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Abstract

Research suggests that the majority of social housing in Europe emerged during the industrial revolution in the XIX century as a way of addressing the living conditions of factory workers. Later, the construction of large tower blocks far from urban centres on the post-war reconstruction saw social housing evolved along different trajectories based on the particular needs and welfare state model in each country. In general, the social rental housing stock (SRH) has been decreasing since the 1980s. According to CECODHAS data, the SRH in the UK and France (21% and 19% respectively in 2007) decreased by 3% and 2% respectively in 2012. Even though these countries are still in the group with a large SRH stock in EU. By contrast, Spain has only 2% of the housing stock as SRH. The aim of the present research is to provide a descriptive overview of the main differences in the housing policy system not only at a national scale, but also at a local level in Paris, London and Barcelona. It will focus on different governance structures, providers, housing provision mechanisms, among others. Understanding these differences might highlight strengths across these different approaches that could provide solutions to common housing problems.

Keywords: local housing policy, social housing, management system.

Introduction

In Europe, there is no a single view regarding the concept or action framework for addressing social housing. Each country's housing policy operates under different criteria and is applied it accordance to its own particular objectives and instruments. Not only are the target population different, but also government approaches and actions with respect to tenure, the size of homes, among others. These different approaches are related to the different focus and approach of the welfare state in each country, which impacts directly on each social housing system (Arbaci, 2007; Balchin, 1996; Kemeny, 1995).

Some researchers and international organizations have synthesized these various approaches and have classified European countries according to their different general features. They have characterized and compared these in order to achieve a comprehensive view of various approaches and practices, as well as their results in housing.

Among these international organizations, we can mention the World Bank, which since the nineties, and together with the United Nations (UN), has carried out the Housing Indicators Program, which compares data from 52 countries. The UN also collects data on population, housing, characteristics

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1 This is a first extract of a research in progress part of the project "Models of Municipal Housing Policy", conducted by the CPSV of the UPC for the Barcelona Council. It is also part of the project CSO2011-26682 funding by the "Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad" of Spain.
and construction published in its Annual Bulletin of Housing and Building Statistics. The European Mortgage Federation (EMF) shows homogeneous data on housing finance and mortgage market as well as the International Union of Housing Finance Institutions (IUHFI); we also find the European Charter for Housing adopted by the Intergroup on Urban Policy and Housing Parliament on April 26, 2006 that collects its own data, among others.

This paper include, besides statistical data, a description of organizational structures of the management system of housing policy not only at national level but also understanding municipal level. Moreover, different intervention strategies, legislation and different approaches regarding the provision of housing, are captured.

This paper is part of a broader ongoing research project on "Models of Municipal Housing Policy", conducted by the Centre for Land Policy and Valuations of the UPC for the Barcelona Council started in February 2015. Six cities has been studied, both in Europe and in the American continent. The case study were based on an exhaustive literature review and the use of statistical sources, as well as the interview of various specialists on the field of housing.

### Social Housing in Europe

The origin of modern social housing in Europe dates back to the industrial revolution. The population migration from rural and urban areas caused by industrialization created a sever housing need for the newly arrived factory workers. Entrepreneurs saw the need and obligation to address the problems of health and accommodation of their employees, so initially "social housing" refers to housing for workers, on the initiative of private companies (Czischke and Pittini, 2007).

Since the nineteenth century, social housing in Europe has become a basic element for ensuring economic, social and urban development. The government became the main regulator responsible for this sector. Subsequently, the need for reconstruction of cities because of the effects of the world wars brought the stage of massive construction of large estates. Creating a concentration pattern of indifferent housing as an emergency model focused on solving an immediate problem: the need for shelter of the in-need population, but causing other long-term social problems.

In the 80's and 90’s other major change occurred with respect to social housing in Europe. The economic crisis of the early 1980s forced states to redefine their housing policy and many European countries reoriented their social housing policy to a restrictive sense, with a significant cut of the public budget. This period is known as the time of the privatization of social housing in the UK (the Thatcher era) and the abolition of the law on non-profit housing in Germany (Czischke and Pittini, 2007).

Currently social housing policy in Europe that had focused solely on the working class, has shifted as more efforts are being made to diversify supply as well as include formerly segregated groups (women, immigrants, young people, etc.). This reflect a wider vision with respect to the diversity of family composition in today society. Environmental sustainability through energy efficiency has also taken an important role. The framework of housing policies no longer only depends on the central governments. Every city, through their councils and other local bodies, has come to take a leading role in the study, implementation and monitoring of their housing plans, allowing greater local contextualisation while still operating within regional and national regulations.

However, decentralization has happened at different levels throughout the EU States. Belgium is the only EU country where decentralization is fully implemented, that is, there is autonomy in each region (Brussels, Wallonia and Flanders). On the other hand, in Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy, the

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2 Indifferent among them and indifferent with their urban environment.
central authorities shares competencies with the regional authorities. In all other countries, housing policy is, in general, the responsibility of central government. (Czischke and Pittini, 2007).

Social Housing Concept

For the purpose of this research, "social housing" will be used to refer to housing with prices below those in the private housing sector. In this case, it does not refer to a particular type of tenancy or provider entity because this is specific for each country.

