfare state regimes and healthcare has been one of the most commonly addressed in the literature. Bambra (2005) developed a healthcare decommodification index focused on the public/private mix of health provision, the ease of access to public provision, and the coverage provided by the health system. This typology is in some ways complementary to Esping-Anderson's, as a broad similarity exists in the classification of countries. Anttonen and Sipilä (1996) classified countries according to their provision of social care services for older people and social care services for children and arrive at some correspondence with classical typologies: a Scandinavian model for public services, corresponding to the social-democratic welfare regime and a family care model, distinctive for southern-European countries.

Barlow and Duncan (1994) were among the first to relate the typologies of housing production and land supply to Esping-Andersen's typology and concluded that: liberal welfare regimes tend to have large builders/developers who rely more on speculative development gains than on building profits; in social-democratic regimes, because land supply is under public control, for-profit builders rely on building profits only; the corporatist type has a more fragmented building industry, but more speculative gains

than the social-democratic; and finally, the Latin type has the smallest builders and the highest speculative gains. Matznetter argues that, unlike other welfare services, housing tends to be organised locally, and thus the local level should be considered in the literature (Matznetter 2002; Matznetter & Mundt, 2012).

There is a wide consensus in the literature on welfare regimes that increased attention must be paid to the interplay between housing and other welfare services, like for example healthcare and social care, but also among these different areas (Dewilde and Decker, 2016; Buhr & Stoy, 2015; Malpass, 2008, Bamba 2005, Kemeny, 2001). It also becomes clear that the impacts of the global financial crisis of 2008 and the ensuing implementation of austerity measures concerning housing and welfare policies have to be taken into account (Dewilde and Decker, 2016). Clearly, these impacts and measures have been unequally distributed across Europe and the social spectrum, more concentrated in the south and on low-income populations (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016).

Based on the discussion of welfare state regimes and their relation to housing and service provision, and accounting for the turmoil following the financial crisis, we propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Mayors in countries with social-democratic welfare regimes are more likely to advocate public sector intervention in housing and service delivery, as opposed to those from liberal, Latin or post-communist welfare state traditions. Mayors in countries hit hard by the financial crisis are likely to have less clear-cut preferences in relation to public sector intervention, due to the complexities of greater needs of citizens, combined with severe austerity measures.

National planning systems

There have been various attempts to draw up a typology of the different national spatial planning systems in the European Union (EU), applying two different methodologies (Nadin and Stead, 2008). The first approach identifies classifications (or families) of different legal and administrative systems within

which planning operates (e.g. Davies et al., 1989; Newman and Thornley, 1996; Muñoz Gielen and Tasan-Kok, 2010). The second method starts from a set of criteria, from which a suite of four ideal types are proposed, as developed in the *European Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (CEC, 1997). Nadin and Stead (2013) have argued that these four traditions were not developed with the aim of fitting each member state neatly into just one heading, but that national planning systems may show some degree of affiliation with all four traditions, although many are more closely aligned to some traditions than others. Other more recent approaches have explored the different ways of allocating spatial development rights and their possible relation to the differential impacts of the global financial crisis, identifying three systems of spatial planning: the ‘conformative’ model affecting southern Europe, the British ‘performative’ model, and the ‘neo-performative’ model in north-western Europe (Janin Rivolin, 2017).

Research for ESPON in 2006 revisited the *Compendium*, to explore changes that have taken place since its publication (e.g. Farinós Dasí et al, 2006). More recently, in an attempt to capture the on-going evolution of many planning systems, the ESPON-funded COMPASS project (ESPON, 2018a) also compared territorial governance and spatial planning in 32 European countries, and their evolution from 2000-2016, highlighting the complexity of spatial planning systems across Europe. However, the *Compendium’s* approach which proposes four planning ‘traditions’ (CEC, 1997) still represents “something of a benchmark” (Nadin and Stead, 2013: 1543) for studies of spatial planning systems in the EU. For the purposes of this research, which aims to explore local ‘planning cultures’ through the perspectives of city mayors, we argue that the *Compendium* provides a system of ‘ideal types’ that can be usefully mobilised as a heuristic device against which complexities and nuances of ‘local cultures’ in planning can be explored.

The first category proposed in the *Compendium* (CEC, 1997), the ‘regional economic planning’ tradition, is characterized by the broad term ‘spatial planning’, in that it combines economic and social aims with objectives of territorial cohesion. Central government is one of the main actors in addressing regional disparities and development pressures through public sector investment (CEC, 1997: 36). The second tradition, the ‘comprehensive integrated approach’ “[...] is conducted through a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinate public sector activity across

different sectors but focus more specifically on spatial co-ordination than economic development" (CEC, 1997: 36-37). In this case, planning institutions and mechanisms need to be responsive with a political commitment to the planning process.

[Table 2 – insert near here]

The third approach is the tradition of 'land-use management', with a focus on land-use management and control. Local authorities are the main actors in this tradition, although central governments set guidelines and oversee municipal action. The fourth approach is 'urbanism', based on regulation, rigid codes and strongly inspired by architectural and urban design considerations (CEC, 1997: 37).

