

**Neighbourhood Intensification:
Attitudes Towards Laneway Housing in the
Dunbar Neighbourhood**

by

Sarah Akua Schatz

B.A. (Hons., Public Affairs and Policy Management), Carleton University, 2004

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Urban Studies

in the
Urban Studies Program
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© **Sarah Akua Schatz 2013**
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Summer 2013

All rights reserved.

However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for "Fair Dealing." Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

Approval

Name: Sarah Akua Schatz
Degree: Master of Urban Studies
Title of Thesis: *Neighbourhood Intensification: Attitudes Towards Laneway Housing in the Dunbar Neighbourhood*

Examining Committee:

Chair: **Patrick J. Smith**
Professor, Urban Studies and Political Science

Karen Ferguson
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor, Urban Studies and History

Anthony Perl
Supervisor
Professor, Urban Studies and Political Science

Bob Ransford
External Examiner
Senior Consultant, Counterpoint Communications

Date Defended/Approved: May 23, 2013

Partial Copyright Licence



The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website (www.lib.sfu.ca) at <http://summit/sfu.ca> and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

revised Fall 2011

Ethics Statement



The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

- d. as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

update Spring 2010

Abstract

Single-family housing in residential neighbourhoods is an unsustainable, but prevalent, urban land use. Planner and policymaker attempts to intensify housing forms within established neighbourhoods are often met with opposition – even to relatively low-density options such as laneway housing. Public participation practices at times amplify anti-densification views when the voices of the most motivated residents predominate.

An examination of the attitudes of residents in the Dunbar neighbourhood toward laneway housing reveals the dominance of an anti-densification view, led and nurtured by the local residents association. However, several hidden narratives also exist suggesting a community that is cautiously supportive of laneway housing. This finding points to the importance of public participation processes that capture the views of a broad range of residents. However it also reveals the challenges of planning with communities when the views of residents may be decidedly different than the planning orientations of the city.

Keywords: residential intensification; densification; single-family neighbourhood; laneway housing; participatory planning; community opposition

Dedication

I'd like to dedicate this research project to my family.

To my husband, who tried to remind me (not always successfully) to seek out a balance in the midst of the madness of work, parenthood and school. "Take breaks, breathe deeply and exercise", he would say.

To my son, who came into my life midstream through this process, thank you for becoming the best form of procrastination I could have ever imagined.

To my parents, both biological and those I was lucky enough to gain through marriage, thank you for carving out time from your own lives to babysit, ensuring that I had the time and space to think and write my way to completion.

Acknowledgements

While my name emerges as the author of this project, several other individuals deserve credit as well.

Thank you first and foremost to my thesis advisor, Karen Ferguson. A voice of reason when it came to setting out a work plan, she reminded me that research and writing requires great expanses of time and space. She took the time to provide me with feedback that challenged me to deliver high quality content. Karen taught the first course that I took at Simon Fraser University, and I am grateful that it was her inquisitive mind and sharp focus that has guided me to the end of my degree.

I'd also like to thank two inspiring pundits - Jake Fry and Frances Bula. Jake was instrumental in bringing laneway homes to Vancouver. Not only is he a passionate voice for 'living small', he continues to envision new and vibrant ways to intensify our residential neighbourhoods without compromising liveability. Frances too inspired portions of my research. As a prolific writer on all things housing, she continues to keep me abreast on the impact of municipal policy on everyday living. She also inspired aspects of my analysis on participatory planning by providing a public forum for discussions on housing through her blog.

It is as a result of the contributions and influence of these individuals (alongside the support of my family) that I have completed a research project that I believe makes a valuable contribution to the academic dialogue on residential intensification.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Partial Copyright Licence	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures	x
List of Acronyms	xi
1. Introduction and Background.....	1
1.1. Research Questions	3
1.2. Historical Context and its Implications	3
1.2.1. Urban Intensification in Vancouver.....	5
1.2.2. Participatory Planning in Vancouver	9
1.2.3. The Dunbar Neighbourhood.....	12
2. Literature Review	16
2.1. Urban Intensification	16
2.2. Community Opposition.....	18
2.3. Public Participation and Representativeness.....	21
3. Methodology.....	25
3.1. Discerning the public transcript.....	25
3.2. Revealing the Hidden Narratives on LWH	27
3.2.1. Site Selection	27
3.2.2. Homeowner Interviews.....	30
3.2.3. Neighbour Surveys.....	31
3.2.4. Limitations to Methodology.....	32
4. Neighbourhood Opposition in Dunbar	34
4.1. A History of Conflict over Housing Development.....	34
4.2. An Exploration of Laneway Housing Opposition.....	38
4.2.1. Community Advocacy.....	40
4.2.2. Political Advocacy	45
4.2.3. Media Promotion	46
4.3. The Impact of Oppositional Narrative	49
5. Homeowner Motivation for Building Laneway Houses	50
5.1. Affordable Homeownership.....	50
5.2. Intergenerational Living Arrangements	53
6. Neighbours' Perceptions of Laneway Houses in Dunbar	56
6.1. Demographic Data on Survey Respondents.....	56

6.2. Position on Laneway Housing.....	58
6.3. Problems and Potential of Laneway Housing	61
6.4. Discussion of Survey Results	65
6.4.1. Quality and Quantity of Questionnaire Responses	66
6.4.2. LWH Opinions Based on Demographics and Location	67
6.4.3. Research Results Compared with Two Additional Community Surveys on LWH	69
6.4.4. The Nature of Opponent and Proponent Views	71
6.4.5. Summary of Findings and Recommendations Based on Survey Data.....	72
7. Discussion on Laneway Housing in Dunbar	74
7.1. Opinions and Attitudes Regarding LWH	74
7.2. Impact of the Dominant Narrative and Hidden Transcript.....	77
8. Conclusion	80
8.1. Recommendations for Municipal Staff	81
8.2. Future Research	83
References.....	85
Appendices.....	98
Appendix A Sample Interview Questions.....	99
Appendix B Laneway Housing Questionnaire.....	101

List of Tables

Table 1. Secondary Sources.....	26
Table 2. Laneway Home Site Descriptions	30
Table 3. Distribution of Survey Responses	32
Table 4. DRA Newsletter – Laneway Housing Content	42
Table 5. Political Advocacy by DRA and DVIC	46
Table 6. Media Coverage of DRA, DVIC and Laneway Housing.....	47
Table 7. Financial Imperatives of Laneway Home Development.....	51
Table 8. Support for Laneway Housing Policy	59
Table 9. Changes to Laneway Housing Policy	59
Table 10. Moratorium on Laneway Housing Policy	60
Table 11. Revocation of Laneway Housing Policy	60
Table 12. Positive Attributes of Laneway Housing	62
Table 13. Negative Impacts of Laneway Housing	64
Table 14. Opinions on Size of Laneway Homes	68

List of Figures

Figure 1. 500 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from lane).....	7
Figure 2. 750 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from main home).....	8
Figure 3. 500 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from backyard).....	8
Figure 4. Map of Dunbar Neighbourhood.....	13
Figure 5. Location of Six Laneway Homes.....	29
Figure 6. Ages of Respondents.....	56

List of Acronyms

DRA	Dunbar Residents' Association
DCV	Dunbar Community Vision
DVIC	Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee
DOP	Director of Planning
LAP	Local Area Planning
LWH	Laneway Housing

1. Introduction and Background

On July 28th, 2009 Vancouver City Council approved a bylaw amendment allowing small homes to be built in the backyards of residences. With one of the largest proportions of single-family lots of all North American cities, laneway housing marked a decision by the City of Vancouver to introduce policies of urban intensification into low-density neighbourhoods. Many Vancouver residents had been anxiously awaiting the new housing form, attracted to the role laneway housing could play as a mortgage-helper, by easing the financial burdens of homeownership in Vancouver's expensive real estate market. For others, laneway housing had the potential to solve family problems, such as providing aging parents and adult children with a home of their own. Even though the policy was largely supported by Vancouverites (City of Vancouver, 2008; 2010a), several pockets of opposition emerged from the wealthier neighbourhoods in the city – notably Shaughnessy, West Point Grey and Dunbar. Linda MacAdam, a Dunbar resident and former Dunbar Residents' Association board member, expressed this opposition during the public hearings held leading up to the laneway housing bylaw. The "Vancouver we know and love now will no longer exist" once 65,000 homeowners potentially get the right to add another small house to their yards (Bula, 2009, July 28).

Within the Dunbar community, the local opposition crystallized with the Dunbar Residents' Association (DRA) and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee (DVIC). Since early iterations of the laneway program, both groups opposed the introduction of the laneway housing program (City of Vancouver, 2009), attending the laneway housing review meetings that occurred in October 2010, meeting with council members privately, and writing letters to city staff. They circulated their concerns widely to the community through the local Dunbar newsletter and sponsored public events (Dunbar Residents' Association, 2011a). Opponents believe that the character of the neighbourhood is threatened by the introduction of laneway housing. They identify issues with parking brought about by the increase in population, the potential negative impact on housing prices for homes located adjacent to a laneway home, shading brought about by the

mass of the additional homes, the reduction of garden space, as well as the loss of privacy (City of Vancouver, 2010b).

The DRA and DVIC also argue that the City of Vancouver's decision to legalize laneway housing in virtually every single-family neighbourhood in the city, including Dunbar, contravened the Dunbar Community Vision (DCV). The document specifies a direction for development in the neighbourhood that restricts densification strategies to the main corridors and rejects infill housing – an early iteration of laneway housing. Built from months of community consultations and a neighbourhood-wide survey, the Dunbar Community Vision was approved by the city in 1998, mandating council and city departments to “use the Dunbar Community Vision Directions to help guide policy decisions, corporate work, priorities, budgets and capital plans in this community” (City of Vancouver, 1998, p. preface). Citywide policies, such as laneway housing, contradict the neighbourhood-centric approach espoused by the Community Vision process.

However, despite vocal opposition championed by the DRA and DVIC, there are signs that anti-laneway housing sentiment is relegated to a vocal minority and is not necessarily representative of the larger community. Out of 17 eligible neighbourhoods in Vancouver, Dunbar is the second most popular location to build a laneway house and of 631 permits that were issued by August 2012, 62 were for the Dunbar neighbourhood (City of Vancouver, 2012c). Moreover, data collected by the city regarding complaints about laneway housing development in Dunbar found that only 19 percent of the sites received complaints against them, not necessarily high enough to indicate a dominant oppositional view (City of Vancouver, 2012b). Other indicators of support have emerged from developers such as Smallworks Laneway Housing & Studio Suites Inc - the first developer of laneway homes in the city and one that works primarily in the Dunbar neighbourhood. Smallworks Principal Jake Fry notes that the majority of inquiries received through their company's phone and email system come from the Dunbar community (Personal communication, July 23, 2012). In fact to satisfy the demand, in October of 2011, a temporary booth was set-up on the main corridor of Dunbar Street to answer questions and field interest from residents.

1.1. Research Questions

The laneway housing program has resulted in a series of conflicts that beg further investigation. Do community organizations like the Dunbar Residents' Association and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee reflect the views of the neighbourhood regarding laneway housing? How should the City of Vancouver make decisions regarding the development in single-family neighbourhoods? Should the views of the community determine the direction for development even if they conflict with the city's strategic orientation toward urban intensification? None of these questions can be answered without first understanding the opinions and beliefs of residents in the Dunbar neighbourhood. Therefore, this research project will investigate the following questions:

Why are Dunbar residents building laneway homes in their neighbourhood?

What are the attitudes to laneway housing of Dunbar residents who live in close vicinity to laneway houses?

Through a mixed-method approach, I employ content analysis in combination with surveys and interviews to explore the opinions and attitudes of Dunbar residents on laneway housing. Two research questions were crafted with the express purpose of gaining the perspectives of both laneway homeowners and residents in Dunbar. The purpose of this research is to begin to develop a more complete narrative for the Dunbar community regarding urban intensification and low-rise densification options like laneway housing. This research also contributes to a body of research on public opinion and participatory planning, especially as they relate to the densification of single-family neighbourhoods in Canada.

1.2. Historical Context and its Implications

Since the 1950s, single-family residential neighbourhoods have become the dominant form of development in Canada, carpeting the country with low-density development. In the 1990s, as policymakers and urban planners became aware of the environmental challenges posed by urban sprawl, a new paradigm for development

emerged, prioritizing higher forms of density to facilitate walkable, transit-oriented neighbourhoods. However, the transition toward a more compact housing form has not been without significant challenges. The detached single-family home is still the preferred option for Canadians across the country and attempts to introduce higher forms of density within established neighbourhoods where this form predominates continues to be met with significant opposition (Gordon and Richardson 1997; Breheny, 1997; Crookston et al. 1996; Curic et al., 2006).

The dilemma for professional planners and policymakers remains that while most of them believe that citizen participation is a desirable and necessary component of the planning process, most also agree that low-density residential development, is not a sustainable urban form and that attempts to introduce higher density housing in residential neighbourhoods needs to be actively encouraged (Curic and Bunting, 2006).

Additionally, despite the intention of public participation processes to promote community involvement and transparency in decision-making related to policy and development proposals, the actual execution of public consultation practices is plagued with inclusion, representation and accessibility issues. Outcomes of participatory processes are often accused of not reflecting the actual preferences or interests of the wider community (Day, 1997). Effective participation on the part of the citizen often requires an amount of time, money, skills and resources that only a small minority of the population can afford. Finally, individuals typically only become involved when they are directly affected by a proposal, making the majority of participation reactionary and often negative or oppositional (Day, 1997; Grant, 1994; Forester, 2009; Sarkissian, Hurford & Wenman, 2010).

Even though Vancouver is widely cited and celebrated as an early adopter of densification policies and participatory planning practices in North America (Punter, 2003), the city has struggled to introduce more intensified forms of housing to single-family neighbourhoods. While laneway housing can be viewed as progress toward intensification of Vancouver's residential neighbourhoods, it has also occurred alongside vocal opposition in the westside neighbourhoods of the city. Despite the fact that there are indications of the popularity of the program within communities like Dunbar, vocal opposition has led to a tightening up of laneway housing regulations such that the mass

and sizing of new developments have been restricted (Jake Fry, Personal communication, July 23, 2012; Lee, 2010). If the tensions between urban intensification and participatory planning processes are to be relieved, a more in-depth examination of public opinion in residential intensification processes must be initiated and examples like laneway housing in Dunbar used as a case study for analysis.

1.2.1. *Urban Intensification in Vancouver*

Since the late 1950s, beginning with the development of residential high-rise towers in Vancouver's West End, the City of Vancouver has championed urban intensification policies. The success of this dense but liveable neighbourhood led to the redevelopment of urban industrial lands, such as North False Creek and Coal Harbour, beginning in the mid-1970s. This trend continued well into the 1990s with the development of South False Creek, the former Expo '86 lands (now Concord Pacific Place), and Yaletown (Quastel et al., 2012). Through the redevelopment of industrial lands, Vancouver introduced thousands of new homes ranging from high-rise developments to ground-scale townhomes. However, by the mid-2000s these were nearing completion, and strong development interests lamented shrinking land supplies and began to advocate for densification options in existing neighbourhoods (Hutton, 2004; Bula, 2012, November 15). In response, former mayor Sam Sullivan developed and introduced the *EcoDensity* initiative (2006-2009) which would extend densification into already established residential neighbourhoods outside the central core. With over half of the city's land area still made up of single-family blocks and the lowest density concentrated in these areas, these residential communities became the subject of much of the dialogue on urban intensification by city staff (City of Vancouver, 2007). Earlier urban intensification efforts focused on high-density structures such as towers and mid-rise apartment buildings whereas the move to residential neighbourhoods through *EcoDensity* introduced new housing options and a noticeable shift towards low-rise solutions such as basement suites, secondary suites and laneway houses (Quastel et al., 2012).

