

A Cooperative Comeback?
**A study of the recent return of cooperative housing
development in Vancouver through the 3-I's
Framework lens.**

by
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Ethics Statement

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Abstract

This thesis examines two of the first cooperative housing developments built in Vancouver, British Columbia since a resurgence of development began in 2012. This case study sought to understand what changed to make cooperative housing a viable and attractive development option again after nearly two decades of no development. Utilizing the 3-I's Framework of policy change as a conceptual framework, this research investigates the Ideas, Interests and Institutions related to this recent resurgence, as well as consider the “valence”, or attractiveness, of cooperative housing as a policy intervention over time. Through this investigation, I argue that cooperative housing development returned to Vancouver not because it is an inherently more affordable or easier to build and manage non-market housing type, but because it has widespread public approval as a programmatic idea and affordable housing type, and that the attractiveness, or “valence”, of co-ops and the influencing impacts of Interests, resulted in the recent resurgence since 2012. This research is situated in the broader context of social and non-market housing development in Canada and builds on the academic literature of the 3-I's Framework of policy change.

Keywords: social housing; cooperative housing; policy change; ideas, interests, and institutions; valence; agenda setting

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the hə́qəmiḥə́m (Halkomelem) and Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh (Squamish) speaking Coast Salish peoples whose land was stolen, and upon whose unsundered traditional and ancestral territory our shared history of housing crises persists.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge that this research was conducted on the unceded ancestral territories of the Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), səliłwətał (Tseil-waututh) and Xwméthkwyiem (Musqueam) peoples. I acknowledge that all modern housing policy is predicated on the violent displacement of tens of thousands of Indigenous people, and that the history of colonization and displacement are directly implicated in the disproportionate representation of Indigenous people among Vancouver residents experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity.

I also wish to acknowledge and thank my incredible wife and partner of seven years, without whose support and encouragement I would not have started, let alone finished, graduate school. I am grateful to my family, who from a young age nurtured my sense of curiosity and social justice, leading to a life of learning and community building. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Yushu Zhu, for her support and patience as this project evolved and changed. Finally, I would like to thank the faculty and students of the Urban Studies Program who helped me better understand the world around me and find the words to describe and shape it.

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List of Acronyms

AHI	Affordable Housing Initiative (Canada)
AHP	Affordable Housing Program (Canada)
CAA	Cooperative Association Act (British Columbia)
CAC	Community Amenity Contribution
CHF	Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada
CHF-BC	Cooperative Housing Federation of BC
CLT	Community Land Trust
CMHC	Canadian Mortgage Housing Corporation
Co-op	Cooperative housing development and/or association
COV	City of Vancouver
HIL	Housing Income Limit
LEM	Lower-End-of-Market
NDP	New Democratic Party
NHA	National Housing Act (Canada)
PEF	Property Endowment Fund (Vancouver)
RFEOI	Request for Expressions of Interest
RFP	Request for Proposals
RGI	Rent-Geared-to-Income
RTA	Residential Tenancy Act (British Columbia)
VAHA	Vancouver Affordable Housing Agency
VAHEF	Vancouver Affordable Housing Endowment Fund
WHL	Wartime Housing Limited

Glossary

Affordable Housing	Housing is considered to be affordable when it comprises 30 per cent or less of a household's total gross income before taxes.
Community Amenity Contribution	In-kind or cash contributions provided by property developers when Vancouver City Council grants increased density development rights through rezoning.
Cooperatives	A farm, business, housing or other organization which is owned and run jointly by its members, who share the profits or benefits.
Freehold Ownership	Freehold ownership would include mostly single detached houses, semi-detached houses and other dwellings where the owners own both unit and lot outright.
Non-Market Housing	Means self-contained, independent living dwelling units targeted to low- and moderate-income households such as housing cooperatives and seniors and family non-profit projects.
Social Housing	Rental housing in which at least 30% of the dwelling units are occupied by households with incomes below BC Housing Income Limits (HILs) which is owned by a non-profit corporation, by a non-profit co-operative association, or by or on behalf of the City, the Province of British Columbia, or Canada.
Tenure	The legal recognition, organization and/or governance of a particular housing type, whether market rental, strata ownership, government, non-profit or cooperative.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Non-equity cooperative housing (co-ops) are ubiquitous in some parts of the world and were a common form of non-market housing development in Vancouver, British Columbia from their introduction in the 1970s through to the early 2000s. From the first co-op opening in 1972 until the last federally funded co-op opened in 1995, an average of 239 new co-op units were built in Vancouver each year, representing an average of 2% of all housing starts annually within the city. Co-ops are seen as a sustainable non-market housing tenure by governments and advocates because the equity stays with the landowning government or agency, protecting them from escalation and speculation, while the ongoing operations become the responsibility of the cooperative provider and its resident members (Hulchanski 2004; CMHC 2003; CMHC 2018). Upon opening, co-op rents are relatively low compared to market rentals, often due to free or low-cost land being provided, and they also ensure long-term affordability by removing the land and building from the pressures of the private real estate market (Crabtree et al 2019b; Mullins & Moore 2018). For nearly 30 years, the development of this form of non-market rental housing played a key role in shaping the City of Vancouver's affordable housing and physical landscapes, accounting for nearly 2% of all dwellings in the City, until nearly all co-op development stopped in 2002 (City of Vancouver 2022).

From the first federally funded co-op opening in 1975 until the end of provincial funding in 2002, 5,519 co-op units were built in the City of Vancouver, averaging 204 units per year, representing 35.6% of all 15,457 non-market housing units built during this period (City of Vancouver 2023). By comparison, according to Canadian Census data, from 1976 to 2001, 75,700 housing units were built in the City of Vancouver, averaging 3,028 units per year (Stats Can 2002). During this period non-market housing accounted for 20.4% of all housing unit development in the City of Vancouver, with co-op housing comprising nearly 7.3% of all new housing units built. This wave of development was spurred by the distinct inclusion of cooperative housing in Canada's federal social housing funding programs in 1973, a time of significant federal government investment, and was influenced by a global movement of cooperative housing development

(Hulchanski 2004; Skelton 2002; Suttor 2016). Despite the early boom of development in the 1970s and 1980s, new cooperative housing development effectively stopped in Vancouver for nearly 16 years until 2018 when the first in a wave of new co-ops opened. During that time only one new co-op opened, the Olympic Athlete's Village Co-op. Given the historical significance of co-op development as an affordable housing policy mechanism, this thesis seeks to understand what happened to make new co-op development slow after 2002, why their development has returned in such large numbers, and what this tells us about co-ops as an effective and/or desirable affordable housing type.

Co-ops are widely seen as having a positive impact on community and are viewed as a desirable housing type by elected officials, members of the public, and housing professionals (Mullins & Moore 2018; Crabtree et al 2019; Czischke 2017; Raynor & Whitzman 2021; CMHC 2003; Thompson 2020; Malatest & Associates 2018; Ferreri & Vidal 2021). In Austria and Sweden, cooperative housing accounts for at least 20% of all housing stock, while in Finland and France they are at least 10% (OECD 2020). By contrast, co-op housing represents less than 1% of housing stock in Canada, the United States, and Australia, despite widespread popular appeal. From 1973 to 2002 co-ops were an important part of affordable housing development in Vancouver, and there was ample funding available at the federal and provincial level, as well as free or low-cost public land made available to non-profit and cooperative housing operators (Suttor 2016; Raynor & Whitzman 2021). This changed after 2002 and no new co-ops were proposed, approved, or built for ten years. In December 2011 the Cooperative Housing Federation of BC (CHF-BC), the parent body of the Community Land Trust (CLT), was selected as the operator for a city-owned apartment building in the former 2010 Olympic Athletes Village, opening the first new co-op in a decade. This catalyzing development set in motion a series of influencing events ultimately resulting in a resurgence of co-op housing development in Vancouver (Raynor & Whitzman 2021; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6).

“The first co-op that came out of that drought would be the Athlete's Village Housing Co-Op. And that was a result of a partnership agreement between the co-op housing sector, using the community land trust model to partner with other not for profits. And that sparked the new co-op builds.” (Interviewee 3, Jan. 1, 2023)

Using a case study of two of the first cooperative housing developments built in Vancouver since the resurgence began in 2012, I seek to understand what changed to make cooperative housing a viable and attractive, development option again. Utilizing the 3-Is Framework of policy change as a conceptual framework, I investigate the Ideas, Interests and Institutions related to this recent resurgence of development, as well as consider the “valence”, or attractiveness, of cooperative housing policy over time. I explore the complex interdependencies between the various actors and agencies that shaped and changed housing policy and outcomes, including those which led to the disappearance of cooperative housing development to its return. Notably, all new co-ops developed in Vancouver have been facilitated by a single entity, the CLT, in partnership with the City of Vancouver. Accordingly, this project investigates the Community Land Trust, Cooperative Housing Federation of British Columbia, and the City of Vancouver, and the central role that they each played in the return of cooperative housing development to Vancouver.

When considered in the context of the Housing Vancouver Strategy (2018-2027) identifying “Responding to Vancouver’s current housing affordability crisis is the most significant challenge facing the City today”, cooperative housing’s recent re-entry into Vancouver’s affordable housing toolkit is an important shift in non-market housing delivery that is worthy of investigation and evaluation. Homes do not build themselves. Land must be acquired, often at significant cost, structures must be constructed, also at significant cost, and ongoing service and maintenance must be provided to keep the lights on and occupants safe. Complicating the already complex process of homebuilding are the Institutions (policies, systems and processes) which govern where, what, and how housing can be built, as well how much it will cost, whether it is worthy of financing, and how it can be paid for. Within those Institutions are Interests (decision-makers, agenda setters and advocates) who influence institutions’ systems and processes through policy development, advocacy, and negotiation. Informing and influencing both Interests and Institutions are Ideas (norms, beliefs, values, assumptions, and policy interventions). These collectively are the ‘3-Is’ of policy framework analysis and are a lens through which this research is undertaken (Walt 1995; Hall 1997; Pojani & Stead 2014; Cox & Beland 2013). Adding to this conceptual framework we utilize the relatively new concept of “valence”, ‘a device to explain how

and why policy changes, or to explain why policy does not change in certain cases' (Pojani & Stead 2014; Cox & Beland 2013).

Using this lens, this study aims to understand why new cooperative housing development stopped after three decades, and what precipitated its recent return as a desirable affordable housing policy outcome in Vancouver. Through this investigation, I argue that cooperative housing development returned to Vancouver not because it is an inherently more affordable or easier to build and manage non-market housing type, but because it has widespread public approval as a programmatic idea and affordable housing type, and that the attractiveness, or “valence”, of co-ops and the influencing impacts of Interests, resulted in the recent resurgence of cooperative housing development since 2012.

1.1. Research Question

This research consists of two case studies of the first co-operative housing projects to be developed in the City of Vancouver, British Columbia (BC) after 16 years without federal or provincial funding. The purpose of the case study is to understand what factors led to their successful development, using the 3-Is Framework of policy change, analyzing the Ideas, Interests, Institutions and “valence” of co-op housing policy over time. This research is situated in the broader context of social and non-market housing development in Canada, builds on the academic literature of the 3-Is framework of policy change, and is guided by the following research question and sub-questions:

What are the Ideas, Interests, and Institutions which resulted in the recent resurgence of cooperative housing development in Vancouver, British?

1. Has there been a resurgence in cooperative housing development in Vancouver in recent years?
2. What policy and/or political factors have changed to facilitate co-operative housing development since 2012?
 - 2.1. What changes in the federal, provincial and municipal policy frameworks may have facilitated the increased development of cooperative housing in Vancouver since 2012?
 - 2.2. What changes have occurred in the governance and development processes of social, non-market and cooperative housing in Vancouver since 2012?

3. Why has cooperative housing tenure been employed in these developments over other social and non-market housing types?
 - 3.1. What was the process for developing each project?
 - 3.2. Who were the key actors involved in bringing about each project?

To understand the factors that led to this resurgence I have employed the 3-Is Framework of policy analysis to better understand their interdependencies, and how each element influences and facilitates policy change (Shearer et al 2016; Bashir & Ungar 2015; Pojani & Stead 2014). First developed by H. Hecl and P.A. Hall in the 1990s, they theorized that Ideas, Institutions, and Interests were the “building blocks” of politics and policy change, and that by focusing solely on one element, be it institution-based, interest-based, or idea-based analysis, we lose sight of the complex relationships that exist between each element in affecting policy and broader social change (Hall, 1997). It is this interrelationship that facilitates policy change and is the lens through which this research is undertaken.

Co-operative housing development did not spontaneously return to Vancouver after 16 years with no development; there was a series of both independent and interrelated events and actors which culminated in the alignment of Ideas, Interests, and Institutions supporting its return. At one time policy actors and decision-makers determined that cooperative housing was not a desirable affordable housing type and public policy outcome, and new development ceased. At a later time this position was changed, and new development began again. This change in attitudes towards specific policy interventions, or programmatic ideas (“Ideas”) has been characterized as “valence” by authors Pojani & Stead (2014) and Cox & Beland (2013), borrowed from chemistry it denotes the ‘stickiness’ or ‘attractiveness’ of a policy idea at any given time. The goal of this study is to highlight the influencing events and actions of Interests, Institutions, and Ideas which precipitated the return of cooperative housing development as an attractive affordable housing policy idea in Vancouver.

1.2. What is Cooperative Housing?

Cooperative housing has existed in a number of different forms around the world since the 19th century, first in the United Kingdom, then moving across Europe and eventually establishing itself in North America in the 1930s (Goldblatt 2004; Malatest & Associates 2018). A housing cooperative, or housing co-op (“co-ops”), is a legal entity, usually a cooperative association, non-profit organization or a corporation, which owns or leases real estate, consisting of one or more residential buildings. Housing cooperatives are a distinctive form of housing tenure that have many characteristics that differ from other residential types such as single-family home ownership, strata home ownership, and renting, including non-profit and government owned or operated social housing (Malatest & Associates 2018). Co-ops exist in a space between what is traditionally thought of as market, or for-profit housing, and non-profit or government-subsidized housing (Goldblatt 2004).

There are a number of different types of housing cooperatives, including Temporary and On-going Cooperatives. Temporary Cooperatives, like Building or Builders’ Cooperatives, are created by a group or members wishing to produce housing as a group who then privatize or dissolve the co-op once the development opens, giving members freehold possession of their housing and allowing them to sell or leverage the equity (Skelton 2002). Then there are On-going Cooperatives, which continue in perpetuity, acting as the collective owners and managers of the development, leasing units to their members (Doyle 1993).

Among the on-going cooperatives are Non-Equity Cooperatives and Equity Cooperatives. Non-Equity, also known as Non-Market, Non-Profit, Par Value, or Zero Equity Cooperatives, are the focus of this thesis and exist when co-op member shares are priced relative to the cost of the development, and not the market value of the housing unit. Shares are bought back by the co-op at the end of a member’s residency and sold by the co-op to a new member at approximately the same value (Skelton 2002). Shares cannot be bought or sold except by the co-op itself, and equity is not gained by the individual members, nor can equity in the co-op be leveraged by individual members (Doyle 1993).

Finally, there are a number of different types of Equity Cooperatives, including Co-ownership Societies, Limited Equity Cooperatives, and Market Equity Cooperatives. These cooperative models all have slight differences but share the characteristic that members are allowed to retain and/or leverage the equity they invest in the co-op in some fashion (Skelton 2002). There are very few equity co-ops in Canada, as financing is much more difficult to secure compared to strata ownership, and they are not eligible for federal and provincial subsidies and grants like non-equity co-ops (Doyle 1993; Skelton 2002).

In British Columbia, co-ops share characteristics with both non-profit and market strata corporation housing, making it a unique housing tenure type, while also presenting some challenges (See Figure 1). Co-ops are member-based organizations where risks and rewards are shared among members. Unlike non-profit housing operators, co-ops are not governed by the BC Residential Tenancy Act (RTA) or Societies Act, and unlike strata corporations they are not governed by the Strata Property Act.

Instead, co-ops are governed by the Cooperative Association Act (CAA), which gives unique rights and privileges to co-ops, like setting Housing Charges, similar to rent, such as the right to set Housing Charges at any amount necessary for operational purposes. The process for evicting residents is also different for co-ops than for stratas and non-profit housing, where co-ops can evict members for not following the rules, something that is much harder for non-profits and stratas to do under the RTA. Like a non-profit organization, non-equity co-ops are not profit-driven but instead seek to share the benefits of membership with their members, such as the provision of low-cost housing. Like a strata corporation, there is a sense of collective ownership, with members taking responsibility for the shared success of the group, with those living in the building taking leadership of the management of the building itself. However, unlike strata, members only pay a small fee, a membership share, to join, and they are returned that fee without interest when they move out. Memberships cannot be sold, and equity cannot be bought, sold, or leveraged within the co-op or its buildings. Co-ops are seen a sustainable non-market housing tenure by governments because the equity stays with the landowning government or agency while the ongoing operations become the responsibility of the cooperative itself (Goldblatt 2004; Hulchanski 2004; CMHC 2003; CMHC 2018).

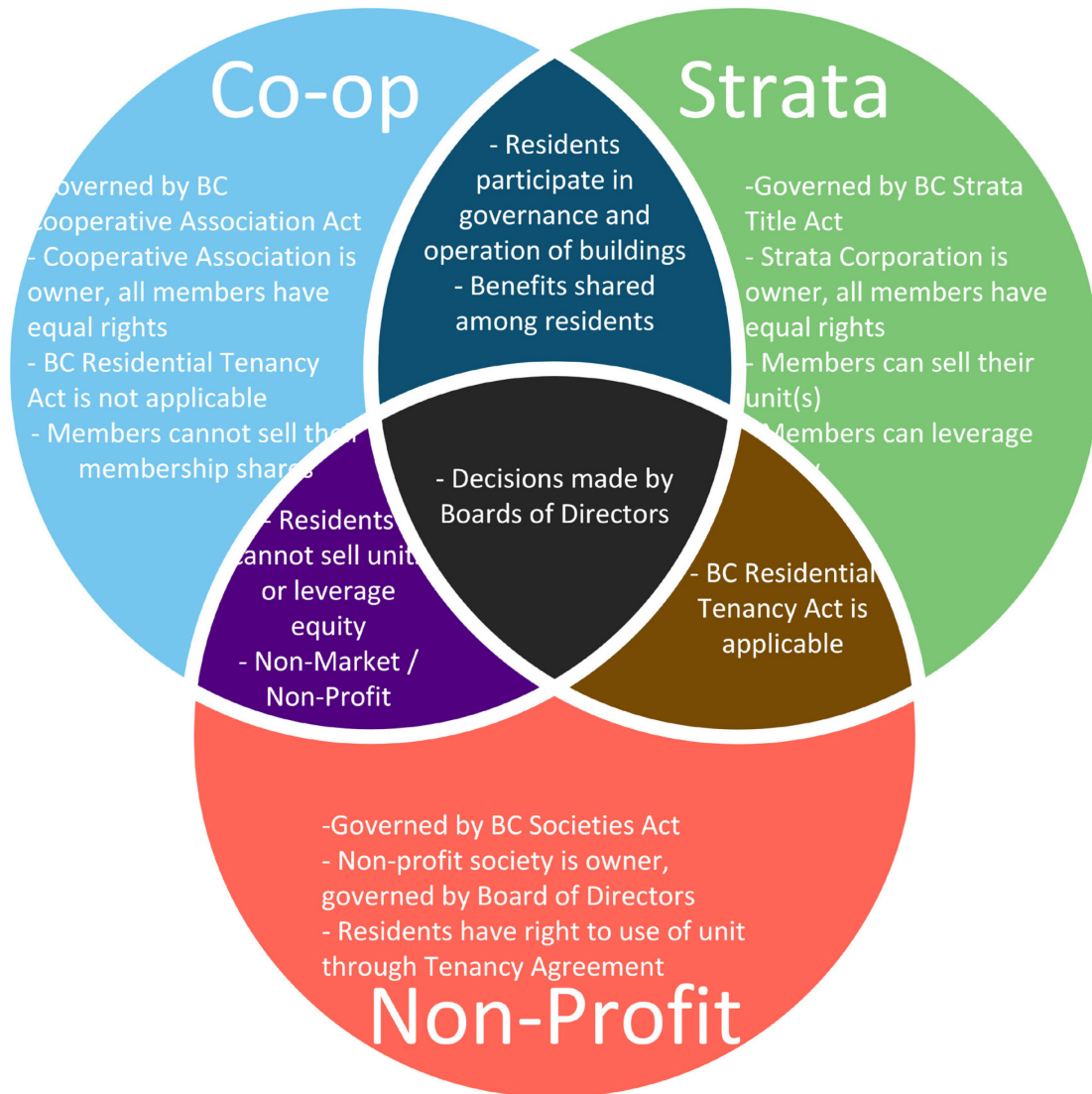


Figure 1 - Diagram of Co-op, Strata and Non-Profit Housing Tenures

Created from data collected from public sources

Canada has one of the smallest co-op housing sectors in the developed world representing only 0.65% of its 14,070,080 dwellings (Stats Can 2021). Much like the United States, whose co-op system represents only 1% of all dwellings, and Australia with less than 0.5%, the Canadian housing system and related government policies have and continue to prioritize individual home ownership significantly over collective and non-market housing types (Crabtree et al, 2019b; August 2008; Suttor 2016) However, during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, cooperative housing was built at an impressive rate across Canada and within Vancouver, adding a significant number of

affordable housing units in all corners of the city (CMHC 2003; City of Vancouver 2023). After the withdrawal of the federal government from funding cooperative housing in 1992, and the subsequent withdrawal of provincial government funding in 2002, the number of cooperative housing developments in Vancouver nearly disappeared, and its share of the city's rental market diminished considerably (City of Vancouver 2021).

