Policy Paradigm Dataset Documentation

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Contents:

DESIGN, SCOPE, AND PURPOSE OF DATASET **2**

DATA COLLECTION AND CODING PROCEDURES **3**

UNIT OF ANALYSIS **3**

VARIABLE SUMMARY **4**

REFERENCES **4**

CODEBOOK **6**

Design, Scope, and Purpose of Dataset

This dataset was created to assess the extent to which a reorientation of housing policy and the ideas and frames surrounding it occurred from 2009 to 2022. It includes all relevant national-level housing policy measures enacted (2009-2022) or proposed (2022 only[1]) in the Netherlands, Germany, and Spain, as well as housing plans and relevant housing measures in government agendas. It also includes information about problem definition and discursive frames adopted by elected officials and found in relevant legislative documents[2], press releases and articles in national news outlets.

Policies related to housing supply, regulations (e.g., property, rental, social housing, land use as it relates to affordable/social housing), subsidies, mortgages, and tax relief for homeowners, renters, or investors are included in the dataset. Policies related to housing renovation and urban planning are excluded. The dataset includes descriptive policy information, as well as conceptual variables used to assess potential change in housing policy paradigms. The latter set of variables were derived based on concepts from the institutional change, public policy, and political economy literatures. All variables are outlined in greater detail below and in the associated academic article. The timeframe was chosen to generally align with the onset of the Great Financial Crisis (GFC) and the ending of the COVID-19 public health emergency[3], two global crises that originated from (in the case of the GFC) or had major implications for (in the case of COVID-19) housing policy and the lived housing experience.

The dataset includes qualitative and quantitative information, enabling a mixed-methods approach. The three countries included in the dataset – the Netherlands, Germany, and Spain – were selected to represent different trajectories of housing financialization and residential capitalism, and because they each underwent a restructuring of their housing policies. The latter enables an assessment of whether that restructuring represents a critical turn in the principles guiding policymaking or whether the policies represent already established guiding ideas. The dataset is limited to national-level policies except for cases where regional or local-level policies informed the development of national-level policies.

The dataset is available as an Excel file and a Stata file. The Excel file primarily contains the string variables for easier reference. The Stata file contains all variables, including aggregate variables. The original dataset associated with the article will remain static for replication and reference. Interested users are encouraged to contact the authors to inquire about additional waves (years), countries, or levels of government policy.

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[1] Those measures under consideration during 2022 were checked in June 2023 and updated.

[2] Includes the legislation itself as well as policy dossiers encompassing parliamentary reports, governmental memoranda, or official summaries

[3] The World Health Organization downgraded COVID-19 from a public health emergency of international concern on May 5th, 2023. See https://www.who.int/news/item/05-05-2023-statement-on-the-fifteenth-meeting-of-the-international-health-regulations-(2005)-emergency-committee-regarding-the-coronavirus-disease-(covid-19)-pandemic.

Data Collection and Coding Procedures

Housing policies were identified by searching the national reform programs under the European Semester framework, governments' reform agendas, and the three largest news outlets in each country via the Factiva database. Press releases and public statements were retrieved from governmental websites and in relevant news outlets for each country via the Factiva database.

After finalizing the universe of relevant policies, the authors used a pre-developed coding structure determined jointly by the authors to code the data. The coding proceeded in three stages. First, the codes were applied by two coders (the authors) using a selection of policies from each country. All conflicting interpretations and codes were discussed, at which point the authors refined the definitions and codes for each variable to produce greater consistency. Second, the remaining policies were coded by one coder with regular discussions between the coders to re-assess representative and ambiguous cases. Finally, 30% of the policies were coded by the second coder and the Krippendorff's Alpha test was performed as an intercoder reliability (ICR) assessment (O'Connor and Joffe 2020: 8-9) using three coded variables integral to the study (policy instrument, mode of state-market relationship, and policy goal). The test revealed an acceptable level of reliability (0.95 with levels of 0.80 or higher viewed as acceptable).

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this dataset is what we call a "policy measure" and corresponds with one observation (row) in the dataset. By policy measure we mean a distinct element of a piece of legislation, reform proposal, emergency policy measure, government agenda, or housing plan that can be uniquely identified based on an assessment of the coherent combination of the policy domain, the policy instrument(s), the stated policy objectives, and the targeted beneficiaries. Policy measures can extend across multiple policy domains, have multiple (related) policy instruments, multiple types of beneficiaries, and multiple policy objectives. The dataset contains up to three domains, instruments, goals, beneficiaries, and objectives for each policy measure. Typically, a policy measure corresponds to a distinctive reform initiative and legislative proposal, apart from complex housing plans and agendas, which often contain more than one measure.

Example 1: A 2022 measure in Germany (*Wohngeld-Plus-Gesetz*) reformed the housing allowance system, expanding the eligibility criteria and increasing the subsidy amount. In this case, one policy measure was identified (one row in the dataset) with 2 policy domains (rental and homeownership), 2 sets of expected beneficiaries (low-income tenants and low-income homeowners), 1 policy instrument (housing allowance), and 1 policy objective (increasing housing allowance).

