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Introduction

Having a roof over one's head is one of basic human needs (Krzeczkowski 1939, Katlenberg-Kwiatkowska 1982, Nieciuński 1998, Zrałek 1998, Bryx 2001, Supińska 2005, Cesarski 2007, Szelałowska 2011, Borg 2012, Muzioł-Węclawowicz 2015). As has been indicated by successive Special Rapporteurs on adequate housing from the United Nations (e.g. Miloon Kothari in the years 2000–2008 and Raquel Rolnik since 2008), adequate housing conditions make it possible for individuals, families and social groups to function properly. In her report of 18 January 2017, Raquel Rolnik highlights the influence which the dehumanisation of housing has on a growing problem of social inequality and social exclusion (Rolnik 2017, pp. 9–12). The housing crisis which is noticeable in a number of European countries (e.g. Poland, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium), perceived primarily as a problem of income accessibility to housing for households with low or medium income, may be defined after one of British non-government organisations running in the area of housing (*Shelter: The housing and homelessness charity*):

The housing crisis isn't about houses – it's about people. It's the family struggling to meet next month's mortgage payment. The young family renting a rundown flat, wondering if they'll ever be able to afford a home of their own. The children living in temporary accommodation, forced to change schools every time they move¹.

This depiction refers to the problem with lack of *one's location in a particular part of the world* (Arendt 2000, p. 68), experienced by those who do not have a stable roof over their heads. As Hannah Arendt indicated:

¹ Shelter England, *What is the housing crisis*, Internet source: <http://england.shelter.org.uk/campaigns/_why_we_campaign/the_housing_crisis/what_is_the_housing_crisis> accessed on: 25.02.2017.

(...) mass society not only destroys the public realm but the private as well, deprives men not only of their place in the world but of their private home, where they once felt sheltered against the world and where, at any rate, even those excluded from the world could find a substitute in the warmth of the hearth and the limited reality of family life. (...) In order to understand the danger to human existence from the elimination of the private realm, for which the intimate is not a very reliable substitute, it may be best to consider those non-privative traits of privacy which are older than, and independent of, the discovery of intimacy. The difference between what we have in common and what we own privately is first that our private possessions, which we use and consume daily, are much more urgently needed than any part of the common world (...) The second outstanding non-privative characteristic of privacy is that the four walls of one's private property offer the only reliable hiding place from the common public world (...) (Arendt 2000, p. 65 and pp. 77–79).

The housing crisis is a proof that people's housing needs have not been sufficiently satisfied. This is also visible in statistics concerning the issue of homelessness and poor living conditions. It is estimated that currently approximately 330 million households worldwide (over one billion people) do not have a possibility to find a decent and financially accessible roof over their heads (Madden, Marcuse 2016).

An important social expectation is to support innovative actions aiming at satisfying housing needs, which shapes social bonds, as well as promoting the involvement of social actors (stakeholders) in the housing policy process. Such a situation poses a challenge for researchers and practitioners associated with the field of housing. There is not only lack of creditworthiness and budget funds for financing costly housing investments, but also no idea for developing housing policy in the 21st century. It is remarked that this inefficiency of the housing policy is associated, among other things, with limitations of the paradigm of market economic growth which is 'subject to neo-liberalism' (Cesarski 2016, p. 330). A chance to change this paradigm is sought in the activity of the public sector and in *socio-economic activity which stems from individuals and groups, and combines economic, social, natural and ecological aspects within public policy (...)* (Cesarski 2016, p. 331). It is emphasised that *particular people, their communities and the society settled on general living, constitute a focal point in pursuing sustainable residing space through sustainable development of the resided space* (Cesarski 2016, p. 333).

In connection with the above, the main issue of the research in this work is the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process. A survey of literature² leads the author to making an assumption for the entire work that

² An initial survey of literature included the results of the research on the concept of deliberative / discursive democracy (Bessette 1980, Żardecka-Nowak 2008, Abramowicz 2011) and

there occurs a conceptual gap in housing studies concerning knowledge about the role of social actors in the housing policy process, in particular examined with reference to the concept of deliberative democracy. Furthermore, there are no research instruments in housing studies which would make it possible to grasp the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process presented in such a manner.

The research problem in this work is formulating a research scheme which would enable the author to examine the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process and enrich the achievements of housing studies so far with the use of a constructivist approach.

The theoretical and methodological aim of this dissertation is to obtain a broader and deeper insight into the role of social actors in the housing policy process by expanding the author's 'D-Housing' scheme.