There is a significant body of research about the important role that cooperative housing plays in creating strong community relationships, producing high quality of life, health, and well-being, as well as ensuring long-term affordable housing in many countries around the world (CMHC 2003; Goldblatt 2004; Pomeroy 2004; Guenther 2006; Madden & Marcuse 2016; Grise 2016; Crabtree et al 2019B; OECD 2020; Barenstein et al 2021). However, a great deal of the literature related to Canadian cooperative housing is now quite out of date. Following the end of the federal funding programs in the 1990s and through the early 2000s there was a great deal of literature on the value of co-ops and the need for government to re-enter the cooperative development system, though little has been written in recent years because of the lack of new development (Pomeroy 2004; Hulchanski 2004; Grise 2016; Nelson et al 2020; Ferreri & Vidal 2021). This thesis hopes to contribute to the contemporary understanding of cooperative housing development in Vancouver, and the fundamentally different political and financial realities that housing developers and governments face since 2012.

Many housing scholars and institutions agree that cooperative housing is an important affordable housing type for low- and middle-income households, presenting a unique housing type that is affordable, secure, and dignified (CMHC 2003; Pomeroy 2004; Hulchanski 2004; Ferreri & Vidal 2021). There is significant demand, and limited supply, for social and non-market housing such as co-ops: waitlists for government-subsidized housing in Vancouver have nearly doubled in the last decade, and homelessness has more than doubled in the last 20 years (COV 2022). The goal of this research is to understand why, after nearly 16 years without co-op development, this type of development has returned, and what can be learned in Vancouver and in other jurisdictions to create new cooperative housing moving forward.

Chapter 2.

Context: A Brief History of Non-Market Housing Development in Vancouver

Non-market housing, as defined by David Hulchanski (2004), consists of government-owned public housing, private non-profit housing, and non-profit non-equity cooperative housing. Non-market housing is related but not synonymous with the term social housing, as it does not necessarily involve subsidization. The Government of Canada began developing non-market housing as a wartime effort during the Second World War, and through the federal agency Wartime Housing Limited (WHL) it helped build more than 46,000 rental homes across the country, including Vancouver, in the 1940s (Suttor 2016). In 1949 the National Housing Act (NHA) was amended to include broad new powers, and new funding, for government-led public housing across the country, including building in Vancouver. This period, described by Suttor as the *Early public housing period* (1949-1964), resulted in a small amount of government-funded social housing being developed by the new Canadian Housing Mortgage Corporation (CMHC), which was created in December 1945 to replace the wartime WHL (Suttor 2016). While the policies and funding programs would evolve and change during this period, the core mechanisms stayed much the same and the government led the direct development and financed private development of social housing across Canada until amendments were made to the NHA in 1964 (Suttor 2016).

In 1964 major changes were made to the NHA following the federal Liberal Party election in 1963. This included introducing significant new funding programs and directing funds to non-profit organizations to undertake development and operations of social housing themselves, instead of through government agencies as had been the case through the 1950s (Suttor 2016). Following their re-election in 1972, the federal Liberal Party made further revisions to the NHA, including the inclusion of co-ops as a housing type eligible for federal capital and operating grant funding (Suttor 2016).

Non-equity co-ops were first introduced in Canada by university student activists in the 1930s and 1940s, and the first co-ops opened at the University of Toronto in 1936 and Queen's University in 1944. However, it would not be until the 1960s when a co-op

would open outside of a university context, with the opening of Winnipeg's Willow Park Housing Co-op in 1966. Co-op creation across Canada remained limited until their development was formally supported through their inclusion in the Canadian National Housing Act in 1973 and related federal funding programs. (Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016) This led to a boom in co-op housing development across Canada through the 1970s and 1980s, including more than 4,500 units by 1992 within the City of Vancouver (COV 2023). However, in 1992 the federal Progressive Conservative Party majority government cut all federal funding programs for new co-ops as a measure to address the deficit, and in 1993 cut all federal funding programs for any new social housing development. Later that year the federal Liberal Party won a majority government but did not reverse the cuts, though existing funding commitments and agreements were honoured until the end of the agreements' terms (Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016; Ferreri & Vidal 2021).

In 1996, responsibility for co-ops, and other social and non-market housing was transferred to the provinces. In all provinces except Quebec and British Columbia, where political parties of the centre-left Parti Quebecois and BC New Democratic Party were in power, social housing development effectively stopped across Canada. (Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016) It was only because of Quebec and British Columbia's commitment to continue funding co-ops and social housing that any were built at all (Grise 2016; City of Vancouver 2001; Suttor 2016). The level of development under the BC NDP's *Homes BC* social housing funding program was small compared to the previous decades, but still many new affordable housing units, including coops were built in Vancouver from 1992 to 2002 (Suttor 2016; City of Vancouver 2023).

In 2001 the BC Liberal Party won a majority government and in the 2002 budget ended the BC NDP's *Homes BC* funding programs for new social housing development, and new co-operative housing development all but disappeared across the province (Suttor 2016). In late 2001, the federal government decided after nine years to re-establish some funding for affordable housing development through the Affordable Housing Program (AHP), later renamed Affordable Housing Initiative (AHI). These were partnerships with each province wherein the federal government would provide lump sum payments and the provinces would decide which programs and projects to fund (Suttor 2016).

This modest re-entry by the federal government provided some new funding in light of the Homes BC cancellation, though the provincial government chose to initially direct funds to seniors supportive housing and Assisted Living facilities, and later to low-income and homelessness supportive housing, not the broader low-to-moderate income programs that would encompass co-ops (Suttor 2016). Federal and provincial capital funding was thus out of reach for co-ops until the federal Liberal Party was elected in 2015 and announced the creation of a Social Infrastructure Agreement in 2016. This was followed by new and significant funding programs under the National Housing Strategy in November 2017 (Suttor 2016). According to Suttor, nationally, from 2002 to 2015 “AHI and related federal initiatives have averaged somewhat under 4,000 new affordable units annually or 2 percent of national production – about one-fifth the volumes of the thirty-year prime [1965-1995].”

The last purpose-built provincially funded co-op in Vancouver opened in 2002, and from then until 2018 only two new co-ops were built in Vancouver, consisting of only 107 units in total (City of Vancouver 2023). In 2012 an existing co-op added 5 units, bringing the development period total to 112. This paled in comparison to the 767 units built during the 1970s, and certainly when compared to the 3,764 built during the 1980s. However, in the six years from 2017 to 2023, seven co-ops were completed, comprising 643 new units, and as of December 2023, two more buildings totally 104 units are under construction. (See Figure 2)

A new wave of co-op development in Vancouver began in 2018 with the City of Vancouver announcing a partnership with the Community Land Trust (CLT) and Cooperative Housing Federation of BC (CHF-BC) to build nearly 1,000 units of social housing on City-owned land by the end of 2021, including 508 units of co-op housing – though this deadline was delayed by the global COVID-19 pandemic. Through a separate development process, the first new co-op to open since 2012 welcomed residents into the new 135-unit building in November 2018. This was followed by seven more buildings opening, accounting for 643 new units mostly in the southern Vancouver neighbourhood called the River District. As of November 2023, there are two co-ops under construction across the City of Vancouver, totalling 104 net new units. For context, these 747 units completed or proposed in the six years since 2018 are nearly as many as the 815 co-ops units built over the preceding 20 years (COV 2023).

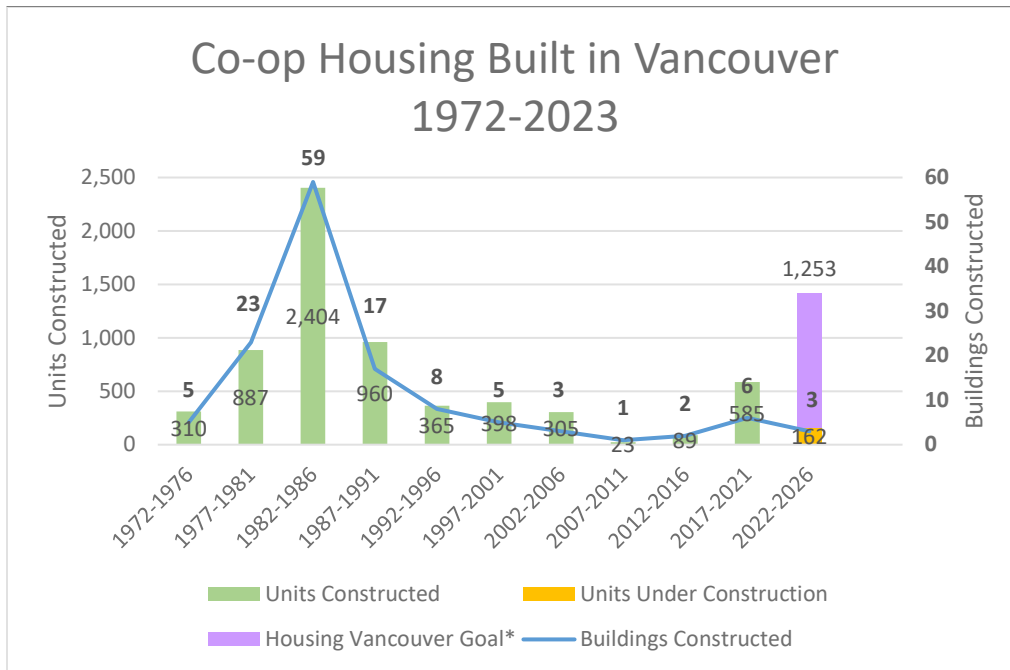


Figure 2 - Cooperative Housing Built in Vancouver 1972-2023
 Source: [City of Vancouver Open Data Portal](#) – [Non-Market Housing Inventory](#)

2.1. Two Distinctive Generations of Co-op Housing Development

It is important to acknowledge that the new generation of cooperative housing being developed has many similarities, but also some differences from the first generation built from the 1970s through the early 2000s. The first generation were often townhouse complexes or low-rise apartment buildings and were often community-led projects through community resource groups and local associations (Cooper-Iverson 2022). While there were some larger-scale co-op developments built in the first generation, they averaged 56 units per development, with most having fewer than 80 units. Nearly 85% of all co-ops consisted of fewer than 80 units, with only 19 having more than 80 units (City of Vancouver 2023). Comparatively, the new generation of co-op development since 2012 have average 83 units, with 5, or half, of the developments consisting of more than 80 units (Ibid). The new projects are more likely to be multi-storey multi-family developments, and less likely to be townhouses or ground-oriented developments.

A second distinction between the first and second generations of co-op development is the nature of the legal entity undertaking their development. The first generation of co-ops in Vancouver were developed by community-led resource groups who formed cooperative associations through the development phase (Interviewees 1,3,4,6; Cooper-Iverson 2022; Skelton 2002). These small organizations held leases with the municipality or province, or purchased the property outright and the co-op board would be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the development, and its ongoing stewardship and financial sustainability.

The new generation of cooperative housing currently being developed in Vancouver is being undertaken by a single entity, the Community Land Trust. This single non-profit entity, itself a subsidiary of the Cooperative Housing Federation of BC, holds the leases with the City of Vancouver and is ultimately responsible to the City for the stewardship and long-term financial sustainability of the development properties (City of Vancouver 2013; City of Vancouver 2017). The CLT has subsequently sub-leased each development to a building-specific cooperative association, who in turn manage the day-to-day operations of the development and ensure the stewardship and financial sustainability of the development in collaboration with the CLT, who hold the master lease (Interviewees 1,3,4,6; Cooper-Iverson 2022). In practice the two generations of development are both governed by the Cooperative Association Act and managed by a cooperative association board made up of their resident members, the difference is that the new generation are accountable to the CLT who in turn is accountable to the City, province, and lenders financing the developments, as explored in the two case studies below.

2.2. What is a Community Land Trust?

A Community Land Trust (CLT) is both a form of land tenure and a governance model for affordable housing development (Patten 2015; Nelson et al 2020). CLTs acquire land and hold it in “trust” for the broader community to provide affordable housing, most often for low-to-moderate income households. A CLT typically separates the value of the land, which it owns in perpetuity, from the buildings on the land which they can operate directly or lease to other organizations. By removing the land from the private market, as well as removing the profit motive of equity growth, the costs of housing are decoupled from the exponential real estate cost increases experienced

since the early 2000s (Nelson et al 2020). CLT-owned land differs from public land in that it is privately held by the entity, not a government, with the intent of never selling. CLTs may oversee co-operative housing, and cooperatives may hold assets in CLTs, but they are distinctly different models, both legally and philosophically (Ibid).

The first CLT was established in 1969 in the United States, and has since grown into a global movement, similar to but different from the cooperative movement. While co-ops exist to benefit their own members, CLTs exist to benefit the community as a whole (Thompson 2020). CLTs include housing with private ownership, co-op ownership, market rental, and non-market rentals. CLTs can also manage other assets of community value, like social enterprises, agricultural production and cultural institutions. In home ownership models, the CLT owns the land, and the individual owns the structure and future capital improvements which can be bought and sold, preserving the long-term affordability. In rental models, CLTs may own and run housing or lease land on a long-term basis to a non-profit or co-op housing organization – which is a model currently employed in the City of Vancouver. CLTs are well established in the United States and the United Kingdom and are increasing in popularity in Canada as a tool for ensuring long-term housing affordability (Patten 2015; Thompson 2020; Malatest & Associates 2018).

In Canada, CLTs are most often non-profit organizations, and can take a wide variety of governance models. For example, the Community Land Trust in BC, while technically an independent non-profit society, has a single member, the Cooperative Housing Federation – British Columbia, represented by its Chief Executive Officer Thom Armstrong. Other CLTs may have boards of directors made up of community organizations, residents of the properties they oversee, community members at large, and even local government representation (Patten 2015; Thompson 2020).

The Community Land Trust Foundation of BC, most commonly referred to as the CLT, was established in 1993 during a period of significant social housing policy change, most notably withdrawal of the federal government from funding social and cooperative housing. The Cooperative Housing Federation of BC established that first CLT as a means of stewarding and developing assets without the support of higher levels of government, aggregating the risk of many small housing sites, and increasing the borrowing power of the whole group (Patten 2015; Interviewee 3). Additionally, with the

transfer of responsibility for social housing from the CMHC to the provinces, the CLT was a good model for stewarding formerly CMHC-supported co-ops. “And in the early 2000s, it actually started to accept its first properties. And those really came from government transfers.” (Interviewee 1, Nov. 3, 2022.)

From 1993 to 2012 the CLT had a small portfolio of co-op buildings, and a small number of non-profit managed buildings and the land they were situated on (CHF-BC 2023; Interviewees 1,3,4). Later the CLT would incorporate a number of subsidiary non-profit society Community Land Trusts, including the Vancouver Community Land Trust Foundation in 2014 to steward properties in the City of Vancouver (Patten 2015; Interviewee 1,3,4).

“The [Community] Land Trust is actually three land trusts. The first one created in 1993, which has essentially been dormant for quite some time and then the second two created in 2014 and 2015, respectively.”

(Interviewee 4, Feb. 14, 2023)

After a significant City of Vancouver partnership in 2012, explored here in the case studies and Findings sections, the role and significance of CLT in affordable housing delivery was dramatically increased. The CLT’s role as a policy advocacy organization, developer, and housing operator are exceptionally important and explored in this research.

2.3. History of the “Housing Crisis” in Vancouver

It is imperative to recognize that the area now known as the City of Vancouver exists on stolen Indigenous land. The land was never ceded, surrendered or sold through sale or treaty by the local Sḵwxwú7mesh (Squamish), səliiwətał (Tsleil-waututh) and Xwméthkwyiem (Musqueam) peoples of the Coast Salish group (Thom 1996; Carlson 2001; Barnholden & Newman 2007). These groups have lived in the area known in the contemporary Halkomelem language as *Lhq’á:lets* for at least 9,000 years (Thom 1996), and it was not until contact with European settlers that the act of seeking shelter became a challenge for the original residents of this area (Barnholden & Newman 2007). With the arrival of British Captain George Vancouver in 1792, and later the British government’s declaration of the Colony of British Columbia in 1858, came the idea of

settlement and land title, expropriation and speculation (Barnholden & Newman 2007; Donaldson 2019). As colonization-led development continued through the 1860s, fuelled by the Colony's 1860 "pre-emption" law which gave European colonizers the ability to lay claim to 160-acre parcels of land without regard for its Indigenous inhabitants for a small fee, the Indigenous population of the region reduced from an estimated 155,000 to less than 20,000 due to forced displacement and smallpox epidemics (Ibid).

This represented the first and most significant housing crisis in Vancouver's history, and it is important to recognize that all subsequent discussions of Vancouver's housing policy is predicated on the death and violent displacement of tens of thousands of Indigenous people who have not, as of 2023, been fully compensated for the systematic dismantling of their traditional lands and ways of life (Barnholden & Newman 2007; Donaldson 2019; BC Treaty Commission 2023). According to the 2023 Metro Vancouver Homeless Count at least 2,420 people were experiencing homelessness in March within the City of Vancouver, and of those more than 33% identified as Indigenous, despite less than 2% of the total population of the city being Indigenous (HSABC 2023). The history of colonization and displacement are directly implicated in the disproportionate representation of Indigenous people among Vancouver residents experiencing homelessness (Ibid).

Today, the term housing crisis is widely used and understood to represent the current lack of available and affordable housing in Vancouver, but the "housing crisis" in Vancouver is not a new or even unique phenomenon. In fact, while the term has come to be part of the common vernacular since at least 2012, throughout Vancouver's history there have been a steady stream of housing crises dating back to when nearly all of the city's wooden structures burned down in the Great Vancouver Fire of 1886, just two months after the city's incorporation in April (Donaldson 2019). The fire displaced an estimated 3,000 residents, resulting in a literal "tent city" while structures were rebuilt, which took years and support from the upper levels of government (Barnholden & Newman 2007).

The first observed use of the term "housing crisis" would be just seven years later during Vancouver's first real estate collapse in 1893. This collapse was precipitated by a series of global recessions which caused a wave of local bankruptcies and led to more than 400 people seeking refuge in shacks along the False Creek waterfront (Donaldson

2019; Wade 1007). The next crisis would be less than 20 years later when Vancouver's real estate market crashed again in 1913 which led to more than 1,500 people seeking refuge in shacks (Ibid). Later, the October 1929 Black Friday market collapse would usher in the 10-year long Great Depression across North America, foreclosing homes and apartment buildings, and displacing tens of thousands of Vancouver residents, resulting in what were known as "hobo jungles", open-air camps across the city, some accommodating over 1,000 people including children (Barnholden & Newman 2007; Donaldson 2019; Wade 1997). The depression would end with the start of the Second World War, which would see tens of thousands of wartime homes being built by the federal government across Canada, representing the government's first entry into social housing, but would still fall short of the demand for housing in Vancouver (Suttor 2016; Donaldson 2019).

Throughout this period housing policy was mostly left to local governments and to a lesser extent the provincial governments (Suttor 2016). Many different policy interventions were attempted in Vancouver from its founding in 1886 to support housing development, improve housing conditions, and encourage real estate investment in the new city, with varying levels of success over the decades (Donaldson 2019; Wade 1997). Little to no social or public housing was built during this period, and the private market was expected to meet the demand for all rental and owner-occupied real estate. It was not until the federal National Housing Act amendments of 1949 which created new funding programs to support the development of social housing that Vancouver began to see non-market housing development (Ibid). It would be another twenty-three years before the first co-op would open in Vancouver in 1972.

Subsequent housing crises would take place during the Urban Renewal period of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s which saw the building of highways and clearing of low-income neighbourhoods, the eviction and redevelopment of low-income apartment buildings and lodging houses, and the influx of foreign and domestic capital into Vancouver's real estate market (Pickett 1968; Donaldson 2019; Suttor 2016). During this period, vacancy rates remained below healthy levels, defined by CMHC as 3-5%, and the speculation and real estate investment was driving housing costs beyond the reach of working-class Vancouver families. In 1967 the price of a single-family home increased 25% in one year, and the more than fifty percent of residents who rented experienced a 10-20% increase in rental costs in 1973 alone (Donaldson 2019). This trend of low vacancy rates

and incomes being decoupled from housing prices would continue through the next four decades to the modern day. Vacancy rates have been below 2% in Vancouver since 1990, and at or below 1% since 2010, with the exception of 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic (City of Vancouver 2022).

This context is important to understand. While Vancouver's historical challenges in building and maintaining enough affordable housing for the multitude of people who wish to live there is not unique, the cyclical nature of crises over time, and especially its historical struggle with speculative real estate, have fundamentally shaped Vancouver's attitudes and beliefs about affordable housing, fundamentally shaping the Ideas, Interests and Institutions that influence and propagate the housing system.

2.4. City of Vancouver-led Social Housing Development

While the City of Vancouver does not directly own or operate any co-op housing, the city has been actively involved in social housing since the 1950s. In the 1950s and 1960s the city sold land for below-market costs to non-profit housing providers. The first such project was the Little Mountain Housing site, located in the Riley Park neighbourhood, which the city acquired and assembled through the 1940s and earmarked for social housing development. This was sold to the Canadian Mortgage Housing Corporation in 1950 and over 200 units of housing were built by 1954 (Luxton 2012). Beginning in the 1970s, the city leased even more sites to non-profit and co-op entities for long-term leases at 75% of freehold market value (City of Vancouver 2021). This practice has been instrumental in creating affordable housing because land acquisition costs have ranged from 10 to 25% of total housing development costs in Vancouver over the last 30 years, and this number continues to grow as the cost of land has been increasing faster than construction costs themselves. With the ability to lease the land at below-market rates on long-term leases, non-profit and co-op housing providers have been able to ensure long-term affordable rents and housing charges for their residents (Interviewee 1,6).

In 1975, the city established the Property Endowment Fund (PEF) to purchase land and hold the city's long-term land leases, and in 1980 established the Affordable Housing Fund to provide capital grants to social housing construction (City of Vancouver 2001). These policies were undertaken during successive elected councils with various

political leanings, and the city continues its practice of buying land and leasing to non-profits and co-ops to this day, though the scale and governance of this system have changed significantly over time, as explored in the Findings section of this paper.