Example 2: The 2022 Presentation of the National Housing and Construction Agenda in the Netherlands (*Nationale Woon- en Bouwagenda*) is a multiannual housing plan that includes

elements for social housing, affordable housing, and the construction of housing not earmarked for either. In this case, two policy measures were identified (two rows in the dataset) – one based on social and affordable housing because the beneficiaries are low-to-mid income households and one based on the general objective of increasing housing supply without reference to an income-based target group. Each has different policy domains, instruments, objectives, and expected beneficiaries.

Variable Summary

Three types of variables exist in the dataset:

***Descriptive policy information*:** Derived from legislation, reform proposals (for 2022), temporary emergency measures, housing plans, and government agendas. Housing policies were identified by checking the national reform programs under the European Semester framework, the governments' reform agendas, and the three largest news outlets in each country through the Factiva database. They describe the policy measure (i.e., the unit of analysis), the policy type (e.g. enacted legislation, government agenda), country, year, policy domain (e.g., rental, homeownership, tax regulation), beneficiaries (e.g. low-income households, real estate firms), governance level (e.g., national level), and acting government/coalition at the time of enactment.

Paradigm dimensions: Derived from legislation, reform proposals (for 2022), temporary emergency measures, housing plans, government agendas, public statements, and press releases. Building on Daigneault (2014), these variables serve as the composite dimensions of policy paradigms, as described in more detail in the academic article (see, e.g. Figure 1). They describe the problem the policy measure is designed to address, the policy goals/objectives, the specific policy instruments, and the public frames used by policy actors.

Policy paradigms: Derived from the *descriptive policy information* and *policy paradigm dimension* variables above. Building on relevant analytical and theoretical concepts on policy paradigms and policy change as it relates to housing policy (e.g., Campbell, 2004; Flynn and Schwartz, 2017; Bohle and Seabrooke, 2020; Montalbano, 2021; see academic article for full description), these two variables serve as the primary variables of interest. *Mode of state-market relationship* captures the relative power sharing arrangement between the state and the market (e.g. State-led vs. market-making). *Normative-cognitive concept* captures the ideas and principles guiding the understandings of housing policy options and goals (e.g. housing as social right vs housing as an asset).

References

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Codebook

Variable names are in parentheses. Variables with names ending in "*_agg"* are only available in the Stata file.

ID (ID): Unique identifier

Country (country): Country in which policy is proposed/enacted

Policy measure (measure_d, measure): Description of policy measure

Policy name (policy): Title of legislation, government agenda, or housing plan

Policy type (type_str, type): Type of policy document

1 Enacted legislation
2 Reform proposal
3 Temporary emergency measure
4 Housing plan
5 Government agenda
6 Local housing policy

Date of proposal (date): Information about proposal and enactment date

Year of proposal/enactment (year): Year the measure was proposed

Policy domain (domain_str, domain1, domain2, domain3): Main policy area(s) targeted by the policy instrument(s).
Notes: Up to three domains are coded for each policy measure. Order does not represent importance.

1 Rental
2 Homeownership
3 Social housing
4 Affordable housing
5 Tax regulation
6 Construction

Policy instrument (instrument_str, instrument1, instrument2, instrument3): Specific policy tool(s) introduced or leveraged by the policy measure
Notes: Up to three instruments are coded for each policy measure. Order does not represent importance.

1 Social housing supply
2 Social housing regulation
3 Housing supply
4 Affordable housing supply (private market)
5 Homeownership allowance
6 Rental subsidy

7 Housing allowance (homeownership + rental allowances)
8 Rent control
9 Rent regulation
10 Mortgage tax relief
11 Mortgage regulation
12 Mortgage guarantee
13 Taxation on Real Estate investments
14 Property tax relief
15 Fiscal/credit incentives for homeownership
16 Property regulation
17 Land regulation
18 Temporary freeze on mortgage payments
19 Emergency rental regulation
20 Emergency assistance for housing costs
21 Temporary ban on evictions
22 Temporary ban on foreclosures
23 Emergency rental subsidies
24 Crisis-led stimulus for real estate
25 Housing governance

Aggregated policy instrument (instrument1_agg, instrument2_agg, instrument3_agg):
Aggregated specific policy tool(s) introduced or leveraged by the policy measure
Notes: Aggregated from instrument1, instrument2, instrument3. This variable is only available in the Stata data file.

1 Social housing benefits, supply or regulations
2 Housing supply (not earmarked for social or affordable)
3 Affordable housing benefits, supply or regulations
4 Housing allowances
5 Rent regulations
6 Mortgage or homeownership benefits or regulations
7 Real estate benefits, taxation, or regulations
8 Property or land benefits or regulations
9 Emergency benefits or regulations
10 Housing governance

Policy goal (goal_str, goal1, goal2, goal3, goal_d_str): Key expected goal(s) of the policy instrument
Notes: Up to three goals are coded for each policy measure. Order does not represent importance.