I assume the hypothesis that the proposed 'D-Housing' scheme may fill the conceptual and methodological gap, serving as a useful instrument – within constructivist approaches – to examine the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process.

This hypothesis is verified by means of searching for answers to detailed research questions which define a peculiar plan of considerations made in the work. The first question concerns the scope of and the viewpoint from which – within constructivist approaches – the role of social actors in the housing policy process is included in housing studies. While looking for the answer to this question, I outline the development, scope of the research and theoretical constructivist trends in housing studies, as well as describe the concept of social actors and its depiction in constructivist research in housing studies. Next, I move on to looking for an answer to the question of the extent to which the theoretical and methodological scheme proposed by me complements the above-mentioned, constructivist theoretical and methodological conceptions in terms of examining the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process. In this part of the dissertation I present the assumptions of my 'D-Housing' scheme. Finally, in the last part of the work I make an attempt at finding an answer to the question of how the proposed 'D-Housing' scheme (within the scope so

political involvement (Hajer, Wagenaar 2003, McLaverty 2011, Bevir 2011, Przywojska 2014, Walker, McQuarrie, Lee 2015). From the viewpoint of the influence of discursive and social practices on social legitimisation of housing policy, the author has referred to works devoted to the subject of political discourse (Edelman 1988, Wilson 2001, Marston 2004). A number of important points have also been found in the publications of such authors as: Jacobs and Manzi (1996), Flint (2015), Clapham (2012), Gurney (1999) and Atkinson (1999). The subject matter of these works revolves around discourse analyses of selected aspects of housing policy.

far) may be found useful for conducting empirical research and enriching the knowledge about the role of social actors in the housing policy process³. This is done by examining local housing policy in a garden city in Poland.

An initial outline of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme was presented in an article published in “Housing Studies” in 2016 (Zubrzycka-Czarnecka 2016). This article served as a contribution to deepening a critical perspective in housing policy research.

In this respect, the issues brought up in this work have an important political dimension. The conception of Deliberative Democracy of Housing Policy Process is discussed by the author both as a value and as a principle of a policy process, i.e. it refers directly to the category of democracy in political science, and in particular to the conception of deliberative democracy⁴. In this context, this work contributes to one of the most important debates in political science, namely the debate on the future of liberal democracy in a capitalist economic system. Similarly, the axis of analysis chosen in this work, i.e. the role of social actors in taking political decisions, is examined with reference to the category of a decision-making process in political science⁵. Due to the fact that I refer to the accomplishments of social policy in this dissertation, which is linked to political sciences in Polish academic studies, the considerations made in this work are interdisciplinary in their character (Supińska 1998), and touch upon scientific achievements from such fields as housing studies and public political science. Furthermore, I analyse some issues concerning housing policy, which – in Polish academic studies – is considered to be one of the detailed policies of social policy. It matches a classical depiction of social policy defined by Antoni Rajkiewicz as:

a sphere of actions taken by the state as well as other public bodies and social forces, which deals with shaping people’s living conditions as well as interpersonal relations, especially in one’s living and working environment (Rajkiewicz 1998, p. 27).

It is also worth mentioning the words of a housing researcher, Adam Andrzejewski, according to whom:

³ It is worth mentioning that two additional studies are being conducted at present with the use of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme discussed in this book. One of these studies concerns the involvement of seniors in the local housing policy process in Warsaw, while the other study focuses on the subject of the involvement of non-governmental organisations working for the homeless in the housing policy process in Warsaw and in Brussels.

⁴ This category is described more deeply in subsequent parts of the work.

⁵ This category is brought up more widely in subsequent parts of the work.

The circle of interest of broadly understood social policy encompasses the elements of housing policy responsible for shaping conditions and fulfilling housing needs. The level of these conditions, housing standard, has a vital impact on the level of living conditions of an individual and a family, as well as on the development of the society as a whole (Andrzejewski 1979, p. 257 [in:] Rajkiewicz 1979).

A number of connections between social policy and housing studies can be indicated. Researchers dealing with housing and those examining social policy have inspired each other so far. This relationship consisted primarily in diffusing conceptions and theories within the scope of comparative social policy and housing studies. What shall be highlighted is the fact that although social policy researchers (such as Gøsta Esping-Andersen) happen to omit housing, treating this field as a less important area of social policy from the viewpoint of ensuring social security by public authorities, the domains of social policy and housing studies are becoming more and more closer to each other. Yet, both disciplines remain – to a greater or lesser degree, depending on a country – independent. It is particularly noticeable at the level of international research institutions. Social policy researchers cooperate through such instruments as ESPAnet, and housing researchers have developed a research network – the European Network of Housing Researchers (ENHR)⁶, created in 1986.