This typology was developed over 20 years ago, and a number of scholars have called into question its continued relevance, given the hybridity of models that has evolved in the intervening years (ESPON, 2018a). Complexity has been introduced, as the original countries learn from each other through processes of policy mobility, and as new member states have joined the EU introducing additional dimensions from their post-Communist frameworks (Tosics et al, 2010; Farinós Dasí et al, 2006). Although the complexity and divergence of Europe's spatial planning systems is clear (Reimer et al, 2013), we argue that the four-point 'ideal type' grouping nevertheless provides a useful starting point for classifying Europe's different spatial planning systems for the purposes of this research.

Magnier et al. (2018) have explored mayoral attitudes to particular planning approaches, in the light of their national spatial planning systems. In their analysis of the POLLEADER II responses, they found that the three most commonly cited planning strategies that are likely to succeed in enhancing the city involve a strategy based on construction and planning guidelines, one based on developing urban projects, and a third based on community engagement. Their subsequent multivariate analysis points to three clusters, emphasizing guidelines, community engagement and a project-based approach. While much planning activity in the city follows broad planning guidelines and is thus more driven by procedure and process, project-based planning through the development of large-scale integrated actions serves as an example of 'urban interventionism' as it represents a targeted planning intervention, with strong local public sector support to initiate the project and see it through to completion.

It could be expected that a project-based planning approach would be most supported by those mayors positioned within a land-use management planning system that gives local government effective capacity to intervene directly in urban transformations through project-based interventions. Mayors working within a regional economic planning tradition would also be favourable to a project-based strategy due to the emphasis on a spatially-based approach to large-scale projects, set within a framework of central guidelines. In the two alternative planning systems, we would expect a low relevance of project-based planning: in the comprehensive integrated approach due to an emphasis on spatial horizontal and vertical coordination of plans, as opposed to a focus on large-scale projects; and in the urbanism tradition, due to the emphasis on strict planning regulations and instruments. However, a mayor's preference for a project-based approach could illustrate their counter-reaction to the traditional national planning environment, or the influence of Europeanization, leading to the potential convergence of local 'planning cultures'.

The concept of Europeanization has been extensively discussed in the academic policy literature, although not always with a common understanding among scholars about its definition (Olsen, 2002; ESPON, 2018b). Here we understand Europeanization as the process by which the EU, through its policies and governance processes, has an impact on member states' own domestic policies and practices. This definition can be extended to include both 'down-load' and 'up-load' Europeanization, that is, the influence that the EU has on domestic approaches to policy and governance practices (down-load), or vice versa, how individual member states have impacted on the EU's policy agenda, through the adoption of domestic policy approaches at the EU level (up-load). Horizontal, or circular, Europeanization can also take place, where policy mobility occurs between member states, or between cities, without necessarily using the EU as a conduit. For example, this is the case when practice is transferred between cities, through networks such as Eurocities and URBACT (Kern, 2007).

It could be argued that in the field of urban planning, the EU's approach to addressing urban challenges within the framework of the European Social Model, has led to a number of practices and approaches being adopted in domestic practice, through the process of Europeanization (Hamedinger and Wolffhardt, 2010; Carpenter, 2013; ESPON, 2018b). Many of these approaches promoted through the EU's Structural Funds, particularly the 'integrated sustainable urban development' approach in the

current programming period, are being adopted in different member states². These include taking an integrated approach to tackling urban challenges, working in partnership with different urban stakeholders through the partnership principle, and engaging with local communities in a process of collaborative planning (González Medina and Fedeli, 2015). In the light of the specific practices promoted through the Structural Funds, in relation to urban development and in particular the importance of an integrated approach, we can propose the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: Mayoral preference for project-based planning is more prominent in countries with a ‘land-use management’ tradition or a ‘regional economic planning’ approach, compared to countries with a ‘comprehensive integrated approach’ or ‘urbanism’ tradition.

Hypothesis 3: Mayors in countries that have been recipients of EU Funds (Structural and Investment Funding, and Pre-Accession Assistance) have a preference for integrated large-scale projects, particularly mayors in EU cohesion countries and in third countries entitled to Pre-Accession Assistance, due to the influence of the European Union’s support for the integrated approach in their Structural Fund programmes.

Variations in approaches to “urban interventionism” within countries

The previous sections have set out hypotheses for exploring ‘urban interventionism’ between countries at the macro-level, in the policy fields of urban planning and welfare. However, it is also interesting to explore whether these relationships may be corroborated when the analysis refocuses on the micro-level, within countries, and whether there are systematic variations in planning and welfare cultures internally within a national context. We would expect an interventionist stance in relation to public service delivery to be expressed by mayors in rural-based towns due to lack of provision, as well as by those identifying

² Indeed, national programs of the EU Cohesion Fund for the period 2014-2020 often emphasize the role of cross-sectoral integration in large infrastructure projects, see: Accessed 22nd October 2019 http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes?search=1&keywords=integrated&periodId=3&countryCode=ALL®ionId=ALL&objectiveId=16&ObjectiveId=ALL: Accessed 22nd October 2019

as left-wing, particularly in cities hit hard by the financial crisis. A preference for housing interventionism would be expected from mayors with a similar profile (i.e. left-leaning and concerned about municipal finances) but based in the core cities, where housing need and issues of affordability are more acute. Integrated programs for urban renewal projects would be expected to be selected by mayors that are linked with EU funding programs, through the influence of Europeanization and the importance of the integrated approach in EU urban policy. From these assumptions, we can draw the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: Within-country variations in attitudes towards “urban interventionism” exist in particular related to core/rural location, left-right leaning political persuasion, concern with the effects of the financial crisis, and links with EU funding programs. An ‘urban interventionist’ stance increases with politically left-leaning mayors, those undergoing fiscal shock and those with exposure to EU funding. For public service delivery, rural mayors support an interventionist role, whereas for housing, mayors in core cities are more interventionist. Mayors of cities with stable public finances and those with links to EU funding programs are supportive of large-scale project-based interventions for urban renewal.