In this paper, we will also refer to "social housing" as: "HLM," in the context of France; "affordable housing," in the context of UK; and "protected housing," or "VPO" in the case of Spain.

Each context includes different types of housing within its own model, but all include in it housing for middle class people or "intermediate housing".

Social Housing in France

Social Housing in France is called Housing of Moderate Rent (Habitation à Loyer Modéré, HLM).

Inside the HLM model, there are four types of housing. Each type is related to the type of public financing granted. Also, the classification of housing, at the user level, is related to the cost of the monthly rent and the maximum income level to be able to access to it.

- **PLAI Housing**: homes financed with a loan "rent to help Integration" (prêt locatif aidé d'intégration)
- **PLUS Housing**: homes financed with a loan of "social use rent" (prêt locatif à usage social)
- **PLS Housing**: homes financed with a loan of "social rent" (prêt locatif social)
- **PLI Housing**: homes financed with a loan of "intermediate rent" (prêt locatif intermédiaire)

Note that the PLAI, PLUS and PLS housing are housing types considered "social housing" within the framework of the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Law (SRU), while the PLI dwellings are considered "intermediate housing".

This different tenures/types of housing can be found inside the same building mix it with housing for sell.

Social Housing in UK

The National Planning and Policy Framework (NPPF) includes, under the concept of "affordable housing" the following classifications: "social rented", "affordable rented", and "intermediate housing".

The **NPPF defines** these three different models of affordable housing in the following manner:

- **Social rented**: housing owned by local authorities or private registered providers for which guideline target rents are determined through the national rent regime. It may also be owned by other persons and provided under equivalent rental arrangements to the above, as agreed with the local authority or with the Homes and Communities Agency.
• **Affordable rented**: housing *let by local authorities or private registered providers* of social housing to households who are eligible for social rental housing. Affordable Rent is subject to rent controls that require a rent of no more than 80% of the local market rent (including service charges, where applicable).

• **Intermediate housing**: homes *for sale or rent* provided at a cost above social rent, but below market levels. These can include shared equity (*shared ownership* and equity loans), other low cost homes for sale and intermediate rent, but not affordable rented housing.

Homes that do not meet the above definition of affordable housing such as “low cost market” housing may not be considered as affordable housing for planning purposes.

This different tenures/types of housing can be found inside the same building mix it with housing for sell.

**Social Housing in Spain**

In Spain the term used for social housing is "Protected Housing" (Vivienda Protegida) or "Official Protected Housing" (Vivienda de Protección Oficial) the acronym will be VPO. **Catalonia’s legal frameworks**³ define this type of housing as:

Housing that can be used *for rental purposes or private ownership, or rental with option to buy*. They can be built by the local government authorities or by private contractors or a not for profit organization.⁴ The sale price of these housing units or the rent *is regulated by the State* and should be lower than those in the private rented or housing market. The status of "protected housing" is maintained for a minimum period of 30 years.

It comes in three different types: "Special regime“ for people with lower incomes; "General regime", for people with average incomes; "Concerted regime", for wealthier families *within the target population*

There currently exists a further official protected housing tenancy system called "sale with surface area rights", it is a lease holding system very similar than the use in UK that was introduced in Barcelona in 2007⁵. This system allows for the sale of the space of the housing unit but the ownership of the land remains in public hands. This allows the local authorities to sell the housing unit at a much reduced cost.

This different classification can be found inside the same building, however in this case, usually the building is only for VPO and it is not mix it with other types of housing.

**General context**

Each country has its own political, territorial and social peculiarities. The three countries are part of the European Union. France was the first to join⁶ in 1958, then UK in 1973 and Spain in 1986. In relation to the system of government, both Spain and the UK are based on a political system of

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³ Decreto 13/2010, de 2 de febrero, del Plan para el derecho a la vivienda de 2009-2012.
⁴ Real Decreto-Ley 31/1978. sobre política de vivienda de protección oficial.
⁵ PMHB (2009b)
⁶ http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_es.htm
parliamentary monarchy, while France is governed by a semi-presidential republic. As shown in Table 1, each country has a different welfare state. Note that even when compared to the Human Development Index, UK is in the best position, but when the Gini index is observed, it is also the most unequal country.

Table 1. General context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>EU</th>
<th>Schengen space</th>
<th>Political System</th>
<th>Welfare State Model</th>
<th>Ranking - Human development Index (HDI)*</th>
<th>Gini Index*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPAIN</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>parliamentary monarchy</td>
<td>Mediterr.</td>
<td>27º</td>
<td>35,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCE</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>semi-presidential republic</td>
<td>Corporatist</td>
<td>20º</td>
<td>31,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>parliamentary monarchy</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>14º</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 2011

As shown in Table 1, each country has a different welfare state. Note that even when compared to the Human Development Index, UK is in the best position, but when the Gini index is observed, it is also the most unequal country.

Table 2. Socio-demographic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Area (Km²)</th>
<th>Total population (nº)*</th>
<th>Population density (Hab/km²)</th>
<th>Population unemployed (%)</th>
<th>Population at risk of poverty (%)</th>
<th>Foreign population (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPAIN</td>
<td>504.645</td>
<td>46.600.949</td>
<td>92,34</td>
<td>23.0%*</td>
<td>20,4%</td>
<td>10,1%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCE</td>
<td>632.734,9</td>
<td>64.933.400</td>
<td>102,6</td>
<td>12,8%</td>
<td>14,3%</td>
<td>8,60%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>241.930</td>
<td>64.182.180</td>
<td>255,6</td>
<td>6,6%**</td>
<td>22%**</td>
<td>12,17%*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration based on: INSEE France, INE Spain, ONS UK.