Referring to social policy, it shall be noted that the subject of housing has been pushed aside in Western European countries since the 1960s. Housing was even treated as *the wobbly pillar under the welfare state* (a thesis by Ulf Torgersen, 1987). Housing aspects gradually developed in the context of urban studies. In the 1970s, housing studies developed as a research area in Great Britain. However, due to growing housing problems, housing began to appear in significant scientific studies within social policy⁷ since the 1990s. The relations between satisfying people's housing needs and diversification of housing policy instruments are based on a wider context of relations between the housing system and the welfare state system. To analyse these relations – within housing policy and social policy – researchers most frequently apply one of three approaches. Firstly, there is a study of the connections between housing and social policy in the context of Fordism – post-Fordism transformations, frequently within structuralist, neo-Marxist depictions (e.g. theories of regulation developed

⁶ Internet website: <http://www.enhr.net/>

⁷ On the other hand, in post-1989 Poland, works concerning housing were dominated by the macro perspective approaches, most frequently economic. It was only at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries that studies focusing on the meso and micro perspectives appeared.

in France since the 1960s) (Lawson 2012, p. 191) and neo-liberal economics (Whitehead 2012, pp. 113–126).

The second approach is depicting the housing system as a sphere of influence of a welfare state and its institutions. The authors of such analyses refer to institutional approaches (Gibb 2012, pp. 131–143), welfare state typologies as well as theoretical categories associated with social policy, such as well-being.

Interesting conceptualisation of the relations between housing and social policy is an indication that the contact point for both areas is a desire to provide social welfare to the largest possible number of people. It is emphasised that the core issue in housing, alike in social policy, is social welfare (Béchade 2013). On the one hand, dwellings serve a purpose of satisfying people's housing needs. Dwellings are for people. Yet on the other hand, they reflect the social division of resources, including political, financial and spatial powers. Bearing in mind that social welfare is defined as *a state of high satisfaction of people's needs (...), including mainly material needs* (Książopolski 2001, p. 35), the housing aspect of social prosperity shall be associated with a state of satisfaction of people's housing needs. It is noted that the concept of social welfare is useful for analysing social progress and the scope of realisation of the principle of social justice in housing (Clapham, Christian, Foye 2016).

Finally, the third approach is connected with treating housing as an economic, social and political process. Housing is analysed as a sphere of mutual interactions between the housing process and the political process. In such a depiction, the concept of Structures of Housing Provision (SHP) and an analytical framework for housing studies, enabling a focus on the content of housing policy of L. Lundqvist, are found applicable. The latter is an analytical scheme which was proposed in the 1990s by a Swedish researcher Lennart J. Lundqvist within comparative housing policy.

What shall be noted at this point is the fact that the references to the category of the political process cited in this work, a category which is deeply rooted in the public policy theory, match the interest of social policy in this category (cf. Spicker 2014, p. 22).

A practical aim of this work is to make fragmentary use of some aspects of the presented 'D-housing' scheme to analyse local housing policy in Poland. In this respect, this work contributes to the first stage of the research within a project entitled 'D-Housing. Democracy of housing policy', funded by the Polish National Science Centre (research project no. 2016/23/D/HS4/00527).

The work encompasses scientific achievements within constructivist depictions in housing studies, as well as the social policy and public policy theories from the late-20th and early-21st centuries. References to earlier publications

aim at outlining the context of the considerations made in this dissertation. The scientific 'space' under analysis is the domain of Western civilisation.

The author of the work refers to the triangulation of methods applied in social studies, including the methods used in political studies. A range of research methods have been used. The methodological sequence for the dissertation as a whole consists of three stages of research.

The aim of the first stage of the research was to prepare and conduct analyses concerning encompassing the issue of involvement of social actors in the housing policy process in housing studies, as well as in the social policy and public policy theories. This aim has been fulfilled by conducting a survey of subject literature with the use of such methods as analysis and source criticism⁸, as well as expert interviews⁹. The aim of the second stage of the research was to prepare and conduct a study which consisted in improving and developing the author's 'D-Housing' scheme. Just like before, a survey of subject literature was conducted at this stage, including the conclusions of previous research, with the use of the same methods as above, i.e. analysis and source criticism. In addition, basic assumptions and definitions were formulated at this stage. Finally, the aim of the third stage of the research was a fragmentary application of a part of the above-mentioned scheme in the research on housing policy in Poland on the example of local policy. The methods used in this part of the work were analysis and data synthesis¹⁰.