To test these four hypotheses, we draw on the results of the POLLEADER II mayors’ survey, which was conducted between 2014 and 2016, following an initial survey from 2003 to 2004. The broad-ranging questionnaire covered topics ranging from the mayors’ background and political career, to their role in the wider political system. Within the survey, there are particular sections that relate to policy, and within these, questions about public service provision, housing and planning, which are the policies that correspond to the welfare and planning typologies. The survey was particularly focused on mayoral preferences rather than the views of urban planners within the city administration, although it would also have been interesting to explore the relationship between mayors as elected politicians and urban planners as administrators in the field of urban planning. The relevant sections of the survey for this paper are detailed in Annex 1.

In order to operationalize the hypotheses, responses to the relevant survey questions were standardized in order to undertake the analyses. For hypothesis 1, questions related to public sector intervention in housing, and to the public-private mix in service delivery more broadly, were transformed to provide

comparative data. For hypotheses 2 and 3, data were taken from the survey question that asked mayors to rank alternative planning strategies, focusing on integrated urban projects, as opposed to a strategy that emphasized abstract planning guidelines (with other options also available). Hypothesis 4 was operationalized using regression analyses that incorporated a dummy indicating whether a mayor prioritized integrated urban projects over a strategy focused on construction and planning guidelines (model 3). For the analysis related to left-wing mayors in cities hit by the financial crisis, an interaction term was created, of ‘left-right self-positioning versus a (relative) poor financial situation’. The details of these transformations are set out in Annex 1.

Mayoral attitudes towards different local policy interventions

The previous review has pointed to links between welfare state and planning regimes and possible attitudes towards the provision of public services, housing and planning. These potential links will be explored in the following section through an analysis of the European mayors’ survey, to examine the preferences and attitudes of mayors in these three domains, as a reflection of local planning and welfare cultures, and how they relate to the reference frameworks for the welfare state and planning systems across Europe.

Attitudes towards service delivery

With regard to the form of service delivery (Figure 1), mayors in social-democratic countries correspond to our expectations in Hypothesis 1, by supporting either public-private partnerships or purely public service delivery. This result is in accordance with Bambra (2005) and Anttonen and Sipilä’s analysis of public services (1996). Figure 1 also shows mayors in corporatist France and Italy to be more supportive of a purely public mode of service delivery, but even they are surpassed by their colleagues in financially troubled Spain and Greece under the Latin welfare system. In Portugal, the values in the analysis were

somewhat lower, possibly indicating a stronger mayoral acceptance of the wide-ranging reforms induced by the Troika.

Literature shows that the austerity policies, which had deep impacts on the capacity of Portugal's welfare state system, were justified in national discourse by a narrative around Portugal's incapacity to restore its public and administrative institutions and its economy (Seixas, Tulumello, Corvelo, & Drago, 2015). Unlike the results for Scandinavian countries, the results for southern European countries do not find correspondence in the models created on the base of public delivery of healthcare and services related to children and seniors which point to a family care model (Anttonen & Sipilä, 1996).

[FIGURE 1 – Insert near here]

The survey data suggests that mayors in liberal countries (England and Switzerland in Figure 1) are much less supportive of private service delivery than expected. Private service provision is actually only supported in the Czech Republic, Albania and Poland, all from the post-communist country group. As can be seen in the plot however, there are large variations in current attitudes within this residual group of post-communist welfare states. Mayors in Hungary and Lithuania seem to be just about as supportive of service provision by public authorities as their colleagues in Spain and Greece. This corroborates Fenger's (2007) claim that, regarding their welfare policies, post-communist states are distinct from western European states but cannot be seen as part of a unique group.

Housing

Turning to housing, our analysis of survey data regarding mayors' attitudes does not strongly support the housing component of our Hypothesis 1, since the averages for perceived need for housing intervention do not show large variations according to welfare state type (Figure 2). Contrary to our expectations, mayors in social-democratic countries (Norway, Sweden and Iceland) do not seem to be particularly sceptical towards the market when it comes to addressing housing needs. Indeed, mayors in Norway even seem to be significantly more inclined towards market solutions than mayors in many corporatist and even some Latin and some post-communist welfare states.

[FIGURE 2 – Insert near here]

In order to interpret these figures, we turn to recent research on the issue. Nordic countries' welfare states are categorised together as social-democratic. However, literature tells us that they are not only in constant negotiation and adjustment with regard to changing political, economic and social forces (Pedersen & Kuhnle, 2017), but also that housing policies and housing markets vary considerably across these countries (Andersen et al, 2016). Tammaru et al. (2016) show that the housing sector in Oslo (Norway) is much more market based compared to Stockholm (Sweden). In contrast with the other social-democratic states, Norway and Denmark have stronger social separation between renting and owning, and thus more dual systems. But also, like Sweden, Norway has a large cooperative sector, that contributes to mitigate the duality and may also account for the lower preoccupation of mayors towards providing housing (Andersen et al., 2016). Furthermore, recent literature introduces the notion of a “post-welfare phase” in Nordic countries, featuring decentralization of welfare provision to lower government echelons and a turn to governance that encompasses novel relations and negotiations with private welfare providers (Baeten, Berg & Hansen, 2015). This “neoliberal re-engineering of the welfare state” (Thörn & Thörn, 2017: 293) includes changes in the housing pillar resulting in increased urban segregation. For instance, Baeten and Listerborn (2015) write about a fundamental shift from seeing affordable housing as a “solution” to seeing it as a “problem” and the consequent eviction of housing as a cornerstone in the construction of the Swedish welfare state. This relatively new situation can contribute to explaining Nordic mayors' positions in our survey.