Thus densification strategies moved from a focus on the urban core, towards plans that included established single-family neighbourhoods. This shift was reflected in the language and policy orientations of the most recent Directors of Planning (DOP) for

the City of Vancouver. For example, former DOP Brent Toderian rebranded predecessor Larry Beasley's "living first" strategy (exclusively focused on the downtown) to the "complete city" which aimed to achieve a liveable density across the entire city with good design, a mixture of uses and comprehensive transit accessibility (Quastel et al., 2012). Toderian also incorporated the concept of "invisible density" introduced by former Mayor Sam Sullivan's *EcoDensity* initiative. When Vision Vancouver led by Mayor Gregor Robertson swept to power in 2008, they continued the previous Council's push for the legalization of basement apartments, secondary suites and laneway houses (City of Vancouver Housing Centre, 2010; City of Vancouver, 2010a). However, they quietly dropped the language of *EcoDensity* to distance themselves from the unpopularity of the densification strategies associated with the previous Mayor and Council. Instead Robertson reoriented all policy and programmatic decisions around the *Greenest City Action Plan* and Vancouver's bid to become the "greenest city in the world" by 2020 (City of Vancouver, 2010c). More recently, the Mayor has added an additional lens to the city's focus on development - affordable housing. Laneway housing emerged and has been marketed to the public as both environmentally sustainable and economically viable housing (City of Vancouver, 2008; City of Vancouver, 2010c). By virtue of its size, use of existing land, and adherence to green building standards, the small homes are examples of environmentally sustainable housing. With regard to affordable housing, the city argues that laneway housing adds additional rental housing stock, and in a report delivered to City Council in 2012, the Mayor's Task Force on Affordable Housing recommended that the laneway housing program be expanded to additional single family neighbourhoods to increase rental housing supply (City of Vancouver, 2012a).

Laneway housing (LWH) was among the Vision Vancouver Mayor and Council's early housing policy decisions. On July 28th, 2009 following two nights of public hearings on the subject¹, City Council voted in favour of laneway housing (City of Vancouver, 2009a). The decision to approve laneway housing prompted a by-law amendment to all RS-1 and RS-5 single-family zones. According to the city's programmatic specifications,

¹ The public meeting held over the course of 2 days amassed comments from speakers as well as letters and emails from the public. Of the speakers, 72 percent expressed support for laneway housing. Of the written communication received 57percent of respondents were in favour.

laneway houses are detached dwellings located in the backyard of a single-family lot that range between 500 square feet and 750 square feet in size. The program allows for the placement of a small residential building on almost every 33-foot (or larger), lane-facing, detached housing lot in Vancouver. As of May 2013 this covered 94 percent of the City's entire single-family home housing stock. In other words, an estimated 70,000 Vancouver homeowners are able to add a laneway home to their residential-zoned property (Wood, 2011). While LWH will contribute to neighbourhood intensification by potentially doubling the number of households per residential lot, the homes do not alter the street view since the small home is tucked away behind the main single-family home (City of Vancouver, 2010a).

Figure 1. 500 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from lane)



Figure 2. 750 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from main home)



Figure 3. 500 sq foot Laneway Home in Dunbar (View from backyard)



1.2.2. Participatory Planning in Vancouver

Over the years community consultation processes in Vancouver have been employed as a method for informing future directions for urban change. However, they have also been seen as an effective tool for quelling dissent and building public awareness in favour of particular planning orientations. Historically, practices have oscillated between citywide consultation processes and neighbourhood centred initiatives. Despite a significant history of community consultation, Vancouver planning has also been marked by neighbourhood opposition to development projects – in particular those involving neighbourhood intensification (Punter, 2003).

Even though Vancouver has a long history of employing public participation processes, the city also clearly stands out among municipalities in Canada as one of the best equipped to enact contentious planning schemes *without* having to respond to public opposition. The combination of a citywide electoral system, relative independence from the provincial government, and a high level of discretion given to planning officers, enhance the power of the City to enact policy changes on the residents of Vancouver. A citywide electoral system creates a small council with no allegiance or accountability to specific neighbourhoods. According to Punter, this “reduces not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) political responses to necessary development” (Punter, 2003 p. 13). However, it also facilitates the imposition of citywide housing policies, like laneway housing, on neighbourhoods. The Vancouver Charter, which was granted by the province in 1953, gave Vancouver significant powers of self-governance. It can amend its charter through private bills, which equips the council with a wide scope to explore novel policy options as well as respond to local planning issues (Punter, 2003). To further its agenda, council delegates significant power to the Director of Planning (DOP) and city staff. While council shapes policy and approves all plans, rezoning and design guidelines, it leaves most decisions on the specifics of development to the Director of Planning and his/her staff.

Up until the second half of the twentieth century little thought was given to the role of residents in the development of land and city planning was confined to the imaginings of city council and the DOP (Thomas, 2012; Punter, 2003). However, by the 1970s, several significant development projects such as the demolition of historic buildings and the proposed freeway development had generated enough widespread opposition from

residents of Vancouver that the city reconsidered its approach to planning. In order to make community involvement paramount in decisions relating to urban land use, Vancouver, alongside several Canadian cities, including Toronto and Winnipeg, introduced the concept of Local Area Planning (LAP) (Higgins, 1986). The emphasis of the approach was on fostering of 'neighbourliness' and 'liveability' through urban planning and design (Punter, 2003, p. 29) and comprised long, comprehensive processes involving the public in accounting for land-use and transportation planning (City of Vancouver, 2011). Since a comprehensive master plan governing growth in Vancouver essentially did not exist (and still does not exist), these area-planning exercises provided important venues through which to involve the public in decision-making regarding development objectives. The last LAP project was completed in the early 1990s.

CityPlan, first introduced in 1995, was a more refined form of Local Area Planning than existed in the mid-seventies and eighties. Mayor Gordon Campbell saw *CityPlan* as an opportunity to involve the public in finding better alternatives to accommodate population growth (Punter, 2003, p. 149). The public consultation process facilitated conversations among Vancouver residents and with planners to determine what kind of future they wanted for Vancouver. A major goal of the process was to reach a broad array of people and not just special interest groups (McAfee, 1997). Guided conversations were held with over 3000 Vancouver residents to brainstorm solutions to some of the pressing development issues facing the city. One outcome was the "recognition of the need for a greater mix of more affordable housing in single-family neighbourhoods, and for a more positive approach to secondary suites, density increases and design guidelines" (Punter, 2003, p. 192). With this came the recognition that design would play a dominant role in determining acceptable forms of intensification, and the public subsequently wanted more inclusion in deciding what forms development would take.

Council adopted *CityPlan*'s first phase goals in 1995. In 1997, in order to develop more detailed plans for neighbourhoods, the Community Visions Program was started and Dunbar, along with Kensington-Cedar Cottage, were chosen as the first neighbourhoods to undergo the process. The residents of Dunbar were invited to work alongside professional planners to define a 'vision' for their neighbourhood. These

visions covered topics such as housing types, shopping areas, transportation, parks, and community services. Each vision “describes the kind of community that people who live and work in the area want it to become over the next 10 to 20 years. They are not detailed plans or by-laws, but are policy frameworks” (City of Vancouver, 2009b, p. 16). Using a combination of community conferences, workshops and surveys the city built a neighbourhood-specific vision for urban change based on the feedback of residents. In the case of Dunbar, the Community Visions Program resulted in the ‘scaling back’ of densification options that had been endorsed by the citywide *CityPlan* process. As mentioned earlier, Dunbar residents supported limited densification along main arterials through townhomes and row houses but opposed widening the development corridor into adjacent blocks or allowing denser forms of housing opposite public parks (Punter, 2003, p. 170). The Dunbar community was mandated through the City’s Community Planning Process to set-up a residents committee (the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee) to speak on behalf of the vision and to maintain interaction with city officials and council. Punter argues that discretionary zoning and *CityPlan*’s participatory development approach failed to respond to a wide range of housing needs, especially the need for smaller more affordable suites at ground level (Punter 2003, p. 143-145). In fact, it is possible that *CityPlan*’s community consultation process empowered the residents of Dunbar to protect the integrity of the single-family home neighbourhood by solidifying their vision for low-density development into the future.

Alongside the Community Visions process (which is still in progress) subsequent municipal governments have employed citywide consultation processes to further urban intensification initiatives. The *EcoDensity* initiative involved “two years of workshops, community meetings, public forums and fairs, hundreds of participants, and seven nights of public hearings” (City of Vancouver, 2010a, p. 3). Planners found that “planning for new density that complements and is compatible with established lower-density neighbourhoods was a key challenge for the *EcoDensity* process – a challenge made even more difficult by the reluctance of city residents to embrace new density” (City of Vancouver, 2010a, p. 13).

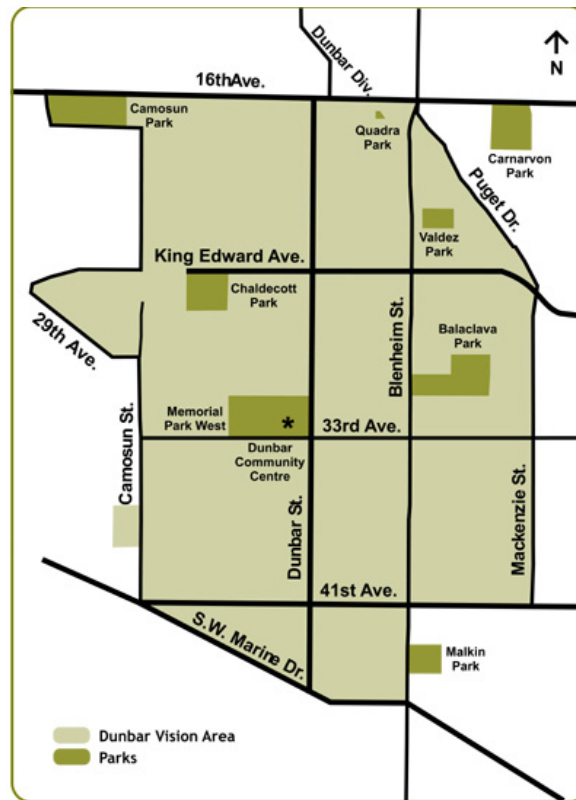
While Mayor Robertson and the Vision Vancouver Council have encouraged public participation, they have done so using a citywide approach focused on environmental sustainability. City documents suggest that community engagement is an

important factor in achieving Vancouver's goal to becoming the greenest city by 2020. A key document, Vancouver 2020: A Bright Green Future explicitly states, "direct contact with people is increasingly recognized for its ability to bring about lasting behavioural changes" (City of Vancouver, 2010c, p. 48). During the development of the Greenest City Action Plan, more than 35,000 people participated in the process online, through social media, and in face-to-face workshops and events. More than 9,500 people, most of whom lived in Vancouver, actively added their ideas, insights, and feedback to help determine the best path to achieve this plan (City of Vancouver, 2010c). With regard to laneway housing, the City also employed a citywide approach, with open houses and public consultation processes facilitated in both the East and West sides of the city. Residents were also encouraged to express their views during public hearings leading up to the laneway housing bylaw amendment as well as during a review of the program in 2010. However, unlike the Community Visions process, the consultation approaches steered clear of any neighbourhood specific concerns and promoted the program as a citywide initiative. Residents from communities like Dunbar who might have expressed opposition to laneway housing and who argued that the program contradicted the Dunbar Community Vision (DCV) were not provided a forum to tailor the application of laneway housing to the views of its residents.

1.2.3. *The Dunbar Neighbourhood*

Dunbar is situated on the western boundary of Pacific Spirit Regional Park and its northern and southern borders are 16th Ave and Southwest Marine, respectively. Dunbar consists mainly of single-family dwellings with over 70 percent of the housing made-up of the detached housing form. Almost half of these homes were built before 1946 in the Edwardian or Craftsman-style (City of Vancouver, 2006). The early 1990s saw the adoption of new zoning that allowed for some low-rise apartment buildings and rental suites and the recent bylaw amendments have also introduced more basement suites, secondary suites and laneway homes.

Figure 4. Map of Dunbar Neighbourhood



The community is also known for its high levels of community engagement regarding neighbourhood development. In fact, Dunbar was chosen by the City of Vancouver to initiate the first Community Vision process through *CityPlan* because of its reputation for high levels of neighbourhood participation and community organization (Punter, 2003). Dunbar has also established a reputation as a neighbourhood that seeks to protect the status quo (Punter, 2003). In a 2006 Dunbar Residents' Association newsletter, a resident articulated that "one of the nice things about Dunbar [was] that nothing much changes around here." This comment reflects a widely held view that change is not necessary nor welcome in the community (Schofield, 2007, p. 75). In fact much has been done over the decades to preserve the status quo and prohibit development projects that would add density to the neighbourhood (Schofield, 2007, p. 76-77; 177). The community has successfully lobbied to keep much of the density limited to low-rise complexes along the arterials, and consequently has experienced little change in the dominant housing morphology over the last 40 years. However, the

addition of housing that differs from the dominant detached single-family homes has resulted in overall change for the community. Forty years ago, over 90 percent of the housing stock consisted of detached single-family homes (City of Vancouver, 1979). This percentage remained relatively stable until the early 1990s. Today this has been reduced to 66 percent of the housing stock (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Despite increases in more compact housing forms, Dunbar has avoided all of the population growth that has been borne by other neighbourhoods in Vancouver. In fact, between 1996 and 2011 Vancouver grew by 17.4 percent. Over the same period, Dunbar's population remained the same with only a 50 person increase over 15 years, despite an increase in denser housing stock (Statistics Canada, 2011a & 2011b).

While a cursory view reinforces the notion that the community has not changed significantly over several decades, demographic data and socio-economic indicators suggest that changes are occurring beneath the surface. As housing prices continued to rise throughout the 1990s, the prices of homes in the neighbourhood began to divorce themselves from the salaries of working professional families in Vancouver. This compounded over time and by 2011 the average price of a detached home in Dunbar hovered around \$1.7 million (Greater Vancouver Real Estate Board, 2012). At this price only the very wealthiest individuals could afford to purchase property in the neighbourhood and middle-class professional families were priced out of the community.

Possibly as a consequence of the increase in housing prices other changes have occurred in the Dunbar neighbourhood. Like much of Vancouver the Dunbar community has become an appealing location for foreign investment. Based on information corroborated with the 2011 census, 7.75 percent of the homes in Dunbar are investment properties. These homes are purchased by individuals and remain unoccupied or occupied solely by foreign residents for portions of the year (Yan, 2012). The impact of high vacancy rates means that there are fewer residents to support local businesses and restaurants, fewer households enrolling their children in schools, using public parks and participating in community centre programs (Bula, 2013, March 20). One laneway homeowner claimed that "When we walk our dog down the block in the evening we notice so many houses without lights on or even any furniture in them. There is just no life there." (Interview Laneway Homeowner, 2012).

Another sign that Dunbar is changing can be found in an exploration of the census data. Between 1996 and 2011 the total number of inhabitants per household decreased from 3 to 2.8 (Statistics Canada, 2011a & 2011b). While the households are shrinking they also appear to be aging. Between 2001 and 2011 the total percentage of elderly residents over the age of 75 increased by 3.6 percent (Care, 2012). While these numbers do not necessarily indicate radical changes are occurring in the neighbourhood, they do suggest the possibility that younger families are being priced out of the neighbourhood and the existing residents are staying and aging in the community.

Signs the economic and social composition of Dunbar is changing have begun to emerge in the community and may be cause for concern in the future. However, the more overt issue that emerges is the inconsistency between the City's orientation towards densification of single-family neighbourhoods and the fact that population levels are not increasing in Dunbar. Using laneway housing as an example, there are signs that the neighbourhood will not easily accept attempts to introduce housing forms that would increase population levels in the community. In the short term, City densification efforts will continue and other communities will be pressured to absorb city-wide population increases. However, Dunbar's vision for limited densification along its arterials is on a collision course with the planning department's mandate to intensify single-family neighbourhoods throughout the city, not only through the intensification of main arterials but by introducing new housing stock within their residential streets.