Each country has its own geography administrative structure and demographic specificities. This has proved a challenge to the investigation with respect to the comparison of statistical data locally. According to EUROSTAT an administrative structure can be classified by three levels of NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics and the LAU (local administrative units) related to municipalities. This classification is a hierarchical classification of administrative areas used across the European Union (EU) for statistical purposes. Every administrative structure is more complex than we will express in this document, but we will use the NUTS classification to have a general idea of the administrative structure in each case.

Table 3. Administrative structure by NUTS and LAU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUT 1</th>
<th>UK - London</th>
<th>France - Paris</th>
<th>Spain - Barcelona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regions (London)</td>
<td>Regions (Île de France)</td>
<td>Autonomous Communities Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUT 2</td>
<td>County (Greater London)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Autonomous Community (Catalonia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUT 3</td>
<td>Inner London (west, east) and Outer London (E, NE, S, W, NW)</td>
<td>Departments (Paris)</td>
<td>Provincias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAU</td>
<td>Boroughs (Southwark)</td>
<td>Municipality (Paris)</td>
<td>Municipality (Barcelona)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration. Data: EUROSTAT

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7 Sistema de gobierno en el que existe un presidente de la república, elegido por sufragio directo, y un primer ministro, elegido por poder legislativo, ambos representan el poder ejecutivo y poseen igual autoridad dentro de las decisiones de gobierno.
8 http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/overview
In the case of UK, even though Greater London is statistically associated with the NUTS 2 in France and Spain, it is important to highlight that this area is commonly known as "London." Moreover, the Greater London Authority (GLA), through the Mayor of London, is responsible for defining the strategy of local government. For that reason an important part of this research focuses on understanding the GLA. In the case of "Boroughs", the Borough of Southwark, which has the largest council housing stock of any borough in London, will be used as example.

**Socio-residential structure**

Spain is one of the countries with the highest percentage of property in private ownership (over 75% of the national housing stock). The UK and France have lower levels of private ownership and find themselves in the bracket of countries with 51% to 75% of housing stock in private hands, but also the UK has more rented social housing than rented private housing, while France has more rented private housing than social rental (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High prevalence of private home ownership (more than 75%)</th>
<th>Mainly private property (51% al 75%) and Private rental higher than rented social housing</th>
<th>Mainly private property (51% al 75%) and Rented social housing higher than private rented housing</th>
<th>High prevalence of rented housing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain</td>
<td>Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg</td>
<td>Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, Netherlands, <strong>United Kingdom</strong></td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "The development of Social Housing", CECODHAS-USH-Dexia, 2008

It is important to explain that while in France and the UK social housing is focused on the rent, in Spain it is focused on ownership with cost below the market and this is reflected in the large percentage difference of social rented stock in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. Housing stock by tenure</th>
<th>Total housing stock</th>
<th>Housing for e/1000 inhabitant</th>
<th>Home ownership stock (%)</th>
<th>Housing for rent stock on private market (%)</th>
<th>Housing stock for social rent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spain</strong></td>
<td>25.129.000</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td>33.672.308</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>57,7%</td>
<td>25,2%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UK</strong></td>
<td>23.400.000</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>66,40%</td>
<td>15,60%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration based on INSEE France, INE Spain, ONS UK. Pittini & Laino, 2011.

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9 GLA, 2014.
Currently, Spain is trying to give more importance to the rental option for social housing and this has led to an increase of 1% from 2007 to 2011 according to the CECODHAS, but this continues being a small option. However, in other countries the social rental stock has been decreasing since the 1980’s as a result of different policies to sell social stock, as the "right to buy" in UK (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2008). These policies have lead to a decrease of 2% in the social rental stock of France and 3% in the social rental stock in UK from 2007 to 2011 according to CECODHAS data.

**Housing management structure**

From the late-19th century until early 1980s the central government was mainly responsible for social housing provision. It was in charge of the legislation, funding and construction of the majority of the social housing stock. After the economic crisis in the 1980’s the role of the State changed and **decentralization** started to be a common factor of the housing management system. This decentralization occurred in different ways in each country, but a common factor has been the important new role of local authorities leading the design and implementation of local regulations.

In **Spain**, the national government still retains responsibility for **funding different allowance programs** (that are manage it for the regional and local authorities). However, every **Autonomous Community** is independent and can design its own housing strategy. In the case of Catalonia, the **Barcelona local authority plays a very important role** in local social housing, not only in the allowances and public housing offices management but also in the social housing construction, land and stock management role.