In 2012, the conversation about affordable housing shifted in Vancouver. After winning a second majority on City Council in November 2011, Mayor Gregor Robertson and the centre-left Vision Vancouver Party, convened the Mayor's Taskforce on Housing Affordability to explore ways in which the city could respond to the increasingly concerning "housing crisis" (City of Vancouver 2012). This group included academics, architects and developers, non-profit housing providers, Indigenous groups, and city councillors – though surprisingly did not include CHF-BC, CLT or the BC Non-Profit Housing Association – and resulted in an interim report in June 2012 which called for a significant increase in leveraging city-owned assets for the development of affordable housing in partnership with non-profit and co-op organizations (Ibid). As in the National Housing Act's 1973 amendments, the explicit inclusion of co-op housing as a desirable affordable housing type in the city's June 2012 Mayors' Task Force Preliminary Report was a turning point for cooperative housing development in Vancouver. Before this report, co-ops had not previously been referenced in any City of Vancouver housing policy or strategy documents, but in the Task Force Report and subsequent 2012 Vancouver Housing and Homelessness Strategy, co-op housing was explicitly referenced as a desirable affordable housing type, and public land was earmarked for such development (Ibid).

The Task Force Report was issued just a few months after City Council selected the CHF-BC as the operator of a building within the recently recommissioned Olympic Athlete's Village, an 84-unit building that was established as the first new co-op in 10 years (Thomson 2014). This was the first successful cooperative housing proposal for a city-owned development site and started a series of events which culminated in the development of more than 1,000 units of co-op housing on city-owned site over the next 10 years. In February 2012, the first residents moved into the Athlete's Village Co-op. In June the Mayor's Task Force on Housing Affordability released their interim report, *"Bold Ideas Towards an Affordable City"* (City of Vancouver 2012), mentioning the need for leveraging more city land. In July the city's official Housing & Homelessness Strategy (2012-2021) was adopted by Council, calling for more than 5,000 units of affordable housing, 10,000 units of market rental, and 20,000 units of strata housing to be built in

the next 10 years. One month later, a Request for Expressions of Interest (RFEOI) was issued, named *More Homes, More Affordability*, the call asked for proposals to build affordable housing on six city-owned sites across the city. Seven months later the Community Land Trust would win the bid to develop all six sites and turn four of them into co-ops (City of Vancouver 2013).

Four years later in 2017, while developing the previous six sites across the city, the Community Land Trust again won an RFP to operate a new development on city-owned land like the Olympic Athletes Village, built by a developer in exchange for density and Community Amenity Contribution cash – the Railyard Coop at 95 E 1st Ave (City of Vancouver 2017). Welcoming its residents in February 2018, it was the third, and largest, co-op to be developed since provincial funding ended in 2002. At the same time, the city issued another RFP to develop an additional eight sites on city-owned land, and in April 2018 the Community Land Trust was awarded all eight sites. Of these sites, two are currently being developed as new co-ops, and the others are being developed in partnership with non-profit housing organizations (City of Vancouver 2018). All sites are complete or under construction as of December 2023.

While the City of Vancouver had slowly but steadily been acquiring and developing affordable housing sites since the 1970s, in July 2014 they took a significant step forward by creating the Vancouver Affordable Housing Agency (VAHA). This was the direct result of the adoption of the Housing and Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 and its goal of delivering 5,000 units of social housing and 5,000 units of secured market rental housing by 2021. To achieve this goal, the agency was given the direct responsibility for developing 2,500 units of affordable housing on City and partner land by 2021. This agency and its staff were responsible for expediting affordable housing delivery, facilitating the development and redevelopment of City and partner land, and becoming a “centre of expertise with dedicated resources to expedite housing delivery through innovative approaches and partnerships.” (City of Vancouver 2014).

In June 2018 VAHA was handed control of the majority of the City of Vancouver’s affordable housing assets through the creation of the Vancouver Affordable Housing Endowment Fund (VAHEF). This was in response to the adoption of the new Housing Vancouver Strategy 2018-2027 in November 2017, and the new goal of delivering 72,000 new homes across a range of tenures, including 12,000 new units of social and

supportive housing, and 20,000 new purpose-built market rental units by 2027. This strategy also included the explicit target of creating 2,000 new units of co-op housing within 10 years (City of Vancouver 2018). Adopting a “portfolio approach”, VAHEF’s goal was to leverage the combined assets previously under management by a number of City business units and legal entities to sustainably manage and grow the city’s portfolio of affordable housing assets (City of Vancouver 2018). Much like the previously discussed Community Land Trust, a major function of the VAHEF is to remove land and assets from the speculative and escalating nature of the equity-based real estate market, allowing for future affordability and security of tenure (City of Vancouver 2018). At the time of the transfer, VAHEF assets included more than 200 buildings, representing more than 15,000 housing units, at a total value of more than CAD\$2 billion (City of Vancouver 2019). Both case study sites, and all recent Community Land Trust developments in the City of Vancouver, are owned by VAHEF, administered by VAHA, and leased to the CLT on 60-to-99-year leases.

Chapter 3.

Literature Review

This literature review was conducted to establish a practical and theoretical understanding of the core components of this research and consisted of two distinct parts – literature regarding historical and contemporary contexts of non-market housing development in Canada, and literature regarding the 3-Is Framework of policy change. Developing an understanding of these bodies of literature helped inform the lens through which the policy and document analysis was conducted, as well as informing the semi-structured interviews and subsequent transcription analysis. Finally, this literature review informed the identification of Key Institutional Development Periods and the definitions and applicability of the 3-Is Framework – Ideas, Interests, and Institutions – in the two case study buildings.

3.1. The 3-Is Framework of Policy Change

There are a number of analytical models developed to help understand how and why policies are created, changed, or abandoned over time, and this paper utilizes three interrelated factors to understand these changes: Ideas, Interests and Institutions, and utilizes a fourth influencing variable: valence, first developed by Cox & Beland (2013). While the foundational elements of Ideas, Interests and Institutions have existed in political theory for a long time, it was not until the 1970s that institutions-based and interests-based analysis became common lenses through which to study political economy and policy change, and it was not until the 1990s that ideas-based analysis came into practice (Hall 1997). Along this paradigm shift in political economy analysis, political scientists H. Hecló and P.A. Hall in the 1990s began to theorize that ideas, institutions, and interests were the “building blocks” of politics and policy change, and that by focusing solely on one element, be it the traditional *institution-based*, *interest-based*, or *idea-based analysis*, we lose sight of the complex relationships that exist between each element in affecting policy and broader social change (Hall 1997; Bashir & Ungar 2015). It is the interrelationship between each variable that influences change, not any one variable alone. Hecló asserts, “interests tell institutions what to do”; institutions tell ideas how to survive”; and “ideas tell interests what to mean” (Hecló 1994; Bashir &

Ungar 2015). Like Hulchanski's housing building blocks, explored below, the 3-Is Framework helps illustrate the ways in which ideas influence actors and interests, who in turn influence institutions, which in turn influences and enacts policies to create desired outcomes (See Figure 2).

The 3-Is Framework has been used in both social and health policy analysis, seeking to examine the complex relationships between policy development and change and its impacts on public health and social wellbeing outcomes (Humpage 2010; Murphy 2008; Gauvin 2014; Bashir & Ungar 2015; Shearer et al 2016). The approach has also been used in transportation policy analysis (Dudley & Richardson 2000; Gallez et al, 2013; Pojani & Stead 2014), as well as in sustainability policy adoption (Cox & Beland 2013; Kern 2011) to demonstrate how global trends in transportation and sustainability policy development can influence local policy adoption and implementation.

From a housing policy perspective, the 3-Is Framework has not been extensively used. Minnery & Greenhalgh (2016) used the 3-Is Framework to understand how the Brisbane Housing Company (BHC) came to be created and how project decisions were made in its first years of operation. Desroches & Poland (2023) sought to understand the institutions, interest, ideas, and networks (3I+N) that influenced the creation of supportive housing programmes for female heads of single-parent families in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. And Raynor & Whitzman (2021) used an adapted model to explore how intersectoral policy networks shape affordable housing outcomes, using Melbourne, Toronto, Portland, and Vancouver as case studies. These examples are explored in more detail in Section 3.2 below.

While the 3-Is Framework is widely used in the transportation, health, and social sciences fields, it is a relatively abstract and highly adaptable model for analyzing and explaining policy change, as evidenced by the range of applications and variety of definitions utilized by different authors. The flexibility of this model can be considered a strength, allowing for unique and adaptive applications across different disciplines and approaches. Conversely, without rigid definitions or formulae it can be difficult to apply one author's model to similar research or conduct comparative analyses. At its core, the 3-Is Framework is made up of three key elements – Ideas, Interests, and Institutions, and as I will explore below, these elements can be defined and modelled in a number of different ways. For the purpose of this research, it was necessary to blend and adapt a

number of different analytical models and definitions to accurately capture the context and nuance of the phenomena observed in the two case studies.

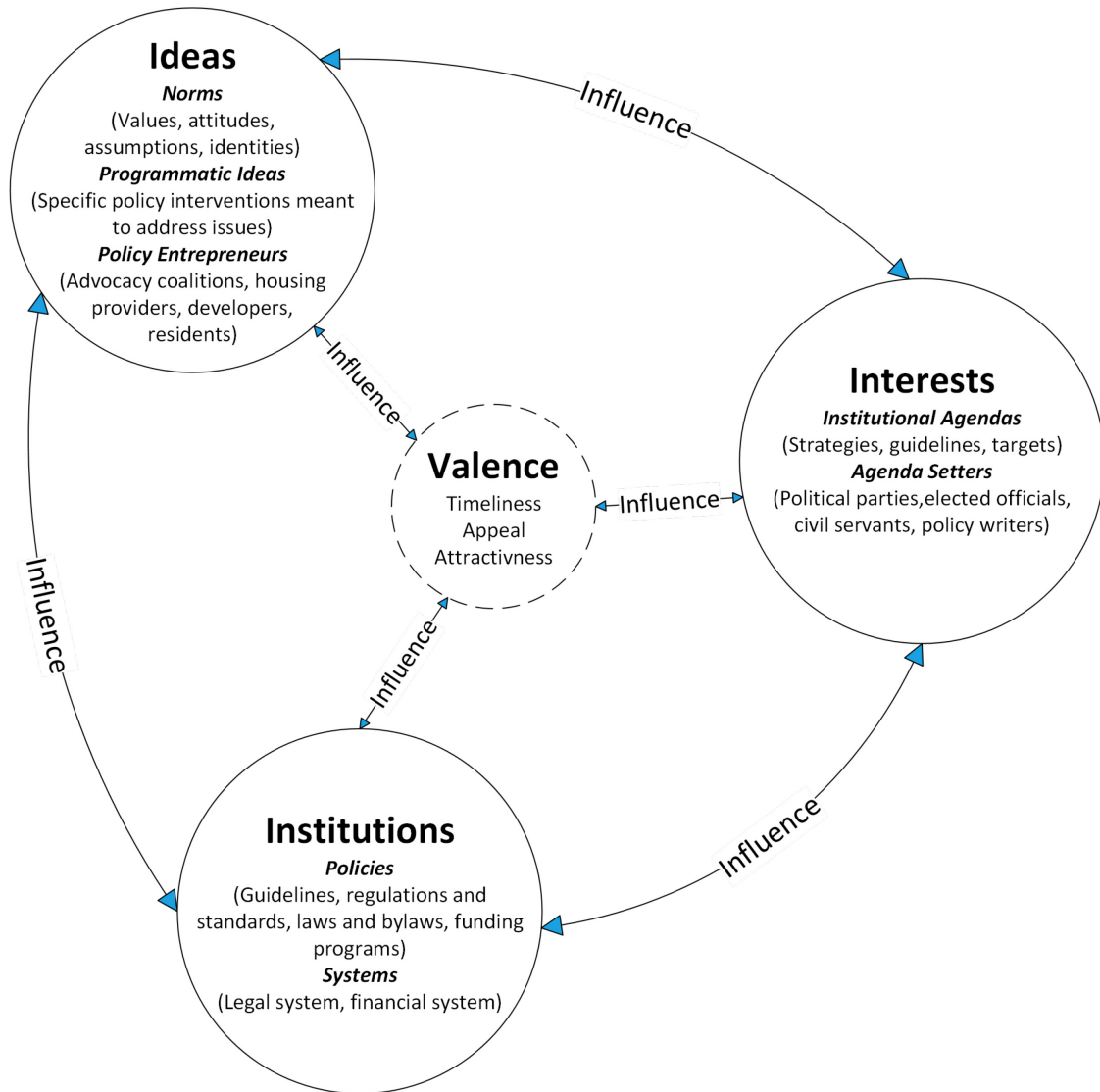


Figure 3 – 3-Is+Valence Analytical Framework

Source: Adapted from Pojani & Stead (2014) Ideas, interests, and institutions: explaining Dutch transit-oriented development challenges

3.1.1. Ideas

Ideas may at first seem a self-evident concept, but in the policy sciences an Idea is a broad term that can be understood and interpreted at the individual or collective level, can be implicit or explicit, and can exist at any level of abstraction (Birkland 2015; Campbell 2002). In the literature related to the 3-Is Framework of policy change, Ideas are most often understood to be the beliefs, values, and/or evidence that influence individuals or groups and their understanding of the world around them, how they identify problems, and how they believe these problems can or should be addressed at the policy level (Gallez et al 2013; Shearer et al 2016; Pojani & Stead 2014). Gallez et al. (2013), consider Ideas to mean " the values, beliefs and norms which influence the formulation of problems and the choice of political solutions." As well, Shearer et al (2016) state that Ideas "relate to the content and strength of actors' values and knowledge in the policy process." They further assert that, "Ideas shape agenda-setting, policy formulation and implementation by determining which representations of the problem and potential solutions will be heard and understood by policymakers."

Pojani & Stead (2014) elaborate on these understandings and discern two distinct aspects of Ideas when considering policy change. The first can be distilled as '**norms**', these are the taken-for-granted values, attitudes, assumptions, and identities that policy actors have themselves, or assume others will share. These are the core beliefs that an individual or group hold that influences their understanding of an issue, and whether they believe it to be a problem or not. The second aspect of Ideas can be understood as '**programmatic ideas**', these define particular policy problems and specify how to solve them. Pojani & Stead (2014) borrowed this understanding of ideas as specific policy interventions from John Campbell's 2002 Ideas, Politics and Public Policy, where programmatic ideas were defined as, "precise causal (i.e., cognitive) ideas that facilitate policy making among elites by specifying how to solve particular policy problems." Pojani & Stead (2014), and I in this thesis, expand this definition beyond just the policy elite to consider the broader public's understanding of issues and their preferences for policy solutions.

Lastly, when considering Ideas we must consider not just the Ideas themselves, but how those norms and programmatic ideas come into being in the first place, and how they are influenced over time. This is an area where much of the 3-Is Framework

literature lacks a common understanding or definition, and we look to the field of agenda-setting and comparative public policy to borrow the concept of the '**Policy entrepreneur**'. Coined by John Kingdon in 1984 (Corbett 2003), Policy entrepreneurs, sometimes known as policy champions, advocates, or ambassadors, are the educators, advocates and networkers; these are the Idea-holders that seek to influence the public and/or decision-makers' norms and preferences towards specific programmatic ideas (Campbell 2002; Birkland 2015; Cox & Beland 2013; Kingdon 1995; Pojani & Stead 2014). Policy entrepreneurs can be individuals or groups, think tanks or research organizations, professional associations, faith groups, non-profit organizations, advocacy coalitions, or business groups. Policy entrepreneurs do not have to be in positions of power themselves, they seek to influence change without necessarily having the resources to do so alone (Kingdon 1995).

For the purpose of this research, it was important to understand the three component parts of the Idea – the *norms* that influence the beliefs and contextual understanding of a policy actor, the *programmatic ideas* about what are issues worthy of attention and how to address them, and the *Policy entrepreneurs* as the idea holders and advocates who champion their norms and programmatic ideas.

3.1.2. Interests

Interests are less clearly defined in 3-Is Framework literature and are often an area where an author augments the model to understand or expound the phenomena or variables they are investigating. Shearer et al (2016) utilize Interests, "to describe the preferences and power embedded in policy actors", considering interests to be both policy actors and actors' policy preferences. Pomey et al. (2010) define Interests as "agendas of societal groups, elected officials, civil servants, researchers, and policy entrepreneurs", but this does not align with the consensus view that researchers, societal groups and policy entrepreneurs are not themselves agenda-setters or decision-makers, and only seek to influence Institutional Agendas. Therefore, we relegate these groups to the purview of policy entrepreneurs, or idea holders, and consider the civil servants and elected officials within the Institutions of government to be the Interests of import, which we consider as '**agenda setters**' below.

Pojani and Stead (2014) do not provide a singular definition for Interests, instead abstracting the idea into the mechanisms by which policy change occurs. Borrowing from Birkland's (2010) work on agenda setting, Pojani & Stead discern Interests into two elements, the '**institutional agenda**', which they call Agenda, and self-interest and group competition, which they call Power. Birkland defines an institutional agenda as "that list of items explicitly up for the active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers." Pojani & Stead consider Interests to be both the agenda of a decision-making body and the groups that seek to influence that agenda. While the consideration of Interests as both decisions and the decision-makers themselves aligns with our understanding of Interests, the idea that all groups seeking to influence an institutional agenda are themselves Interests does not. Specifically, we consider those individuals or groups seeking to influence policy change without power themselves to be policy entrepreneurs, and not Interests.

For Gallez et al. (2013) Interests are "the strategic dimension of public action, the manner in which actors formulate their objectives and their demands, negotiating representation and putting strategies into place to defend them." Along these lines we define Interests as policy writers and decision-makers themselves, as well as the active process of policy change, they undertake. In this way, we define Interests as the mechanisms by which policy change is achieved, '**institutional agendas**' being created and acted upon by decision-makers, the policy actors who we call '**agenda setters**', themselves being influenced by Ideas, norms, programmatic ideas, and policy entrepreneurs, in the hopes of achieving policy change.

For the purpose of this research, the Interests in question are limited to the municipal government of the City of Vancouver as the epicentre of decision-making in this study. The decisions, strategies, and aspirational efforts undertaken by the municipality constitute the 'institutional agenda' while the city's staff and elected officials are the 'agenda setters'.

3.1.3. Institutions

There is more consensus around the understanding and definitions of Institutions. Shearer et al (2016) define Institutions as the "rules of the game' that structure policymaking in ways that favour some outcomes over others." Pojani & Stead

(2014) define Institutions as "the formal or informal procedures, routines and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or the economy." Gallez et al. (2013) extrapolate "institutional logic" from the concept to identify the formal frameworks and processes that actively influence individual decisions, such as laws, procedures, and organizational structures. Similarly, Desroches & Poland (2023) define Institutions as "rules, policies and standards."

Institutions are not just formal structures like governments and their related agencies, they can also include "a range of formalised and semi-formalised non-state actors, organisations and bodies" (Minnery & Greenhalgh 2016). Institutions, which we define here to include the policies within the Institutions themselves, in turn influence the Ideas, norms and programmatic ideas, and Interests and institutional agendas and agenda setters. Institutions influence policy change through the very nature of their structures and the norms surrounding them. The formal and informal procedures, routines, and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity, or the economy act as "socially devised constraints that filter Ideas and shape the interaction of interest groups." (Pojani & Stead 2014).

For the purpose of this research, we discern two distinct aspects of Institutions as '**policies**'. One aspect being the concrete laws, bylaws, guidelines and standards that set the rules and procedures of decision-making, and the second being the '**systems**' that they operate in. For example, it is important to consider a specific law, 'policy', as being an integral part of, but separate from, the 'legal system' itself. Similarly, it is important to consider a zoning bylaw for a particular plot of land, 'policy', as an integral part of, but separate from, the 'housing system'. Institutional 'policies' influence and inform the Institutional 'systems', which in turn action and influence said policies. It is important to recognize that Institutions change over time, as explored by Fuller (2010) and Minnery & Greenhalgh (2016) and that these changes are influenced and facilitated by Interests, institutional agendas and agenda setters, as well as by Ideas, norms, programmatic ideas, and policy entrepreneurs.

3.1.4. Valence

Finally, we consider a fourth element, distinct from but interrelated to the 3-Is Framework foundations of Ideas, Interests and Institutions – '**valence**'. The concept of

valence is based in chemistry, referring to the charge of an electron that attracts atoms to one another. While the term has been used in other social sciences, it had not previously been used in the policy studies until Cox & Beland (2013) introduced the term as, “an emotional quality of an idea that can be either or positive in its character, or high or low in its intensity.” Pojani & Stead (2014) further refined the notion to explain ‘the interaction mechanism that produces policy change (or resists policy change if there is insufficient valence)’. Specifically, it refers to the contextual conditions when certain policies seem attractive, or sticky, at particular moments in time. If a policy, or programmatic idea, has widespread popular appeal, it is considered to have valence or strong valence; if it is not popular, it does not have valence, or has weak valence (Ibid).

Some authors have chosen to introduce valence as an influencing variable into a traditional 3-Is Framework model as a way to measure or describe how and why certain norms and programmatic ideas change over time, using contextual information to help understand why some policies changes are successful and why other are not. Cox & Beland (2013) defined four factors that influence the valence of a policy: time, timeliness, intensity of attraction, and strength of policy entrepreneurs. Time relates to new ideas being fresh and exciting, potentially losing appeal over time based on experience of the policy, but also potentially remaining strong if there are positive results. Timeliness relates the idea being in the right place at the right time, related to the idea of a policy window in policy sciences (Kingdon 1995). Intensity of attraction relates to the intensity of emotions people feel towards an idea, which Cox & Beland (2013) posit are more positive at higher levels of abstraction, such as considering community safety and fairness, and lower at lower levels of abstraction, like property tax rates. Lastly, they engage policy entrepreneurs in this variable as way to explain how the valence of policy ideas change over time, based on the strengths or weakness of their champions.

Pojani & Stead (2014) refined their understanding of valence into the first three factors, which they define as, “(1) the policy lifecycle (e.g., the extent to which existing policies are valued or discredited); (2) timeliness or zeitgeist (i.e., the sense that a ‘time for change has come’); and (3) the appeal of concepts or ideas (i.e., the emotional intensity of attraction).” In removing policy entrepreneurs from the conceptual framework, they instead focus the valence of an Idea on the contextual environment and not any individual policy actor. It is this understanding of valence that I have adopted in this study, as it aligns most closely with the phenomena under study.