2. Literature Review

This literature review will explore three topics: urban intensification, neighbourhood opposition and public representation. The literature explored in this chapter will explain why trends towards urban intensification and infill housing (like laneway housing) have become popular with municipal governments in North America and abroad. Second, a review of NIMBYism and how it manifests itself within the single-family neighbourhood context provides a foundation for understanding Dunbar's dissent. Last, an understanding of public participation theory and the challenges of generating a representative view of neighbourhood opinions will help to unpack evidence regarding the popularity of the program in Dunbar.

2.1. Urban Intensification

There has been growing support in recent years for the idea of the compact city. This concept has emerged primarily in response to the widely acknowledged need to find more sustainable models for the towns and cities of the developed world. The compact city has a variety of definitions but in general is taken to mean a relatively high-density, mixed-use city, based on an efficient public transport system and a built form that encourages walking and cycling (Hall, 1996; Gunder, 2006; Jenks et al., 1996; Williams et al., 2000). It contrasts with the car-oriented urban sprawl of many modern towns and cities. The process of achieving urban compactness is usually termed 'intensification', 'consolidation' or 'densification', and involves the re-use of brownfield land, more intensive use of urban buildings and existing housing stock to increase the population in residential areas (Burton, 2000). The goal of 'compaction' in existing urban residential neighbourhoods is to address the inefficiencies posed by low-density developments by increasing the number of dwellings and diversity of residents.

Through intensification of development within the city, many problems related to

urban sprawl have the potential to be overcome, in particular a reduction in the use of private cars and the loss of open countryside. However, proponents of this concept claim more than just environmental benefits can be gained from intensifying urban areas; in fact “higher density settlements are argued to be more socially sustainable because local facilities and services can be maintained, due to high population densities, and therefore accessibility to goods and services is more equitably distributed” (Williams, 1999, p. 168). Furthermore, “...high density urban living is seen as a prerequisite for vitality, vibrancy, cultural activities and social interaction” (Williams, 1999, p. 168). Additionally, urban intensification is also used as a strategy for addressing housing affordability, building on evidence that neighbourhoods with a greater variety of housing types and residential density have a greater quantity of affordable housing (Aurand, 2010). Environmental, affordability and social sustainability resonate with the City of Vancouver’s urban intensification strategy, and in particular its proposed use for laneway housing within residential neighbourhoods (City of Vancouver, 2008 & 2012c).

At the heart of the discussion on urban intensification is an attempt to address unsustainable land use patterns such as single-family housing. The unsustainable relationship between land use in Canada is exemplified by residential development patterns and the consequential dependence on private modes of transportation, namely automobiles. As noted in a report issued as long ago as 1991 by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation:

As is often pointed out, in combination, the private car and the single-family detached housing have created what is arguably the single most important challenge to urban sustainability in Canada. Based on social, economic and environmental criteria, this challenge consists mainly of reducing dependence on private cars, and creating residences that are at once, more affordable (for all income groups), more efficient (in the use of energy and other natural resources), and more sensitive to changing societal demands and needs.

(Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1991)

In Vancouver, low-density neighbourhoods still predominate and many of these residential communities are considered good places (from a planning perspective) to accommodate more housing units (City of Vancouver, 2012d). The shift towards the intensification of existing residential neighbourhoods in Vancouver has been

accompanied by a change in the type and nature of densification options introduced to communities. Rather than high-rise, high-density options, the City of Vancouver has focused on mid-rise and low-rise densification options – including laneway housing. While the new housing forms would not bring the same levels of densification that earlier methods had, it was understood that urban intensification in residential neighbourhoods required a weighing of community appropriateness, sustainable design and absolute densities (Burton, 2002; Garcia and Riera, 2003). By introducing one and two-storey medium density options, Vancouver planners were able to preserve the residents' relationship to the land – an important feature and benefit of the single-family neighbourhood. Furthermore, intensification policies are most likely to be successful when adapted to the existing urban landscape of the particular neighbourhood where they are being implemented (Arbury, 2005). For example, low and medium-rise densification options ensure that each dwelling has its own front door onto a public street, and to provide gardens for all family dwellings (Burton, 2002). While the dwellings proposed were less dense they still provided the opportunity to double or triple the population density of single-detached lots over time (assuming both a secondary suite in the primary home, and a laneway house on the lot) (Toderian, 2010).

2.2. Community Opposition

A major challenge for residential intensification comes in the form of community opposition to alternative housing developments that depart from the existing single-family dwelling. Densification is not always well received by residents who tend to oppose anything but low-density, detached housing in single-family communities (Gordon and Richardson 1997; Ibreheny, 1997; Crookston et al, 1996; Curic et al., 2006).

Neighbourhood opposition to unwanted development is conventionally ascribed to the “not in my back yard” (NIMBY) syndrome. According to Kraft and Cleary, NIMBY refers to “intense, sometimes emotional, and often adamant local opposition to location proposals that residents believe will result in adverse impacts” (Kraft & Cleary, 1991, p. 300). Opponents are likely to recognize that a facility is needed but are opposed to situating it within their community. Michael Dear, a prolific writer on the subject of

NIMBYism described it as follows:

NIMBY refers to the protectionist attitudes of, and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing an unwelcome development in their neighbourhood... residents usually concede that these 'noxious' facilities are necessary, but not near their homes, hence the term 'not in my back yard'.
(Dear 1992, p. 288)

Scholarship on NIMBYism is also rooted in a spatial theory of opposition, assuming the proximity between a person's home and the site of a proposed development to be the most significant factor influencing response (Dear, 1992). Considering that laneway homes are literally built in the backyards of single-family residents and adjacent to their neighbours, the role that distance plays in shaping attitudes towards infill is particularly relevant. However, to what extent 'distance' actually plays a role in dissent is questionable. Many recent studies have tended to disprove spatial determinism, with some studies even revealing that residents living closer to developments have more positive views than those living further away (Johnson & Scicchitano, 2012).

The NIMBY concept has also been used as an explanation for opposition that is motivated at the individual level by ignorance, irrationality, and selfishness (Burningham et al., 2007). Susan Owens (2001) argues that opposition is based upon a lack of full knowledge of the problem or the technology in question, an assumption labelled the 'information deficit perspective'. According to this view, if the individuals involved have access to the proper information, and if the 'facts' of the issue could be separated from the 'myths' (Devine-Wright, 2011), then levels of opposition would fall. However, researchers like Judith Petts (1997) have been highly critical of this assumption, using qualitative methods to show that individuals opposing developments are often highly informed and cannot be presumed ignorant. In fact, in a study of local opposition groups Terry van Dijk and Nickie van der Wulp (2010) found that local opposition groups are well informed, skewing significantly above the national average in terms of their level of education.

While the tendency is to apply the term NIMBY negatively, researchers such as Gregory McAvoy (1998) have argued the virtues of the phenomena, pointing to the role

of NIMBYs as community stewards embracing the ideals of democratic action. William Freudenberg and Susan Pastor (1992) saw NIMBYs as providing essential local guidance relative to the “big picture”, and as compared to experts’ focus on technical details. And according to Lois Takahashi and Michael Dear (1997) community opposition also can serve to empower previously marginalized communities leading to more equitable community outcomes.

Proposals for new housing options in established neighbourhoods have a long history of generating community opposition (Babcock 1966; Scott 1969; Plotkin 1987). Rolf Pendall (1999) a researcher that focused primarily on community opposition to housing found that new housing developments, both market rate and subsidized generated NIMBY responses. In fact, he found that even high-priced new homes could generate controversy. A common overarching concern raised by residents is that densification will have a damaging effect on the existing character of a place, including economic viability, demographic integrity, and the loss of green space (Jenks et al., 2000; Woodcock et al., 2008). Residents often perceive that the introduction of additional new homes will stress local public services and environmental amenities, which in turn can threaten the value of established homes. House prices reflect the characteristics of their cities and neighborhoods, such as school quality and access to transportation (Schneider 1989). Any change to a neighborhood or even to a small city that might degrade any part of this bundle of ‘housing services’ will provoke concern. New residents may compete with existing ones for space in schools, at parks, and on roads. Additionally, community opposition towards housing, especially affordable housing, can generate other fears regarding increased crime and traffic as well as prejudices towards ethnically diverse community members (Tighe, 2010). In existing residential neighbourhoods, like Dunbar, established residents often grow to treat privately owned undeveloped land as community property for passive enjoyment of views and openness if not for active use for gardening and quasi-parks (Pendall, 1999).

Despite detailed documentation on the reasons for community opposition, there is evidence that residents may hold socially unacceptable private opinions that they do not reveal when asked to speak about their opposition publically. For example, it has become socially unacceptable to oppose a housing development because of the type of resident (i.e. low-income and/or ethnically diverse) it will house. Instead residents will

choose other less controversial yet seemingly 'legitimate' concerns such as impact on traffic, neighbourhood consultation and the environment as reasons for their opposition (ACRBAH, 1991; Burningham, 2000; Stein, 1992).

2.3. Public Participation and Representativeness

Municipal governments involve the public more extensively in urban planning today than at any time in history (Thomas, 2012). During the 1960s, the planning field shifted toward more inclusive techniques and to increased citizen activism aimed at protecting urban neighbourhoods and the natural environment (Fainstein 2000; Jacobs 1961). Over the subsequent decades, this new approach grew into an expectation that citizens who could be affected by governmental programs should be able to contribute ideas to shape those programs before they became reality (Thomas, 2012). As public participation practices have become interwoven with the process of policy development and implementation, the debate over merits of public participation have also intensified.

The case for more public involvement argues that citizen participation enhances the outcomes for communities and government. In particular, consultations generate a better understanding of the problems and priorities of neighbourhoods and foster better community relations. City staff are able to access information from the grassroots level and can design programs and policies that are best suited for the communities where they will be implemented. As Beierle observed, information generated from the community can often be of high quality: "The capacity that participants bring to the table often is quite impressive, both in terms of scientific and technical training and in terms of in-depth knowledge of the issues under discussion." (Beierle, 2002, p. 746) Additionally, public participation can strengthen and improve a municipal government's relationship with its citizenry. Since the public has been involved in the decision-making and feels some ownership over the outcome, governments are protected from criticism. Community members are also more likely to trust public administrators if they have been involved in the decision-making process, which facilitates program implementation, reducing and/or eliminating the possibility of public opposition.

However, there is also evidence that public participation does not lead to better policy decisions. The challenges to participation include: cost, representativeness, and quality of the resulting programs. Till and Meyer found that, “involving the public in...decision-making costs about twice as much for a project than when the work is performed without public involvement.” (Till & Meyer, 2001, p.377) Since more individuals are involved in the decision-making, more resources are needed to facilitate their involvement. Another criticism is that public involvement threatens the quality of public decisions in at least two ways. First, citizens may challenge professionally or scientifically grounded information that they lack the expertise to understand and seek a solution that contradicts the evidence. Second, pursuing the narrow interests of many specific groups that participate in public processes could lead to neglecting the larger public interest. As one observer has argued, “What thus begins as a grand design...often becomes an exercise in day-to-day bargaining where organized groups struggle to maximize their own vested interests often at the expense of broader social objectives.” (Rydell 1984, p. 183-184)

The idea behind community consultation is to better represent the public in decision-making. However in practice this often does not occur (Thomas, 2012). No matter the methods of consultation, many who are eligible to participate do not, and those who do participate are unlikely to constitute a cross section of all who were eligible to get involved. Public administrators tend to gather input from communities through public meetings, open houses, or focus groups—measures that tend to gather opinions from a small, self-selected group of individuals rather than the entire affected community (Carr & Halvorsen 2001). As a result, many individuals and groups continue to be excluded from the planning process (Alfasi 2003; Lowry 1997) and it is very difficult to access the depth and breadth of community opinions towards urban change. The difficulties begin with the core bias of political and civic involvement: involvement increases with socioeconomic status, such that participation in any process typically tilts toward those with more education and income (Thomas, 2012). Critics charge that individuals active in NIMBY responses may not be representative of the community as a whole but rather embody the views of a limited vocal minority (Johnson & Scicchitano, 2012). Hunter and Leyden suggested that a small group of NIMBY opponents may have the effect of biasing local decision makers’ perceptions of community preferences

(Hunter & Leyden, 1995). Those who are more tolerant are more likely to remain quiet in a public meeting, whereas those individuals who oppose a project tend to be more vocal (Groothuis & Miller 1994). Research has illustrated that opponents of proposed facilities are typically older, more highly educated, wealthier, more likely to organize and attend meetings, and very certain of their opposition to the proposed facility (Mansfield, Van Houtven, & Huber 2001; Walsh, Warland, & Smith 1997). Brion characterized these opponents as “producers for whom the potential gains on the economic market from a favorable public decision will far outweigh the considerable cost of effective participation.” (Brion, 1991, p. 43)

The popularity of the laneway housing program within Dunbar indicates that other narratives are prevalent in the community; however they are dominated by what James C. Scott argues is the ‘public transcript’. He describes this as ‘the forms, rituals and discourses through which power holders present themselves and their social orders for public view (Scott, 1990, p.13). These views are then legitimated as the voice for a community and rarely are they contested in the public sphere. Scott calls upon researchers to examine the ‘hidden transcripts’ – the voices of the dominated social class or silent majority (Scott 1990, p. 27).

It is essential both to analyze the process behind the construction of visible community identity and to recognize that the dominance of this narrative may be concealing the views of other community members. Since communities may be plagued by power differentials, it is important to assess who is informing the dominant narrative and how. In the case of laneway housing, the Dunbar Residents’ Association (DRA) has an organizational structure in the form of a community organization. This allows its members access to city officials and bestows them with the authority to speak on behalf of the community. They also have a communication vehicle in the form of a quarterly newsletter and listserv that they have utilized to share information opposing laneway houses. Since the DRA has adopted an anti-laneway housing position, the ability for a formal alternative discourse to emerge within the neighbourhood is very difficult.

Discourse is the set of ways that people talk, think about, and communicate an idea or a conceptual framework. Discourse is not just communication, but the entire social and cultural context where the communication is happening. Discourse is also the

medium through which this power is exerted (Dalby, 1997). Not only is discourse the communication channel between people, but discourse is also used to determine what actions are promising, productive, or acceptable, by determining the manner in which people think on a subject.

One specific concern of this research project is to search for counter narratives', or what elsewhere have been called 'reverse' (Foucault, 1980, p. 2) or 'oppositional' discourses. One of the key claims advanced by Foucault is that discourses can be seen as a complex set of competing ideas and values, all of which are actualized in our everyday activities (Ibid.). For Foucault, discourse plays a pivotal role in establishing what he terms 'regimes of truth', that is, the grounds from which we assert understandings about the social world. The key task for researchers is to identify the counter narratives or oppositional discourses within communities as they relate to power dynamics. By unearthing the counter narratives that exist in Dunbar on the subject of laneway housing, the research findings can begin to paint a more diverse and representative vision of urban intensification, challenging the uniformity with which opposition groups present the issue to city planners and the public.

3. Methodology

This research project seeks to answer two questions: *What are the attitudes and opinions towards laneway houses of residents living in close proximity to laneway housing in Dunbar?*; and *Why are Dunbar residents building laneway homes?* The combination of both questions ensured that enough qualitative and quantitative data was collected to build a narrative on residential intensification in Dunbar. The first question provided the framework for exploring both opposition and possible support within the community for laneway housing. The second question allowed the author to explore the reasons for the popularity of this new form within the neighbourhood in spite of vocal opposition to its introduction. To answer these questions I employed a multi-method approach which included primary data from interviews with laneway homeowners, surveys of neighbouring residents and secondary data from sources such as community newsletters, print media articles, City of Vancouver documents and historical sources.