The author has made an analysis of secondary sources such as: housing-related literature, scientific texts referring to constructivism, literature devoted to the subject of critical social policy, works on constructivist depictions in public policy, literature connected with the concepts of deliberative democracy, participatory democracy and governance, scientific texts focusing on discourse analysis, works relating to the subject matter of social and political inequality with respect to housing, literature utilising innovative research approaches

⁸ This method is applied at the initial stage of the research. It aims at determining *what has already been examined, and what still needs to be recognised and substantiated* (Krajewski 2010, p. 23).

⁹ The interviews *consisted in a conversation initiated by the researcher, held in a planned and controlled manner in order to obtain particular information* (Krajewski 2010, pp. 26–27). The script for the interview is provided in the Appendix.

¹⁰ Following Jerzy Apanowicz: *an analysis (...) is an intellectual process consisting in dividing a certain entirety into its components and examining each of the components separately* (Apanowicz 2002, p. 24). A synthesis, on the other hand, is: *connecting separate factors, elements, parts, features, relations of a given issue, process, structure or system* (Apanowicz 2002, p. 25). The aim of a synthesis is *finding crucial qualities and interrelations in the new, connected entirety* (Apanowicz 2002, p. 25). To do this one needs the following: comparing, abstracting and generalising.

to analysing housing, useful in the context of an analytical dimension of the 'D-Housing' scheme. While doing the research, some data was obtained by conducting in-depth interviews (expert interviews) with researchers from the area of social studies¹¹.

The structure of the work is organised in the following manner – the work is divided into four parts, ten chapters and the introduction and conclusion. Part one focuses on presenting the constructivist approach in housing studies, and consists of four chapters. The aim of chapter one is to acquaint the reader with the concept of housing studies. I explain the concept in my own words, referring to British academic studies (where it was coined) and to Polish studies on housing. Furthermore, I present the trends and research perspectives developed within housing studies. Subsequently, in chapter two, I present the assumptions of two most important types of constructivism ('strong', which may be defined as 'classical', and 'weak', which may also be called 'critical') and their selected theoretical inspirations referred to by housing researchers. Next, in chapter three, I present the assumptions shared by the researchers who draw on constructivist depictions in housing studies. Additionally, I explain the perspectives developed within this research, such as: the perspective of social interactions, holistic perception of housing, perspective of social construction of social problems (or, in another approach – the perspective of social problems and political narration). Finally, in chapter four, I make a review of critical arguments raised against constructivist research in housing studies.

In the second part of the book I conceptualise the concept of 'social actors' and make a review of constructivist housing research in terms of encompassing the subject matter of the social actors' involvement in the housing policy process. This part consists of two chapters. In chapter one, I depict how the concept of 'social actors' is perceived in sociology (*Homo Sociologicus*) and in economics (*Homo Economicus*). Furthermore, I draw on the use of this concept in its moderate 'contextual' depiction, expanded in the works of psychologists and linguists. I show how the concept of 'social actors' is depicted in the trends and research perspectives of housing studies, mentioned in previous parts of the work. The following chapter – chapter two – is devoted to a survey of housing research within the perspective of social construction of social problems (or, in another approach – within the perspective of social problems and political narration). This research encompasses the following: shaping a housing policy

¹¹ Two interviews were conducted in July 2017 in Brussels (with a Belgian researcher of urban studies and urban policy, prof. Michael Ryckewaert) and in Warsaw (with a Polish researcher of social and housing policies, prof. Jolanta Supińska). The interviews took the form of consultations and conversations. They were recorded in the form of written notes.

conceptual network by social actors; shaping political discourses on housing-related social problems by social actors; influence of political discourse shaped by social actors on the evolution of housing policy and more broadly on the shape of the housing system; influence of discourses shaped by social actors on social inequality.