We must highlight from Figure 2 the interventionist predispositions in corporatist France and Italy. There is a connection between corporatist regimes and unitary rental markets where state subsidized rental housing competes with private rental housing possibly bringing rent values down (Matznetter & Mundt, 2012), which may be perceived as a type of intervention in the housing market. However, a corporatist tradition is not necessarily linked to a more interventionist stance from the mayors, as can be seen with the moderate values in Germany and Belgium. Like the social-democratic countries, several corporatist states also built large social housing stocks in the second half of the 20th century, which may explain why mayors do not feel pressed to intervene in this area.

In both liberal and Latin welfare countries, where the state fosters private homeownership and free market housing provision, literature suggests that state intervention is limited to provision for a residual population unable to participate in markets (Arbaci, 2007). However, data from the survey shows that this does not correspond to similar levels of perceived need for intervention from mayors in the two regimes: the Swiss and English mayors have a less interventionist stance than most southern European countries.

Data suggest, however, that the most market-sceptical and interventionist views among mayors can be found in Spain. Literature shows that in Latin welfare states, the pattern of housing tenure reflects policies that have supported homeownership over public housing, maintaining a dual rental market. It also reflects complex inter-relationships between the roles of state and family when it comes to access to housing (Allen et al., 2004). In this context, the interventionist stance by the Spanish mayors may indicate particular pressures and ambitions in a country that has been shaken hard by the global financial crisis of 2008. The housing problem became critical at the national level in Spain, but the housing issue also became very present in the public and local political spheres, with the emergence of strong “right to housing” social movements, like the Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH) movement (Weerdt & Garcia, 2016), and the success of local political actors coming from the ranks of these movements like, for instance, the mayor of Barcelona. The question remains to what extent Spanish local governments can actually become more interventionist in public housing provision.

Concerning post-communist welfare states, data in Figure 2 show a lack of perceived need for housing intervention from mayors. Stephens et al. (2015) highlight that privatisation, which sometimes even occurred as ‘give-away privatisation’, and restitution, promoted private property ownership in housing after the disintegration of the East European Housing Model. This creation of super-homeownership societies, with the particularity of many owners being unable to maintain their houses in good condition, implied a decrease in the state’s responsibilities, powers and resources and could contribute to explain the less interventionist stance from mayors (Mandič, 2010).

Project-based planning

When considering mayoral preference for project-based planning, the data presented in Figure 3 do not fully support our expected Hypothesis 2 either. We predicted mayors in countries with ‘land-use’ and ‘regional economic’ planning systems would prioritize planning through large-scale integrated projects. This is certainly the case in France and Hungary in the ‘regional economic’ system, as well as in the ‘comprehensive integrated’ regime with consistently lower support for the project-based approach, but there were a number of anomalies, including in England, where support for project-based planning was expected to be higher. There are also two cases in the ‘urbanism’ tradition, Albania and Greece where surprisingly, mayors were more likely to support project-based planning as a successful strategy, rather than a guideline-based approach.

As Reimer et al. (2013) emphasize, however, countries do not necessarily fit neatly into one category, and can display elements of hybridity in the characteristics of their planning systems, reflecting local ‘planning cultures’, with evolution over time in their objectives, and planning modes and tools. Indeed, in the case of Germany, for example, the country was separated before unification into a Western ‘comprehensive integrated’ and an Eastern ‘regional economic’ approach. This could account for the deviation that is shown in Figure 3, where Germany displays stronger support for project-based planning, compared to other countries in that regime. The attested hybridization of the German planning system towards the ‘regional economic’ group (Farinós Dasí et al, 2006) is also evidenced by the long-standing area-based integrated programme, ‘Soziale Stadt’ (Social City) that was introduced in the late 1990s (BMVBS, 2008).

[FIGURE 3 – Insert near here]

In respect of our Hypothesis 3, it would appear from Figure 3 that European approaches to urban policy have had an influence on mayoral preferences for project-based planning, where the dominant planning system would not suggest this to be the case. For example, the dominance of the large-scale projects as a preferred planning instrument in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Albania and Greece seems to point to the role of Europeanization of urban planning in some countries entitled to EU Cohesion Funds and Pre-Accession Funds. Portugal however, does not fit this trend, perhaps due to the impact of the financial crisis, as elaborated below. Despite the narrower planning tradition of urbanism in Albania and Greece,

data from mayors in these countries suggest that project-based planning is given priority within their cities' urban development strategies, reflecting the local planning culture.