It is important to know that in Barcelona exist a "**Housing Consortium of Barcelona**", a public entity located **between the Council and the Catalan autonomous government** in charge of the public housing offices management, management of part of the stock and allowances management. In this case, we set up the table 6, where it can be observed the different public organizations involved in the housing policy of **Barcelona** and the different governance level linked with. (For the case of London and Paris this chart is in process)

**Table 6. Public institutions involved on Barcelona housing policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organismo</th>
<th>Característica</th>
<th>De quién depende</th>
<th>Tipo de programas y acciones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agencia de l’Habitatge de Catalunya</td>
<td>Ente público Comunidad Autónoma</td>
<td>Generalitat</td>
<td>Calificación VPO, Gestión del parque de VPO, Assessoría de Vivienda y Segregación Urbana, Gestión de stock, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consorcii de l’Habitatge de Barcelona</td>
<td>Ente público municipal</td>
<td>Generalitat (60%): Ayuntamiento (40%)</td>
<td>Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patronat Municipal de l’Habitatge</td>
<td>Ente público municipal</td>
<td>Ayuntamiento</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCASOL (Institució Catalana del Suelo)</td>
<td>Ente público Comunidad Autónoma</td>
<td>Generalitat</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instituto Municipal del Paisaje Urbano</td>
<td>Ente público municipal</td>
<td>Ayuntamiento</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSHAUA (Gestora de Servicios de Viviendas, Urbanismo y Actividades)</td>
<td>Ente público municipal</td>
<td>Ayuntamiento</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAGUSRA (Barcelona Gestió Urbanística SA)</td>
<td>Ente público empresarial</td>
<td>AMB</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPOL (Instituto Metropolitano de Promoción de Suelo y Gestió Patrimonial)</td>
<td>Ente público empresarial</td>
<td>Ayuntamiento</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGESA (Societat Urbàtica Metropolitana de la Rehabilitació i Gestió, SA)</td>
<td>Ente público empresarial</td>
<td>Ayuntamiento</td>
<td>Publicaciones, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión del parque de VPO, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación, Publicaciones, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Gestión de Suelo, Gestión de Ayudas, Gestión de Red de Oficinas de Vivienda, Gestión de Suelo, Promoción de Viviendas, Promoción de Viviendas, Rehabilitación</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration
Barcelona Municipality has its own structure relating to land and housing policy organization and sometimes this creates conflicts with its inhabitant because some allowance programs announced at regional level do not apply to the people living in Barcelona city because, in this case, allowance programs are manage directly by the Consortium. With this example it can be notice that the structure of housing policy is not straight forward. However, in the case of Barcelona, we are including the role of the consortium in the "municipal level" of the table 7.

On the other hand, as set out in table 7, France has the most centralised system in this study. The central government is still the main source of funding for housing construction through public loans from the Deposit and Consignment Office (CDC - Caisse des Depots et Consignations) that usually represent more than the 75% of the funding for a new housing development.\(^\text{10}\) Also, the national government is primarily responsible of regulating and supervising social providers and funding the different programs of allowances (Bosch, 2010; Trilla, 2002). The local authorities do not have a direct role but have key responsibilities in the social sector, through the provision of land for social housing, the managing of the Public Housing Services Offices (OPH, part of the HLM system) and the management of the RIVP, a mixed economic society (SEM) (Trilla, 2002). Though this centralist system is directly related to the funding, the construction role has become the responsibility of independent agencies registered as social housing providers, as the HLM and SEM.

Table 7. General housing policy system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Regional</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barcelona</strong></td>
<td>- National legislation</td>
<td>(Autonomus government)</td>
<td>- Design local legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Regional budget</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Manage local legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Allowance funding</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Land management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Construction funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stock management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Allowance management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Allocation management (through mix commission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Urban renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Management of public services office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- National legislation</td>
<td>- Regional Legislation</td>
<td>- Involve in design of local legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Regional budget</td>
<td>- Design local legislation (through mix commission)</td>
<td>- Land management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Control of housing providers</td>
<td>- Rent control private market</td>
<td>- Construction funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Construction funding</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Allowance funding</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stock management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paris</strong></td>
<td>- National legislation</td>
<td>- Regional Legislation</td>
<td>- Allowance management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Regional budget</td>
<td>- Design local legislation</td>
<td>- Allocation management (through mix commission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Control of housing providers</td>
<td>(through mix commission)</td>
<td>- Urban renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Construction funding</td>
<td>- Rent control private market</td>
<td>- Management of public services office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Allowance funding</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>London</strong></td>
<td>- National legislation</td>
<td>- London Legislation (Greater</td>
<td>- Borough Legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Regional budget</td>
<td>London Authority- GLA)</td>
<td>- Land management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Allowance funding</td>
<td>- Land management</td>
<td>- Allocation management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Urban regeneration management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Indirectly housing provision (through negotiation with housing providers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Planning consent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration.

\(^{10}\) Pittini & Laino, 2011
In the case of the UK, the budget cuts of the neo-liberal reforms during the 1980s involved a removal of construction subsidies and other kinds of subsidies that made it difficult for the local authorities to keep the management and maintenance of their stock. A big sector of council housing was transferred to housing associations (Whitehead, 2007). Since 2002, the part that still remains as council property is managed primarily by the Arm's Length Management Organisations (ALMOs) a not-for-profit company, usually set up by the local authority that could receive extra national funding (Decent Homes funding) according to its performance. In that way, currently, the local authorities in London are primarily focusing on housing allocation, land management and management of estate regeneration. The housing provision of council housing could be achieved indirectly through the negotiations between the local authorities and the housing providers in every urban regeneration project, or through the planning permission for private developers applying the Section 106.