3.1.5. 3-Is+Valence Analytical Framework

This paper examines two recent cooperative housing developments in Vancouver for the purpose of determining why there had been little to no cooperative housing development in the past decade and why this model of affordable housing development has returned. The analysis is based on an analytical framework (see Figure 2) examining the roles of 'Ideas', 'Interests', and 'Institutions', and their interrelationships in affecting housing policy outcomes in the City of Vancouver. We introduce a fourth variable, valence, defined by Pojani & Stead (2014) as "as an indicator of the alignment (or nonalignment) of the three Is." More specifically, valence is used to explain the mechanism for why a policy changes or does not change, by determining how attractive or unattractive a policy or idea is at one time compared to another (Pojani & Stead 2014). Borrowed from chemistry and psychology, valence in public policy discourse refers to the conditions when certain public policies seem to have public or elite support, 'stickiness' (Cox & Beland 2013; Pojani & Stead 2014). This fourth element helps inform our understanding of the interrelationship between the other three variables.

This paper builds on the aforementioned academic 3-Is Framework of policy change literature, studying the relationship between Ideas, Interests and Institutions, and the valence of cooperative housing as a policy intervention in Vancouver's affordable housing development. A more detailed analysis is presented in the Methodology and Findings sections.

3.2. Applicability of the 3-Is Framework in understanding housing system in Canada

While there is a growing body of research utilizing the 3-I Framework in the social sciences, transport, and health policy, there are fewer studies that utilize this approach in housing policy discourse (Bengtsson 2012). This may be a result of the somewhat limited visibility of political science theory in housing policy, as posited by Bengtsson (2012) and Cox & Beland (2013). Among the housing policy studies utilizing variations of the 3-Is Framework are Desroches & Poland (2023) who sought to understand the institutions, interest, ideas, and networks (3I+N) that influenced the creation of supportive housing programmes for female heads of single-parent families in Montreal,

Toronto, and Vancouver. Desroches & Poland found that the success of these programmes was due to the involvement of community “champions” and their ability to mobilize community members and local government decision-makers in support of their innovative policies and projects. The 3I+N model, coined by Shearer et al (2016), analyzes the three independent variables of ideas, interests and institutions, and integrates them with the conceptual framework of policy networks and policy network theory. In this case, networks are defined “as both empirically measurable sets of actors and their relationships, and as intentional governance or management structures within agency to act strategically” (Shearer et al 2016).

Raynor & Whitzman (2021) used an adapted model to explore how intersectoral policy networks shape affordable housing outcomes, using Melbourne, Toronto, Portland, and Vancouver as case studies, but it falls short of the model required for this study, though their findings are important and germane to this research. Using policy network theory in a comparative analysis of policy networks in the case study cities, they sought to understand the interrelated influences of policy actors and their impacts on affordable housing policy adoption. While not explicitly employing the 3-I Framework, their analysis of the interrelationship between interests and institutions in the successful delivery of affordable housing policy change in Vancouver validates much of what was found in the research undertaken here, albeit through a policy network lens. Their research found that government policy development was influenced by community advocates and the experience of other city’s in implementing similar policies, “a set of mutually reinforcing factors: advocacy coalitions set agendas which influence senior government, aided by local-level consistency in funding regimes.” (Raynor & Whitzman 2021: Pg. 19)

Similarly, Minnery & Greenhalgh (2016) used the 3-Is Framework to understand how the Brisbane Housing Company (BHC) came to be created in Australia and how project decisions were made in its first years of operation. The BHC is a non-profit organization established in 2011 as partnership between Brisbane City Council and the Queensland State government in Australia, and a number of community housing and professional organizations. This independent entity, which resembles a Community Land Trust in a number of ways, was tasked with creating new affordable housing in the region using innovative development models, and its multi-shareholder model resulted in many different types of housing being proposed and approved. This research found that

the prevailing Ideas of “an overall affordable housing crisis, specific problems of homelessness and a public housing provision model that creates rising public financial commitments”, and advocacy of the groups’ shareholders influenced the Interests and Institutions in adopting innovative housing development types (Minnery & Greenhalgh 2016).

Hulchanski outlines three building blocks as a conceptual framework for understanding a country’s housing system and situates Canada’s housing system and policy within them. The first is to understand that each country develops its own housing system, responding to the needs of its population and establishing all of the policies that govern them, including financial policy, building regulations, and welfare state benefits. The second is to understand the jurisdictional relationships within each housing system, including the roles of each level of government. The third is to understand “why and how some groups and some housing forms/tenures benefit from public policy decisions more than others.” (Hulchanski 2004). When considered alongside the 3-Is Framework of policy change, Hulchanski’s building blocks look a lot like Ideas, Interests and Institutions. Institutions are policies, processes, and norms the make up a housing system. Interests are the jurisdictional relationships between governments, policies and actors. And Ideas are the programmatic ideas, or policy interventions, being moved through the system by policy entrepreneurs, determining why and how some housing forms are chosen over others.

These building blocks provide clear insight into not just Canada’s housing policies themselves, but the jurisdictional relationships and dynamic pressures that helped shape them in favour of owner-occupied single-family home ownership over the last 70 years. Hulchanski makes the consistent argument that while Canada’s housing system may be perceived to be market-driven, it is in fact government policy driven, and that the current housing system is the direct result of decades of government policy and policy change. This paper seeks to understand two of these changes, the delegitimation of cooperative housing development in the 1990s and 2000s, and its subsequent resurgence since 2012.

Grisé (2016) also comments on changes in housing policy in Canada over time and presents unique analysis of the devolution of social housing responsibility from the federal government to the provinces and municipalities using case studies in Toronto

and Vancouver. Similarly, Sousa & Quarter (2003) and Pomeroy (2004) tracked the changes and subsequent struggles of private non-profit and cooperative housing associations as a result of the elimination of federal and provincial funding for social and co-op housing since 1993. Finally, Guenther (2006) and Crabtree et al (2019b) present a concise analysis of Canada's cooperative housing system, including the impacts of policy changes over time using case studies to illustrate the very direct impact that policy change at higher levels of government has on the types of housing that can get built at the local level.

When considered through the 3-Is lens, the Idea that cutting the deficit was more important than funding social housing influenced the Interests at the federal level, as well as across many provinces. This shifted Institutional rules and policies around funding social and cooperative housing, which resulted in the halt of their development. This in turn resulted in the very real struggles of the organizations that serve lower income communities. These pieces inform the context and conceptual framework of this study by demonstrating the increased strain that the non-market housing system has experienced since the end of federal funding programs in the 1990s and the impacts experienced in jurisdictions across Canada. Grisé (2016), Pomeroy (2004) and Sousa & Quarter (2003) also provide detailed insights into the federal and provincial policies which have supported or inhibited cooperative housing development across Canada.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

Given the relatively recent return of cooperative housing development in the City of Vancouver, this thesis attempts to answer the question of why and how it has returned after sixteen years. While there are significant bodies of literature that explore the success and ultimate disappearance of cooperative housing development in Canada after the end of new federal capital and operating funding in 1992, the resurgence of these developments is a novel and understudied phenomenon. The goal of this research, by way of case study, is to understand the processes by which two of the first large-scale cooperative housing developments since 2002 came to be built within the City of Vancouver and the variables which influenced the ultimate delivery of both projects.

By understanding and analyzing the context within which each building was developed, I tested a series of variables to determine why cooperative housing was ultimately employed over other non-market housing types. By exploring the policy frameworks that existed during this time, including provincial and federal funding programs, and the development processes undertaken, we found that co-ops were proposed and approved for development because of policy changes at the municipal level favouring cooperative housing development. In conducting these case studies, I have identified the factors which led to their success in each respective circumstance, and find that cooperative housing development returned to Vancouver not because it is an inherently more affordable or easier to build and manage non-market housing type compared to non-profit or government operated housing, but because it has widespread public approval as an affordable housing type, and that the attractiveness, or “valence”, of co-ops has significant influence on decision-makers.

This research utilized a mixed-methods approach. First, a policy analysis of municipal, provincial, and federal housing policies from 1949 to 2023 was conducted to understand actors and agencies (Ideas), resource availability (Institutions), government housing targets and preferences (Interests), and attitudes and beliefs around affordable housing provision (Ideas). In identifying the Ideas, Interests and Institutions that shaped

social housing policy evolution over time in Canada I was able to identify four (4) distinct periods of social housing policy, referred to here as '**Key Institutional Periods**'. These periods of social and cooperative housing development informed the subsequent analysis of the documents related to the two cooperative housing developments in Vancouver and the six (6) semi-structured key informant interviews with key stakeholders involved in the development of both buildings.

The case study included an analysis of all documents relevant to the two developments, including municipal bylaws, rezoning and development applications and permits, and municipal, provincial and federal policy and funding program documents from each of the development periods in study. The document analysis for each building resulted in a "case framework" which was used to compare and contrast the two projects in relation to each other, against the development periods identified in the policy analysis, and against the results of the key informant interviews.

While this project relies on policy and document analysis of publicly available data from Open Data portals and government publications, it was also important to conduct the key informant interviews to corroborate the initial findings and fill in gaps presented by the literature. There are limitations to using only official documents and publicly available data, especially when those documents are aspirational or political in nature, such as intended policy outcomes and long-term strategies. Interviews with people and organizations impacted by these policies and their outcomes both complement and supplement the findings of the document and policy analyses. By seeking the experience and observations of subject matter experts I was better able to test the theories and frameworks developed through the initial literature review, policy review, and document analysis.

4.1. Case Study Selection

The two case study buildings were selected because they were two of the first new cooperative housing developments to open in Vancouver since the Athletes Village Co-op opened in 2012, and each had a unique development process, which I call a '**case development context**'. The Railyard Coop was established after the Community Land Trust was awarded the Non-Profit Operator Agreement through a Request for Proposals (RFP) of an already built building in December 2017 – they received

occupancy of the building in February 2018. By contrast, the two Fraserview Coops were designed, developed and constructed by the Community Land Trust after being awarded the *More Homes, More Affordability* RFP to develop multiple affordable housing projects across 6 undeveloped city-owned sites in May 2013. The buildings completed construction in 2018 and 2020.

The selection of one case study that had an operator award of an existing building, and one case study with a design and build award on undeveloped City-owned land was intentional to illustrate the different ways in which social and affordable housing are developed in Vancouver, and the ways in which cooperative housing models can be successful proponents in these different development contexts.

4.1.1. 2855 East Kent Ave North, Vancouver known as the “Fraserview Towers Co-op”

The Fraserview Towers Co-op is located at 2855 East Kent Avenue North (2780-2800 Southeast Marine Drive) in the City of Vancouver. The site borders Southeast Marine Drive to the north and East Kent Avenue North to the south, in the neighbourhood known informally as the River District. This area is officially part of the Killarney neighbourhood, one of the city’s 22 Local Planning Areas.

The site was previously an undeveloped lot owned by the city’s Property Endowment Fund and was later transferred to the Vancouver Affordable Housing Endowment Fund in 2018. Figure 4 illustrates the site and neighbouring parcels, which includes almost entirely multi-family residential buildings, with the exception of a municipal pump station to the south, and a park to the southwest.



Figure 3 – Photograph of the Fraserview Towers Co-op
 Retrieved from: Google Maps <https://maps.app.goo.gl/JbC4PAHJmHn7Xj6q7>



Figure 4 – Site map and surrounding sites
 Retrieved from the City of Vancouver *More Homes, More Affordability* Request for Expressions of Interest (“RFEI”) PS20120780, August 7, 2012

The Fraserview Towers Co-op consists of two 12-storey multi-family developments with 188 units which opened in May 2020. The building was designed and built for a variety of tenant types, including families, and is comprised of 128 one-bedroom, 50 two-bedroom, and 10 three-bedroom units. There is no dedicated commercial space in the building. The building is intended to be mostly low-to-moderate income households, with at least 75% of the units rented at affordable housing rates, and at least 20% of units rented at a deep subsidy rate, as determined by the provincial

government, explained below. It shares the site parcel and underground parking with another co-op, the Tikva Housing Co-op. The Tikva Housing Co-op consists of 32 3-bedroom townhouse units independent of the two towers, except for the shared underground parking, and was constructed at the same time by the Community Land Trust in partnership with the Tikva Housing Society – the townhouses opened 3 months later than the towers in August 2020.

Both the Fraserview Towers Co-op and Tikva Housing Co-op were designed and developed by the Community Land Trust as part of a multi-site RFP process to develop affordable housing on City of Vancouver owned land. However, due to the Tikva Housing Co-op's independence from the Fraserview Towers Co-op and partnership with another non-profit society, it is not part of this case study.

The Fraserview Towers Co-op was originally intended to be a single tower on the current site, with the second tower operated by a non-profit society supporting low-income seniors, and the townhomes belonging to a separate co-op overseen by the Tikva Housing Society. However, when the proposed non-profit partner “pulled out midway through the process,” the CLT decided, “Well we'll just make the coop bigger” and develop both towers as a single co-op (Interviewee 4, Feb. 14, 2023). Similarly, the intent was for the two towers to be part of a larger multi-site co-op which would include a second townhouse development at a nearby site on the waterfront at 2922 E Kent Ave South, known as the Fraserview Coop. This site was part of the same City of Vancouver Request for Proposals, and the CLT intended these 3-bedroom waterfront townhomes to be rented near market costs to cross subsidize units in the towers. However, when development of the towers was delayed, the CLT decided to incorporate the waterfront townhomes as the Fraserview Housing Co-operative and separate it from the Fraserview Towers Co-op. The Tikva Housing Co-op continue to independently manage the townhouses adjacent to the Fraserview Towers Co-op. This is explained in greater detail in the Findings section.

Table 1 – Summary of case study details – Fraserview Towers

Project Summary			
Project Address	2855 East Kent Avenue North, Vancouver, BC		
Project Name	Fraserview Towers Co-op		
Local Area Plan	East Fraser Lands Official Development Plan		
Zoning	CD-1 (247)		
Owner	City of Vancouver Property Endowment Fund		
Lessee	Vancouver Community Land Trust Foundation		
Operator	Fraserview Towers Housing Co-operative		
Construction Type	Concrete, two 12-storey towers		
Occupancy	May 2020		
Lease Term	99 Years	Pre-Paid Lease	\$10.00
Freehold Market Value of Lease (%)	95%	Freehold Market Value of Lease	\$23.2 million
City Grant (%) of Project	22%	City Grant	\$22 million

Table created with data from City of Vancouver reports and interviews.

4.1.2. 95 East 1st Ave, Vancouver known as the “Railyard Co-op”

The Railyard Co-op is located at 95 East 1st Avenue (1551 Quebec Street) in the City of Vancouver. The site is located at the northwest corner of 1st Avenue at Quebec Street in the neighbourhood known informally as the Olympic Village and Southeast False Creek. This area is officially part of the Mount Pleasant neighbourhood, one of the city’s 22 Local Planning Areas.

The site was previously a car rental lot, consisting of a small one-storey commercial building and a large, fenced parking lot. Figure 6 illustrates the site and neighbouring parcels, which are made up almost entirely of multi-storey residential buildings, except for a two-storey commercial building immediately south of the building.



Figure 5 – Photograph of the Railyard Co-op
 Retrieved from: Google Maps <https://maps.app.goo.gl/jEL4mjk9SpWiK4Zv9>

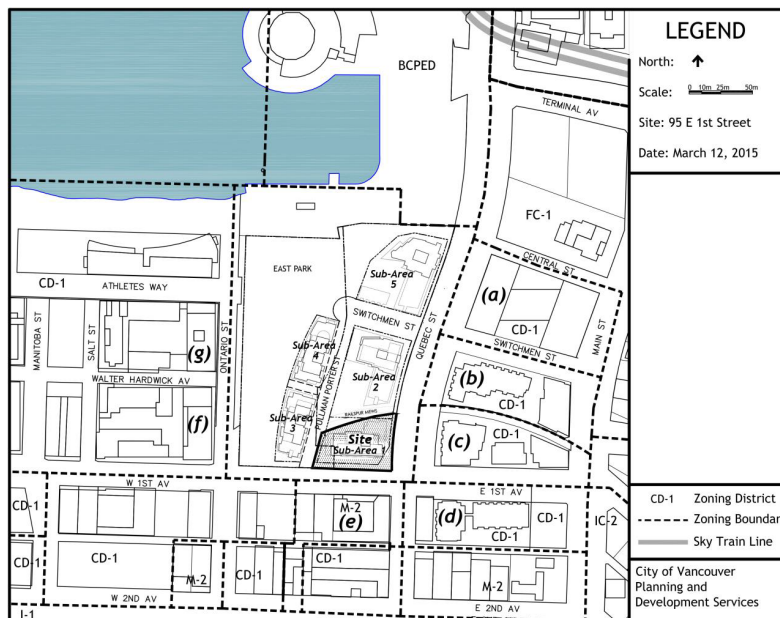


Figure 6 – Site map and surrounding sites
 Retrieved from the City of Vancouver development permit report for the Railyard Co-op; *Report DE418872 – Pending Zone CD-1, May 15, 2015*

The Railyard Co-op is a 15-storey multi-family development consisting of 135 units. It was developed by Concert Properties and was given to the City of Vancouver in lieu of cash as part of a required Community Amenity Contribution (CAC) for other

developments in the immediate vicinity. The details of this transaction are highlighted in the Findings section. The land was originally part of the city’s Property Endowment Fund but was later transferred to Vancouver Affordable Housing Endowment Fund in 2018. The building was designed and built for a variety of tenant types, including families, and consists of 35 studio, 20 one-bedroom, 43 two-bedroom, and 28 three-bedroom units, making it one of the largest family-oriented buildings in the neighbourhood. There are also 7 accessible one-bedroom units, 1 accessible two-bedroom unit, and 1 accessible three-bedroom unit. There is no dedicated commercial space in the building, however, upon opening the co-op converted two units into a childcare centre for residents and members of the community.

The building is intended to be mixed-income, with a maximum of 71 units to be rented at the Lower-End of Market (LEM), defined as “not to exceed 90% of the appraised market rent for a comparable unit in the local area and shall be no more than 30% of the low- and moderate-income limit as determined by BC Housing”. Not less than 54 units are to be allocated as Housing Income Limits (HILs) units, which puts a maximum household income limit in place, and limits rent as no more than 30% of families’ income, known as “Rent-Geared-to-Income” or RGI. Additionally, not less than 10 units have to be offered at the Shelter Rate, which is determined by the BC Ministry of Social Development and Poverty Reduction for individuals receiving provincial income assistance as of June 2023 the rate is \$375 per month.

Table 2 – Summary of case study details – Railyard Co-op

Project Summary			
Project Address	95 East 1 st Ave, Vancouver BC		
Project Name	Railyard Housing Co-op		
Local Area Plan	Southeast False Creek Official Development Plan		
Zoning	CD-1 (612)		
Owner	City of Vancouver		
Lessee	CLT East 1 st Community Society (<i>Subsidiary of CLT</i>)		
Operator	Railyard Housing Cooperative (<i>Sublessee</i>)		
Construction Type	Concrete, single 15-storey tower		
Occupancy	February 2018		
Lease Term	60 Years	Pre-Paid Lease	\$20.5 million
Freehold Market Value of Lease (%)	38%	Freehold Market Value of Lease	\$53.8 million
City Grant (%)	62%	City Grant	\$33.3 million

Table created with data from City of Vancouver Lease and Operating Agreements with Community Land Trust.

4.1.3. Key Informant Selection

The Key Institutional Periods and case development context analyses created a narrative for how each building came to be developed but did not fully illustrate all factors that led to their successful completion – they answered the questions of how, but not the question of why these buildings were successfully developed. In order to test these understandings, and the theories associated with them, key informant interviews were conducted with key stakeholders involved in each of the case study projects. The intent was to fill in the knowledge gaps that arose from the policy and document analyses, as well as provide some of the unwritten story of how and why certain policies have impacted cooperative housing development in Vancouver.

A stakeholder map of organizations and departments germane to the two developments was created, see Table 3 below, and key individuals at each organization were identified and interviewed, see Table 4. A cross-section of key informants was selected including policy writers and decision-makers at the municipal government, senior leaders within proponent organizations of the development RFPs, and consultants who assisted in creating the proposals. All interviewees had directly worked on one or both projects, and all have been working in the affordable housing and municipal policy sectors for a considerable amount of time. The intent of interviewing multiple organizations was to provide enough information to test and validate the case frameworks, identified themes, and hypotheses.

Semi-structured interviews began with a number of prepared questions, informed by the document analysis and case framework, and supplemented with follow-up, probing, and exploratory questions arising from the subjects' responses. Interviews were recorded and transcribed and then analyzed using coding and memoing utilized in the document and policy analyses. The results of the transcript analysis were compared to the document and policy analysis to identify similarities and differences, corroboration and refutation, anomalies and omissions. The findings can be found in the Findings section below. A sample interview guide can be found in Appendix A.

While consideration was made for interviewing elected officials from different levels of government, given the limited scope and resources available for this project, it was decided to limit the interviews to staff members of relevant organizations and key

stakeholders involved in the project proposals and actual development of each project. However, given how the findings of this research point to the importance of City of Vancouver planners, policymakers, and decision-makers in developing the June 2012 Mayors Task Force on Affordable Housing Interim Report and subsequent Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021, and these documents' pivotal role in the resurgence of cooperative housing development, further research and interviews with key staff members and elected officials from 2011 and 2012 would add significantly to this study.