In the case of Albania, this is confirmed by literature which illustrates the importance of integrated projects to the evolution of Albania's spatial planning system, in part due to Europeanization following signature of pre-accession agreements with the EU (Farinós Dasí et al, 2006). The EU puts particular emphasis on an integrated approach to sustainable urban development and in these countries (Hungary, Czech Republic, Albania and Greece), processes of download Europeanization have played a role in disseminating the importance of taking an integrated approach in urban projects (Carpenter, 2013). In the 1990s, France, England and the Netherlands were particularly influential in shaping the EU's approach to urban policy, although the low scores in Figure 3 for England illustrate recent policy developments (the survey was carried out in 2014-2016), as there is currently very little public funding available for large-scale urban projects, and thus English mayors are unlikely to cite these as a priority, given the current policy climate.

Variations within countries

We now turn to an assessment of individual mayors and the variations in their approaches to public service delivery, housing, and large-scale projects *within* countries, exploring Hypothesis 4 (Table 3). We thus set aside the differences *between* countries discussed above by inserting fixed country coefficients into the following set of regression analyses.

[Table 3 – insert near here]

When looking at single variables (Table 3), as expected from our Hypothesis 4, interventionist views of mayors towards both public service delivery and housing clearly decrease, the further a mayor positions him or herself towards the right of the political spectrum (models 1 and 2). However, interestingly, and in contrast to our Hypothesis 4, attitudes towards interventionism in both service delivery and housing are not affected by mayoral perceptions of municipal finances, nor whether the city is located within the

core or periphery of an urban agglomeration. The interaction term (left-right self-positioning and (relative) poor financial situation) is not significant in any of the three models.

With regard to a mayoral preference for adopting integrated large-scale urban projects, as opposed to prioritizing a strategy based on planning guidelines (model 3), left-right self-positioning is not a relevant factor. Instead, individual orientation towards the EU and supranational organisations significantly affects whether large-scale projects are chosen as the most important urban development strategy. This finding gives further support to the role of Europeanization in urban planning, yet this time accounting for mayoral variations within countries, rather than general patterns as in the previous figures illustrating cross-national comparisons. Moreover, larger cities seem to give significantly more importance to large-scale projects, compared to smaller cities, although a contrary effect is found specifically for commuter municipalities.

Discussion and Conclusion

The initial assumption of this paper is that national welfare and planning structures define the understandings of local leaders concerning what the appropriate policies and instruments are in these policy domains. Thus, mayors may come up with ‘locally specific’ responses to ‘urban interventions’ in key welfare and planning arenas, crafted within the national framework and other sets of constraints and possibilities created, among other factors, by the specificity of the urban realities and the local governing arrangements. These ‘local cultures’ of planning and welfare, then, are local derivations of national regimes and systems and include the practices and preferences of mayors.

We analysed mayoral attitudes regarding ‘urban interventionism’ in public service delivery, housing initiatives, and developing integrated urban projects to assess the correspondence between national-level typologies of welfare regimes and spatial planning systems and ‘local cultures’. In testing our working Hypothesis 1, the most important result is that no clear-cut correspondence could be found between welfare regimes and preferences for public or private intervention in service delivery and housing. For example, in the social-democratic group of countries, which were expected to be more interventionist, we found great variation between countries regarding public intervention in housing but a clear

preference for a public form of service delivery. In England, with a liberal welfare state regime, there was a tendency towards public-private partnerships in public service delivery, and a midway position between public and market provision for housing. Additionally, the fact that Spain as a southern European welfare state emerged as the most market-sceptic country in the survey with regard to housing contradicts the general stance of the hypothesis and even suggests that the financial crisis and related austerity measures might have triggered bottom-up calls for stronger state involvement in the housing market. There are clearly national and local specificities, derived from historical processes or more current economic situations, that account for these unexpected outcomes.

The empirical data is mostly supportive of our working Hypothesis 2 regarding planning interventions, with countries such as France and Hungary in the ‘regional economic’ tradition showing strong support for a project-based strategy. However, there were also anomalies, such as Albania and Greece within the urbanism tradition, where mayors were also supportive of a project-based approach, even though this planning tradition has usually been associated with minimalist interventionist ambitions. Within the comprehensive integrated planning regime, the case of Germany stands out with its hybrid planning system that combines elements of the regional economic as well as comprehensive integrated approaches.

The impact of Europeanization in the emergence of ‘local cultures’ of welfare and planning was also of interest. In this regard, the data analysis supports our assumption that Europeanization is relevant in the definition of local planning policies. Our working Hypothesis 3 shows that European approaches to urban policy have had an influence on mayoral preferences for integrated projects in countries that were recipients of European funds and where the dominant planning system would not suggest this to be the case.

Our analysis of the variations within countries in mayoral attitudes towards policies related to urban planning (Hypothesis 4) also supports the significance of Europeanization: it shows that the mayor’s orientation towards the EU significantly affects whether integrated project-based planning is the most important urban development strategy. The attitudes towards public service delivery and housing supply are affected by political self-positioning - as predicted, interventionist views decrease the more a mayor

positions him or herself towards the right – but are not related to perceptions of municipal finances, nor to the location of the municipality in the core or the periphery of an agglomeration.