Social housing Provision

Providers

With the decentralization process, different actors get involved in social housing provision: local authorities, not-for-profit organizations, cooperatives and private entities.

In the UK and France local authorities have retreated from the production of new social housing(...) leaving the private sector as the mainly responsible for new developments (Pitini & Laino, 2011:25), in Spain, the local authorities play by far the greater role in providing and managing social housing.

In Barcelona, the principal organization in charge of the social housing construction is the Patronat Municipal de l’Habitatge de Barcelona (PMHB), a public institution part of the Barcelona Council. Also it can be found REGESA and INCASOL these are public institution involved in a provincial and regional level respectively. This last two institution are also in charge of land management in Barcelona.

Other non public organizations can get involve too. In this case, they can have access to public funding for housing construction and in exchange they have to offer the housing with the regulated price specify by the Autonomous Government according to the VPO regulations. In this case, housing co-operatives had to retreat from the construction of protected housing because the low price ceilings combined with the construction costs was not able to afford their construction (Czischke & Pittini, 2007). The not-for-profit organizations in Barcelona, currently are usually involved through the management of "emergency housing" assign for the most vulnerable group. To do this they have to sign agreements with the Barcelona Council, however in Spain it is not necessary to be register as a "social provider" as exist in France and UK.

Currently, the Barcelona Council is planning to add 1.000 dwellings to the city in the next four years, through a programme call "Plan 100x1000", this represent an increase of 10% of the social rental stock of the city.

By contrast, in the UK and France social housing is currently built by private not-for-profit organization or other registered social providers as Housing Associations in the UK or "HLM" organisations in France.

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11 http://www.almos.org.uk/almos
12 there is no zoning planning in UK, in that way each developer has to apply for a planning permission of the local planning authority in order to be able to get the approval of the council to build its project.
13 It is a document that the council can use to negotiate an agreement to ask a percentage of the new development for affordable homes or other equipment of interest for the community development. The developer can implement these or pay a contribution to the council in exchange. (http://www.southwark.gov.uk/section106)
14 report presented by the social housing board of the Housing Consortium of Barcelona related with the follow of the housing programs in January 2015.
In the case of the UK, most of Housing Associations are represented through the National Housing Federation (NHF)\textsuperscript{15}, while in France there is the Social Union for Housing (USH)\textsuperscript{16}, a professional organization that represent the HLM organizations including the National Federation of Housing Public Office (OPH), its office in Paris is "Paris-Habitat", there is also the USH at the regional level in Paris (l’Union sociale pour l’habitat d’Ile-de-France - AORIF)

Currently a third of housing stock is built and managed by two providers, the already mentioned Paris-Habitat (OPH), which is part of the HLM system that controls almost 50% of the housing stock, and the RIVP, Sociedad de Economía Mixta (SEM), created in 1923 by the Paris Municipal Council, that control 20% of the housing stock (see fig. 1).

![Figure 1. Social housing providers in Paris](source: APUR, 2013)

Since 1988, in the UK almost all new social rented housing has been provided by the housing associations (Whitehead, 2007). Over the last decade housing associations have become the main providers with 54% of the social housing stock, while local authorities still manage 46% (Pittini & Laino, 2011).

It the case of London, was notice that a big number of Housing Associations have assumed a role beyond than the provide and manage affordable and social rent housing. They also have included in their structure offices focus on community investment according to the size and funding of itself. Through this, they offer different social programmes to their tenants as employment training, young’s activities, among others. This organization also apply surveys to follow the resident satisfaction of their tenant that they also use to benchmarking among the sector. In addition, exist other not-for-profit organizations focus on support the innovation of the Housing Associations through research projects as is the case of HACT (Housing Associations’ Charitable Trust).\textsuperscript{17}

**Provision instruments**

Some local authorities have been trying to increase their social housing stock through different ways other than building their own stock. One way has been through urban renewal and regeneration programs working in partnership with housing association as can be seen in London. This planning

\textsuperscript{15} http://www.housing.org.uk/
\textsuperscript{16} http://www.union-habitat.org/
\textsuperscript{17} This was observed by the first author of this paper during a visiting research in London from March to June 2015.
instrument is used to create social mix, increase the supply of affordable housing and facilitate investment and improvement of existing infrastructure (UN-Habitat, 2011:65)

There are also cases of provision of social housing through planning obligation. In the case of France, the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Law (SRU) establishes that every municipality with more than 3,500 inhabitants (1,500 in Ille de France) has to have at least 20% of social housing stock. Each municipality can decide how to achieve this. In Paris, the urban plan requires that each new private development has to reserve 25% of the new construction area for social housing. Since 2002, those municipalities that did not meet the 20% minimum will be subject to a tax payment that will be used to support social housing construction. Currently, half of the municipalities prefer to pay the tax fearing a deterioration of their image with the arrival of low-income population.

Spain, also has this planning obligation, where every new private development has to set aside a percentage of land for affordable housing (Bosh, 2010) through a process called "reparcelación". In the case of the UK, Section 106 of the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act is a tool that can be used by the municipality through the Local Planning Authority to negotiate with private developers a minimum percentage of social housing and/or new equipment according to the community needs as part of the process of gaining planning permission, this can be change for a monetary contribution, the problem in this case is that this legislation is not binding, it depend on the negotiation that the local authority can achieve with private developers.