3.1. Discerning the public transcript

While interviews and surveys provided the majority of the data necessary to answer the research questions, document analysis was used to establish the dominant public voice of the Dunbar community regarding laneway housing and other issues. The public transcript contributed to a framework for understanding opposition in the community. Data sources included content analysis of City of Vancouver public opinion records and reports, Dunbar Residents' Association publications, media articles and historical documents. I reviewed public materials and extracted information pertaining to anti-neighbourhood intensification perspectives and oppositional views towards laneway housing in the neighbourhood. The following is a list of existing sources that contributed to the research.

Table 1. Secondary Sources

Type of Document	Details
City of Vancouver records and reports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feedback from public consultation on laneway housing in Dunbar (2008-2009) - Laneway Housing Monitoring Report (2010) - Complaints from Dunbar residents regarding laneway home developments (2009-2012)
Dunbar Residents' Association (DRA) and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee (DVIC) publications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DRA newsletter (2007-2012) - Letters written to council regarding laneway home development (2009-2011)
Media articles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Print articles on laneway housing in Dunbar - Articles regarding Dunbar's opinions towards neighbourhood intensification dating back to the 1960s
Historical Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Story of Dunbar: Voices of a Vancouver Neighbourhood</i> - Policy for the Location of Low-Density Multiple Housing Projects in the Suburban Parts – City of Vancouver. - Dunbar Community Vision - Dunbar Residents' Association Constitution

The purpose of this analysis was to document the formal oppositional narrative that exists in Dunbar regarding neighbourhood intensification and by extension laneway housing. The sources were first broken into two categories – neighbourhood intensification preceding laneway housing and the oppositional narrative towards laneway housing in Dunbar. Historical documents in addition to media articles related to densification were first reviewed to develop an understanding of the community's historical stance on densification in the neighbourhood. The second focus was to review the municipal documents in conjunction with DRA and DVIC publications and media articles on laneway housing to identify the public transcript on laneway housing in Dunbar. Inspired by Scott's framework for identifying the dominant narrative, the content was then reviewed to identify the 'forms, rituals and discourses' utilized to establish Dunbar's public transcript on laneway housing. Then the primary and secondary data sources were compared and reconciled against one another to build a more comprehensive view of laneway housing opposition in the Dunbar community.

Even though it would have been possible to interview DRA and DVIC members on their opinions about laneway housing, such an approach was deemed inappropriate for my research project. An examination of public documents was a more effective way of discerning the dominant discourse as it only permitted examination of material that was readily available and prevalent within the Dunbar community. Dominant discourses can be discerned by means of extracting the pervasive themes and messages that exist in a public realm. In this case that meant documents such as community newsletters and media articles. Private opinions on the other hand (even if they had contributed to the dominant discourse) would not have been accessible to the wider audiences of the Dunbar residents and City Council. As a result, member opinions were not necessary to build the dominant oppositional narrative.

3.2. Revealing the Hidden Narratives on LWH

Once the dominant discourse had been established, it was possible to begin to develop a counter-narrative on laneway housing in Dunbar. In particular, two sources emerged as important contributors – laneway homeowners and neighbours living in close proximity to a build. Laneway homeowners could provide insights into the motivations regarding laneway home development in the neighbourhood whereas neighbours were able shed light on the views held within Dunbar regarding the specific form of neighbourhood intensification.

3.2.1. Site Selection

From over 60 permitted lots, six laneway homes were chosen as the subjects of the analysis. In order to represent a diverse cross-section of laneway homes, each site was selected based on size, location and status. At the time of this research, laneway homes could be built to a maximum of 500 square feet for smaller lots and 750 square feet for larger residential properties. Additionally, homeowners had the option to build a one-storey unit or a 1.5 storey home. These parameters created significant variation in the type of homes built in Dunbar. Since size and massing had emerged within the media and City Council reports as factors for opposition, sites were chosen with mass and height in mind. Half of the sites chosen were larger lots that accommodated 750

square foot homes whereas the remaining three were built on smaller lots that would accommodate homes up to 500 square feet. One of the laneway houses chosen was a single storey home – one of only two laneway houses in Dunbar to be built with one floor.

Location also factored into the decisions regarding site selection. While the neighbourhood is predominantly populated by single-family residences there is more variation in housing options North of 33rd Avenue where mixed-use apartment buildings, townhomes and commercial blocks can be found. South of 33rd, and in particular South of 41st, very little variation in the housing morphology exists. Lots are larger and homes more substantial. To capture this variation, two homes chosen were located South of 33rd Ave.

Additionally, when seeking out site locations one consideration was to include homes situated on the main arterials as well as those located further into the neighbourhood and away from the commercial hubs. Dunbar Street as well as Blenheim Street are highly trafficked thoroughways and in the case of Dunbar Street, homes located on this main strip are also accustomed to the higher levels of density associated with apartment buildings and commercial storefronts. Alternately, homes located deeper within the neighbourhood are surrounded almost entirely by other detached single-family homes. Half of the homes selected were located on a main arterial while the remaining three were situated further from the highly trafficked areas.

The 'status of the development' was also considered an important criterion in the selection of the six sites. The laneway housing development process can take upwards of one year from the development permit to occupancy. The building phase can be very disruptive to neighbours as well as the laneway homeowner. This volatile period is when neighbours and homeowners are grappling to adjust to the new reality and have not yet experienced or become accustomed to the 'new normal' with a laneway home. As such, I focused on identifying sites that had completed or were nearing completion of the laneway home. Four of the homes identified were completed and occupied at the time of the interviews and the two remaining were only weeks away from completion and occupancy.

Status of the development was also considered in relation to the number of homeowners that undertook a complete lot redevelopment where the main home was demolished and rebuilt along with a laneway home. In two cases permits were issued for the redevelopment of both the main home and laneway house build.

Below is a map of the locations of the final sites I selected for the research project. This map identifies the main arterials and provides a visual representation of how the site selection criteria were applied. Below *Figure 5* is a table that identifies the following criteria: permit date, lot size, laneway height, location on block and whether or not it involved a complete site redevelopment.

Figure 5. Location of Six Laneway Homes

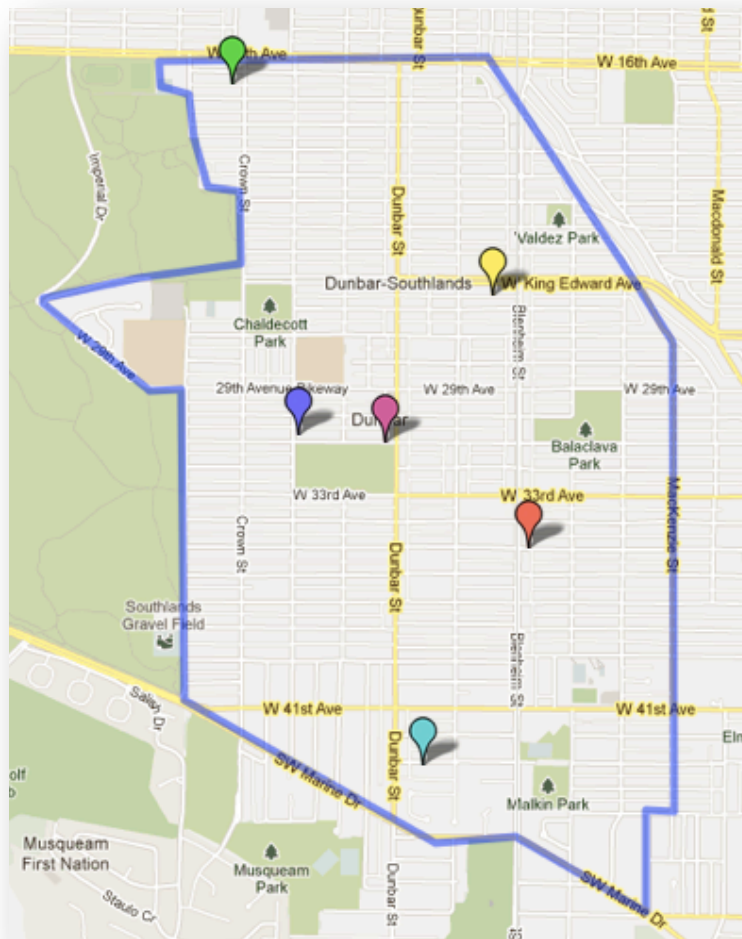


Table 2. Laneway Home Site Descriptions

Site number	Permit date	Lot size	Number of stories	Location on block	Main home retained
Site 1	Sept 15, 2010	33 x 130	1	Corner	Yes
Site 2	March 4, 2011	60 x 122	1.5	Corner	Yes
Site 3	July 10, 2010	33 x 130	1.5	In block	No
Site 4	November 14, 2011	35 x 112	1.5	Corner	Yes
Site 5	June 7, 2011	56 x 160	1.5	Corner	Yes
Site 6	December 23, 2010	33 x 133	1.5	In block	No

3.2.2. Homeowner Interviews

Interviews were the chosen methodology to capture the views of the laneway homeowners. The interview setting allowed me to gain the trust of the interviewee and obtain information on the homeowner's personal views regarding the laneway home development and their motivations for undertaking such a project. The interview style chosen was semi-structured, thereby ensuring a sufficient number of questions to guide the conversation and cover all necessary topics, but had an open enough framework so that probing questions could be inserted depending on the nature of the content revealed.

Interviews were conducted in the Winter of 2012 and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. Upon completion the recordings were transcribed and a coding process initiated. I reviewed the interview transcripts and identified responses that fell within the following topics: reasons for laneway home development; impressions of Dunbar community (neighbours, Dunbar Resident's Association and the community at large); and the permitting process. Coding the responses that fell into these categories further refined the information. For example, revenue generation emerged as a consistent response to the question regarding the homeowners' motivations for building a laneway home. Analysis of the responses followed and involved a review of the findings to identify trends in the data. These responses were reviewed collectively and a narrative about laneway housing in Dunbar was drawn from the findings.

3.2.3. Neighbour Surveys

As a result of the contentious nature of neighbourhood intensification and laneway housing in Dunbar, I chose surveys as the most appropriate method to gather information while protecting the anonymity of respondents. Additionally, surveys allowed for a larger sample of the population to contribute their opinions about laneway housing while also facilitating a greater depth in the responses received.

Rather than a random sampling of Dunbar residents, I chose to focus on the six laneway homes identified for the study. For each of the 6 sites, 25 homes were identified to receive the survey. These homes were chosen based on their proximity to the laneway house. All survey recipients were located within a one-block radius of a laneway home. This was to ensure that survey respondents were more likely to have had a personal experience with laneway home development. It also allowed me to analyze the data in a more selective manner by looking at responses in relation to the laneway home specifications and the homeowner responses. Lastly, considering that proximity (according to much of the NIMBY literature) is a factor in neighbourhood opposition, surveying Dunbar residents close to a laneway home was the best way to test whether or not there was resistance to the housing form in Dunbar.

The three-page surveys were delivered door-to-door. Neighbours were provided with a stamped return envelope, a deadline, and an option to complete the survey online. Each of the paper surveys delivered were coded so they could be matched to the site location. As for respondents that chose to submit their survey electronically, I requested that they provide their address online so that their response could be analyzed within the context of their site location. All of the web survey respondents provided an address. While site location was not considered critical to answering the research question, it facilitated a more sophisticated level of segmentation since responses could be constrained to one site, contributing to a better understanding of why more individuals would be in favour of a policy in one location and opposed at another site.

The survey included a series of questions that concerned the Dunbar residents' support or opposition toward the laneway housing policy. It also sought a more nuanced understanding of the reasons for neighbours' positions towards the urban intensification

initiative by facilitating commentary on the proponent and opponent arguments towards laneway housing. (Please see Appendix A for a copy of the survey.)

I collected completed surveys between March and June 2012. In total, I distributed 150 surveys and received 40 back – approximately a 27 percent response rate. Of the 40 surveys received, there was a more or less even distribution that was received from each respective site. Please see the table below for details.

Table 3. Distribution of Survey Responses

Site	Description	Surveys Received	Response Rate
1	Single storey unit, off main arterial, less than 500 square feet, rental unit.	8	32%
2	1.5 storey unit, on main arterial 500 square feet, family occupant	6	24%
3	1.5 storey unit, off the main arterial, 500 square feet, rental unit	7	28%
4	1.5 storey unit, on busy street, 750 square feet, rental unit	6	24%
5	1.5 storey unit, on main arterial, 750 square feet, family occupant	6	24%
6	1.5 storey unit, off the main arterial, 500 square feet, rental unit	7	28%

All of the data collected was subsequently entered into SPSS for analysis. Any qualitative commentary was captured and treated separately. The information was reviewed to identify broad trends such as the relative support and opposition to laneway housing in Dunbar. In addition the data was also cross-referenced using demographic and site-specific indicators to identify any causal relationships. I then consolidated pertinent findings to build a narrative regarding residents' opinions towards laneway housing in Dunbar.

3.2.4. Limitations to Methodology

While the interviews and surveys did generate substantial information on the opinions and attitudes towards laneway housing among the Dunbarites who lived close to the six laneway houses under study, there are limitations to the findings that must be recognized. A survey of neighbours in proximity to 6 sites does not constitute a representative sample and it would be impossible to extrapolate the findings from the surveys and interviews onto the entire population of Dunbar. A representative sample

would have necessitated a neighbourhood-wide survey and a survey response rate of 40 percent (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009). Despite this limitation my findings do suggest the possibility that a resounding anti-laneway housing sentiment does not exist in the neighbourhood.

Additionally, while the survey respondents can be identified based on their proximity to a selected laneway home, it is not possible to know their exact location. Even though it is known that all respondents are located within a one-block radius of the laneway home, it is possible that neighbours bordering a laneway home may hold different views from those that live in close proximity. The impact of proximity will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

4. Neighbourhood Opposition in Dunbar

Dunbar is a community that has become so synonymous with protectionist sentiment that a local newspaper playfully suggested that a sign be erected around the neighbourhood stating, “Dunbar Residents Only” (Vancouver Courier, November 12, 2012). The reputation the neighbourhood has garnered is based on a history of community resistance. This chapter will explore how many Dunbar residents have historically opposed housing developments that differ from the traditional detached single-family morphology. It will also demonstrate how deliberate actions from local community groups toward laneway housing have reinforced the oppositional narrative synonymous with the neighbourhood. The combination of historical events and recent organized opposition has reinforced a dominant discourse that Dunbar residents oppose laneway housing.

4.1. A History of Conflict over Housing Development

An exploration of historical documents, media articles and City of Vancouver reports suggest that opposition to laneway housing is rooted in a long history of anti-densification sentiment and concern over the type of residents that would gain access to Dunbar as a result of different housing forms. In 1922, Point Grey established the first zoning bylaw in Canada. At the time, Dunbar was considered a neighbourhood within the Point Grey municipality (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2008a). The bylaw enacted legal limitations on how land could be developed within the municipality, establishing “single-family residential districts where only single-family homes and their related outbuildings could be built.” (Schofield, 2007 p. 167) The bylaw goals were to “prevent the overcrowding of land; to preserve the amenity of residential districts; to secure adequate provisions for light, air and reasonable access; to conserve the value of the land and the nature of its use and occupancy, the character of each district and the character of the buildings already erected ...; and to conserve property values and the

direction of building development.” (Ibid) The impact of the regulations cannot be underestimated. The Point Grey bylaw established the community as a single-family home neighbourhood, preventing compact forms of housing and the development of land for business or commercial interests. However, it did not mean that over time the community would be exempt from attempts to densify Dunbar. In fact a review of historical documents uncovers several instances where development proposals strayed from the original spirit of the bylaw and resulted in organized opposition to the housing form.