1 Expand social housing supply
2 Downsize social housing supply
3 Expand criteria on social housing
4 Narrow criteria on social housing

5 Expand affordable rental housing supply (private market)
6 Downsize affordable rental housing supply (private market)
7 Expand affordable homeownership
8 Downsize affordable homeownership
9 Expand housing supply (not earmarked for affordability)
10 Downsize housing supply (not earmarked for affordability)
11 Increase homeownership allowance
12 Reduce homeownership allowance
13 Increase rental subsidy
14 Reduce rental subsidy
15 Increase housing allowance (homeownership + rental allowance)
16 Reduce housing allowance (homeownership + rental allowance)
17 Broaden eligibility criteria for housing allowance
18 Narrow eligibility criteria for housing allowance
19 Strengthen rent control
20 Lighten rent control
21 Strengthen rental regulation
22 Lighten rental regulation
23 Increase mortgage tax relief
24 Reduce Mortgage tax relief
25 Increase mortgagors' protection
26 Reduce mortgagors' protection
27 Increase mortgage guarantees (including eligibility criteria)
28 Reduce mortgage guarantees (including eligibility criteria)
29 Increase taxation/regulatory costs on real estate investments
30 Reduce taxation/regulatory costs on real estate investments
31 Increase property tax relief
32 Reduce property tax relief
33 Increase fiscal incentives for homeownership
34 Reduce fiscal incentives for homeownership
35 Strengthen property regulation
36 Lighten property regulation
37 Strengthen land regulation
38 Lighten land regulation
39 Temporary protection of mortgagors during the crisis
40 Temporary support to homeowners/tenants' during the crisis
41 Temporary protection of tenants during the crisis
42 Temporary protection of vulnerable tenants against eviction during the crisis
43 Temporary protection of vulnerable mortgagors against foreclosure during the crisis
44 Temporary support for vulnerable tenants through dedicated subsidies during the crisis
45 Temporary support to mortgagors to repay their debt

46 Temporary supply-side support to real estate industry during crisis

Aggregated policy goal (goal1_agg, goal2_agg, goal3_agg): Aggregated key expected goal(s) of the policy instrument

Notes: Aggregated from goal1, goal2, goal3. This variable is only available in the Stata data file.

1 Expand: Social housing supply or criteria
2 Reduce: Social housing supply or criteria
3 Expand: Housing supply (not earmarked for social or affordable)
4 Reduce: Housing supply (not earmarked for social or affordable)
5 Expand: Affordable housing supply (rental or homeownership)
6 Reduce: Affordable housing supply (rental or homeownership)
7 Expand: Housing allowances or eligibility criteria
8 Reduce: Housing allowances or eligibility criteria
9 Expand: Rent control or regulations
10 Reduce: Rent control or regulations
11 Expand: Mortgage or homeownership benefits or protections
12 Reduce: Mortgage or homeownership benefits or protections
13 Expand: Real estate benefits or tax relief
14 Reduce: Real estate benefits or tax relief
15 Expand: Property or land benefits tax relief
16 Reduce: Property or land benefits or tax relief
17 Expand: Emergency benefits or regulations

Problem definition (problem): Description of the problems to be tackled as expressed in the legislation itself, policy dossiers, or press releases

Beneficiaries (ben_str, ben1, ben2, ben3): Target groups benefiting from the policy

Notes: Up to three domains are coded for each policy measure. Order does not represent importance. Code 4 “Landlords” include private landlords in specific sectors, e.g. subsidized rentals; Code 15 “Public or nonprofit sector” includes, e.g., housing associations, municipalities, public authorities, and public-private partnerships.

1 Tenants
2 Tenants with income-based criteria
3 Tenants with others eligibility criteria
4 Landlords
5 Homeowners
6 Homeowners with income-based criteria
7 Homeowners with other eligibility criteria
8 Buyers
9 Buyers with income-based criteria
10 Buyers with other eligibility criteria
11 Mortgage holders
12 Mortgage holders with income-based or other eligibility criteria

13 Construction industry
14 Finance and Real Estate investors
15 Public or nonprofit sector
16 Public budget

Aggregated beneficiaries (ben1_agg, ben2_agg, ben3_agg): Aggregated target groups benefiting from the policy
Notes: Aggregated from ben1, ben2, ben3. This variable is only available in the Stata data file

1 Tenants
2 Landlords
3 Homeowners
4 Buyers
5 Mortgage holders
6 Construction industry
7 Finance and Real Estate investors
8 Public or nonprofit sector
9 Public budget

Mode of state-market relationship (state_mkt_str, state_mkt1, state_mkt2): Leading mode of provision/regulation adopted by policymakers in terms of the interaction between the state and the market

1 State-led
2 Market-shaping
3 Market-making
4 Market-enhancing
5 State-retreat

Normative-cognitive concept (norm_cog_str, norm_cog): Leading principle guiding the understanding of the role of housing policy based on taken-for-granted cognitive frames or normative, value-driven beliefs

1 Housing as social right
2 Housing as asset
3 Housing as patrimony

Additional policy details (policy_d): Additional description of the policy measure

Validity (valid): Temporal validity of the policy

Governance level (governance): Level of authority charged with policy implementation/monitoring

Public framing (frames): Policymakers' justification and arguments in support of the policy

Government (government): Incumbent government's parties/coalition that initiated the policy

Sources (sources): Legislative, press and other documentary sources