In Paris and Barcelona the local authority also use mediation with owners of private homes to capture private stock to be rent for people in need. To achieve this, the Council offers the owner guarantees of rent payment, maintenance of the dwelling and housing benefits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. Local Authorities housing provision instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New construction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buy &amp; Refurbishment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban renewal / urban regeneration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Planning obligation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mediation private owner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration

Funding

In Paris, the HLM and SEM local agencies have access to subsides from the central government, mainly through the Deposit and Consignment Office (CDC - Caisse des Depots et Consignations). This Caisse gives public loans through the "Livret A" which is a tax free saving account. At the end of 2012, the savings through the Livret A for sustainable development came to € 342.6 billion.

In general, funding for social housing projects in France comes from:

- 76.5% through loans from the CDC (via the Livret A)
- 10% of "equity" capital
- 8% subsidy of Local Authorities
- 3% State subsidies
- 2.5% subsidies or discounts on loans to employees (1% of housing tax).

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18 Pittini & Laino, 2011
19 http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/logement-social/index/
20 Pittini & Laino, 2011
22 http://www.economie.gouv.fr/cedef/generalisation-livret-a
23 Pittini & Laino, 2011.
Social housing providers have access to diverse types of funding from grants, loans and tax incentives for the construction of social stock (table 9). In the case of London, the funding for housing providers is currently almost non-existent, housing associations have to build according to their own budgets.

In Spain, the central government assign a budget to each Autonomous Community related with housing programs mainly focus on allowances to help the access to rental housing, refurbishment, and urban renewals24. In the case of Barcelona, the Autonomous Government of Catalonia (through the "Generalitat") transfer part of its budget to the Housing Consortium of Barcelona. This Consortium get 60% of its budget through the Generalitat and 40% from the Council. The PMHB as the main social housing provider it has its own budget and also could receive fundings from the Generalitat of Catalonia.

Table 9. Public funding for social housing construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Directly provided through local authority</th>
<th>Grants</th>
<th>Public loans (by public credit institutions)</th>
<th>interest rates subsidies</th>
<th>Public Guarantees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barcelona</strong></td>
<td>Local authority through public agency (PMHB)</td>
<td>Complementary funding from Regional Government</td>
<td>From Central Government</td>
<td>From Central Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paris</strong></td>
<td>Central Government or Local Authorities</td>
<td>From CDC through the &quot;Livret A&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>London</strong></td>
<td>From Central Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pittini & Laino, 2011

Table 10. Synthesis of social housing process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Land provision</th>
<th>Land development</th>
<th>Project design</th>
<th>Construction funds</th>
<th>Provide housing (build)</th>
<th>Stock Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barcelona</strong></td>
<td>Municipally and autonomous government (INCASOL)</td>
<td>Each developer</td>
<td>Each developer</td>
<td>Municipality through the Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge (PMHB), private privers and not-for-profit (minimum)</td>
<td>Each developer. Municipality through the Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge (PMHB) / Housing Consortium of Barcelona / NGO's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paris</strong></td>
<td>Municipality and central government. could be through a Lease (18to 99years) call &quot;Le bail emphytéotique&quot;</td>
<td>Each developer</td>
<td>Each developer. (General guidelines in the Code of Constructio n and Housing- CCH)</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
<td>HLM organizations and SEM / HLM organizations and SEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>London</strong></td>
<td>Greater London Authority, Boroughs through sale or Lease. Each housing association</td>
<td>Each developer</td>
<td>Each developer</td>
<td>Housing Associations mainly, Local Authorities (indirectly through negotiation with HA’s and private providers</td>
<td>Each developer / Housing Associations; ALMO’s (to manage council stock) or Tenant Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration.

24 Plan Estatal de fomento del alquiler de viviendas, la rehabilitación edificatoria y la regeneración y renovación urbanas, 2013-2016
Rent prices and control instruments:

Usually, social housing rents are defined at the local level and based on general guidelines from national or regional government. In the case of Spain as the names of its social housing programme suggests, "protect housing" they "protect" the price of those dwellings that generally are for sale, the price of the few housing in rental are also determined by the regional authorities and can be increased annually according to the retail price index (IPC).

In France, rents are also controlled by the central government in relation to the classification of housing (PLAI, PLUS, PLS or PLI), location, size, among others. The maximum rent is reviewed annually at regional and local level, with the participation of HLM representatives, representatives of local authorities, representatives of the prefecture and tenant’s representation. According to AORIF data, in 2014 the maximum rents in Paris are 5,94€/m² (PLAI), 6,66€/m² (PLUS) 13€/m² (PLS) and 17€/m² (PLI). People can also access HLM housing allowances.

Besides this, the HLM organizations can assess annually, through surveys, the income of those who have been assigned a low-rent housing (HLM). Based on this, since 2009, a solidarity rent supplement (SLS) can be granted if the family's economic situation has improved and earnings exceed 20%, the maximum income allowed to have access to an HLM.

In the case of London, social housing rents are calculated on the basis of local earnings and the dwelling price and can be increased according to a formula linked with the retail price index (Pittini & Laino, 2011: 32). In 2011, the weekly rent in a housing association stock was between £84 (116€) and £120 for a one bedroom flat and between £115 and £158 (218€) for 3 and 4 bedroom flats.