Table 3 – Stakeholder Map

Stakeholder Map		
Development Name	Railyard Coop	Fraserview Towers Coop
Address	95 E 1 st Ave	2922 E Kent Ave S
Developer	Concert Properties	Community Land Trust*
Consultants	n/a	Terra Social Purpose Real Estate*
Owner	City of Vancouver*	City of Vancouver*
Lessor	Community Land Trust*	Community Land Trust*
Sublessor	CLT East 1 st Community Society (Subsidiary of CLT)	Vancouver Community Land Trust Foundation (Subsidiary of CLT)
Operator	Railyard Housing Co-operative	Fraserview Towers Housing Co-operative

Note: Stakeholder groups selected for interview denoted with *

Table 4 – Interviewee List

Interviewee No.	Organization	Development	Project Involvement
1	Community Land Trust	Fraserview & Railyard	Developer & Project Proponent
2	City of Vancouver	Fraserview & Railyard	Policy Developer & Project Approver
3	Cooperative Housing Federation of BC	Fraserview & Railyard	Developer & Project Proponent
4	CHF-BC & COHO Property Management	Fraserview & Railyard	Developer & Project Proponent
5	City of Vancouver	Railyard Only	Project Approver
6	Terra Social Purpose Real Estate	Fraserview Only	Consultant

4.2. Data Analysis

4.2.1. Policy Analysis

As this study seeks to understand how the policy valence of cooperative housing previously existed and changed over time and its impacts on cooperative housing development, an analysis matrix was created to collect and analyze municipal, provincial, and federal policies related to non-market and cooperative housing development, as well as to track major political events like elections, major RFPs for affordable housing development on City-owned land and the awarding of those contracts. These policy documents and key events were then analyzed, coded, and themed to identify key terms and policy preferences, interventions and outcomes, 'Ideas', as well as identifying the Institutions to which they belonged and/or influenced, and the Interests and actors, involved during each development period. See Table 5 for the parent codes used in the analysis, and Table 6 for the resulting Ideas, Interests and Institutions identified and defined.

The policy analysis included municipal, provincial, and federal policies related to social, non-market, and cooperative housing development as well as legislation and regulations, government and industry program documents, and government and industry publications including meeting minutes and reports. Policies and documents were collected from publicly available publications and datasets, including archives and organizational websites. The Grounded Theory Method (GTM) was employed, a constant comparative method of "continuously comparing observations with one another and the evolving inductive theory," (Babbie & Roberts, 2018), and new information and insights gathered were compared against previous assumptions, theories and themes about Ideas, Interests and Institutions, and the interrelationships between them in bringing about policy change. Early themes and findings refined questions for the key informant interviews, and subsequent analysis further refined the findings. The results of the policy analysis resulted in the identification of Key Institutional Development Periods over time, which helped contextualize each case study by way of the subsequent document and interview analyses.

Table 5 – Parent Codes and Definitions Used in Analysis

Analysis Themes and Coding	
Parent Codes	Definitions
Institutions	<p>The formal or informal procedures, routines, and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or the economy. Institutions are socially devised constraints that filter Ideas and shape the interaction of interest groups.</p> <p>Can include 'systems' like housing systems as well as 'policies', guidelines, standards, laws and bylaws that set the rules and procedures of decision-making. Also include idea-holders, 'policy entrepreneurs', advocates and others who seek to influence change per personal or perceived collective gain, like developers, landowners, local residents, advocacy coalitions, and housing providers. Adapted from Pojani & Stead (2014), and Desroches & Poland (2023).</p>
Interests	<p>The agendas of elected officials and civil servants, called 'institutional agendas', can include policies, strategy documents, and guidelines to direct decision-making.</p> <p>Influenced by 'agenda setters', individuals or groups in positions of power to make decisions, like political parties, elected officials, policy-writers, and civil servants. Adapted from Birkland (2007) and Pojani & Stead (2014).</p>
Ideas	<p>Beliefs, values, and/or evidence that guides Interests and Institutions in policy development.</p> <p>Can include 'norms', taken-for-granted values, attitudes, assumptions, and identities that policy makers have themselves, or assume the public will share, and 'programmatic ideas' that define particular policy problems and specify how to solve them. Adapted from Pojani & Stead (2014).</p>
Valence	<p>The attractiveness, appeal, or timeliness of an idea or policy option. A mechanism to describe why and how policies become popular, stay in use, or are discontinued. Adapted from Cox & Beland (2013) and Pojani & Stead (2014).</p>
Targets	<p>Quantifiable numeric goals in government or organizational policies and strategies</p>
Tenure Type	<p>The tenure structure of housing, whether market rental, strata ownership, non-profit or co-operative</p>
Housing Type	<p>The size and type of housing, including family, low-income, seniors, those at risk of homelessness; multi-family residential towers, medium density apartments, townhomes, single-detached</p>
Partnership	<p>The desire for one or more persons, organizations, or levels of government to work together to develop housing, whether sharing risk and/or sharing resources</p>
Incentives	<p>The financial and/or policy tools used to encourage or discourage certain types of housing development</p>

Table 6 – The ‘3-Is’ of Cooperative Housing Development in Vancouver

Interests	Institutions	Ideas
<p><i>Institutional Agendas</i> Mayors Task Force on Housing Affordability Interim Report June 2012 Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 Housing Vancouver Strategy 2018-2027 2013 More Homes, More Affordability 6-Site RFP 2017 VAHA 8-Site RFP</p>	<p><i>Policies</i> Vancouver Building Code City of Vancouver Zoning Inclusionary Zoning Bylaw Community Amenity Contributions Private Financing Criteria BC Housing Financing Criteria CMHC Financing Criteria</p>	<p><i>Norms</i> We are in a housing crisis; affordable housing must be built Affordable housing is a good use of public resources Partnership between levels of government and non- profits is necessary Financial sustainability is important</p>
<p><i>Agenda Setters</i> Gregor Robertson (Mayor) Vision Vancouver Party City of Vancouver Planning Department Vancouver Affordable Housing Agency</p>	<p><i>Systems</i> Vancouver Housing Development System Canadian Financial System Canadian Legal System</p>	<p><i>Programmatic Ideas</i> Leasing public land at below-market rates to develop affordable housing Inclusionary Zoning is an effective method of delivering affordable housing Family-oriented housing (2- and 3-bedroom units) Co-op housing as a desirable affordable housing type Mixed-income buildings</p>

4.2.2. Case studies

After having completed the macro policy analysis, the Key Institutional Periods were identified and defined, and case studies were conducted using document analysis and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders involved in each case. First, a comprehensive document analysis was undertaken for each of the two case study buildings. As in the policy analysis, documents were collected relating to the development of each building, including zoning requirements, rezoning applications, development applications and permits, municipal and provincial reports and memos, and publications relating to the two case study buildings. Additionally, information was collected about the land tenure and leases, government and other funding contributions, and information about key stakeholders including the involved organizations, government agencies, and political parties – the Interests, agenda setters, and policy entrepreneurs. This information is captured in Table 1 and Table 2 in the Case Study Selection section above. This micro level analysis contextualized each building's unique policy and development attributes within the broader Key Institutional Period identified in the policy analysis and illustrated the specific story of how each building came to be developed, from Idea to occupancy. This narrative of development was informed by early informational interviews and news media, policy analysis, and the final key stakeholder interviews conducted.

4.2.3. Limitations of the Research Design

Limitations of the research design include inability to get interviews with some key municipal employees, as well as elected officials who made decisions related to the two case study buildings and related housing policies and strategies. The perspectives of those closest to the fundamental decisions related to whether these two co-ops would be developed or not, including their core motivations, values, beliefs, attitudes towards specific programmatic ideas, and their personal contexts were not included in this study.

Additionally, the limitations of this study to only two case study buildings, and the fact that they were both co-ops developed by the CLT, may not be fully representative of all non-market housing development that happened during this period of study. Had there been resources to study more buildings, including non-co-op non-market housing built during the same period, and perhaps look at other jurisdictions within British Columbia, a more fulsome picture of the co-operative housing development landscape could be established. For example, the CLT developed a number of sites included in their successful City of Vancouver RFPs in partnership with non-profits, choosing not to develop them into co-ops. It would be worthwhile to investigate the decisions of proponents to not propose co-ops and instead pursue other non-market housing types.

Lastly, there was little quantitative data analyzed beyond simple unit and building counts over time, which may have limited this research in ways yet to be determined.

Chapter 5.

Findings

This findings section analyzes the information from the policy and document analysis of the documentation related to each case study building including Requests for Proposals, Council Reports, government housing strategies, and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders including the landowner (City of Vancouver), proponent (CFH-BC & CLT), developer (Community Land Trust), and development consultant (Terra Social Purpose Real Estate). The following findings suggest that the recent resurgence of cooperative housing development in Vancouver was only possible because of the change of the institutional agendas and environments of housing development (Institutions) and the change in attitudes and beliefs (Ideas) of co-op housing as a desirable development type to meet housing affordability targets, which then influenced City of Vancouver decision-makers and their approaches to housing developments (Interests).

Furthermore, the findings show that this shift began before 2012, but precipitated a series of events in quick succession in 2012 and 2013 which fundamentally shifted the paradigm of affordable housing policy and development in Vancouver, creating the right conditions for the return of cooperative housing development, and its continued success as a viable affordable housing type. The alignment of public opinion (norms and programmatic ideas), political will (policy entrepreneurs and agenda setters), and institutional environment (e.g. policy direction, available land, organizational capacity, and borrowing ability) allowed the first buildings to be developed, and their success demonstrated the viability of the model (Valence) leading to future successful developments. Beginning in 2012 the valence of co-op housing as a programmatic idea grew more positive and continued to influence further opportunities for cooperative housing development into the future.

5.1. Government Housing Development Strategies & Funding Programs

5.1.1. Co-op Housing in Institutional Agendas

As previously stated, beginning with their inclusion in the National Housing Act and related funding programs in 1973, co-ops in Canada were funded through direct capital and operating grants from CMHC and the province of BC until federal funding was ended in 1992, and provincial funding was ended in 2002. From 2002 until late 2017, there was little federal or provincial funding available for co-operative housing development, and very little for social housing generally (Suttor 2016). However, during this time, the Community Land Trust was able to build nearly 600 units of co-operative housing in Vancouver without any federal capital dollars, and with nearly no provincial funding support.

The landscape changed dramatically beginning in November 2017, when the federal government, under the federal Liberal Party elected in October 2015, adopted the National Housing Strategy (2018-2028). This was Canada's first national housing strategy in more than 30 years, which invested billions of dollars over 10 years into new social and co-operative housing development. Three months later in February 2018, the BC government, under the BC New Democratic Party elected in May 2017, adopted Homes for BC (2018), which similarly committed additional billions of dollars over 10 years to support social and co-operative housing development. Also in November 2017, the City of Vancouver adopted the Housing Vancouver Strategy (2018-2027), which set 10-year targets for housing affordability and prioritized putting additional land and resources on the table for development. The Housing Vancouver Strategy was the only government policy document since at least 1989 to set a target for co-operative housing units to be built, outlining a goal of 2,000 new co-op units built by 2027. Given the fact that CLT was able to develop a successful model for cooperative housing development without government capital grants, in the new Joint Reinvestment Development Period with capital grants available and explicit targets in government policy this model of development can certainly be scaled to meet the targets laid out in all three levels of government's affordable housing strategies. See Figure 7 for the progression of events and policy changes.

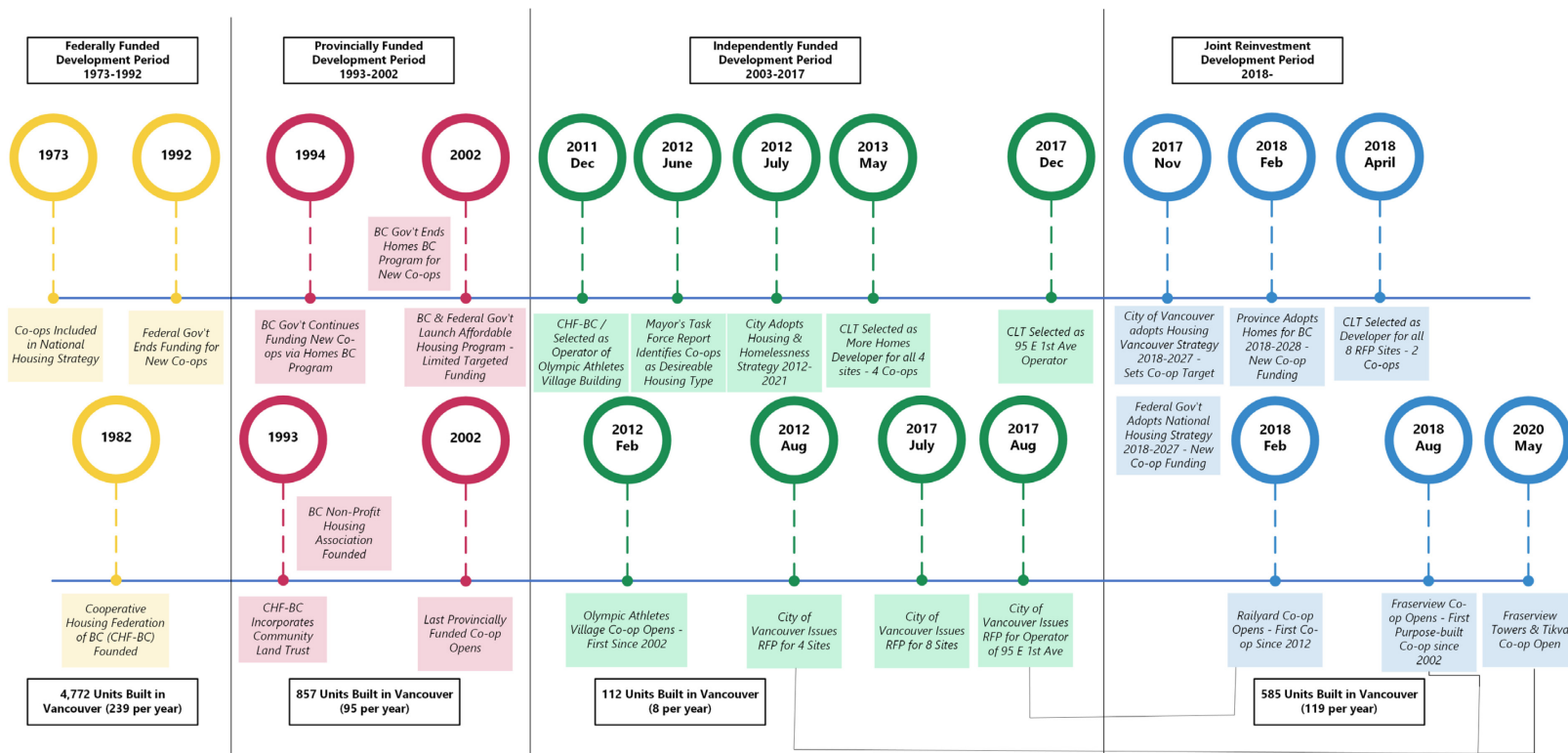


Figure 7 – Policy Changes & Co-op Development in Vancouver 1973-2020

Created from data collected from public sources.

5.1.2. Key Institutional Periods

Through this research four distinct periods of co-operative housing development were identified and categorized as Key Institutional Periods, illustrated and explored below (Table 7 and Figure 7). These periods resemble Greg Suttor's *six social housing periods*, though they differ in that they focus on co-operative housing specifically, and not social and non-market housing generally. Suttor's periods begin at the federal government's entry into funding social housing directly during the *Early public housing period* (1949-1964) which had wartime housing sold to create affordable housing and the introduction of the first income-targeted social housing programs. This period is not captured in the Key Institutional Periods below as the first public co-op did not open until the Willow Park Housing Co-op opened in Winnipeg in 1966. (CHF 2023)

Suttor's second period, also not included, is the *Public housing heyday* (1965-1973) which saw dramatic increases in federally funded social housing, representing ten percent of total housing production, all intended as low-income housing. This period was also not included as co-ops were just being introduced in Canada and were not eligible for federal funding until their inclusion in the National Housing Act in 1973 (Suttor 2016).

Table 7 – Key Institutional Periods

Key Institutional Periods	Period	Co-op Development Rate	Definitions
Federally Funded	1973 –1992	4,662 Units (245 per year)	Significant federal capital and operating funding for cooperative housing development across Canada under National Housing Act and Affordable Housing Initiative (AHI). Required some provincial cost-sharing. Co-ops could borrow from CMHC. All federal capital funding for new cooperative housing ended in 1992.
Provincially Funded	1993 –2002	857 Units (95 per year)	Province of BC continued to fund social and cooperative housing despite withdrawal of federal funds through Homes BC program. Co-ops could no longer borrow from CMHC but could borrow from BC Housing and private lenders. Most provincial capital funding for new cooperative housing ended in 2002.
Independently Funded	2003 –2017	112 Units (8 per year)	Limited federal and provincial capital funding available under AHI, later renamed Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH). Co-ops could still borrow from BC Housing and private lenders. Could not borrow from CMHC.
Joint Reinvestment	2018 –2027	643 Units (129 per year); 104 Under Construction; 1,253 COV Target	New housing strategies and funding programs adopted at municipal, provincial and federal levels. Period is characterized by multi-agency funding and partnership in development. Co-ops are eligible for targeted co-op and open call non-market capital funding, and can borrow from BC Housing, CMHC, and private lenders

Note: The City of Vancouver continued to purchase and lease back property to nonprofit and cooperative housing organizations through all Development Frameworks.

Federally Funded Institutional Period (1973-1992)

The first Key Institutional Period was the Federally Funded Development Period, beginning with the inclusion of co-op housing in the National Housing Act in 1973. This inclusion made co-ops eligible for CMHC loans and capital and operating grants. This period involved significant amounts of public land – municipal, provincial and federal – being made available to non-profit and cooperative housing organizations at below market rates, along with billions of dollars in capital grants (non-repayable) and preferential borrowing (repayable) at below-market rates. The combination of these financial tools allowed for significant development across Vancouver, and indeed across Canada. This period saw the creation of 4,662 co-op units, 245 units per year, built in the City of Vancouver from 1975 until the end of federal funding for new co-ops in 1992 (City of Vancouver 2023; Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016). (See Figures 1 & 8)

This period encapsulates Suttor's third and fourth social housing periods, the *First non-profit decade* (1974-1985) and *Second non-profit decade* (1985-1993) and are where this paper's Key Institutional Periods begin. Suttor split these periods to represent the first decade of increased non-profit and co-op housing development which was coupled with government-led public housing development, where the second decade had nearly no government-led public housing. Co-op funding maintained relatively constant through this period, so it is considered the singular *Federally Funded Key Institutional Period*.

Provincially Funded Institutional Period (1993-2002)

The second Key Institutional Period is the Provincially Funded Development Period, beginning in 1993 with the province of BC adopting the Homes BC program, making loans, capital and operating grants available to co-ops. Like the Federally Funded Development Period, some public land at the municipal and provincial level was made available to non-profit and cooperative housing organizations at below-market rates, and capital grants and preferential borrowing were made available. This period saw the development of 857 units of co-op housing, 95 units per year, in the City of Vancouver from 1992 to the end of provincial funding in 2002 (City of Vancouver 2023; Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016).

This period aligns with Suttor's fifth social housing period, the *Devolution era* (1994-2001). This period saw the federal government transfer responsibility for all social

housing to the provinces, and end funding programs for new co-op and social housing development. In all provinces except British Columbia and Quebec, where provincial governments continued to fund social housing development, non-market housing development effectively stopped (Suttor 2016).

Independently Funded Institutional Period (2003-2017)

The third Key Institutional Period is the Independently Funded Development Period, beginning with the end of provincial capital funding for new co-ops in 2002. This period encompassed the period under study in this research, from the Olympic Athlete's Village Co-op opening in 2012 to the awarding of three concurrent Vancouver Affordable Housing Agency (VAHA) RFPs for the development of 8 City-owned sites in July 2017 and CLT's selection as operator at 95 E 1st Ave. During this period there was no dedicated federal or provincial capital funding available for cooperative housing, though co-ops were eligible for the limited funds made available through the federal-provincial Affordable Housing Program Agreement funding programs from 2002-2018. Projects had to meet very strict affordability targets, and municipalities were required to contribute land and/or other resources to the projects (Suttor 2016; CMHC-BC AHP 2002, 2004,2009; CMHC-BC IAH 2011, 2014, 2016).

There was, however, progressively more funding made available during this period to address homelessness and provide deeply affordable housing in Vancouver for those experiencing or at risk of experiencing homelessness, such as supportive housing, and the purchase of private Single Resident Occupant (SRO) hotels in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (BC Housing 2018; City of Vancouver 2017; Raynor & Whitzman 2021; Suttor 2016). During this period cooperative housing development was still eligible for preferential borrowing through BC Housing and private lending. During this period only two new co-ops were created, resulting in 107 new units, and 5 units added to an existing building. From 2003 to 2017 only 112 new co-op units came online in the City of Vancouver, or 8 per year (City of Vancouver 2023).

During this period, no significant housing targets for low-to-moderate income households were set at any level of government until the City of Vancouver adopted the Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 in summer 2012, and neither the province nor federal government would set targets until late 2017. During this period cooperative housing was not seen as a provincial or federal priority as evidenced by the lack of

reference to co-ops in any provincial or federal housing strategies, and the sparse development in Vancouver and across the province (Interviewees 1,2,3,4,5,6). This was just before the significant shift, and alignment, in municipal, provincial, and federal affordable housing policy, which ushered in the fourth and current Key Institutional Period, the Joint Reinvestment Institutional Period.

“So, you have two decades going by of little to no co-op housing. It just became stagnant. So, the Cooperative Housing Federation of BC, and the board at that time, really wanted to see if there was an opportunity to see whether or not they could actually put a proposal in and start spark interest in building new housing coops [in Vancouver].”

(Interviewee 1, Nov. 11, 2022)

This period aligns with Suttor’s sixth and final social housing period, the *Modest re-engagement period* (since 2002) is captured in the *Independently Funded Institutional Period* in this paper, which ends after Suttor’s book was published, in 2017. This period saw a small re-entry of the federal and provincial governments in funding non-market housing, with the focus on low-income housing, not co-ops and other low-to-moderate non-market housing types (Suttor 2016). This period saw very little co-operative housing development across Canada, and in Vancouver, and meant that any co-ops developed had to be completely independently funded without support from provincial or federal governments.

“This prior was to 2017, there were not really very many sources of funding. We didn’t have the national housing strategy at the time, BC housing didn’t have any housing programs really. They were sort of magicking up housing out of cobbling together what they could. There were no real standardized programs. And so, we had to use the tools that we had available to us.” (Interviewee 2, Jan. 27, 2023)

Since late 2017, all levels of government in Canada have made significant changes in their non-market housing policies, funding programs, and priorities. As explained below, this period of “joint reinvestment” has created opportunities for the re-entry of co-operative housing development.