The first documented case of neighbourhood opposition to densification happened in the 1960s. At that time enrolment in the University of British Columbia (located adjacent to the neighbourhood), had increased and students began to seek out affordable accommodation in surrounding neighbourhoods like Dunbar. In fact, between 1966 - 1967 several attempts were made to facilitate the introduction of affordable rental housing options for students in Dunbar. They included a request by University of British Columbia students to relax city bylaws and allow for basement apartments in Dunbar. The response by neighbours was swift and effective. Dunbar residents pressured the municipal government to oppose any relaxation or legalization of secondary suites in their neighbourhood. The city planning department rejected the students’ request for the affordable housing option and explained the decision as follows:

The preservation and maintenance of the city’s single-family dwelling areas and the pride of homeowners are two of the city’s greatest assets and are the basic reasons for council’s policy of the gradual elimination of illegal suites in single-family dwelling districts.

(Nielsen, 1967)

Soon afterwards a development application was submitted by Penta Housing for a cooperative multiple housing unit within the neighbourhood. In addition to a housing shortage for students, the city was experiencing a lack of affordable housing for young families (Schofield, 2007). When local residents learned of the co-op’s plans, they organized to oppose it. They rented a vacant storefront on Dunbar Street, held meetings, and invited Dunbar residents to register their objections to the new development. The first public meeting at City Hall had to be cancelled because there was not enough room to accommodate all of the community members that had registered to speak. The

second public meeting was also standing-room only. In the end, the neighbourhood's opposition to the housing cooperative prevented its development in Dunbar (Schofield, 2007, p. 169).

While there are significant differences between basement suites targeted at students and a multi-storey apartment building, both were met with equally great resistance and in a report to the Director of Planning, the Dunbar Homeowners Association (a predecessor to the Dunbar Residents' Association) emphasized that the introduction of new housing forms posed "continual threats to their environmental and social existence" (Nielsen, 1967). They summarized their position for even relatively low-density multi-family housing projects like the co-op as follows:

The sudden introduction of a large group of persons as in the case of a large housing project, into an established residential area of different social need in education, health, welfare, etc., can be extremely upsetting to the daily life and social balance of the area.

(Nielsen, 1967)

For over forty years Dunbar residents have mobilized to oppose a multitude of developments and limited the introduction of denser forms of housing to the neighbourhood. They included secondary suites (Lee, 1992) and a condo development on the main thoroughway of Dunbar (Ward, 1998) through the 1990s; a seniors housing complex (O'Connor, 2009), townhouse developments (Thomas, 2005), a halfway house (Bellett, 2005) in the 2000s and most recently an additional multi-storey seniors housing development (Cohan, 2012).

Historically, community opposition in Dunbar has not just been limited to housing projects that would increase density in the neighbourhood. Resistance has also surfaced in response to single-family home developments that differ from the traditional design aesthetics of Dunbar. Of particular concern to some members of the community were Vancouver Specials throughout the 1970s, monster homes during the 1980s and 1990s and 'narrow homes' (which were single-family dwellings built on lots 25 feet wide during the late 1990s) (Schofield, 2007). The Vancouver Special with its boxy style, low-pitched roof and balcony across the front generated disdain from many residents who perceived them as homely and utilitarian in nature (Pettit, 1992). The homes were originally built in

the east end of the city however as the demand for affordable single-family homes grew, many began appearing in westside neighbourhoods like Dunbar. The residents from these more affluent neighbourhoods opposed the housing form advocating instead that it be located in the east end of the city where they stated a lower cost of living suited the nature of the housing form (Ibid.). Despite opposition from residents, Vancouver Specials are relatively common in Dunbar and can be found on almost every block in the northern half of the neighbourhood.

While Vancouver Specials fostered disapproval among some residents, the introduction of monster homes resulted in a vicious battle. A frequent complaint in Dunbar about monster houses was that they violated what residents felt to be the existing "scale" of the neighbourhood. Richard Archambault, a well-known architect, said that he enjoyed the size of the earlier homes: "I guess there is a scale about it that I like. It's just 'Dunbarish.' I am not fond of the big monster houses, like most people." (Schofield, 2007, p. 174). Many residents from westside neighbourhoods, including Dunbar, put pressure on the city to address their rejection of monster houses. The city responded to public complaints from communities like Dunbar by creating a new single-family zoning category called RS-5 which created design guidelines for the development or renovation of any home in that zone (Punter, 2003; Mitchell, 2004 & Schofield, 2007). Narrow homes were also met with resistance and as a result stringent guidelines were created to constrain their development as well (Schofield, 2007).

The nature of community opposition in Dunbar has varied over the years but the common thread in all of the cases outlined above is the commitment to preserve the single-family housing morphology of the neighbourhood and limit the design options available to developers to craftsman and Edwardian-style homes. The concerns regarding new housing types range from physical impacts such as the increase of cars resulting from more densification, shading of adjacent properties resulting from higher housing structures, decreasing property values for neighbouring lots, and the loss of green space across the community (Punter, 2003).

Neighbourhood opposition to change also appears to manifest itself as a deep mistrust of municipal government, especially officials' willingness to consult and be informed by the views of residents. Vocal Dunbar residents, for the most part, believe

that they should be shaping and determining the future growth patterns of their neighbourhood, at times even to the exclusion of some other residents within Dunbar. In a public hearing about secondary suites, a Dunbar homeowner admonished City staff for expanding their consultation process to renters in the community making the following comment, "The people who own the houses should be deciding - we're the taxpayers," (Ramsey, 1990). The antagonistic relationship with City staff has only been exacerbated since 2008 when the Council's attention began to focus squarely on the densification of single-family neighbourhoods and introduced the first of a series of new rental housing options – laneway homes (Dunbar Residents' Association, 2008a).

4.2. An Exploration of Laneway Housing Opposition

Opposition to laneway housing in Dunbar appears to mirror historical examples of resistance cited earlier in this chapter. Several letters were written to the planning department criticising the initiative, the media was called upon to share the story of dissent emerging from the neighbourhood, and residents were mobilized to voice their opposition at public events such as the City Council hearings on laneway housing. However, closer examination of the opposition toward LWH reveals a somewhat different story. Rather than an organic, widespread rejection of the new housing form, LWH opposition was led, nurtured and propagated by two neighbourhood organizations – the Dunbar Residents' Association and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee.

Neighbourhood opposition groups are a group of residents who come together with the express purpose of blocking a development project (van Dijk, 2010). They are "dedicated to addressing one or a range of issues, including social, political, economic, and quality-of-life concerns at the neighbourhood level" (Martin, 2003, p. 732). As they often explicitly challenge local governance structures, they frequently find themselves at the centre of contentious issues (Martin, 2003; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001). Since community organizations are usually formed as a means of addressing a particular concern, their existence tends to be limited: "when the reason for their opposition disappears (the project is dropped, or all possibilities for stopping it are exhausted) a [local opposition group] will disband." (van Dijk, 2010, p. 20) In Dunbar, several local opposition groups started over the years as a means of addressing proposed housing

projects. The members used the associations as a mechanism to organize and defeat each particular initiative. Since the associations were never incorporated, their longevity often matched the length of time required to halt, alter and or eliminate an emerging threat in the neighbourhood. In the early 1990s a group of Dunbar residents formed what would become the Dunbar Residents' Association (DRA) to oppose the development of a townhome project that would have introduced 200 new dwellings to the neighbourhood. The group successfully defeated the project and rather than disband began to take the steps towards formalizing themselves as an association. The impetus was to ensure continuity so that residents would not have to start from scratch each time a new housing initiative was proposed for the community.² It also created a mechanism by which to address city council and the planning department. Accordingly in 1998, the Dunbar Residents' Association (DRA) became an official mechanism in the neighbourhood to air and address issues and concerns from residents (Government of British Columbia, 1998). It has an elected governing group that can take any stance its membership approves (Dunbar Residents' Association, 2008b).

Additionally, around the same time another local organization was formed with the express role of monitoring the implementation of the Dunbar Community Vision (DCV). This group called themselves the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee (DVIC) and consisted of many of the same board members as the DRA. They are a city-sponsored committee. DVIC would play an important role in the laneway housing debate as they sought to reflect the views of the Dunbar Community Vision which opposed infill housing (a predecessor of laneway housing) as an option for the community unless on a larger lot and for heritage purposes.

While an anti-laneway housing sentiment certainly exists outside of the DRA and DVIC (and will be explored in a subsequent chapter), the two organizations have led and nurtured an effective organized opposition to the housing form resulting in the perception

² Since the DRA was officially founded, the practice of starting local opposition groups outside of the formal structure still occurs. In 2006 a group was started to oppose the supportive housing unit on 16th and Dunbar Street. This group called themselves NIABY (Not-in-anyone's-backyard) and still publishes regularly on their website www.niaby.com. In 2012 Revision was formed to oppose a proposed seniors housing unit on Dunbar Street. Even though the DRA opposed the project, residents wanted to employ a more adversarial and activist approach with the City of Vancouver (www.dunbarrevision.com).

that the Dunbar neighbourhood is uniformly against laneway housing. Their organizational status privileges them to a powerful and perhaps dominant voice within the public realm for a number of reasons. Firstly, the organizational structure allows the DRA and DVIC to be present in conversations with municipal government on laneway housing. As a membership based organization, the DRA can also claim to represent its members. DVIC on the other hand, as a city-sponsored committee and is invited to comment and state its position on housing development in the neighbourhood at various municipal events.

Secondly, both organizations have access to financial resources to further their goals - the DRA through its membership and DVIC as a city-sponsored committee. For example, the DRA paid for a survey in 2010 of community members living adjacent to a laneway home development. The data helped to reinforce the view that Dunbar residents reject laneway housing in majority numbers and reconfirmed the anti-laneway housing position taken by the organization.

In the case of laneway housing, the DRA and DVIC have employed several tools to develop and reinforce an oppositional view of laneway housing in Dunbar. Over the course of four years both organizations have used community advocacy, political lobbying and media promotion to advance their views of the housing form.

4.2.1. *Community Advocacy*

The DRA has a number of dissemination vehicles to keep the community informed and engaged on issues of concern for Dunbar. In the case of laneway housing they have employed the following tools: a community newsletter, the DRA website and public events such as the Annual General Meeting (AGM) and a public presentation on laneway housing. The newsletter is perhaps the most powerful vehicle with regard to community advocacy since it is distributed to over 6000 Dunbar households three times a year. Since June of 2007 the newsletter has been used as the main vehicle to communicate the DRA's concerns regarding the lack of community-based planning and the introduction of policies to densify single-family neighbourhoods. All 17 issues since June 2007 have expressed concern regarding the City of Vancouver's approach toward neighbourhood intensification and community planning. Laneway housing, which was

one of the first densification options to be approved citywide was first presented as an issue of concern for the DRA and DVIC in February 2008. Since then articles raising concerns about laneway housing appeared in 9 out of 12 subsequent issues. All of the articles were situated near or on the front page of the newsletter, facilitating broader readership. The February 2011 edition contained a total of 5 articles exploring the negative implications of laneway housing and the process undertaken to approve it in residential communities. This edition was entitled “The Death of the Single Family Home Neighbourhood?” and proposed that laneway housing was eroding the integrity of the Dunbar community. Below is an overview of the newsletters that contained articles on LWH between February 2008 and October 2011. The table lists the number of articles to appear in each edition and summarizes the topics addressed in the articles. The table below also provides a quote from each edition that is particularly telling of the narrative developed by the DRA.

Table 4. DRA Newsletter – Laneway Housing Content

Issue	# of articles	Topic	Description of Content
February 2008	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti-Urban Intensification - Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing 	<p>“[The DRA identifies] the following as momentous concerns for Dunbar: 1) the lack of meaningful community input in the process, and 2) the undue reliance on development and density as a mechanism to achieve environmental sustainability.” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2008a p 7.)</p>
June 2008	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing 	<p>“One of the reasons that Vancouver has been consistently labeled one of the most liveable cities in the world is its history of grassroots neighbourhood planning. Unfortunately for Vancouverites, this community-centred approach is under threat. (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2008b p 7.)</p>
October 2008	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti-Urban Intensification - Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing - Divergence from the DCV 	<p>“As acknowledged by city planners, LWH is not a form of housing that is contemplated in the Dunbar Community Vision (DCV) or in any other community’s vision plan. Furthermore, community input to date on LWH has been virtually non-existent. Yet, the City Planning Department intends to report to Council on October 30, 2008 with an Issues and Options Paper on LWH, outlining zoning changes to occur in 2009” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2008c p. 7).</p>
February 2009	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Laneway Housing - Divergence from the DCV 	<p>“I invite you to come to our meetings where I can assure you that your views will be heard and relayed to the city. For example, if you have a view on whether or not laneway housing should be confined to the original infill directive in the Vision (only on large lots that have older houses on them), we would love to hear from you” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2009a p. 2)</p>
October 2009	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing 	<p>“Despite election promises to the contrary, there has been no meaningful neighbourhood consultation, even on issues such as laneway housing which represent major changes to neighbourhoods, and environmentalism in this city means, at best, replacing trees, gardens and other green space with “green” building materials” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2009b p. 1).</p>
October 2010	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insufficient Community Consultation 	<p>“As laneway houses become a reality vs. a conceptual idea and residents realize their impact, opposition seems to be mounting. We recently received a letter</p>

		- Laneway Housing	from one resident who wished to reverse her previously supportive position on the questionnaire now that she is witnessing a LWH being built across the lane from her property” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2010 p. 2).
February 2011	5	- Anti-Urban Intensification - Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing - Adherence to Dunbar Community Vision	“At the October 21st, 2010, council meeting, the City Planning Department tabled its internal Report on the monitoring of the first 100 Laneway Houses (LWH) for which permits had been issued. Over 30 members of the public and developers made presentations to council at this meeting. Other than the developers, the majority of presenters were passionately opposed to laneway housing. The primary objections raised were height (almost all LWH being built are two stories high) and the impact on neighbours (there is no permitting requirement for consultation with neighbours)” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2010a p. 1).
June 2011	2	- Laneway Housing	“DVIC is continuing to monitor the uptake of [laneway housing] and the response of neighbours. We met with city planning staff to review the progress of the pilot and review last month” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2010b p. 5).
October 2011	1	- Insufficient Community Consultation - Laneway Housing	<i>Advertisement for the Annual General Meeting. See quote on page 44 summarizing prepared question for political candidates.</i>

The table above demonstrates that the City of Vancouver’s LWH policy had very little chance of support among DRA board members and the DVIC committee. In fact, over time the articles began to suggest that opposition was mounting in the neighbourhood, using an example of a resident who reversed her previously supportive stance once she began to observe developments in Dunbar. At no point were the merits of the policy explored nor was a proponent’s view discussed within the community newsletter. Instead the articles focused on developing three key aspects of the dominant narrative. The first theme was that laneway housing as a concept was never endorsed by the Dunbar community. This was developed in the articles by articulating the substance of the Dunbar Community Vision which rejected infill housing. The second theme was that the planning process was plagued with insufficient community consultation and the third was that laneway housing would have detrimental impacts on the Dunbar community.

Several aspects of the DRA's narrative are arguable. Concerning community consultation, the City of Vancouver conducted two public open houses in 2008 and another two on the subject in 2009 (two of which were located on westside of Vancouver). They collected feedback forms from almost 500 community members, including over one hundred Dunbar residents. Prior to the bylaw amendment the city held two public hearings on the subject where council heard from Vancouverites, including Dunbar residents, regarding laneway housing. With regard to negative impacts of the housing form on the neighbourhood, little data has been collected to substantiate these claims although there does appear to be research related to the benefits of such housing forms for a community (Chapin, 2011).