We conclude that mayors' preferences for 'urban intervention' in service delivery, housing provision or planning do not necessarily fit well with nationally-based categories of welfare regimes and planning systems that scholars have been using in recent decades. It seems that local specificities, including permeability to the influence of European institutions and policies, may have a significant impact in mayors' attitudes in these fields, possibly creating – mediated by the political positioning of the mayors – new local understandings and pressures for reforming national welfare and planning systems. These conclusions strengthen the argument that 'local cultures' are an important component of, and present a potential challenge to, the national planning and welfare regimes as captured in established typologies. National frameworks provide key contexts for local phenomena, while at the same time local phenomena can contribute to shifting overall institutional contexts underpinning national frameworks. 'Local cultures' therefore represent important elements to consider, when exploring the evolution of urban policies at the local level, and their relationship to the general national frameworks. While our study captured mayoral attitudes as an important indicator for local political support for particular forms of welfare and planning interventions, an expanded study on 'local cultures' would also take urban planners and local chief administrators into account, ideally also covering possible interactions with the views and actions of local politicians. Further research on possible signs of system change that challenge previous norms could then shed light on the nature and relevance of these 'local cultures' and their potential to shape contemporary urban spaces in the future.

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Annex 1

Relevant questions and transformation from the mayoral survey (POLLEADER II)

Concept	Question wording	Original scale and transformations
Attitudes towards public sector intervention in housing	“On the basis of your experience as a mayor, how much do you agree with the following statements?”	1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)
- Need for housing intervention	- The market is the best way to attend housing needs	Inverse scale for <i>disagreement</i> with statement: 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree)
Preferred form of service delivery	“Please indicate which form of service delivery is most preferable to the following tasks:”	1=private sector, 2=public private partnership, 3=public sector
- Public service delivery (index)	- Public transport - Maintenance of school buildings - Hospitals - Care homes for the elderly	Index: average value of four items with theoretical minimum of 1=all private sector and maximum of 3=all public sector
Importance of planning strategies	“To realise his/her ambitions to enhance or preserve the qualities of the local territory (through construction, new infrastructures, natural resources and environment preservation), a mayor may adopt different tactical orientations. Among the following options [A to K], which strategies are in your opinion, those most likely to succeed?” - Develop integrated programs for important urban projects [K]	3=most important, 2=second priority, 1=third priority, 0=not listed among most important three
- Importance of project-based planning	Other priorities to choose from: - establish good construction and planning guidelines [A] - anticipate and dominate the real estate market [B] - impose negotiated criteria in the development operations [C] - ensure the cooperation of creative architects [D] - involve local society in defining territorial priorities [E] - obtain technical support from upper levels of government or public consulting organizations [F] - anticipate the environmental and social impacts of projects [G] - co-operate with neighboring municipalities on agreed priorities [H] - have good contacts with big enterprises and investors [I] - have good information on best practices and innovations of other local governments [J]	0 (no priority) to 3 (first priority). For regression analyses we use a dummy indicating whether a mayor prioritized important urban projects [K] above construction and planning guidelines [A]

Left-right self-positioning	“There is often talk about a left-right dimension in politics. Where would you place yourself on a left-right dimension?”	0 (left) to 10 (right)
Mayoral perception of municipal financial situation	“How would describe the financial situation of your municipality?”	1 (very poor) to 5 (very good)
Dependency and cooperation with various actors	“If you consider this most important challenge [predefined in the preceding question]: to what extent would you say that your administration depends on the cooperation and support of the different actors below in addressing this problem [choice of 14 actors]. Dependent upon cooperation or support of ...”	1 (no dependency) to 5 (highly dependent)
- Dependency and cooperation with EU and supranational organisations	- The EU and other supranational organizations	1 (no dependency) to 5 (highly dependent)

Table 1: Welfare state regimes

Welfare state regimes	Characteristics	Examples
1. Social-democratic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• High level of government expenditure• High level of decommodification• High female participation in labour market• High level of well-being• High taxes• High income redistribution	Nordic countries
2. Corporatist	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Moderate level of government expenditures• Moderate level of decommodification• Provision of income maintenance• Low female participation on labour market• Principle of subsidiarity	Austria Germany France Italy
3. Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low level of government expenditures• Means-tested assistance• High level of inequality• Low level of spending on social protection	Anglo-Saxon countries
4. Latin	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Close to Corporatist model,• Fragmented system of welfare provision• Reliance on family and persistence of clientelism	Spain, Portugal, Greece
5. Post-communist	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Moderate level of government expenditures• Level of trust, level of social programmes and social situation lower than other European Countries	Post communist countries

Sources: Bamba (2007), Fenger (2007), Ferrera (1996)

Table 2: National Planning Systems in Europe

National planning systems	Characteristics	Examples
‘Regional economic planning’ tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central government as main actor for counteracting regional disparities and public sector investments• Broad meaning of term spatial planning: social and economic aims	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• France• Portugal
‘Comprehensive integrated’ approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spatial planning through systematic and formal hierarchy of plans• Cross-sectoral coordination with focus on spatial co-ordination rather than economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Germany• Austria
‘Land use management’ approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Control of land use by local authorities, central state regulation• Narrow objective of sustainable development and growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• England• Belgium
‘Urbanism’ tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rigid zoning codes and building regulations• Limited to architectural and urban design considerations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greece• Italy• Spain

Sources: Nadin and Stead (2008), ESPON (2006), CEC (1997)