Joint Reinvestment Institutional Period

The Joint Reinvestment Institutional Period began in November 2017, and is characterized by the alignment of housing policy at all levels of government – municipal, provincial, and federal – recognizing cooperative housing as an important part of affordable housing strategies (Interviewees 1,3,6; Raynor & Whitzman 2021). It is also characterized by a variety of funding programs and development tools to support social, nonprofit and cooperative housing development. This includes billions of dollars of capital grants at the provincial and federal level, capital grants and ground leases at below-market rates at the municipal level, and preferential borrowing offered through the CMHC as well as social purpose financial organizations (CMHC 2022; Canada 2017). This period has resulted in significant increased interest in developing social, nonprofit and cooperative housing in Vancouver and across the province (City of Vancouver 2023; Interviews 1,2,3,4,6).

“And there was the federal announcement for \$1.5 billion for a specific program for funding new housing coops. And so I think that we are seeing what was an identified tenure from 20 and 30 years ago with its own programs or people investing in housing coops, that we’re starting to see that split again, to separate that tenure and to recognize the importance that housing coops provide on the continuum, and the value that they add to neighborhoods, municipalities, and just the local community that is living within the coop, and I think it’s being talked about a lot more. So, I do see it on the rise.” (Interviewee 1, Nov. 3, 2022)

The Joint Reinvestment Development Period began on November 22, 2017, with the Canadian federal government’s adoption of the National Housing Strategy 2018-2028, and Vancouver City Council’s adoption of the Housing Vancouver Strategy 2018-2027 six days later on November 28, 2017. The BC provincial government would subsequently approve their Homes for BC Strategy 2018-2028 on February 20, 2018, aligning municipal, provincial and federal affordable housing strategies and targets for the first time in more than 25 years (Raynor & Whitzman 2021). The Housing Vancouver Strategy sets an explicit target of 2,000 new co-op units to be built by 2027 (City of

Vancouver 2017), while in 2022 the federal government updated the National Housing Strategy to include \$1.5 billion in funding explicitly for co-ops and set a target of 6,000 new co-op units in addition to the target of more than 160,000 affordable housing units created nationally by 2028 (CMHC 2022). While the Homes for BC Strategy does not include explicit co-op targets, it does set an ambitious goal of 114,000 affordable housing units across the province by 2028 and lists co-ops as an important partner in reaching that goal (BC 2018).

While the two case study buildings in this paper opened at the beginning of this development period, they did not benefit from the new funding as their financing was secured before the rollout of the new programs (Interviewees 1,3,4,6) the perception of the success of their development influenced the development of the Housing Vancouver Strategy and concurrent City-owned land development RFPs. For these reasons, and their opening dates falling within this period, they have been included in this period.

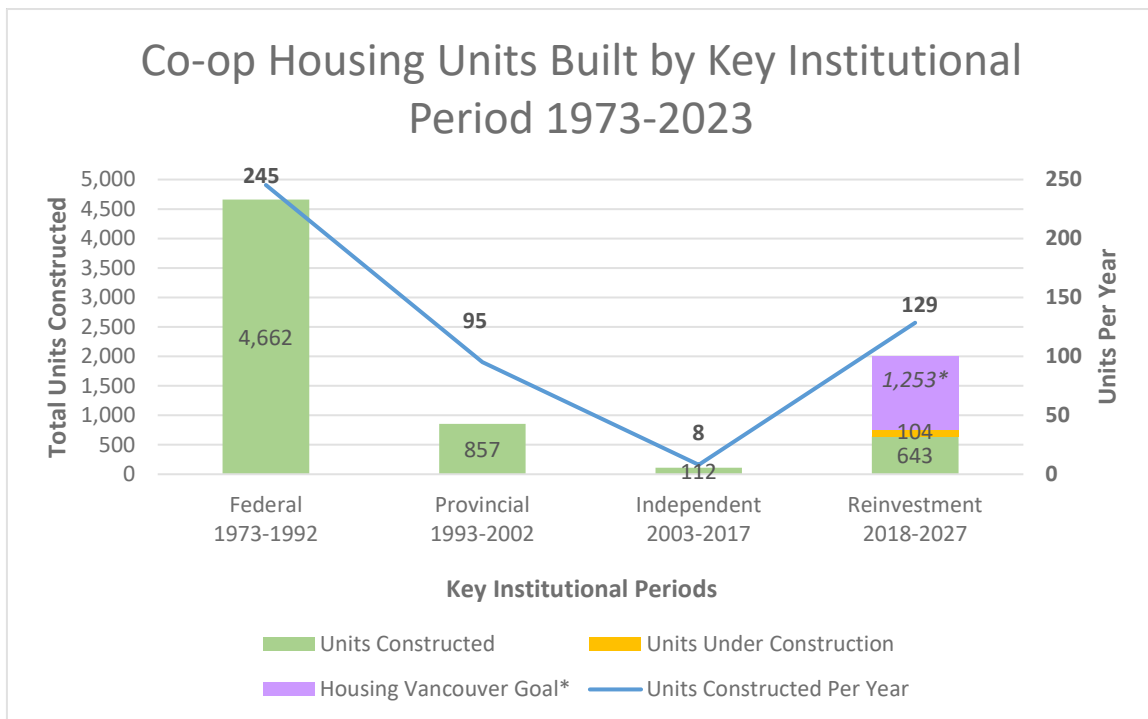


Figure 8 – Co-op Housing Units Built by Key Institutional Period 1973-2027

Source: [City of Vancouver Open Data Portal](#) – [Non-Market Housing Inventory](#)

5.1.3. The Idea of Co-op Housing and its Valence

Changing Political Ideologies

Co-ops had existed for a decade before their explicit inclusion in the National Housing Act in 1973, but their identification as a desirable affordable housing type, and the availability of land, capital and operating funding led to an explosion of cooperative housing growth across the country and in Vancouver through the 1970s and 1980s (Hulchanski 2004; Suttor 2016). The entry of co-op housing as a desirable housing type in 1973, a time when housing prices across Canada and in Vancouver were increasing faster than incomes, was a clear example of valence, with the time, timeliness, and intensity of attraction of co-ops as an attractive programmatic idea to counter the loss of affordable housing across the country (Hulchanski 2004; Donaldson 2019). There was also alignment between the recently elected centrist federal Liberal Party, under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and the centre-left BC New Democratic Party being elected for their first majority under Premier Dave Barrett (*agenda setters*), both of which put significant resources toward increasing affordable housing development (*institutional agenda*) (Suttor 2016). Through the positive experience of the first co-ops in the 1960s, and the creation and advocacy of the newly formed Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada in 1968 (*policy entrepreneurs*), these groups were able to build coalitions to influence the institutional agendas of values-aligned political parties, and ultimately shape the Institutions that would support and fund the development of co-op housing for the next two decades.

Conversely, in 1992 when the federal government under the centre-right Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ended funding for new co-op development, and later in 2002 when the centre-right BC Liberal Party under Premier Gordon Campbell (*agenda setters*) followed suit, cooperative housing development all but disappeared in Vancouver for more than a decade. While co-ops for decades had demonstrated themselves to be an effective and efficient affordable housing type (*norm and programmatic idea*) their policy valence was no longer strong enough for the federal conservative government to support in light of the new neoliberal norms and programmatic ideas being advocated for by conservative policy entrepreneurs, including reducing federal government spending, downgrading social development responsibilities

on lower levels of government and communities, and relying on the competitive free market to meet the housing needs of the country (Desroches & Poland 2023).

This can be seen by co-op development being the first funding program to be eliminated in 1992, followed by all other social housing types in 1993. Similarly, with the election of the centre-right BC Liberal Party in 2001, one of the first acts they undertook was to wind down the Homes BC program, which had funded co-ops through the 1990s, and focus the little remaining social housing funding on supportive housing for seniors and those experiencing homelessness (Suttor 2016; Donaldson 2019). The policy valence at the provincial level was not strong enough for co-op housing to avoid the cuts of the new government (*agenda setters*) with different norms, programmatic ideas, and institutional agendas.

It would take until 2012 for the valence of co-op housing to grow enough to facilitate the resurgence of cooperative housing development in Vancouver. The re-election of the centre-left Vision Vancouver Party under Mayor Gregor Robertson (*agenda setters*) and the forming of the Mayors Task Force on Affordability would precipitate a series of events resulting in non-market housing buildings being awarded to the CLT to operate as co-ops, as well as the CLT winning RFPs to develop city-owned land into more co-ops. The advocacy of the CLT, CHF-BC, and other housing organizations (*policy entrepreneurs*) influenced the elected officials and city staff (*agenda setters*) and their development of aspirational housing strategy documents (*institutional agendas*). The explicit inclusion of co-op housing as an important part of Vancouver's affordable housing strategy in 2012, and subsequent targets set in the 2017 strategy, reflects both the influence that advocates (*policy entrepreneurs*) and decision-makers (*agenda setters*) had on their inclusion, as well as the influence that the Idea will then have in Institutional decision-making about its support and funding. Once returned to the housing policy lexicon, cooperative housing proposals began to be accepted by Institutions, policy entrepreneurs continued to propose them, and Interests in turn continued to approve more, in an example of a positive valence feedback cycle resulting in thousands of new affordable homes being created for Vancouver residents most in need.

Public Support for Co-ops in Vancouver

A key finding of this research, as explored in the case studies below, is that public support for co-operative housing, or at least perceived public support, was a major influencing factor in both the inclusion of co-ops as a desirable affordable housing type in the June 2012 Mayors Task Force on Affordability Interim Report, as well as the decisions to award each RFP to the CLT to develop and operated co-op housing. However, over the course of this research I was unable to find any quantitative data relating to public support for co-op housing in Vancouver during the Independently Funded Institutional Period.

All six interview subjects spoke at length about public support for co-ops in Vancouver, and many had examples of public engagement where support for co-ops was raised, but no City of Vancouver housing policy engagement reports from 2010 to 2017 make explicit reference to widespread support for co-ops or quantify any such support. The first such direct assertion made by the City of Vancouver in the Housing Vancouver Strategy 2017-2028, which states, “Given strong public support to increase co-op housing, the City will look to expand this number by setting a new 10-year target of 2,000 co-op units,” (City of Vancouver 2020).

In the lead up to the June 2012 Mayors Task Force Interim Report, and the subsequent Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021, the City of Vancouver undertook a public engagement process called “Talk Housing With Us”. In the Summer 2011 final report of this engagement, with more than 400 participant responses considered, co-ops are not referenced anywhere (City of Vancouver 2011). Despite this omission, co-ops were explicitly included in the 2012 Mayors Task Force Interim Report, and the new Housing and Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 targets. It appears that whatever public support the City of Vancouver Interests had heard or understood to exist were not quantified in the public engagement reports.

Similarly, in the lead up to the adoption of the Housing Vancouver Strategy 2017-2028, a significantly larger engagement process was undertaken, with more than 10,000 people participating (City of Vancouver 2017). Through this process the Idea of increasing the amount of co-op housing in the city was identified in the feedback from 244 participants. This represented 9.8% of all 2,488 open responses received about ‘housing types’ received, but only 2.4% of all surveys in total (Ibid). While this was some

of the first quantifiable data around support for co-ops in Vancouver, this feedback relied on survey respondents to write in their own responses, which likely created a very different result than if a direct question about support for co-ops had been asked of all respondents. Nevertheless, this July 2017 engagement report significantly informed the new strategy, which was adopted in November 2017.

Interestingly, a more recent quantification of support for co-op housing came in the February 2021 False Creek South Engagement Summary Report which engaged nearly 4,000 survey respondents on the future of the city-owned South False Creek Lands. The South False Creek area includes many older co-op developments, and this report compared the engagement process to an independent public opinion poll of more than 800 Vancouver residents (Kirk & Co. Consulting 2021). What the surveys found was that 65% of all engagement respondents believed it was important to increase the number of co-op units in the False Creek South area, compared to 62% of the independent public opinion poll. Co-ops were prioritized 7th out of 10 housing after family housing, accessible housing, purpose-built rental, seniors, workforce, and 'missing middle' housing (Ibid). Interestingly, co-ops ranked higher than social housing, indigenous housing, and first-time homeowners housing. That said, co-op housing is often family-oriented, accessible, and considered 'missing middle' housing, so these results are inconclusive on absolute support for co-ops. Finally, this survey only applied to the South False Creek lands as part of future development engagement, and these numbers do not reflect overall support for co-ops, nor for development in the two case study areas.

5.2. Case Study #1: Fraserview Housing Co-op and Fraserview Towers Co-op

The Fraserview Towers Co-op consists of two 12-storey multi-family developments comprised of 188 units, and it shares the site parcel and underground parking with another co-op, the Tikva Housing Co-op which consists of 32 three-bedroom townhouse units. It was designed and developed by the Community Land Trust as part of a 2012 multi-site RFP process to develop affordable housing on City of Vancouver owned land. The development was designed and built for a variety of household types, including families, and is comprised of 128 one-bedroom, 50 two-bedroom, and 10 three-bedroom units. There is no dedicated commercial space in the building. The building is intended to be mostly low-to-moderate income households, with at least 75% of the units rented at HILs housing charges, and at least 20% of units rented at the Shelter Rate. Remaining units are rented at the Lower-end-of-Market rents laid out in Table 8 below.

The site was originally intended to be developed into three distinct entities – townhomes operated by Tikva, a single tower operated by the Fraserview Housing Coop in addition to its adjacent townhomes on the river side of the street, and a second tower to be operated by a nonprofit organization supporting seniors. This was the model that approved in the original City of Vancouver RFP award in May 2013. However, when the proposed seniors partner was not able to secure the capital required, the CLT decided to develop both towers as a single co-op. Similarly, the intent was for the two towers to be part of a larger co-op to include the proposed townhouse development on the waterfront at 2922 E Kent Ave South. This separate site was part of the same City of Vancouver RFP, and the CLT intended these 3-bedroom townhomes to be rented at near market rents to cross subsidize units in the towers. However, when development of the towers was delayed, the CLT decided to incorporate the townhomes as the Fraserview Housing Co-operative and separate it from the towers. While the two co-ops are separate legal entities, CLT still uses the revenues collected from housing charges from the townhomes to cross-subsidize the affordable housing units in the towers (City of Vancouver 2013; Interviewees 1,3,4).

Table 8 – Housing charges at 2833 E Kent Ave N on opening, Jan 2020

Unit Type	Shelter Rate	HILs Max	LEM Avg	Units
1-BR	\$ 375 - \$570	\$ 1,437	\$ 1,835	128
2-BR	-	\$ 1,725	\$ 2,452	50
3-BR	-	\$ 2,212	\$ 3,383	10

5.2.1. Case Development Context

Key Institutional Period

The buildings at 2833 and 2855 East Kent Avenue North were conceived, designed and built during the Independently Funded Development Period (2002-2017). The buildings were originally two separate vacant lots (Site 4 and Site 5) as part of a 6-site RFP put out by the City of Vancouver to build affordable housing for low-to-moderate income households on City-owned land in 2012. Another nearby vacant lot (Site 6) was also part of the RFP, and CLT envisioned a single co-op entity managing all three sites. Given the lack of provincial and federal funding for capital and operating grants for co-ops and needing to meet the affordability targets of the Fraser East Official Development Plan, a model was developed where full market rents would be charged at 3-bedroom townhomes built on Site 6 which would in turn subsidize the 75% of units offered at HILs rents on the other sites (Interviewees 1,3,4). This model was exceptionally important because of the lack of public financing available, CMHC was not lending yet, and BC Housing had very limited financing available (Interviewee 1,6). This portfolio approach, where the risk of building multiple projects is born by a single entity that was large enough to qualify for private financing for the projects, as well as the central ability to collect and redistribute income, was one of the main reasons cited by the City of Vancouver for the approval of the RFP award (City of Vancouver 2013; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6).

Case Development

The buildings at 2833 and 2855 East Kent Avenue North, and 2910 East Kent Avenue South were financed and built by the Community Land Trust itself. The City of Vancouver issued an RFP for an affordable housing developer in August 2012, and CLT was selected as the successful proponent in May 2013, several months after the June 2012 Mayors Taskforce on Housing Affordability Interim Report identified co-ops as an important part of the affordable housing toolkit and recommended putting more City-

owned land up for affordable housing development. In July, Council had adopted the Housing & Homelessness Strategy, which set out the first affordable housing targets since the City of Vancouver's CityPlan in 1995 set the goal of 10,000 units by 2015 (500 units per year). The new Housing & Homelessness Strategy sought to build 5,000 affordable housing units and 11,000 purpose-built rental units in 10 year (1,600 units per year). While the decision to award CLT was based on a complex evaluation system, the decision was partly political. The widespread support for co-ops in the community, and the advocacy of CHF-BC and the CLT were cited as influencing factors in the award process (Interviewee 2). CLT's proposal included maintaining the lease as the Community Land Trust and subleasing the operations of the building to a cooperative housing organization, in this case the newly created Fraserview Housing Co-op and Fraserview Towers Co-op, which began moving in residents in August 2018 and August 2020 respectively.

The land and building have been leased by the City of Vancouver to the Community Land Trust for 99 years, with the expectation that the building be self-sustaining, including all future leasehold improvements and capital upgrade requirements during the building's lifespan. In exchange for the 99-year ground lease at a nominal pre-paid rent of \$10, CLT financed and built all of the sites, with only small capital contributions from the city and provincial governments. This lease amount was important because it represented a paradigm shift from the City of Vancouver policy of providing 60-year leases at 75% of market value. In this case the land was effectively provided for free (\$10), which the City considered a \$22 million capital contribution towards the \$98.7 million project. Under previous City of Vancouver policy the CLT would have had to pay more than \$13 million for the lease making this a marked departure from previous generations of social housing developed on City-owned land (City of Vancouver 2013; Interviewees 1,3,6).

The project was initially supported through Vancity Credit Union with \$2 million in start-up costs for the new Community Land Trust model attempting to be employed – a portfolio approach of affordable housing entities. Initial construction financing was secured through New Market Funds, a social purpose real estate organization, which has to be paid back in 10 years. The take-out financing was ultimately approved by BC Housing in 2019, much later in the development process, with many restrictions at a below market rate over a 40-year term. This has allowed the CLT to build the capital

reserve fund necessary for future repairs and maintenance, and the eventual renewal of the ground lease, while keeping housing charges low for their low-to-moderate income residents (Interviewees 1,3,4,6).

It should be noted that this financing arrangement is quite unique given the project's original proposal and initial development in 2012-2013, during the Independently Funded Institutional Period, and its completion in 2020 during the Joint Reinvestment Institutional Period. While the project did not initially qualify for BC Housing funding, by the end of its development it qualified for new funding programs. Had the project not been delayed it may not have qualified for this new funding, and financing would have had to be secured through other means which may have not been as favourable as the final 40-year term offered by BC Housing, perhaps more expensive means.

5.2.2. Case in the 3-Is Framework

In this case, the Community Land Trust was a relatively new entity in Vancouver's affordable housing development sector, not having built any new buildings since it formed in 1993, but having many assets under their management, and the backing of CHF-BC as a long-standing community partner in affordable housing. The successful RFP was right on the heels of the selection of CHF-BC as the operator of an 84-unit Olympic Athlete's Village building, which they turned in to the first new co-op since 2002 (City of Vancouver 2011). The decision also closely followed the explicit inclusion of cooperative housing as a desirable affordable housing type in the June 2012 Mayors Taskforce on Housing Affordability Interim Report, and the subsequent Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 affordable housing targets. Affordability was a concern for many in Vancouver and the opportunity for the city to support low-to-moderate income households for almost no cost was compelling (Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6).

“We also had the mayor's Task Force on housing affordability in around the same time. And there was definitely a bent towards support for cooperative housing on council, and I would say there still is. In a way in looking at this – why the coops got selected and why coops?”

There's this huge political support for cooperative housing.”

(Interviewee 2, Jan. 27, 2023)

When considering the 3-Is, five key Ideas shaped the City of Vancouver's decision to award the RFP to the CLT (also see Figure 9):

- 1) the Idea (norm) there is a housing crisis and affordable housing must be built,

“Vancouver faces a unique rental housing challenge. Vacancy rates are chronically low, and the majority of the city's purpose-built rental stock is aging and in need of renewal. The More Homes, More Affordability program is an opportunity for the City to collaborate with the not-for-profit and the private sectors to increase the affordable non-market rental housing stock and maintain or increase its affordability over time.” (City of Vancouver 2012)

- 2) the Idea (norm) that a positive relationship exists between CHF-BC, the CLT and the City of Vancouver,

“So [the city] immediately began to look around to see whether a [Community Land Trust] might be possible, they'd already had the experience with us back in 2012. That was before we incorporated the more recent land trust, we took on sponsorship of the of an 84-unit apartment building in the Olympic Village named Athletes Village Housing Co-op and assumed it on again a 60-year lease from the city as an experiment in sponsoring a housing co-op as part of a portfolio of private rental buildings, strata buildings and social or nonprofit housing. So, the city felt that kind of owed us for that because they couldn't find operators for the building.” (Interviewee 4, Feb. 14, 2023)

- 3) the Idea (norms) that the CLT is a worthy steward of these public assets as reflected in existing developments (City of Vancouver 2013; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6).

“The Land Trust's submission brought equity, longstanding experience and had exceptional merit in relation to the other submissions in meeting the targets of sustained and protected affordable housing.