In relation to rent control in the private market, only France has a system that allows the central government to get involved with private market prices. Through the Rent Observatory of Paris (OLAP) the authorities study, follow and publish annually the private rent prices according to the area, location, age of the building, contract antiquity, among others. Everyone can access these publications or their web application to calculate the referential price of their rent (landlords, tenants or companies). In this way, they establish a standard reference for prices.

In the three cases of studies, housing allowance to access the private market are offer as social housing options.

Table 11. Rental system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social rent</th>
<th>Cost-based</th>
<th>Value-based</th>
<th>Fix rent ceiling</th>
<th>Housing allowances</th>
<th>Private rent price control</th>
<th>Housing allowances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration based on Pittini & Laino, 2011; OLAP;

Sale of Social Stock

Each country has its own point of view about the sale of its social housing stock, sometimes it is use it to help tenants achieve their aspiration about owning their own homes through offering a lower price.

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25 https://w30.bcn.cat/APPs/ofhreghabitatge/paginas/ShowPagina.do?idPagina=32
27 http://www.parishabitatoph.fr/
28 http://www.pratique.fr/location-logement-social.html
29 http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset
30 http://www.observatoire-des-loyers.fr/

ENHR2015. Arends, L. & García-Almirall, P.
than the private market and/or receive extra funds to build new social housing (Czischke & Pittini, 2007). This could be the case of **France**, that in 2006 with the National Commitment to Housing Law (Engagement National pour le Logement - ENL) were defined the terms for the **sale of HLM housing** to the tenants who live in them, thus the State was able to receive funds for the construction of new housing in the same municipality where the housing was sold\(^\text{31}\). The sale is a decision of the HLM provider but it is only able to do it 10 years after being built or purchased by a HLM supplier.\(^\text{32}\)

In **London**, the reality is very different. Through the introduction of the "Right to buy" law, a large amount of the council housing stock was privatized between the 1980’s and 1990’s (fig. 2).

**Fig 2. Right to buy sales of social housing in London 1981 - 2013**

Since 1981, almost 300.000 affordable housing units have been sold to tenants\(^\text{33}\), and it was not until 2010 that a law was introduced that allowed the suspension of the **right to buy** in areas where the social housing stock was too low.\(^\text{34}\)

In **Spain**, the VPO is usually for sale. The dwellings are kept as "protected housing" for a minimum of 30 years\(^\text{35}\), then they can be "des-categorized" and transformed into dwellings for the private market. Currently, there is a type of tenure called "rent with option to buy", where the rent is considered part of the final payment when the tenant decides to buy. The price and the time when the tenant can buy the dwelling has to be established in the initial contract.

**Allocation system**

In relation to the **target population** and the **eligibility of the allocation** of a social dwelling according to the classification presented by Czischke & Pittini (2007), both **Spain** and the **UK** share some similarities. Both are located in the category of the "targeted" and in the sub-category "residual" which focuses on housing provision for the most vulnerable. In the case of **France**, it is located in the category of "targeted" and in the two sub-categories "residual" and "generalist" this includes not only the most vulnerable group but also the working classes. The main difference is that in **London** there are no income ceilings that apply as they do in **Barcelona** and **Paris**, however, the allocations are predominantly **needs-based**, and tend to correlate strongly with low incomes, prioritising the homeless and others based on urgency of needs.

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\(^{32}\) Pittini & Laino, 2011.

\(^{33}\) GLA. Housing in London, 2014

\(^{34}\) Pittini & Laino, 2011

\(^{35}\) Decreto 13/2010, de 2 de febrero, del Plan para el derecho a la vivienda de 2009-2012.
In the case of Barcelona, council housing is not allocated to applicants that do not have a minimum income. In this case (people with no income) are redirected to apply to "emergency housing". This housing is mainly managed by foundations and not for profit organisations.

In all cases the allocation criteria is needs-based.

Those applying for VPO in Barcelona have to register at the national registry of applicants. This, can be done only through the District public housing offices that manages it for the Council (on-line or in person). After that, the application is assessed through a mixed commission management for the Housing Consortium of Barcelona\textsuperscript{36}. The allocation could be in any district of the city.

In Paris, housing allocation is also done through an application process to be assess need for an HLM, this could be done through different offices such as the: Housing Bank; Paris-Habitat (OPH - HLM system); District Offices or since April 2015 it can also be done on-line. Then the claimant is assigned a "unique number" part or the national registry. The assessment is done by a Housing Allocation Committee (CAL) with representatives from the social landlords, social services, local government, associations entitled to reserve, among others, that is manage it in the prefecture (central government representation at regional level).

In London, there is no "national registry", the application have to be done through a "bid" in each Borough, the applicant can "bid" for up to three options posted on the website of the council each week\textsuperscript{37}. On its website the Council posts the social stock available from both the council and the housing associations. The assessment prioritizes the allocation within the same borough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12. Allocation system.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration

Monitoring organization

In each city there are a range of organization that focus on monitoring the housing policy at local, regional and national level. In the case of London, each Borough presents its own statistic but usually these are based on information from national surveys, Census, the Office of National Statistics, Greater London Authority reports, among others. In this case the principal organization monitoring and controlling the housing policy in London are: Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) and Department for Communities and Local Government at national level and the Greater London Authority (GLA) itself.