In addition to the newsletter, the DRA and DVIC have used the DRA website to distribute information on laneway housing. A quick search reveals the results of a survey of residents, letters to city council and links to an anti-laneway housing blog. Three community events also played a role in informing residents about the implications of laneway housing on Dunbar. In May 2009, the DRA hosted a public debate between Bob Ransford (urban designer and *Vancouver Sun* columnist) and Jonathon Baker (municipal lawyer, former Vancouver social planner and DRA board member) on the subject. The debate was moderated by Jane Ingram-Baker, the chair of the DVIC. According to Bob Ransford, the laneway housing proponent, "the room was packed with westside residents who were at best sceptical of the laneway housing idea...The crowd cheered on the two Bakers who proclaimed the arrival of Armageddon with the approval of laneway housing" (Ransford, 2010). In July 2009 when laneway housing was officially approved by city council and the bylaws amended to accommodate the new development option, the DRA continued to offer the community the opportunity to examine the detrimental implications of laneway housing. In March 2011 the DRA hosted an information session entitled 'Laneway Housing: A Cautionary Tale' and, "outline[d] the implications for neighbours who [were] concerned about the impact on their property" (Dunbar Residents' Association, 2011a). The presentation focused on a site in West Point Grey where 5 laneway homes had been developed on one block, leading to community outrage regarding the housing form. Lastly, laneway housing was made a prominent focus of the DRA Annual General Meeting (AGM) in 2011. Since it coincided with the municipal election, various candidates were invited to address Dunbar

residents and respond to several prepared questions. Over 500 residents attended and each panellist was asked to state their position on laneway housing and answer the following questions:

Many homeowners adjacent to or across from these structures are upset, and others fear that there is no planning in place to deal with the increased demands on infrastructure or existing community facilities that come with zoning for three families on one lot (main house, suite and laneway house). Some builders of laneway housing have been testing novel legal instruments to allow those building and occupying the housing to have an ownership interest in the unit, supporting the observation by some that this is de facto subdivision. If elected, will you continue to support the uptake of this land use in its current form? Would you expand it to other areas? Would you increase the size of the footprint of these houses? Would you change anything about the current rules?

(DRA Website, 2011)

Similar to the newsletter articles and the community events, the questions posed regarding laneway housing reveal the oppositional view held by the DRA and DVIC.

4.2.2. Political Advocacy

Before the legalization of laneway housing in Vancouver and after the introduction of the amended bylaw in Dunbar, DRA board members and the DVIC chair participated in numerous meetings with city staff to oppose and limit laneway housing (see table below). Before 2009, the DRA and DVIC recommended that municipal staff conduct a comprehensive survey of households in Dunbar “to allow residents to decide if, how and where such new housing forms would be acceptable in their particular neighbourhood” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2007 p. 7). If no survey was conducted, DVIC recommended that laneway housing adhere to the Dunbar Community Vision which would limit infill development to larger lots and only in cases where an additional income generator was necessary to preserve a heritage home on the same site.

Once the bylaw was amended to allow laneway housing in August 2009 (without a comprehensive community survey), the DRA and DVIC altered their approach. While they continued to demand a survey of residents, they also called for a moratorium on the housing form and an independent review of laneway housing (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2010b). In addition to meetings with city staff, the DRA and DVIC hinged

their activities on two important political events; city council's review of the first 100 permits in October 2010 and the municipal election in November 2011. The DRA wrote letters in advance of the October 21st 2010 council meeting and several board members also spoke in front of council, voicing their opposition to the housing form (City of Vancouver, 2010b).

Table 5. Political Advocacy by DRA and DVIC

Date	Participants	Form	Topic
September 24, 2008	DVIC	<u>Meeting</u> with city planners	Survey of residents on laneway housing.
July 21, 2009	DRA and DVIC	<u>Public Hearing</u> where both community organizations were represented.	Spoke in opposition to laneway housing.
September 2010	DRA and DVIC	<u>Meeting</u> with Brent Toderian (Director of Planning) and two city planners	Concerns regarding laneway housing.
October 21, 2010	DRA and DVIC	<u>Letters</u> sent in advance of council meeting to assess laneway housing progress.	Concerns regarding laneway housing.

The messages to city council and the planning department identified above complimented the narrative developed through the community newsletter. Representatives from both organizations reinforced their concerns regarding the perceived limited community consultation, challenged the appropriateness of the LWH for Dunbar and called for a moratorium on the policy.

4.2.3. Media Promotion

The media is often used as a tool to bring attention to community views regarding development. In the case of Dunbar, print, radio and television media were approached to promote the views of the DRA and DVIC. Between 2008 and 2011, 6 articles captured the DRA and DVIC's positions on laneway housing. Their views were featured in community newspapers like *The Thunderbird* through to dailies with provincial and national circulation like the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Globe and Mail*.

Table 6. Media Coverage of DRA, DVIC and Laneway Housing

Date	Daily	Spokes-persons	Article Title	Excerpt
October 29, 2008	Vancouver Courier	Jane Ingman-Baker (DVIC)	Dunbar Residents Butt Head with City Planners; Committee Says Consultation Flawed, Points to Thwarted Attempt at Survey	Ingman-Baker worries the city will lose control of laneway housing and illegal structures will spring up, much like the past proliferation of illegal secondary suites.
June 23, 2010	The Globe and Mail	Peter Selnar (DRA)	Laneway Palaces Generating Complaints	The LWHs that I've seen go up near us are changing the character of the neighbourhood.
July 28, 2010	Vancouver Courier	Peter Selnar (DRA)	Dunbar Resident Calls for Laneway Housing Moratorium; Letter to Mayor Cites Privacy, Market Values	A Dunbar man wants the city to stop handing out laneway house permits until council and neighbourhood groups review a city report monitoring their emergence in Vancouver. Selnar favours restricting laneway housing to specific neighbourhoods where there is widespread support from residents.
September 10, 2010	Vancouver Sun	Jonathan Baker (DRA) Colin Gray (DVIC)	City Council Should Share its Densification Vision	Citizens of Vancouver need to think clearly when considering Jonathan Baker's argument that increasing housing density in Vancouver would threaten its top "livability" rank among world cities.
October 27, 2010	Vancouver Courier	Peter Selnar (DRA)	Residents Voice Laneway Housing Concerns at City Hall: Lack of Notification Rankles Some Neighbours	Selnar said the Dunbar association wants a moratorium on the construction of laneway units until further study and consultation with neighbourhood groups is completed. He also called for an independent review of laneway housing.

November 18, 2011	The Thunderbird	Peter Selnar (DRA)	Laneway Housing Heats Up City Council Race	The DRA's position on laneway housing is that it believes that the city should take a step back and halt further building and engage in discussion with the DRA and neighbourhoods across the city.
-------------------	-----------------	--------------------	--	---

While representatives for the DRA and DVIC did suggest that laneway housing as a concept was flawed, citing numerous issues “ranging from scale, massing and privacy to noise, parking and impact on market values” (O’Connor, 2010, p. 7), most argued that Dunbar should not allow the housing form because of reasons unrelated to the housing form itself. Arguments opposing laneway housing ranged from concerns over the potential for illegal developments, threats to the liveability ranking of the city as a result of densification, and once again insufficient community consultation. Later articles also called for a moratorium on new home developments in Dunbar and an independent review of the housing form. All of the spokespersons opposing LWH are well-educated, articulate and informed – a finding that is consistent with evidence presented by van Dijk (2010) regarding the make-up of local opposition groups. Jonathan Baker is lawyer specializing in land use planning, zoning and municipal law. He is also a former Vancouver social planner. Jane Ingram-Baker is a lawyer with a doctorate in biochemistry and Peter Selnar is an architect and founder of a company specializing in the planning, design and construction of corporate office interiors (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2012a). Equipped with intelligent and professionally successful spokespersons, the local organizations were able to generate media coverage for their particular view and advocate specifically for the Dunbar neighbourhood. In fact, of the 17 neighbourhoods in Vancouver where laneway housing is possible, only the neighbouring, and very demographically similar West Point Grey nears the amount of media coverage generated regarding the housing form by Dunbar spokespersons.

4.3. The Impact of Oppositional Narrative

For well over half a century, organized opposition groups in Dunbar have repeatedly resisted formal proposals that would increase housing density and introduce new housing forms on their streets. While the subject for dispute may have changed over the years, a pattern of community organization has remained consistent with groups of residents coalescing around a proposed housing development and actively lobbying to halt or reverse the progression of said project. It is as a result of several decades of passionate, well-educated, invested homeowners that Dunbar still remains a uniquely single-family neighbourhood close to the urban core of the city. It has retained its quiet tree-lined streets, modest commercial centre and relatively homogeneous housing stock while other neighbouring communities like West Point Grey, Kitsilano and Kerrisdale have experienced the introduction of several high density projects including towers, condo developments and most recently laneway houses. In the face of an ever-changing urban landscape, Dunbar has remained relatively untouched by dense development for more than half a century.

An examination of the DRA and DVIC's position towards laneway housing extends Dunbar's history of opposition into the present. It demonstrates that the DRA and DVIC hold and promote an anti-laneway housing view that my research shows does not represent the views of all Dunbar residents. The examination of LWH opposition demonstrates that intelligent committed individuals, with the proper community organizing tools, can develop and disseminate a view on development that is perceived as the dominant neighbourhood view. The content of the public documents discussed above paints a picture of a neighbourhood that is uniformly anti-densification. As discussed in the following chapters, my research findings call into question the extent of opposition in Dunbar. Rather than a community that is wholly anti-densification, my research suggests that there may be a "silent" majority that holds a diversity of nuanced views about laneway housing.

5. Homeowner Motivation for Building Laneway Houses

Despite vocal opposition to laneway housing in Dunbar, there has been significant uptake of the new housing form by the community. As noted earlier in this study, out of 17 eligible neighbourhoods in Vancouver, Dunbar is the second most popular location to build a laneway house. In fact, from the over 631 permits that were issued as of August 2012, 62 of those were for the Dunbar neighbourhood (City of Vancouver, 2012b). In order to understand Dunbar residents' interest in the housing program, six laneway homeowners were asked to comment on their motivations for building a home in their backyard. Although some variation did emerge, the information provided by respondents suggested that laneway housing in Dunbar is motivated by two factors: financial imperatives and familial benefits. These findings appear to support the City of Vancouver's planning paradigm for LWH which employs urban intensification as a strategy to increase affordable housing options and intergenerational living arrangements (City of Vancouver, 2012d).

5.1. Affordable Homeownership

Vancouver has the highest housing prices in Canada and Dunbar is one of the most expensive neighbourhoods in the city (Sutherland, 2010). An article on homeownership in Vancouver recently calculated that owning a single-family detached bungalow in the city would take up 91 percent of a typical household's pre-tax income. In the Dunbar neighbourhood, this is exacerbated. The average price of a single detached home in Dunbar is \$1,700,000 (Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver, 2012). The average income for a Vancouver household is \$67,090 (Statistics Canada, SEE References). The ratio of house price to income in Canada has historically averaged approximately 3.5 in Canada (Athanasakos, 2012). In Dunbar the ratio is 25 times the average Vancouver household salary.

The costs of homeownership were not lost on the laneway homeowners in Dunbar. Even though each of the respondents had managed to purchase a home in the neighbourhood, all six articulated finances as a primary motivation for building a laneway home. In order for the homeowners to stay in, or move to the neighbourhood, they needed the additional revenue generated by a laneway home. Since each household represented a slightly different life stage, not all the pressures of affordability manifested themselves in the same way.

Table 7. Financial Imperatives of Laneway Home Development

Number of Years in Dunbar	Household Configuration/ Life stage	Profession(s)*	Financial imperative(s)
<5	Young family with three children under 10	Mid-level professionals	Mortgage helper
~10	Young family with two children under 10	High-level professionals	Mortgage helper
~10	Mature couple with two adult children	Mid-level professionals	Mortgage helper AND Accommodation for adult children
~10	Mature couple with two adult children	High-level professionals	Mortgage helper AND Accommodation for adult children
>30	Mature couple with one adult child	Low-level professionals	Accommodation for adult children
>30	Mature divorced adult	Mid-level professional	Mortgage helper

* The professions were assessed based on the relative income they generated. For example, a high-level professional included an emergency doctor and a psychiatrist, mid-level a federal government employee and low-level a coordinator at a garden centre.

For five of the respondents, an investment in a laneway home was step toward financial security. The homeowners with the greatest financial constraints also happened to be the most recent arrival to the neighbourhood and the respondent who paid the most for their property. In order to purchase a home in the area the couple had to seek out revenue generating opportunities. They settled on a basement suite rental and the addition of a laneway home. Had they been able to afford to stay in Dunbar without the additional rental accommodations, they would have.

I would love to have my own backyard and have a basement for the kids and all that kind of stuff, but you know, we both work in Vancouver and we want to live in Vancouver, we want to raise our kids in Vancouver, and we want to live close to the beach. And in order to do all that we have to sacrifice something.

While two other respondents with young families shared a similar financial imperative, the interviews revealed that not only recent arrivals to the neighbourhood were motivated by the revenue generating potential of a laneway home. A mature single woman nearing retirement chose to build a laneway home to ensure that as her earning potential diminished with age, she would retain the ability to pay her property taxes and household costs by virtue of the rental income generated by the small home.

An additional financial imperative that emerged from the study was the motivation of two homeowners to support their adult children's ownership aspirations. The lack of affordable ownership options in Vancouver is a common theme in public discourse, perhaps most dramatically captured by a headline that claims that Vancouver "eats its young" (Beers, 2007; see Rotberg, 2008). Today more than ever, young adults struggle with high housing prices, increased debt loads from post-secondary education and inter-generational wage and wealth inequalities that reduce young adults' spending power in housing markets (Moos, 2012). When one respondent was asked whether or not he believed his children (all under 10 years old) would be able to own a home in the neighbourhood, he responded as follows:

They won't. Even my wife works at a large hospital and is a very well-paid professional, and her colleagues cannot afford to live in this area. And they're paid a lot of money.

Not alone in his sentiments, two other respondents recognized the challenges facing their adult children as they assessed their homeownership options. In both cases, laneway housing emerged as a mechanism to support their adult children's interest in remaining in the city. Even though the property cannot be stratified, two families were exploring the possibility of creating a shared equity agreement that would create a de facto ownership opportunity for their children. This was particularly important for one respondent where the only reason for the laneway home build was to facilitate 'homeownership' for their adult child and her husband.

While some variation did exist among respondents regarding financial imperatives, fundamentally all of the homeowners interviewed perceived laneway housing as an important financial tool to address the exorbitant cost of housing in Dunbar. The common ground for these families was to find a way to take advantage of the quality of life that living in their neighbourhood afforded its residents. For families with young children Dunbar provided residents access to schools, parks, shops and a community centre complete with programming for families. One participant summarized the attraction to Dunbar quite succinctly when he stated,

I mean I think that as far as the structure of the community, the schools, the parks, the streets, the street trees, that – and the little stores, there's probably no more remarkable human nesting location than Dunbar. I mean it doesn't get any better than this for parents, for children.

For homeowners at the other end of the spectrum with adult children and retirement well underway or looming, the laneway home ensured their continued access to a mature neighbourhood with tree-lined streets and an urban forest (Pacific Spirit Park), character homes and proximity to any number of urban amenities such as healthcare, transit and a commercial hub. And while the specific character of the neighbourhood was what motivated them to stay in and move to Dunbar, it was the laneway housing mechanisms that afforded the possibility of doing so.

5.2. Intergenerational Living Arrangements

Historically, Canadian society was characterized by several generations and at time living under one roof. However, today the traditional multi-family household has almost disappeared, except among certain immigrant and ethno cultural groups and in Aboriginal communities (Bourne & Damaris, 2001). For the laneway homeowners interviewed, laneway housing was a tool to facilitate a return to intergenerational living and more flexible family arrangements. One respondent, when articulating his motivations for the laneway home described the suite of options afforded by the laneway home as follows:

We...were trying to make allowance for my mother to come and live with us. She lives on the Sunshine Coast now, and this is an opportunity for

her to move back into Vancouver, be close to us. We could look after her, etcetera. She could watch the girls grow up, and so we had actually in the back of our mind that the laneway house may be a perfect place for her to live. And then I guess the two other things in our mind (apart from living there during our renovation) were that there may come a day when the girls are older. It would allow them to continue to live in Dunbar if they wish to, and have an independent life there. Or maybe ourselves. Maybe we would move to the laneway house and one of them could live in the main house.