Staff brought an overview of the results of the RFEOI process to Council in camera on November 28, 2012, and received permission to proceed with direct negotiations with the Land Trust.” (City of Vancouver 2013)

- 4) the Idea (programmatic idea) that co-ops are an effective and efficient form of affordable housing and a good use of publicly owned assets,

“This report recommends leasing City land at a below market value to the non-profit sector as an innovative method to create new affordable rental housing stock.” (City of Vancouver 2013)

- 5) the Idea (programmatic idea) that a portfolio approach is a desirable way to develop multiple sites to mitigate risk and increase affordability,

“Particular strengths from the Land Trust proposal include: A portfolio approach that creates efficiencies in administration, design, construction and operation; The ability of the City to have a legal relationship with one party that simplifies the negotiation and creation of lease, development agreement terms and ongoing oversight and accountability; Savings in capital costs as a result of economies of scale in construction; A \$3.8M equity contribution from the not-for-profit partners; and, Their commitment to an internal subsidy model which redistributes rents across the portfolio to maximize and sustain affordability over the long-term.” (City of Vancouver 2013)

Similarly, the June 2012 Mayor’s Task Force on Affordability Interim Report (institutional agenda), which identified co-op housing as an important part of the affordable housing toolkit, and the Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 which set affordable housing targets and allocated public land for its development, were approved ten months before the decision to award the multi-site RFP, setting the explicit target of creating 5,000 units of affordable housing and 11,000 units of market rental housing by 2021 (1,600 per year). These Interests were influenced by the five key Ideas identified above, which in turn influenced the decision-makers (agenda setters) in their decision to award CLT the multi-site RFP through direct award (City of Vancouver 2013; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6). It was chosen over non-profit and other non-market housing types in large part because of the public favourability of co-ops, as well as the City of

Vancouver's previous positive engagements with CLT in developing and delivering co-op housing in the Olympic Athlete's Village (Interviewee 1,2,3,4,6). Three interviewees confirmed that the co-ops were not inherently less expensive to build or more affordable to operate than other non-market housing types, and that its proposal and ultimate selection as the housing tenure was in response to growing public support for co-op housing in Vancouver (Interviewees 2,3,6).

“But in the public eye like, and I've done this over the last 15 years, I would say, probably that ‘more coops’ is the number one thing we hear back from people, that people like coops almost to an irrational level.” (Interviewee 2, Jan 27, 2023)

Contextually, in 2012 the costs of housing were beginning to increase at an alarming rate, and the rate of homelessness nearly tripled from 2002 to 2011 (City of Vancouver 2012). According to the Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021, the cost of housing had risen over 400% from 1979 and 2008 for single-family detached homes and the cost of condominiums had increased 280%, while median incomes had only increased 9%. Similarly, all rental types of new rental construction, market and non-market, had decreased by more nearly 80% from its peak in the 1960s, and nearly 50% since the 1980s, despite significant population growth (City of Vancouver 2012). While the strategy and interim reports did not explicitly call the institutional environment a “housing crisis,” they do acknowledge that the housing system is “challenging” and set moderate social, and market rental targets as explored in Chapter 2. However, the *More Homes, More Affordability* RFP documents did explicitly name the institutional environment a “housing crisis” (City of Vancouver 2012). As such, the valence of cooperative housing development was moderately strong, with the institutional agenda encouraging its development, the agenda setters strongly supporting it, and the mechanism of development being made available through the city's below-market land lease rates.

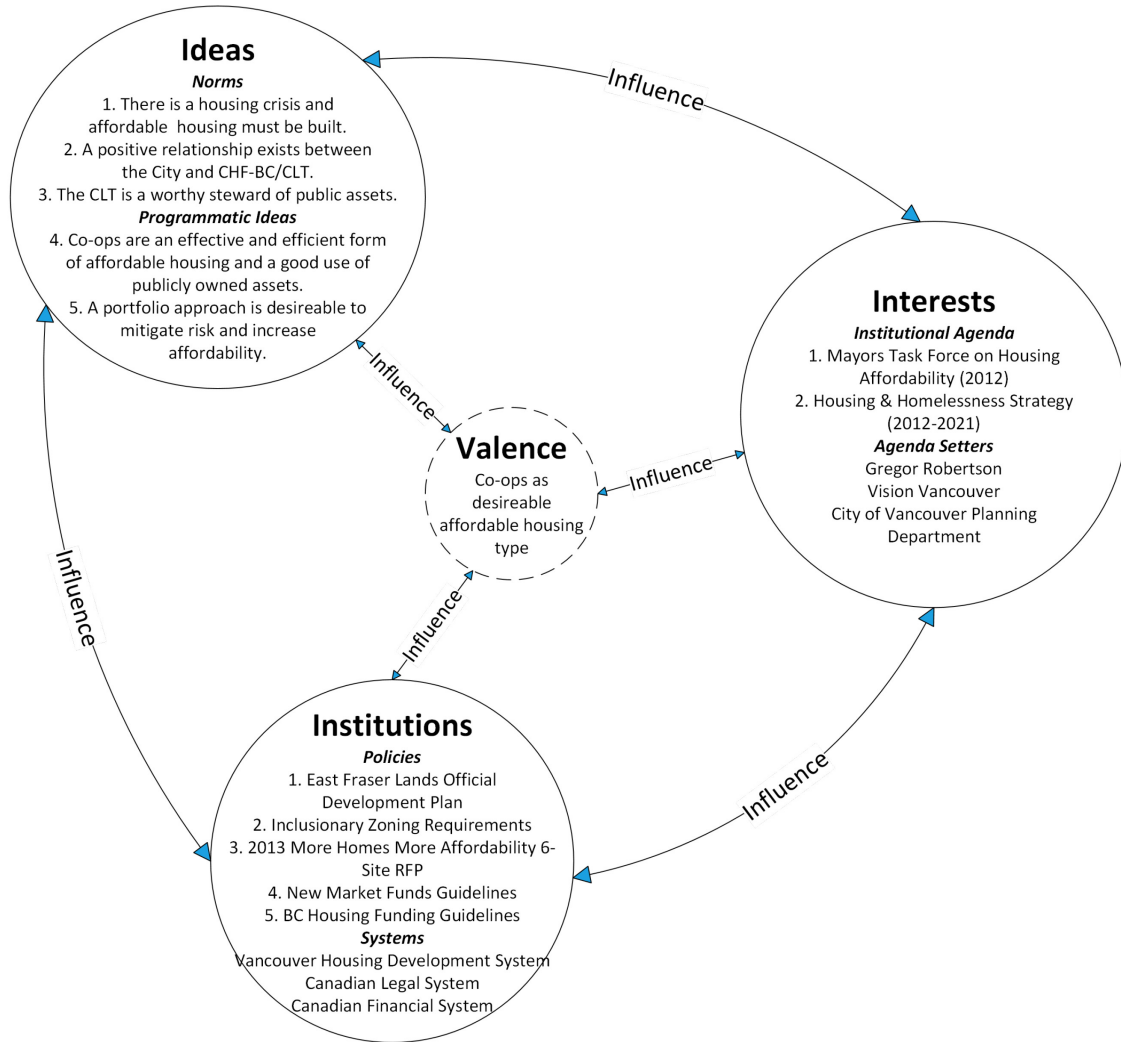


Figure 9 - 3-Is Analytical Framework for Fraserview Co-ops
Source: Adapted from Pojani & Stead (2014) and Birkland (2007)

5.3. Case Study #2: Railyard Co-op

The Railyard Co-op is a 15-storey mixed-income multi-family development consisting of 135 units in the Olympic Village neighbourhood. It was developed by Concert Properties and given to the City of Vancouver in lieu of cash as part of a required Community Amenity Contribution (CAC) (City of Vancouver 2015). The property at 95 E 1st Ave was bundled with two air space parcels at an adjacent development on 2nd Avenue at 1847 Main St, which was also being developed by Concert. These two properties were developed to meet the inclusionary zoning requirements for affordable housing in the Southeast False Creek Official Development Plan for four other properties under development by Concert.

Concert negotiated with the City to have all 20% of its affordable housing units in the one building at 95 E 1st and adjacent air parcels on Main St., instead of included among all buildings under development. The City originally owned an adjacent site of greater value than 95 E 1st Ave, and sold the property to Concert, who in turn developed the building at 95 E 1st Ave and gave it back to the City in lieu of their CAC contributions on the other properties (City of Vancouver 2015). Concert's four other developments in areas 3A and 3B of the Southeast False Creek Official Development Plan area are labelled "Sub Areas 2, 3, 4, and 5" in Figure 6. The total market values of the building at 95 E 1st Ave, leased for 60 years, and the air parcel at 1847 Main St were CAD\$53.8 million and CAD\$11.8 million respectively. When the building at 95 E 1st Ave was leased to the CLT for CAD \$20.5 million, this represented a CAD\$33.3 million grant from the City of Vancouver, representing a considerable contribution to non-market housing in the city paid by development cost charges on private market development in the area (City of Vancouver 2017).

This building was an example of a turnkey affordable housing project, where the land was acquired and building developed without a non-profit or cooperative housing partner, and the long-term lease to the building was awarded to a successful RFP proponent. The building was intended to be mixed income, with a maximum of 71 units to be rented at the Low-End of Market (LEM), defined as "not to exceed 90% of the appraised market rent for a comparable unit in the local area and shall be no more than 30% of the low- and moderate-income limit as determined by BC Housing". Not less than 54 units are to be allocated as Housing Income Limits (HILs) units, which puts a

maximum household income limit in place, and rent cannot be more than 30% of families' income. Additionally, not less than 10 units have to be offered at the Shelter Rate, which is determined by the Ministry of Social Development and Poverty Reduction for individuals receiving provincial income assistance. See **Table 7** for housing charges upon opening in January 2018. For 2022 the Shelter Rate was \$375 per month. The two air space parcels at 1847 Main St were later developed by the CLT into 30 artist live-work units rented at HILS and operated by the 221A Artist Housing Society (City of Vancouver 2017).

Table 9 – Housing charges at 95 E 1st Ave at opening, Jan 2018

Unit Type	Shelter Rate	HILs Max	LEM Avg	Units
Studio	\$ 375 - \$ 570	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,148	35
1-BR	\$ 375 - \$ 570	\$ 1,125	\$ 1,440	20
2-BR	-	\$ 1,338	\$ 2,397	43
3-BR	-	\$ 1,663	\$ 2,497	28

5.3.1. Case Development Context

Key Institutional Period

The building at 95 E 1st Ave was conceived and built during the Independently Funded Development Period (2002-2017). Originally negotiated with the City in 2014 in lieu of inclusionary zoning, this building was built without a particular operator or housing tenure in mind, only that it would benefit low-to-moderate income households upon completion (City of Vancouver 2015). There was limited federal or provincial capital funding available during this period, however, non-profit, co-op, and local governments were able to borrow from BC Housing and social purpose financial institutions at below-market interest rates to fund affordable housing.

Case Development

The building at 95 E 1st Ave was financed and built by Concert properties and “sold” to the City of Vancouver in lieu of Community Amenity Contributions on other developments through the rezoning process in 2014. The City of Vancouver issued an RFP for a non-profit housing operator in August 2017, and CLT was selected as the successful proponent in December 2017, just one month after the new Vancouver Housing Strategy was adopted. While the decision to award CLT was based on a

complex evaluation system, according to key stakeholders interviewed, the decision was partly political. Widespread support for co-ops in the community, the successful development of the More Homes, More Affordability RFP sites, and advocacy of CHF-BC and the CLT were cited as influencing factors in the award process (Interviewees 2,5). This is discussed in the 3-Is section below.

CLT's proposal included maintaining the lease as the Community Land Trust and subleasing the operations of the building to a cooperative housing organization, in this case the newly created Railyard Housing Cooperative. Residents began moving in during February 2018. The land and building have been leased by the City of Vancouver to the Community Land Trust for 60 years, with the expectation that the building be self-sustaining, including all future leasehold improvements and capital upgrade requirements during the building's 60+ year life. In exchange for the 60-year ground lease, CLT paid the City of Vancouver \$20,500,000.00 pre-paid rent upfront (City of Vancouver 2017), which they financed through the HPC Housing Investment Corporation (HIC) at a low interest rate over a longer than normal term. This lease amount was important because it represented another departure from the City of Vancouver policy of providing 60-year leases at 75% of market value. In this case the land and building were leased for \$20.5 million, which the City considered to equal a \$33.3 million grant for the \$53.8 million project. The CLT's pre-paid rent accounted for only 38% of freehold market value, which is about half the cost experienced by previous generations of social housing developed on City-owned land (City of Vancouver 2017; Interviewees 1,3,6).

The HIC is a collaborative lending institution made up of CMHC, BC Housing, Manitoba Housing founded in 2015, and more than a dozen other federal, provincial, and local housing organizations and agencies. It was created during the Independently Financed Institutional Period as a mechanism to support affordable housing development during a time when the federal and most provincial governments were not making financing available to non-profit and co-op housing organizations (HIC 2023). The HIC provides low-cost long-term financing to eligible affordable housing projects across Canada.

Through the HIC, CLT secured 4.15% financing over a 40-year term, which is longer than the 25 to 30-year terms offered by most banks. This has allowed the CLT to

build the capital reserve fund necessary for future repairs and maintenance, and the eventual renewal of the ground lease, while keeping housing charges low for their low-to-moderate income residents (Interviewees 1,3,4). Had the CLT not been able to secure this low-cost long-term financing they would not have been able to provide such a large upfront contribution for the ground lease and would likely not have been able to meet the affordability targets set out by the City (Interviewees 1, 3, 4).

5.3.2. Case in the 3-Is Framework

In this case, the Community Land Trust had previously been awarded the right to develop cooperative and nonprofit housing on 4 City-owned sites, and the CLT's parent organization and predecessor, CHF-BC, had been previously selected as an operator of the 84-unit Olympic Athlete's Village building in the same neighbourhood 5 years earlier. The existing relationship between CLT/CHF-BC and the City of Vancouver both in the neighbourhood and in the delivery of affordable housing across the city was seen as a strong attribute of their proposal (Interviewee 2,5). Additionally, public support for co-ops is very high in Vancouver, with one City staff member saying that the number one piece of feedback received during public consultations is the desire for more co-ops (Interviewee 2). This city staff member referenced the fact that the perception that the city was experiencing a housing crisis likely played a part in the public, and City Council's, support for cooperative housing (Interviewee 2).

When considering the 3-Is Framework, five key Ideas shaped the City of Vancouver's decision to award the RFP to the CLT (also see Figure 10):

- 1) the Idea (norm) there is a housing crisis and affordable housing must be built,

"The intensification of this [housing] crisis demands new approaches, tools, and partnerships to ensure that Vancouver continues to support a diversity of incomes, households, and communities." (City of Vancouver 2017)

- 2) the Idea (programmatic idea) that Inclusionary Zoning is an effective method of delivering affordable housing,

“I do think its effective[...] It’s definitely good. It’s also part of that idea of having mixed neighborhoods. It does allow for mixed income, even in the building.” (Interviewee 5, Feb. 17, 2023)

- 3) the Idea (programmatic idea) that co-ops are an effective and efficient form of affordable housing and a good use of publicly owned assets,

“Based on the overall evaluation, the [evaluation] team concluded that the proposal submitted by Community Land Trust Foundation of BC best met the city’s requirements and was identified as the recommended proponent for the two projects.” (City of Vancouver 2017)

- 4) the Idea (norms) that a positive relationship exists between CHF-BC, the CLT and the City,

“We were also doing this one on the heels of the other process, the RFP that we had done with the Community Land Trust originally. This didn’t come out that long after that. So, there were the two sites we did with the CLT[...] And that had gone reasonably well. So, there was an opportunity, I think, to carry that model forward.” (Interviewee 2, Jan. 27, 2023)

- 5) the Idea (norms) that the CLT is a worthy steward of these public assets as reflected in previous successful RFP bids and existing developments (City of Vancouver 2017; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,5).

“It was established in 2015 but is an offspring from the Co-operative Housing Federation of BC which has 35 years of experience in the non-profit housing sector. The Land Trust has a portfolio approach to deliver varying levels of affordability through cross site subsidies. It was the successful proponent to develop build, own and operate 358 housing units across four City of Vancouver leased land sites (in 2013).” (City of Vancouver 2017)

Similarly, the guiding Interests (institutional agenda) indicated by the Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021 which sets affordable housing targets and allocated public land for its development, and the related Mayors Task Force Interim Report from June 2012 explicitly called for more cooperative housing to be built on public land in Vancouver (City of Vancouver 2012). At the same time, the planning department and elected City Councilors (agenda setters) were at that time actively developing and implementing the new Housing Vancouver Strategy 2018-2027 which had been approved one month before the decision to award the 95 E 1st Ave RFP and set the explicit target of creating 2,000 new co-ops units by 2027 (City of Vancouver 2017).

These Interests were influenced by the five Ideas identified above, which in turn influenced the decision to award CLT the building to turn into a co-op (City of Vancouver 2017; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,5). It was chosen over non-profit and other non-market housing types in large part because of the public favourability of co-ops, as well as because of the City of Vancouver's previous positive engagements with CLT in developing and delivering co-op housing in the Olympic Athlete's Village and River District (Interviewee 1,2,3,4).

“There's this huge political support for cooperative housing. It comes from the fact that there's huge public support for cooperative housing. And I have to admit, I'm not entirely sure why. It's not that I am critical, of course, it's fine. Co-op housing is just kind of like a different delivery model of affordable housing. It's a different way to manage housing.”

(Interviewee 2, Jan. 27, 2023)

Three interviewees confirmed that the co-ops proposal was not inherently more affordable to operate than other non-market housing types, but that the CLT was able to offer a competitive financial offer and that its proposal and ultimate selection as the housing tenure was in response to growing public support for co-op housing (Interviewees 1,2,3,5).

“The coop, part of it is you know, just a really important community building piece, but you know, it's kind of neutral when it comes to its effect on affordability. Still, it still should be pursued but it is not like the prime driver of affordability.” (Interviewee 6, May 12, 2023)

Contextually, in 2017 the costs of housing were increasing at an unprecedented rate in the City of Vancouver. According to the Housing Vancouver Strategy 2018-2028, the cost of housing had risen 365% between 2001 and 2017 for single-family detached homes, the cost of condominiums had increased 220% and average rents had increased by more than 75%, while median incomes had only increased 18%. The report explicitly called the institutional environment a “housing crisis” and set aggressive social, co-op, and market rental targets as explored in Chapter 2. As such, the valence of cooperative housing development was very strong, with the institutional agenda encouraging its development, the agenda setters strongly supporting it, and the mechanism of development being made available through the Institutions of CACs and inclusionary zoning requirements. See Figure 10 below for an illustration of the interrelated influences and valence of co-operative housing development in relation to the Railyard Co-op development.

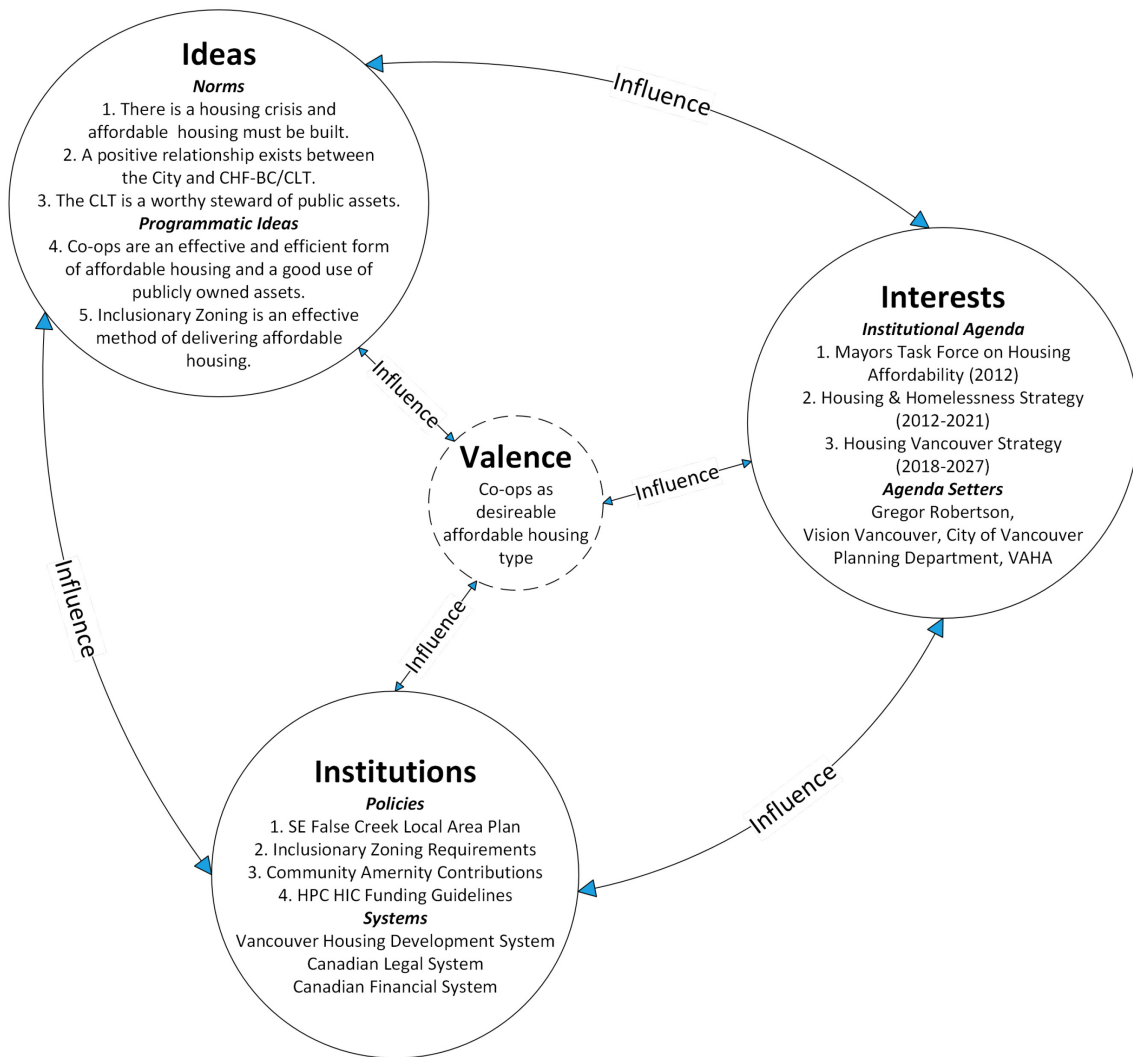


Figure 9 - 3-Is Analytical Framework for Railyard Co-op
 Source: Adapted from Pojani & Stead (2014) and Birkland (2007)

Chapter 6.