In the following, third part of the book, I discuss my own proposal of a research scheme ('D-Housing' scheme) used for describing and analysing the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process. Chapter one in this part concerns the inspirations and objectives of the 'D-Housing' scheme. In chapter two, I elaborate on the theoretical and methodological concepts which served as a starting point in my work on the proposed theoretical and analytical scheme. In addition, I conceptualise here such concepts as: deliberative democracy / participatory democracy / governance, discourse, narration, relations between discourse and socio-political power, the notion of housing inequality, as well as housing policy. I also write about the methodological framework in which the 'D-Housing' scheme is set (i.e. Martin Reisigl's politolinguistic approach; post-Foucauldian theoretical approach, referred to as the 'realist governmentality' approach, proposed by Kevin Stenson; the use of the convention theory from the perspective of Noel Whiteside and Robert Salais; a historical and cultural analysis of housing policy by Jacobs and Manzi; a methodological proposal for examining the democratisation of the decision-making process in housing policy from the perspective of T. Blokland, P.J. Maginn and S. Thompson; a governmental approach of Greg Marston and Catherine McDonald; What's the Problem Represented to be? – a 'WPR' approach of Carol Bacchi; and an application of the case study method in housing research from the perspective of Johansson). Referring to the conceptions which stem from a number of social studies and humanities, on the one hand, gives me an opportunity to place my reflections on the existing, rich scientific achievements, and on the other hand, is consistent with the principle of multidisciplinary, the importance of which is emphasised in social political studies by Jolanta Supińska (1998, p. 37). Chapter three focuses on presenting the main features of the 'D-Housing' scheme. It begins with a reference to the definitions which I have assumed for the purposes of the scheme, including: social actors, housing policy process and deliberative democracy from the perspective of J. Cohen. I subsequently determine the subject of the research in which the 'D-Housing' scheme may prove to be useful. Next, I discuss the assumptions of the theoretical layer of the 'D-Housing' scheme. I define the concept of the 'Deliberative Democracy of the Housing Policy Process', which is fundamental to the research scheme under analysis, indicating the connections between its proposed conceptualisation and the mentioned

deliberative democracy depiction. I refer to the depiction of ‘democracy’ from the viewpoint of political science and to the understanding of ‘democratisation’ in housing research on discourse in housing policy. In addition, I formulate the guidelines of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme connected with its belonging to the constructivist epistemological stance. I associate these guidelines with a ‘weak’, critical variety of constructivism and with the perspective of social construction of social problems (in another approach – with the perspective of social problems and political narration). The following parts of chapter three focus on discussing the assumptions of the analytical layer of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme. I have determined four units of analysis (discussions between social actors relating to defining housing policy; decision-making with regard to housing policy done by social actors; implementation of decisions made by social actors and the consequences of the implementation of these decisions for social inequality in the access of social actors to the policy process). Furthermore, I describe the research procedure for the first unit of the analysis. Within this procedure, I specify two complementary approaches to analysing the discussion about the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process: 1) the ‘linguistic’ analysis, and 2) the ‘political’ analysis. Finally, in the last part of the chapter I indicate methodological references useful while applying my theoretical and analytical scheme to conduct international and comparative research on the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process.

Last but not least, part four of the work is devoted to a fragmentary application of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme to examine local housing policy in Poland. The chapter falling under this part describes the research on the involvement of social actors in the local housing policy process in a garden city in Poland. The research was conducted in the years 2015–2016. The first part of the chapter outlines the development of and changes in local housing policy in Poland. I specify the socio-political context in which the selected town is analysed. Furthermore, I present the manner of applying the research procedure – outlined in the previous parts of the book – in research practice. In the last part of this chapter I present research conclusions concerning the knowledge of social actors in the local housing policy process and initial remarks concerning the application of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme in the research in question.

The summary of the book presents conclusions from the analyses and syntheses conducted throughout the work, as well as conclusions from the surveys included in the work and the descriptions of the applicability of the ‘D-Housing’ scheme to study the involvement of social actors in the housing policy process. The conclusions serve as answers to research questions.

Writing this dissertation would not have been possible without the support of a number of people, whom I would like to thank now. To begin with, I would like to thank Professor Barbara Rysz-Kowalczyk for our numerous discussions which helped shape this work. I am also deeply grateful to Professor Jolanta Supińska for her invaluable help with collecting literature and resolving doubts at times and to Professor Jacek Męcina who supported me in taking the decision to write this book. I would also like to express my gratitude to two reviewers – Professor Ryszard Szarfenberg and Professor Maciej Cesarski – for their favourable and kind arguments concerning constructivism in housing studies. I also address my gratitude to Professor Włodzimierz Anioł, whose valuable advice contributed to making this work more coherent. A number of points in my work have become clearer thanks to the critical remarks of the researchers from the Brussels Centre for Urban Studies (and especially Professor Michael Ryckewaert from the Cosmopolis team), as well as anonymous reviewers of the article published in a journal entitled "Housing Studies" in 2016 (Zubrzycka-Czarnecka 2016). Finally, I would like to say thank you, above all, to my family for their understanding and support in my work on the 'D-Housing' scheme.

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The Author