Striking transformations are taking place in lives of young adults and aging parents in Western, industrialized societies. The expected transitions once associated with adulthood and aging are changing. Over the last decade young adults have increasingly been returning home to live with their parents or in other cases choosing not to leave until well into adulthood. This phenomenon has been coined the boomerang generation referring to the notion that children are returning to the 'nest', delaying the transition to marriage and children for themselves. Two of the homeowners interviewed had adult children in their late twenties and early thirties that still lived with them. In one family the adult children had left home after for university but returned home once they had secured employment so that their income could be directed to student loans. For another homeowner, her adult child had never left home. She and her husband currently occupy the new laneway home. The laneway home created enough distance between the adult child and her parents to facilitate independent living while ensuring a close enough arrangement such that a long-term support network was developed.

In Vancouver, laneway housing has created a new avenue for the boomerang generation by facilitating a more permanent option for adult children. Smallworks, a company that has built more than 25 laneway homes in Dunbar found that over half of their clientele was motivated by the possibility of supporting their adult children's home ownership goals (Jake Fry, personal communication, July 23 2012). In the interviews conducted with laneway homeowners, two of the households were clearly motivated by this concept and an additional third saw it as a possibility for their children once they reach adulthood.

In addition to facilitating housing needs for adult children, another possibility emerged in discussion with the laneway home owners. Three of the households articulated that the laneway home afforded the entire family more flexibility into the

future. One respondent noted that the adult children living in the laneway home might move to the larger main house as their family grew. Similarly as the parents aged the laneway house would present a smaller, more manageable homestead still within their neighbourhood of choice that they could inhabit and would reduce the burden of caring for a larger house. This scenario introduced the concept of 'aging in place' into the discussion about laneway housing. 'Aging in place' refers to the ability to live in one's own home and community safely and independently. This is an increasingly appealing notion, especially for the boomer generation who may find living in their home and community to be the preferred option and may be discouraged by the idea of having to move to a retirement community as they age (Ball, 2007). According to Ball, "aging in place strategies allow individuals to customize their own housing and health care by drawing primarily on friends, family and neighbours, and then supplementing these community supports with more in depth public services only as needed."(Ball, 2007, p. 22)

While the socio-economic and demographic composition of the households interviewed varied, the common themes of financial security and familial flexibility emerged as the fundamental motivations to build a laneway home. Depending on which approach was taken to create an affordable housing option, the laneway home became either the generator of additional revenue for the homeowner or a subsidized housing option for family. The laneway home development also challenged and broadened the homeowners' notions of intergenerational living and home ownership as they entertained old notions of co-residence in a new modern setting.

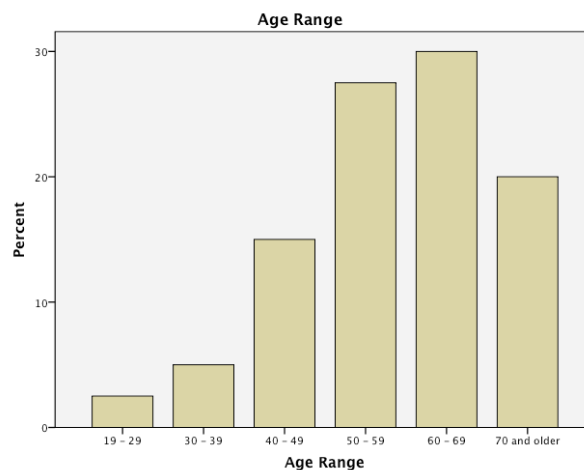
6. Neighbours' Perceptions of Laneway Houses in Dunbar

Over a period of four months (from February to May 2012), 150 surveys were distributed to households within a one-block radius of the six selected laneway homes under study. Exactly 40 completed surveys were received resulting in a 26.7% response rate. The survey was divided into three sections: demographics; position on LWH policy; and attitudes towards LWH attributes. Respondents were also provided with an option to offer additional commentary. Twenty-five individuals chose to elaborate on their opinions about the housing form.

6.1. Demographic Data on Survey Respondents

The survey asked respondents to provide information on gender, age, household composition, household type, tenure and length of residency. Of the 40 respondents, 17 identified as female and 23 as male. Their ages ranged between 19 and 70 and above, but over three quarters of respondents (77.5%) were over 50 years of age.

Figure 6. Ages of Respondents



According to the data collected through the survey, respondents appear to skew slightly older than census data (Vancouver Economic, 2009). It is likely that this discrepancy is due to the sample size, which at 40 is just a small fraction of the approximately 6000 households in Dunbar and is too small to be a representative sample of the community. That said, part of this discrepancy has to do with the fact that the census reports on the ages of children residing in a household. Children were not the target audience of this research and as a result no information was collected from individuals under 19 years of age. However, that cannot fully account for the very disproportionate number of older respondents. According to the 2011 census only 18 percent of the Dunbar community is over the age of 60. In the case of the survey, 50 percent the respondents indicated that they were over the age of 60. There are perhaps two reasons that may explain the disparity between the two data sets. The first is the fact that the Dunbar population is aging. The second relates to the type of individuals most likely to respond to surveys. An individual who is over 60 years of age is more likely to be retired/semi-retired and no longer parenting small children. As a result, they are likely to have more time available for civic pursuits and may find it easier to prioritize responding to a community survey. This would skew the number of respondents towards the higher age range (Babbie, 2002, p.279)

Despite the older age of respondents, the majority (57.5 percent) indicated that between 3 and 5 individuals lived in the home. This was followed by households made-up of one or two individuals at 40 percent. Only one respondent indicated that 6 or more individuals occupied their home.

As expected the respondents live in almost exclusively single-family homes with 37 of those surveyed, or 92.5 percent, occupying that housing type. The remaining three respondents indicated they lived in a duplex – a less common housing form in Dunbar. This is a slight over representation of single-family homes than what is reported in the 2006 census. Had the sample been representative there would have been a cap on single-family homes at 85 percent and the remaining 15 percent divided by apartments and row houses. However, since this survey was distributed in very specific locations in which no laneway site bordered an apartment building, no representation from that housing morphology was collected. In terms of housing tenure, the results from the survey were more in keeping with census data. Approximately 77.5 percent of

respondents reported that they owned their home whereas 17.5 percent rented. A remaining 5 percent owned but rented out part of their home.

Finally, respondents were asked how long they had resided in the neighbourhood. The vast majority had lived in Dunbar for well over 10 years. In fact, 42.5 percent have lived in the neighbourhood for between 11 and 20 years and an additional 45 percent have lived in Dunbar for over 21 years. It can be extrapolated that these individuals are probably committed to the neighbourhood and have established roots over the years. In summary, the typical survey respondent was a male senior who had resided in Dunbar for well over a decade. He owned his own single-family detached home and lived with two or more people.

6.2. Position on Laneway Housing

Once respondents had provided answers to the questions on demographics, they were asked a series of questions that assessed their relative support or opposition to laneway housing in Dunbar. The first question evaluated their impressions of the laneway housing policy. To deal with any confusion regarding the nature of Vancouver's laneway housing policy, respondents were provided with a letter of introduction and a preface to the questionnaire that defined general features of the laneway housing bylaw. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of support for the new housing policy. All of the respondents completed the question and the majority of respondents (62.5 percent) either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with the policy. In contrast, only 30 percent 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' with the policy.

Table 8. Support for Laneway Housing Policy

		Frequency	Percent
I support the laneway housing policy	Strongly disagree	8	20
	Disagree	4	10
	Uncertain	3	7.5
	Agree	16	40
	Strongly agree	9	22.5
	Total	40	100.0

While only a minority of respondents opposed the laneway housing policy, the results of subsequent questions indicate that support for the policy does not come without reservations. In fact, despite early indications of support, when asked to comment on if some changes to the policy should be made to improve the policy's application in the neighbourhood, just over half of the respondents 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with the statement. Another 37.5 percent of respondents were uncertain and only 12.5 percent opposed any changes to the policy.

Table 9. Changes to Laneway Housing Policy

		Frequency	Percent
I believe some changes to the policy are necessary to improve its application in Dunbar.	Strongly disagree	3	7.5
	Disagree	2	5
	Uncertain	15	37.5
	Agree	9	23.5
	Strongly agree	11	27.5
	Total	40	100.0

To further understand neighbours' perceptions of the application of the policy in Dunbar, two questions were included that addressed possible next steps. The first tackled the possibility of a moratorium, which would halt development of laneway housing in the community for an indefinite period. Most respondents indicated that they opposed a moratorium with 50 percent either 'strongly disagreeing' or 'disagreeing' with

the concept. By contrast, 35 percent indicated that they ‘agreed’ or ‘strongly agreed’ that stopping the program was the most appropriate course of action and 15 percent were uncertain whether or not an intervention of that nature was appropriate. While the tendency to reject a moratorium generated the most support, the results are not overwhelming and do suggest a community that is struggling with how to address issues or problems they see with the application of the LWH policy.

Table 10. Moratorium on Laneway Housing Policy

		Frequency	Percent
I believe there should be a moratorium on laneway housing in Dunbar.	Strongly disagree	9	22.5
	Disagree	11	27.5
	Uncertain	6	15
	Agree	6	15
	Strongly agree	8	20
	Total	40	100.0

The last question in this section of the survey asked the question of whether or not the program should be suspended indefinitely in Dunbar. It went further to ask whether respondents agreed or not that any home slated for development should be halted and no more laneway houses built. Unlike the two previous options regarding changes to the policy and a moratorium, most respondents (62.5 percent) ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ with the revocation of the laneway housing in Dunbar.

Table 11. Revocation of Laneway Housing Policy

		Frequency	Percent
No more laneway houses should be built in Dunbar and projects slated for development should be suspended.	Strongly disagree	16	40
	Disagree	9	22.5
	Uncertain	3	7.5
	Agree	3	7.5
	Strongly agree	9	22.5
	Total	40	100.0

Overall, the results from the survey of Dunbar neighbours show that the majority of respondents support laneway housing in their community but believe that some

changes need to be made to improve its application in the neighbourhood. The following section will explore respondents' opinions on a number of possible policy revisions.

6.3. Problems and Potential of Laneway Housing

The final group of survey questions explored respondents' reactions to commonly held views toward laneway housing. The first series of statements reflected the purported benefits of laneway housing while the second summarized professed disadvantages of the housing form. These were determined by reviewing documents developed by the City of Vancouver on laneway housing (City of Vancouver 2008). Within the benefits grid, five out of the eight attributes listed received a majority positive response. The opportunity for intergenerational living arrangements provided by LWH generated the most agreement. In fact almost three-quarters of respondents either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that LWH was a good option for housing aging parents or adult children. Almost two-thirds of respondents also believed that laneway housing would bring diversity to the neighbourhood by providing a mechanism for younger and less affluent community members to live in Dunbar. Another area for convergence emerged around the issue of size; 62.5 percent of respondents felt that laneway housing helped to redefine the dialogue around the amount of space necessary to live comfortably in a single-family neighbourhood. Additionally, affordability emerged as a potential benefit of the program, with 60 percent of respondents agreeing that the smaller homes introduced more economically viable housing options to the neighbourhood. The last statement that received a small majority of support was around the issue of sustainability, where 55 percent indicated that they believed laneway housing would get us closer to achieving our sustainability goals.

When these results are analyzed from the perspective of respondents that indicated support for LWH by either 'agreeing' or 'strongly agreeing' with the housing policy, three dominant reasons for laneway housing support emerge. The number one reason for laneway housing support related to providing a housing option for aging parents and adult children, with 100 percent of this group of respondents either 'agreeing' or 'strongly agreeing with this statement. This was followed closely by an

interest in diversifying the neighbourhood and redefining the amount of space necessary to live in a community, with results of 92 percent and 88 percent respectively.

Despite an indication of majority support for the laneway housing policy, some positive statements did not receive ringing endorsements. A return to an analysis of all 40 respondents suggests that the notion of ‘invisible density’ was perhaps not a legitimate claim, with 40 percent of respondents either ‘strongly disagreeing’ or ‘disagreeing’ with the statement and an additional 17.5 percent expressing uncertainty. They were also split on whether or not the new homes added to the architectural integrity of the neighbourhood as well as the notion that they would lead to beautification of the laneways. This perhaps indicates two possible areas for adjustments in the laneway housing policy or an improved communication strategy of the benefits between the City of Vancouver and its residents.

Table 12. Positive Attributes of Laneway Housing

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Laneway houses are a great option for aging parents and adult children.	12.5	7.5	7.5	32.5	40
Laneway housing creates affordable rental options for Vancouverites.	15	7.5	17.5	32.5	27.5
Laneway houses pave the way for younger and more diverse community members to live in Dunbar.	10	12.5	12.5	37.5	27.5
Laneway housing maintains the integrity of the single-family neighbourhood by introducing invisible density.	32.5	7.5	17.5	25	17.5
Lanes are reclaimed as laneway occupants turn back alley garbage collectors into green, walk-able and tranquil community spaces.	22.5	17.5	17.5	30	12.5
Laneway houses are architecturally pleasant and help to beautify a neighbourhood.	20	15	25	30	10
Laneway houses will help us become a more environmentally sustainable community.	17.5	12.5	15	35	30

Because laneway houses can only be built to a maximum of 750sq feet, they prioritize 'small-living' and redefine the amount of space necessary to live comfortably in a single-family neighbourhood.	12.5	10	15	35	27.5
--	------	----	----	----	------

The second grid summarized eight perceived disadvantages of laneway housing. These were determined by reviewing the media content from Chapter 4 to extract the most common publicly expressed opposition to the housing form. Three statements received majority support with over 50 percent of respondents either 'agreeing' or 'strongly agreeing' with the statement. A statement about the impact of LWH on parking availability generated the most support; 77.5 percent of respondents either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that there would be an increase demand for street parking. This was partially based on the fact that an additional household would be added to the community but it is also possible that some respondents felt that the garage built alongside the laneway house would not be used for a vehicle but rather storage or extra floor space in the laneway house. One respondent articulated this very clearly in the comment section of the survey by stating, "There is no way they should be allowed to increase their living space by using the "garage" as more living space!" (laneway housing survey comment, April 2012). Additionally, 60 percent of respondents felt that there would be an increase in issues with shading on adjacent lots as a result of the new builds. Comments provided through the survey suggest that this was particularly true for 1.5 storey developments which were perceived as "towering over adjacent green space" (laneway housing survey comment, April 2012). Last, 52.5 percent of respondents 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that homeowners should be required to consult their neighbours for approval before building a laneway home.

Out of the eight perceived disadvantages of LWH, two were rejected by the majority of respondents – the belief that community services would be strained by the additional residents and the notion that Dunbar residents would be negatively impacted by the influx of new neighbours. With regard to the services, 60 percent of respondents rejected the notion that excessive pressure would be placed on existing infrastructure as a result of laneway housing, whereas 57.5 percent either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that Dunbar would be changed for the worse as laneway houses are rented to individuals not connected to the community.