Table 3: Regression models on single policy domains

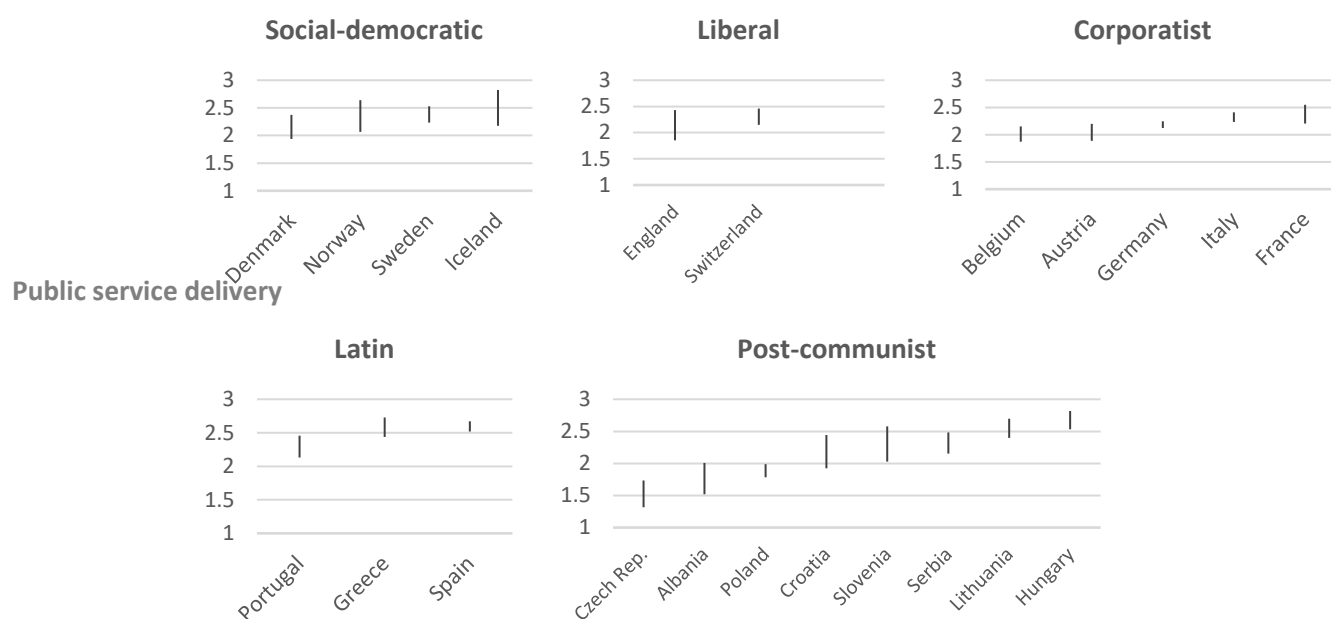
	(1) Public service delivery	(2) Need for housing intervention	(3) Project-based planning
Left-right self-positioning (0-10)	-0.0554^{***} (-10.33)	-0.133^{***} (-11.80)	-0.0231 (-0.74)
Municipal financial situation perceived as (rather) poor	0.0569 (1.02)	0.0641 (0.54)	-0.160 (-0.51)
Interaction: Left-right self- positioning x (rather) poor financial situation	-0.0111 (-1.04)	-0.00889 (-0.39)	0.0397 (0.67)
City type (reference: city beyond a larger functional urban area)			
- core city of larger functional urban area	-0.0627 (-1.80)	0.114 (1.53)	-0.277 (-1.38)
- commuting zone of larger functional urban area	-0.0148 (-0.66)	0.0370 (0.77)	-0.259[*] (-2.00)
Municipal population size (log.)	0.00338 (0.21)	-0.0124 (-0.36)	0.203[*] (2.25)
Dependency and cooperation with EU and supranational organisations			0.134^{**} (2.64)
Constant	2.524 ^{***} (15.65)	3.776 ^{***} (10.91)	
N	2013	1961	1937

t statistics in parentheses. OLS regressions for models 1 and 2, binomial logistic regression for model 3.

All models with country fixed effects (not reported).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

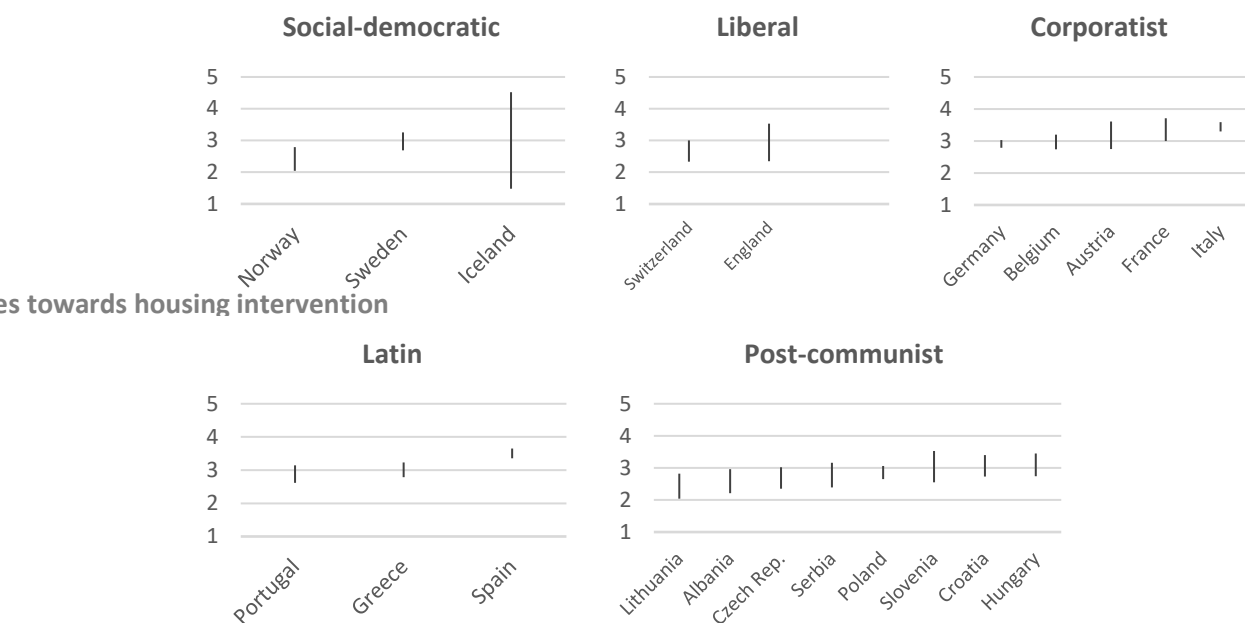
Figure 1: Support for public service delivery by country and welfare state regime