Discussion on the Resurgence of Co-op Housing Development through the 3-Is Framework Lens

6.1. Institutional Shifts

This study highlights important paradigm shifts related to development of cooperative housing in Vancouver, British Columbia over the past three decades. Major political changes beginning in the 1980s through the 2000s, notably the rise of neoliberalism (*norms*), and the withdrawal of the federal government in 1993 and provincial government in 2002 from funding cooperative housing, permanently changed Canada's housing system which has arguably resulted in today's housing affordability and homelessness crises (Grise 2016; August 2020; Suttor 2016; Raynor & Whitzman 2021). Interests involved in both federal and provincial politics, the federal Progressive Conservative Party, the federal Liberal Party, the federal Conservative Party, and the BC Liberal Party (*agenda setters*), held beliefs and values that did not support government investment in cooperative housing (programmatic idea). This resulted in shifts in policy, whereby the Institutions of government and housing finance no longer supported the development of cooperative housing in Canada beginning in 1993 and in British Columbia beginning in 2002.

An interesting finding of this research is that cooperative housing providers and projects have always been eligible for private lending, as well as varying levels of financing from BC Housing through the Provincially Funded Development Period and the later years of Independently Funded Development Period (Gov of BC 2002,2009,2014: Suttor 2016; Interviewees 1,3,6). Despite there being little to no dedicated capital or operating funding available at the provincial or federal government for co-ops, they were eligible to borrow. However, during this time nearly no projects were proposed until the City of Vancouver RFP for the Olympic Village Athlete's Village building operator in 2011. When asked why no projects were proposed, interview subjects stated that without free land, or a deeply discounted building lease, it did not make financial sense to move forward with any co-operative housing project proposals (Interviewees 1,3,4,6).

6.2. Reintroduction of Co-ops into Housing Policy: The Alignment of Ideas and Interests

Beginning in 1993, in response to the withdrawal of federal social housing spending, the Cooperative Housing Federation of BC established the Community Land Trust as a means of stewarding and developing assets without the support of higher levels of government, aggregating the risk of many small housing sites, and increasing the borrowing power of the whole group (CHF-BC 2023; Interviewees 1,3,4). Slowly at first, and more recently at a significant rate, the CLT acquired land and assets to support the development and continued operation of non-profit and cooperative housing across the province, and especially within the City of Vancouver (Interviewees 1,3,4). During this time, CHF-BC and CLT (*policy entrepreneurs*) were building relationships with other housing organizations, advocacy organizations, and members of the public, building support for the Idea (*programmatic idea*) of social and cooperative housing, and positioning the CLT as a worthy steward of public assets (*norms*). This coalition-building among policy entrepreneurs, political parties and elected officials (*agenda setters*), and the alignment of beliefs, values, and policy interventions (Ideas), coupled with the public's experience of the housing affordability crisis, helped shift attitudes towards supporting cooperative housing in public policy (*valence*) (Interviewees 1,2,3,4,5,6).

This shift happened first at the municipal level, with the election of Vision Vancouver in 2008 and their Housing and Homelessness Strategy in July 2012, and later at the federal level with the election of the federal Liberal Party in 2015 and their subsequent National Housing Strategy in November 2017. This was followed by the election of the BC New Democratic Party in 2017, and their Homes BC strategy in February 2018. These Interests, influenced by their members, advocacy groups, and their own Ideas and evidence about affordable housing policy, influenced the institutional agendas once again. During this time the City of Vancouver was leading the way, naming co-ops as a desirable affordable housing type (*programmatic idea*) and making significant amounts of public land available for affordable housing development (City of Vancouver 2012, 2013, 2017; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6). This was later coupled with federal and provincial capital grant dollars in late 2017 and 2018, which helped spur the development of even more social housing, including co-ops, on public land (Interviewees 1,3,4,6).

6.3. The Valence of the Co-op Model

It is important to recognize that during this time the nature of cooperative housing did not change significantly. From its origins in the 1960s, non-equity cooperative housing has been based on the simple principle that the group who make up the cooperative are responsible for the housing within which they live, sharing in the risks of collective ownership and the related rewards of affordability (Grise 2016; Guenther 2006; Malatest & Associates 2018). Memberships cannot be bought and sold, and the affordability of this revenue-neutral model is ensured in perpetuity.

While the nature of co-ops has not changed, the reality of the real estate market has, and rampant speculation, commodification of housing, and the movement of real estate as investment as opposed to housing, have caused land values to rise exponentially in recent years, exacerbating the housing and homelessness affordability crisis (August 2020; Raynor & Whitzman 2021; City of Vancouver 2017, BC Gov 2018; Interviewees 1,2,3,4,6). At the same time, this has added fuel to the flame in support of decommodification of housing, support for public land buybacks, the leasing of public land to non-profit and cooperative housing organizations, and the general idea of removing housing from the private market to protect its affordability for future generations (August 2020; Crabtree et al 2019b; Czischke 2018; Desroches & Poland 2023; Mullins & Moore 2018; Raynor & Whitzman 2021).

The changing housing market dynamics during this time significantly shaped the perception of cooperative housing (*valence*), and the idea that it is an effective and efficient model for affordable housing delivery. This idea has influenced interests in government and institutions in support of cooperative housing, in the same way that the opposite idea influenced interests to remove such supports in the 1990s and 2000s. In either event, the existence of the Community Land Trust can ensure that the pendulum swings of public policy can be avoided, at the very least by those self-sustaining developments already under its stewardship (Interviewee 3).

It is important to note that the public and political appeal of co-ops as a programmatic idea does not lie in affordability, according to my interviews. Although testing its full validity is outside of the scope of this study, all interviewees made the assertion that cooperative housing is not inherently more affordable to build or operate

than any other non-market housing type (Interviewees 1,2,3,4,5,6). The main, untested, belief is that the costs of purchasing, building, and operating a building are consistent across most non-market housing types, meaning that calling a multi-family building a co-op or a non-profit managed apartment, or even a below-market for-profit rental, does not change the costs of building and operating it (Interviewees 1,2,6). However, as previously discussed, even though co-ops have the ability to increase housing charges above provincially mandated annual Residential Tenancy Act rent increases, which can be advantageous from a cashflow and capital planning perspective, it does not directly translate to more affordable housing in the short or long term (Interviewees 1,2,6). While this information is contradictory to a 2003 CMHC audit and evaluation study of co-ops across Canada which found that co-op housing costs were 14 percent lower than costs in non-profit rental housing (CMHC 2003), this information is now 20 years out of date, and no equivalent analysis has been conducted by CMHC since 2003.

What this untested assertion tells us, when considered beside the fact that co-ops were eligible for private lending during the Independently Funded Development Period when nearly zero co-ops were built, is that co-ops were not considered a priority by advocates groups, municipal, provincial, or federal Interests until they were made a priority by Vision Vancouver in 2012 and their selection of CHF-BC as the Olympic Village building operator, and then explicitly made co-ops a policy priority in the June 2012 Mayors Task Force on Housing Affordability (Interviewees 2,6). We can ascertain Co-ops were not a silver bullet of affordability and were considered financially equivalent to non-profit housing during this period when 5,612 units of other non-market housing were built in the City of Vancouver from 2002 to 2017 (City of Vancouver 2023).

6.4. Quantifying Public Support for Co-ops

As previously discussed in the Findings section, according to multiple interview subjects, the fact that co-ops were chosen over non-profit and other non-market housing types was in large part because of public favourability of co-ops. However, like the assertion above that co-ops are not inherently more affordable than other non-market housing types, the assertion that there is widespread support for co-op housing development in Vancouver also appears to be untested, despite being widely cited.

Despite the two City-sponsored engagement processes in 2017 for the new housing strategy and in 2021 for the South False Creek area plan, the public has not been directly asked about their opinions on or the favourability of co-op housing in Vancouver. Instead, co-ops have been included in lists of multiple housing types for prioritization, or respondents have had to write in their own responses about co-ops. While this does not disprove the assumptions by the City of Vancouver Interests, nor does it invalidate the perspectives of the Key Informants interviewed in this research, this is an important gap in data to acknowledge given the decisions being made based on these norms and beliefs. There has clearly been strong support by the policy entrepreneurs, agenda setters, and certain portions of the public, but the broader public support for co-op housing as a desirable affordable housing type has still yet to be adequately quantified in Vancouver.

Chapter 7.

Conclusion

This study set out to understand what factors led to the resurgence of cooperative housing development in Vancouver, British Columbia beginning in 2012, seeking to understand the role that Ideas, Interests, and Institutions played in the process. Using a case study of two of the first cooperative housing developments built in Vancouver since the resurgence began in 2012, I sought to understand what changed to make cooperative housing a viable affordable housing option after a decade without development, and what lessons could be learned to support future development locally and abroad.

Utilizing the 3-Is Framework of policy change – Ideas, Interests and Institutions as a conceptual framework, I explored the complex interdependencies between the various policy actors (policy entrepreneurs and agenda setters) and Interests (institutional agendas) that shape and change housing policy (Institutions), including those which led to a disappearance of cooperative housing development in the 1990s and early 2000s, and those which led it to its return since 2012. Specifically, I focused on the Community Land Trust in British Columbia, and the central role that it played as a policy entrepreneur, advocating for and ultimately delivering the return of new cooperative housing development to Vancouver.

What was found was that the naming and inclusion of cooperative housing in government affordable housing policies played an integral role in bringing about the first wave of cooperative housing in the 1970s and again played a key role since 2012. In the 1970s, the inclusion of co-ops in the National Housing Act and eligibility for federal financing and capital and operating grants represented a significant institutional shift making co-ops a desirable housing development type at the federal and provincial levels. In response, the City of Vancouver adopted a policy of purchased land and leasing it to co-ops and non-profit societies at 75% of market to support affordable housing development. During this Federally Funded Institutional Period thousands of co-op units were built in Vancouver until the federal funding ended in 1992, the valence of co-op housing development as a desirable affordable housing type was quite high. From

1992 until 2002 a small amount of provincial funding kept co-ops in development, though at a much smaller scale than before, representing a diminishing of their prevalence, but still retaining their valence at the City of Vancouver level as a desirable housing type.

In 2002 with the ending of the last provincial funding programs supporting new co-op development, along with competing neoliberal programmatic ideas about housing policy interventions, new co-operative housing development all but ceased within the City of Vancouver. However, despite the disappearance of co-op housing from provincial and federal policies and programs (institutional agendas and institutional policies) they remained a desirable affordable housing type at the municipal level such that they were formally identified in 2012 as an important part of the City of Vancouver's affordable housing strategies, and their development encouraged despite the lack of provincial and federal funding.

As in 1972, the explicit inclusion of co-operative housing development in the City of Vancouver's institutional agendas, being the 2012 Mayors Task Force on Housing Affordability Interim Report and the Vancouver Housing & Homelessness Strategy (2012-2021), influenced the city's decisions to award multiple RFPs to the Community Land Trust to develop co-ops on city land. Furthermore, the success of the initial co-op developments led to the future success of CLT RFP submissions, resulting in even more co-op housing development, and growing the CLTs portfolio and capacity to undertake even more co-op housing development in a positive feedback cycle. This signals the strong valence of co-op housing as a desirable affordable housing type in Vancouver, which was further enshrined in the Housing Vancouver Strategy (2018-2028) which set an explicit target of building 2,000 co-op units by 2028, and the federal government's introduction of a dedicated \$1.5 billion fund in 2023 to support co-op housing development across Canada. There is now a renewed commitment to supporting co-op housing development in the Joint Reinvestment Institutional Period, making the development of new co-op housing less complicated than during the Independently Funded Institutional Period where the CLT still managed to successfully build new co-ops in Vancouver.

Lastly, it is important to recognize the five key Ideas that influenced the Interests within the City of Vancouver and ultimately affected the Institutions and policies which led to the resurgence of cooperative housing development in Vancouver since 2012. The

first Idea (norm) was that there is a housing crisis and affordable housing must be built. This idea was also prevalent, with a high valence in the 1960s and 1970s when co-ops were first developed in Vancouver and adequately funded by the federal government. The second Idea (programmatic idea) that co-ops are an effective and efficient form of affordable housing and a good use of publicly owned assets, was also a prevalent and high valence Idea from the 1970s. These Ideas, while they have resulted in varying levels of affordable housing development through the various Key Institutional Periods, have nevertheless persisted for more than five decades in Vancouver, and greatly influence the institutional agendas of the day and the policies and systems that support affordable housing development.

More recently, the third Idea (norm) that a positive relationship exists between CHF-BC, the CLT and the city, and the fourth key Idea (norm) that the CLT is a worthy steward of public land and assets, has grown significantly since 2012 when the first affordable housing partnership between the groups occurred with the opening of the Athletes Village Co-op in the former Olympic Village. Since then, the CLT has been successful in successive RFPs to develop affordable housing on city-owned land, and their continued success has resulted in more and more co-ops being developed across the city. Had this relationship not developed this way, it is unclear if any new co-ops would have been built, despite their popularity with the public.

This research made it clear that the resurgence of co-op housing development was exclusively the result of the CLTs advocacy, influence, and proposals, and that no other co-ops were built by any other group during this time. As one interview subject stated, “I think the main thing about the future of co-op development in the city, is going to be very much linked to the success of the CLT[...] I don't think the city would be supporting a standalone coop that has no relationship to anybody else.” (Interviewee 2, Jan. 27, 2023) While they did express support for other community land trust models and organizations, their main argument, and the fifth key Idea is that a portfolio approach is a desirable way to develop multiple sites, to mitigate risk and increase affordability. When asked about whether the development model of Vancouver's first generation of housing co-ops during the Federally Funded Institutional Period would be possible today, all interview subjects said that it would not be possible in the contemporary context. As a result, we have entered a period where co-ops can only be developed by those organizations that can qualify for tens of millions of dollars of loans, who can

leverage significant asset portfolios, and can demonstrate to the city that they are worthy stewards of public assets.

7.1. Future Research

Given the relatively recent resurgence of development, and limited scope of this research, it was not possible to conduct a larger analysis of social and non-profit housing development in Vancouver over this same period. While federal funding for cooperative housing ended in 1992, and provincially in 2002, social housing continued to be funded, albeit much less robustly, during this period in British Columbia, and that is an area worthy of further investigation. While very few co-ops were built during the Independently Funded Development Framework (2002-2017), more than 5,000 units of social and affordable housing were built, despite there being very little capital funding available (City of Vancouver 2023). The CLT was also involved in developing social housing in partnership with non-profit organizations during this time, and many more were able to develop housing on their own. This study focused on cooperative housing as an affordable housing type because of its disappearance from the development landscape from 2002 to 2018, and explicit exclusion from policy in 1992 and 2002, but the resilience of other non-market housing development during this period would be a logical next step for continued research.

Additionally, over the course of this research the importance of the June 2012 Mayor's Task Force on Affordable Housing Interim Report was raised by all interviewees, and the related Housing & Homelessness Strategy 2012-2021. While the scope of this research was the case study of two of the first cooperative housing buildings to open since dedicated provincial funding ended in 2002, it became clear that the advocacy and complex network of actors and policy entrepreneurs on the programmatic idea and valence co-op housing policy and the below-market lease of public land in the early 2000s and 2010s was a major catalyst for both developments. That said, it was not within the scope of this paper to interview key stakeholders in the development of that report and strategy. If more time and resources were available, conducting those interviews would fill in knowledge gaps, and confirm the question of why co-ops were included in these policies and successful in RFP processes.

Finally, public support for co-ops was cited in the Housing Vancouver Strategy 2017-2028 in support of setting a target for 2,000 units of new co-op housing, and all interview subjects referenced strong public support for co-ops as a key decision-making factor in awarding the two case study RFPs. As previously mentioned, despite these assertions of strong public support for co-ops, there is little quantifiable evidence for this support. Future research on public perceptions of and support for cooperative housing development in Vancouver would provide important data to support these claims moving forward.

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Appendix A.

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Semi-structured interviews were between 55 and 75 minutes in length and conducted virtually using the Zoom platform. Interviews were recorded using Zoom and transcribed using the Otter.ai online service.

- What was your involvement with these projects?
- How did this project get started?
- Who drove this process forward?
- How and why were a cooperative housing model chosen for this development versus non-profit or government managed?
- What do you consider to be the benefits of cooperative housing versus other non-market housing types?
- Was there an existing cooperative association or board, or co-op residents involved in the development of the building? Its initiation? Design?
- How was the land identified and/or acquired?
- Was rezoning required for these types of development? Were public hearings required? How did they go? Was there community support for these projects?
- How was the financing acquired? Did the City of Vancouver contribute funds beyond providing the land?
- How does the City of Vancouver decide when and how to contribute city-owned assets to projects like these? What is the decision-making process that leads to their internal or external development, lease, or sale?
- What policies or government initiatives do you think made these developments successful?

- Were all available government supports utilized in both projects?
- Were any private sector supports utilized in either project?
- What policies or government initiatives do you think made this development challenging?
- Why do you think nearly no cooperative housing was built in the previous 20 years?
- What has changed to lead to so much new cooperative housing being built?
- Do you think there is an appetite in government for more cooperative housing to be built moving forward? Why do think that?
- Do you think there is an appetite in the community for more cooperative housing to be built moving forward? Why do think that?
- How can future cooperative housing development projects be set up for success?

Appendix B.

Policy Analysis Matrix

Actor	Event Type	Policy Adoptions, Decisions & Events	Date
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Jun-68
Fed	Policy	National Housing Strategy updated to include Co-op Housing	Mar-72
BC	Election	BC NDP Elected for first time in BC	Aug-72
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Oct-72
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Jul-74
BC	Election	Social Credit Party Elected in BC	Dec-75
BC	Election	Social Credit Party Elected in BC	May-79
Fed	Election	Federal Progressive Conservatives Elected	May-79
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Feb-80
BC	Election	Social Credit Party Elected in BC	May-83
Fed	Election	Federal Progressive Conservatives Elected	Sep-84
BC	Election	Social Credit Party Elected in BC	Sep-86
Fed	Election	Federal Progressive Conservatives Elected	Nov-88
COV	Policy	Mayors Housing Symposium May 8, 1989	May-89
COV	Election	NPA Wins Majority on Council	Nov-90
BC	Election	BC NDP Elected in BC	Oct-91
Fed	Policy	1992 Federal Budget ends funding for coops, cuts funding for social housing	Mar-92
CLT	Founded	CHF BC incorporates the Community Land Trust	Feb-93
BCNPHA	Founded	BCNPHA Founded at first conference	Feb-93
Fed	Policy	1993 Federal Budget ends funding for all new social housing	Mar-93

Fed	Election	BC NDP Elected in BC	Oct-93
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Oct-93
COV	Election	NPA Wins Majority on Council	Nov-93
COV	Policy	CityPlan (1995)	Jun-95
Fed	Policy	1996 Federal Budget transfers administration of all social housing programs to provinces	Mar-96
BC	Election	BC NDP Elected in BC	May-96
COV	Election	NPA Wins Majority on Council	Nov-96
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Jun-97
COV	Election	NPA Wins Majority on Council	Nov-99
Fed	Policy	National Homelessness Initiative Phase 1 (1999-2003)	Dec-99
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Dec-00
BC	Election	BC Liberals Elected in BC	May-01
BC	Policy	Provincial Government Ends Homes BC Provincial Housing Program	Jun-01
Fed	Policy	Affordable Housing Initiative (2002-2006)	Dec-01
Co-op	Opening	Last Provincially Funded Co-op Opens (City Gate) - Last Purpose-Built for 16 years	Jun-02
COV	Election	COPE Wins Majority on Council	Nov-02
Fed	Policy	National Homelessness Initiative Phase 2 (2004-2007)	Mar-04
Fed	Policy	Affordable Housing Initiative Extension (2004-2008)	Dec-04
COV	Policy	Homeless Action Plan Update (2005)	Jun-05
COV	Election	NPA Wins Majority on Council	Nov-05
Fed	Election	Federal Conservatives Elected	Jan-06
Fed	Election	Federal Conservatives Elected	Feb-06
Fed	Policy	Homelessness Partnership Strategy (Renamed from NHI)(2006-2017)	Mar-06

BC	Policy	Housing Matters (2006-2012)	Oct-06
COV	Policy	Supportive Housing Strategy (2007)	Jan-07
Fed	Election	Federal Conservatives Elected	Nov-08
COV	Election	VISION Vancouver Wins Majority on Council	Nov-08
Fed	Policy	Affordable Housing Initiative Extension (2009-2011)	Apr-09
COV	Event	City of Vancouver Hosts 2010 Winter Olympics - Major Housing Protests	Feb-10
Fed	Election	Federal Conservatives Elected	May-11
Fed	Policy	Investment in Affordable Housing (Renamed from AHI)(2011-2014)	Jul-11
Metro	Policy	Metro Vancouver 2040 Regional Growth Strategy (2011-2040)	Jul-11
COV	Election	VISION Vancouver Wins Majority on Council	Nov-11
CLT	Award	CHF-BC / CLT Selected as Operator of Olympic Athletes Village Building	Dec-11
CLT	Opening	Olympic Athletes Village Co-op Opens - First Co-op in 10 years	Feb-12
COV	Policy	Mayor's Taskforce on Housing Affordability (2012)	Jun-12
COV	Policy	Housing & Homelessness Strategy (2012-2021)	Jul-12
COV	RFP	COV RFEI More Homes More Affordability (PS20120780)	Aug-12
CLT	Policy	CHF-BC Members vote to explore mergers and achieving economies of scale	Dec-12
COV	Policy	Metro Vancouver Regional Growth Strategy (2011-2040)(Regional Context Statement)	Mar-13
CLT	Award	<u>CLT Selected as More Homes Developer</u>	May-13
BC	Policy	Housing Matters Update (2014)	Jan-14
Fed	Policy	Investment in Affordable Housing Extension (2014-2019)	Mar-14
COV	Founded	Vancouver Affordable Housing Agency launch (2014)	Jul-14
COV	Policy	Healthy City Strategy (2014)	Oct-14

COV	Election	VISION Vancouver Wins Majority on Council	Nov-14
BCPNHA	Founded	Housing Central strategic partnership established - AHMA, CHF-BC, BCPNHA	Mar-15
Fed	Election	Federal Liberals Elected	Oct-15
COV	RFP	COV RFPQ Non-Profit Housing Operator PS20151802	Feb-16
Fed	Policy	Social Infrastructure Fund Agreement (2016-2018) (On top of IAH)	Jun-16