\textsuperscript{36} Housing Institution that mediate between the council and the Autonomous Government (Generalitat)

\textsuperscript{37} http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200052/looking_for_a_home/754/homesearch/3
Barcelona, has the Local Housing Observatory, an organization that is part of the "Diputación de Barcelona", that acts at a provincial level but focuses on the housing in each municipality. Also, the Housing Consortium has a social housing committee that follow the progress of the housing local programme.

By contrast, Paris has a large number of organizations focusing on monitoring that reflects the complexity of its housing management system that was mentioned at the beginning of this document, some are:

- Departmental Agency for Housing Information (ADIL) - regional level
- Rent observatory of Paris (OLAP) - regional level
- Land Regional Observatory (ORF) - regional level
- Social Housing Observatory - regional level
- Housing Observatory of Paris - local level
- Observatory for preventing degradation of old buildings - local level
- Urban Planning Agency of Paris (APUR) - local level
- among others

Housing Planning

In the case of London, the housing planning instrument is called "London Housing Strategy", and it is designed for a 4 years period. The strategy sets out the general line that the Borough have to follow. However, this Strategy is designed by the Greater London Authority (GLA), and the real Local Housing Plans have to be developed for and by each Borough.

The design of this local housing strategies is not compulsory and depends on each Borough, who can, if they choose design either short term or/and long term strategies (Bosh,2010). The time span of each strategy is not coordinate with the period of the London Housing Strategy. This causes a number of problems between the local planning and the London planning.

For example: the current London Housing Strategy runs from 2011-2015 (in preparation the new strategy already drafted)

- Southwark: the Borough with the biggest social housing stock in London has developed its first long term Housing Strategy in January 2015 focus on 204338.
- Hackney: housing strategy 2010-201539
- Camden: housing strategy 2011-201640
- Islington: housing strategy 2014-201941
- Lambeth: housing strategy 2012-201642
- Lewisham housing strategy 2015-202043

In the case of Barcelona the housing plan is set up by the Barcelona Council. The current Plan runs from 2008 to 2016 (eight years) a period that can be considered long if there is no a short or medium term evaluation and do changes if is necessary.

Paris, on the other hand, has the Programme local de l’habitat 2011-2016 (PLH) running for a period of six years. For its elaboration representatives of the HLM and SEM organizations get involved in the process. The plan is evaluated internally mid way through, it is also monitored constantly by the

38 http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200141/housing_strategy
39 http://www.hackney.gov.uk/housing-strategy.htm#.VYnATfmvHIU
40 http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/navigation/housing/housing-policy-and-strategies/
41 http://www.islington.gov.uk/services/housing/newbuildimprovinghomes/policiesandstrategies/Pages/default.aspx
43 https://www.lewisham.gov.uk/news/Pages/Have-we-got-our-housing-strategy-right.aspx
Final comments

- It is important to have diverse tenure options to allow different income groups access to housing, and to facilitate the natural "housing cycle" related with the welfare improvement (beginning with a real affordable rent and having a better ranging of options that facilitate the moving from social to private rent or ownership). In this case, Barcelona, would have to improve their social rent stock options.

- In Barcelona, there is a 25% low-income households that face a number of challenges not only in relation to private housing, but also in accessing to protected housing. Access to affordable rented housing would be the best option for this group.\textsuperscript{44}

- In the case of Paris and London it can be notice the community participation through tenant organization in different parts of the housing management structure and planning. In the case of London, every housing strategy or urban programme (regeneration programmes, among others) are published and open to a public consultation. In Paris representative of tenants are involved in the design of the local housing strategy and in the commission in charge to assign social housing.

- To ensure the housing mobility and that the social stock is really being used for people that need it, it has to be a monitoring system that allows the social landlord to know when a household are able to move to alternatives and free up the housing unite for people in greater need. In order to achieve this monitoring of income needs to be accompanied with the provision of alternative housing, for example through the creation of stronger links with private providers to ensure more coordination in the transition from social housing to other types of housing.

- Authorities in London have to realize that the continued decrease in social housing stock through the right to buy and huge estate regeneration is reducing their ability to offer social housing and is leading to an increase in the housing cost. Besides, many of the new "owners" of this former council stock have not the necessary income to cover the maintenance costs of housing, causing new problems for the owner family, and the degradation of housing, which in the future will cause that the council must make a new investment to repair the buildings.

- Freedom to choose whether to perform a local housing plan or not and the period tin which it should be made, cause difficulties and contradictions between the different organizations involved in planning and hamper the scope of consistent results that promote access to affordable housing.

- Diversification and decentralization of housing providers and the public-private partnership could stimulate the increase of social housing stock an diversify the tenure offer.

- Monitoring institutions and the continuous tracking and evaluation of the Housing Plan at short term, within its validity time, is a necessary tool for ensuring the effectiveness of the Plan.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Eva Jou from the Barcelona Council, Kathleen Scanlon from LSE, Claire Colomb & Sonia Arbaci from UCL and Matt Leach from HACT for their time and valuable recommendations.

\textsuperscript{44} http://www.conselldeciutat.cat/site/files/docs/Present_Ll_Blanc_Pl_12-04-07.pdf
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