Notes: y-axis shows preferred form of public service delivery: 1=private sector; 2=public-private partnership; 3=public sector.

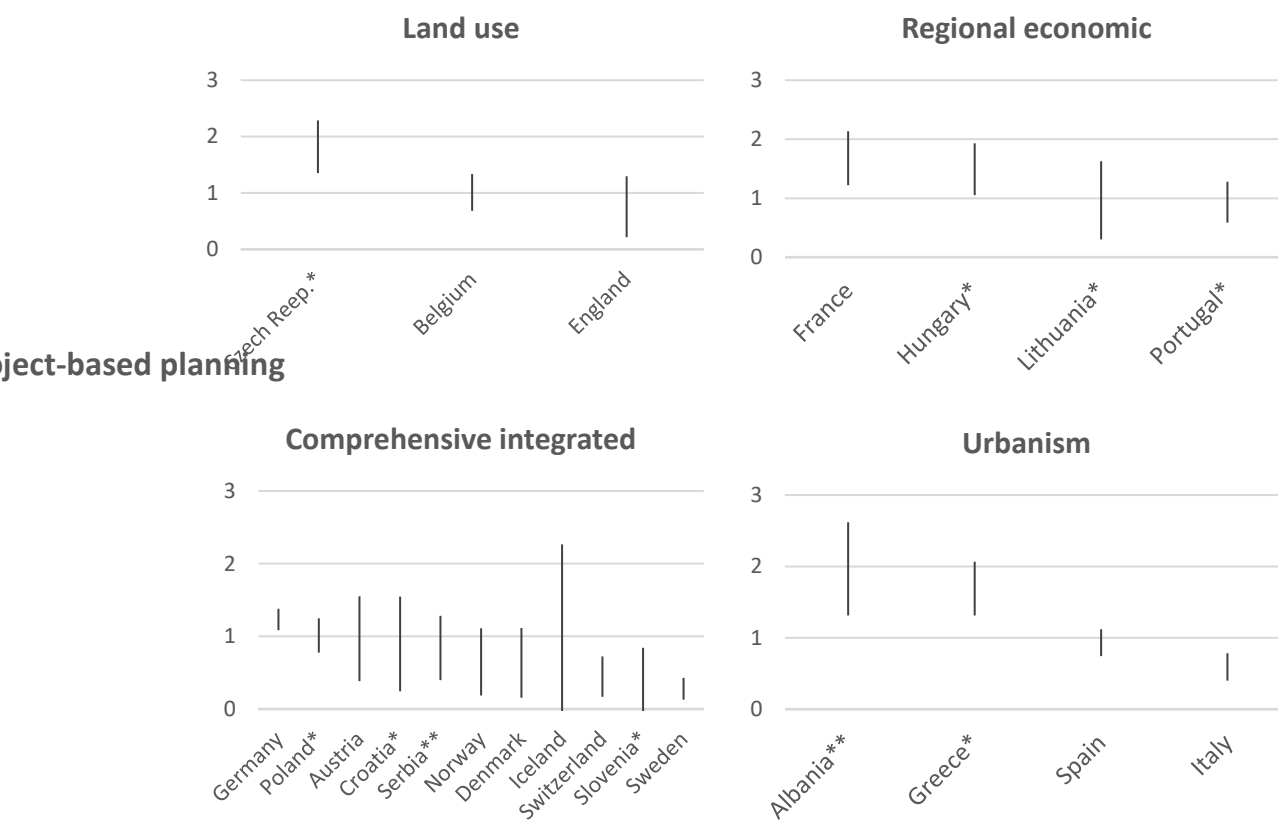
Notes for Figures 1, 2 and 3; Graphs depict national averages and 95% confidence intervals. Cyprus, Ireland, Latvia, Romania and Slovakia not reported due to low response rates with less than 20 observations. Iceland with four observations is included since the high response rate ensures a reasonable representation of the national population of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants.

Figure 2: Attitudes towards public sector housing intervention by country and welfare state regime



Notes: y-axis shows response to the statement “the market is the best way to attend housing needs”: Ranges from 1=strongly agree to 5=strongly disagree.

Figure 3: Importance of project-based planning by country and national planning systems



Notes: Project-based planning ranges from 0=no support to 3=strong support

*=EU cohesion country; **=Pre-Accession country