Table 13. Negative Impacts of Laneway Housing

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Laneway houses negatively impact the housing prices of surrounding homes.	17	22.5	32.5	12.5	15
Laneway houses create issues with shading in the backyards of adjacent homes.	7.5	12.5	20	35	25
There will be an increased demand for street parking as a result of the laneway houses.	0	5	17.5	35	42.5
There will be an excessive burden on services such as transit and the community centre as a result of laneway housing.	22.5	37.5	22.5	5	12.5
Homeowners seeking to build a laneway house should be required to consult their neighbours for approval.	10	27.5	10	25	27.5
The laneway houses being built in Dunbar are too big.	17.5	37.5	12.5	5	27.5
Dunbar will be changed for the worse as laneway houses become rental accommodations for individuals not connected to the community.	17.5	40	17.5	0	25
The new laneway houses often have windows that look directly into neighbouring homes negatively impacting privacy.	7.5	12.5	37.5	17.5	25

The 12 respondents (30 percent) who opposed the laneway housing policy, expressed very consistent responses to the oppositional statements. When the results are analyzed from the perspective of individuals who either ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ with the laneway housing policy, no one response received less than 67 percent support demonstrating how strongly oppositional views are held. There are three issues however, that appear to generate resounding consensus from laneway home opponents. Parking and shading generated the most amount of agreement among the oppositional contingent with all respondents either ‘agreeing’ or ‘strongly agreeing’ that laneway homes increase the demand for street parking and create issues with shading

for adjacent lots. Approximately 92 percent of opponents also agreed that housing prices of neighbouring lots are negatively affected as a result of laneway homes.

Laneway homeowners are not required to consult their neighbours prior to building a laneway home. This is an interesting anomaly when compared with other forms of residential site development. In fact, in Vancouver, homeowners are required to inform and seek the input of neighbours on nearly all physical changes to their dwelling such as expanding the building envelop or building a garage (City of Vancouver, 2013). The question regarding consultation generated only a small majority response of 52.5 percent among all respondents but 83 percent of opponents supported consultation. An opponent of laneway housing articulated it as follows:

The overall process of a laneway house going in beside us violated all concepts of what residents living in a functioning democracy should expect of their political leaders. In short, we were effectively and totally excluded in the decision-making at all levels: political process, the design process and landscaping process.

It is not surprising that opponents are concerned about this issue, but it is important to note that this was only a concern for a small majority overall, despite that lack of consultation dominates the reasons that the DRA and DVIC opposed laneway housing.

There are some statements that have not been addressed in this analysis – namely the question of whether or not laneway houses are too large. In this case, responses are relatively split and results inconclusive without further demographic segmentation. Hence analysis will be postponed to section 6.4 in the research paper when the data can be explored through the lens of other indicators available through the survey.

6.4. Discussion of Survey Results

Analysis of the survey responses of residents living in close proximity to laneway homes suggest the possibility that the Dunbar community is more accepting of laneway housing than organizations like the DRA and DVIC would indicate. However, the survey

results also prompt a series of examinations to further understand *why* residents responded in the manner they did. For example, what was the extent of the respondents' understanding of the laneway housing policy? Are there demographic or situational determinants of laneway housing support or opposition? What does it say about the findings of this research project Are there demographic or situational determinants of laneway housing support or opposition? What does it say about the findings of this research project when two similar community surveys found more opposition to LWH than mine did? Additionally, can an examination of proponent and opponent views tell us more about how laneway housing is perceived in communities? Lastly, what findings or recommendations can be gleaned from the views captured through the survey?

6.4.1. Quality and Quantity of Questionnaire Responses

As mentioned previously, 150 surveys were distributed to households within a one-block radius of the six selected laneway homes under study. Exactly 40 completed surveys were received resulting in a 26.7% response rate. While the amount of data collected was not insignificant, it was not enough to qualify as a representative sample and consequently there are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from the results. There are also perhaps some limitations with regard to the quality of responses collected. Perhaps the most important question asked of residents in Dunbar was whether or not they agreed with the laneway housing policy in Vancouver. Based on the prevalence of the topic not only through neighbourhood channels but via traditional media, it was presumed that the respondents had adequate knowledge of the city policy to answer this question thoughtfully. They were also equipped with a letter of introduction alongside the preamble of the questionnaire which together provided an overview of the general features of laneway housing. However, it is possible that residents who received the questionnaire did not fully understand the implications of the policy as it pertained to Dunbar. While this had the potential for resulting in more support than would have resulted had residents been fully informed prior to completing the questionnaire, I did not want to colour my informants' responses by providing a more detailed description of the policy. Furthermore, the questionnaire asked respondents about policy specifics (for example, its lack of consultation process for neighbours),

which required them to weigh in on what had been framed by the DRA and the press as the policy's most contentious aspects.

6.4.2. *LWH Opinions Based on Demographics and Location*

Two strategies were implemented in the design of the survey to provide me with sufficient information to identify attributes that were likely to contribute to oppositional or supportive positions towards laneway housing. The first involved demographic information such as gender, age, household and length of tenure. A Daniel Yankelovich Group national survey in 1989 revealed the following profile of the typical NIMBY: high income, senior, male, well educated, professional, married, homeowner, living in large city or its suburbs (Dear, 1992). However, no demographic variable collected in the study was found to be a determinant of opposition or support for laneway housing. Gender, length of tenure, family size or housing type do not appear to have contributed to the respondents' positions on laneway housing in a significant way. In fact, despite the fact that respondents tended to be older, male, had lived in Dunbar for over a decade and owned their homes, the majority of respondents still supported laneway housing – a distinct contradiction of the traditional NIMBY attributes. That said there did appear to be one interesting finding resulting from the combination of 'demographic information' and 'opinions towards laneway housing'. One of the arguments that emerged in the 2010 public hearings on the first 100 laneway homes was that the houses being built were too large (City of Vancouver, 2010b). In particular, the comments of opponents appeared to be reserved for the two-storey homes. While the results of the survey demonstrates that Dunbar residents overall disagree that laneway homes are too big, when their responses are cross-referenced with the number of residents residing in the household, a different story emerges. All 4 respondents that lived alone also 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that laneway homes were too large. As the size of the household increased, the tendency to believe that laneway homes were too big diminished drastically. For example, of the households with between 3 - 5 people, only 17 percent 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that LWH were too big. In contrast 65 percent 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed with the notion that the homes being built were too large. This perhaps suggests that larger households recognized the need for space and would appreciate that the maximum of 750 square feet was in fact not too big considering it might house a couple or family. The

smaller household in contrast may be evaluating size based on the building envelope which perhaps appears imposing even at 500 square feet.

Table 14. Opinions on Size of Laneway Homes

Number of people living in house * Too big. Crosstabulation							
		Too big.					Total
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree	
Number of people living in house	I live alone	0	0	0	1	3	4
	There are two of us	3	3	2	0	4	12
	Between 3 and 5	4	11	3	1	4	23
	6 and over	0	1	0	0	0	1

A second strategy was to group the surveys collected by their respective site locations. This meant that each of the responses could be analyzed based on their proximity to a laneway housing site with particular attributes. Again, despite variations in the development size and type, for the most part, responses were consistent with overall responses to the survey. This was true except for two cases: the 750 square foot home built as the first and only laneway home in a part of the neighbourhood and a 500 square foot home situated within the same block as three other laneway homes. In general, the first home received resounding support from its neighbours with all 6 respondents expressing support for laneway housing and opposing any calls to implement a moratorium or halt development in Dunbar. This finding is of particular interest because the laneway home is located in the most affluent area of Dunbar – one that has experienced no increase in density or changes in housing morphology over the last 50 years. It is also surprising because according to interview transcripts, the City of Vancouver was particularly concerned with laneway housing development in this area and refused to issue permits for its development for fear of generating opposition from the neighbours (Homeowner Interview, May 23 2012).

The opposite was true for the laneway home that was built in proximity to other laneway homes. Of the 6 respondents, 4 opposed the laneway housing policy. The

same number agreed that changes to the policy were necessary to improve its application and that a moratorium on further developments would be a welcome next step. It is possible that neighbours had been overwhelmed by development on their block. Ever since the laneway housing policy was first passed in 2009, there has been a laneway home under construction. This has meant noise disturbances, increased traffic on the laneway from construction trucks and the dust and dirt that accompanies all forms of development.

6.4.3. *Research Results Compared with Two Additional Community Surveys on LWH*

The responses of residents captured through this research project differ from the results of two previous studies that captured the perceptions of residents towards laneway housing. The first is a survey conducted by the Dunbar Residents' Association in 2010 of neighbours from Point Grey and Dunbar living adjacent to a laneway house. The second was the result of research commissioned by Small Housing BC which conducted phone interviews with 409 residents living adjacent to 410 laneway homes across Vancouver in the Fall of 2012. In both cases, the results diverge somewhat from the findings of this research. The results of the DRA survey were based on the responses of 37 neighbours (the equivalent to a 41 percent response rate). The results of the DRA survey can be summarized as follows:

- 62 percent of respondents were 'very unhappy' or 'somewhat unhappy' to be located near a laneway house
- 78 percent supported an independent review of laneway housing

The results of the research conducted by Small Housing BC proved that Vancouver residents living next to a laneway home are somewhat divided with respect to whether or not the City of Vancouver's Laneway Housing Program is a good initiative. The survey which (held a margin of error of +/- 5 percent), resulted in 39 percent responding favourably to the policy, 48 percent in opposition and the remaining 13 percent undecided.

While each research project used different questions to gauge community support for laneway housing, both the DRA and Small Housing BC trended toward

opposition to the laneway housing policy. One difference between this research and the DRA survey and Small Housing BC phone interviews is that the former targeted neighbours living adjacent to a laneway home, I have extended my reach to include residents living within a one-block radius of the development. It is possible that distance is playing a role and increasing the number of oppositional views towards laneway housing supporting the NIMBY theory that proximity is a factor that determines support or opposition.

Additionally, the DRA survey was collected in the summer of 2010 when the laneway housing policy had been in existence for a little more than a year. In that time it had generated some controversy, in particular in the westside neighbourhoods of Vancouver (Bennett, 2011). One of the findings of the Small Housing BC research was that timing was an important factor in support. According to their results, as residents grow accustomed to changes in their neighbourhood, they become more supportive of the initiative, with 44.2 percent of those who have had a laneway house next to their residence for more than a year responding positively about the laneway housing initiative (a 5 percent increase over citywide findings). The data for this research project was collected in the winter and spring of 2012, almost 2.5 years following the by-law amendment to allow laneway housing. Not only had many more homes been built, it is also possible that many community members had grown accustomed to the new form of housing in their neighbourhood.

Furthermore, at the time of the DRA survey, few homes had completed the development phase and most homes were still unoccupied. In fact 58 percent of the laneway houses surveyed were under construction, 31 percent were nearing completion and only 11 percent were occupied. Contrast this with the criteria applied for this housing project where all six sites were complete and in four instances they were occupied as well. In the two remaining cases, occupancy was only a couple of weeks away. As mentioned earlier, timing can play a very big role in the perceptions of neighbours. The construction phase is very disruptive and never a pleasant process. If the majority of the respondents generated their answers during or near to this phase, this could explain some of the opposition to the laneway housing program that emerged. Rather than showing a contradiction between the survey results, perhaps this indicates an evolution in the opinions of Dunbar residents on the issue.

6.4.4. *The Nature of Opponent and Proponent Views*

While the results of the research did create a community profile made up of both proponents and opponents of laneway housing, the two groups responded to the survey distinctly enough to suggest differences in the opponent and proponent contingents of the respondents. Opponents to LWH vehemently disagree with the housing option and reflect that through majority responses to all of the survey questions. Further analysis shows that opponents respond differently to questions tackling the physical aspects of LWH versus socio-economic attributes. Proponents on the other hand, demonstrate more variation in their responses throughout. While they support the policy, their responses regarding the characteristics of LWH demonstrate that many believe there are negative implications to the neighbourhood brought about by the housing form.

Survey respondents often stay away from choosing responses that could typecast them as xenophobic or selfish (Bulmer, Gibbs & Hyman, 2010). This behaviour is often called the 'social desirability bias' which is the tendency of respondents to answer survey questions in a manner that will be viewed favourably by others. It can take the form of over-reporting 'good attributes' or under-reporting 'bad', or undesirable features (Ibid). For example, respondents may be reluctant to dismiss the issue of affordability in case they appear callous to the plight of young Vancouverites trying to find accommodation.

While LWH opponents were mostly unified in their responses, there were areas where respondents hesitated to acknowledge perceived disadvantages of laneway housing. Even though 100 percent of LWH opponents either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that a moratorium should be enacted on the housing form, and 74 percent said that it should be stopped completely in Dunbar and no additional homes built, a small wedge emerged between the responses that dealt with the physical attributes of the housing form versus the socio-economic characteristics. With regard to the physical attributes, 100 percent of opponents vehemently opposed the idea of laneway housing as an example of invisible density or that the housing form could create more attractive back alleys. They also did not see the homes as architecturally pleasant (83 percent) nor did they believe that they contributed to sustainability (83 percent). That said, when it came to attributes that concerned LWH residents, unified opposition wavered slightly. 33

percent of respondents were 'uncertain' or 'agreed' that LWH could be an option for aging parents. Another 33 percent of respondents were 'uncertain' or 'agreed' that LWH could provide affordable rental options for residents, and lastly 41 percent were 'uncertain' or 'agreed' that new housing form could introduce a more diverse range of residents to the community. Additionally, 33 percent of respondents were either 'uncertain' or 'disagreed' that the introduction of new residents would lead to the demise of the Dunbar community.

Many proponents on the other hand perceive that there are negative implications to the introduction of LWH in Dunbar and yet are still willing to support the policy in their neighbourhood. For example, 64 percent of proponents either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that parking availability would be reduced as a result of LWH. Just over one third (36 percent) also 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that there would be an increase in issues of shading of adjacent lots and that laneway homeowners should be required to consult with their neighbours before undertaking a build. It is perhaps not surprising then that when asked the question about whether or not changes to the policy were necessary to improve its application in the neighbourhood, 56 percent of proponents were uncertain and 28 percent either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that changes were necessary. Some proponents were also wary about endorsing some of the perceived attributes of LWH. Approximately one third of respondents were either 'uncertain' or 'disagreed' that laneway housing could be considered 'invisible density' (36 percent); that back alleys would be improved as a result of the housing form (34 percent); and that the small homes could be considered architecturally beautiful (40 percent). The fact that there is support for laneway housing, even though there are perceived disadvantages of the housing form, suggests that proponents have decided that the benefits of policy outweigh its shortcomings.

6.4.5. *Summary of Findings and Recommendations Based on Survey Data*

The results of the survey suggest that neighbours living in close proximity to laneway houses in Dunbar may support laneway housing in majority numbers and that proponents comprise a diverse group, from older residents to newer arrivals, as well as smaller households to larger families. Not only do most respondents (62.5 percent)

support the laneway housing initiative, they see it as a tool for addressing some of the challenges to community resiliency. The data also suggests that while support exists, many respondents agree that changes to the policy should be made to improve its application in the neighbourhood. Some of these changes for consideration by the City of Vancouver should include parking availability, shading on adjacent lots and consultation with neighbours. It might also be wise for the City of Vancouver to consider how they communicate certain aspects of the program. In particular, terms such as 'invisible density' may be perceived as misinformation and 'the beautification of laneways' an exaggeration of LWH impacts. As for benefits of the program, respondents appear to share the views of homeowners interviewed for this project by suggesting that the housing form supports families by creating an option for aging parents and adult children and can contribute to the affordable housing stock. Lastly, respondents agree in majority numbers that LWH will contribute to the community resiliency by facilitating younger and more diverse residents to Dunbar.

7. Discussion on Laneway Housing in Dunbar

While laneway housing is arguably a gentler form of urban intensification, it is still a departure for single-family neighbourhoods like Dunbar. Not only does it introduce density to the exclusively low-density areas of the neighbourhood, it is also (unlike secondary suites) a visible manifestation of the increased number of households. My research explores the impact of these changes by examining the narratives that emerged leading up to, and in response to laneway housing. While it is not possible to claim that any one perspective is representative of the Dunbar community, the results of my research show that not all Dunbar residents oppose densification (as suggested by the DRA and DVIC) and that a diversity of opinions exist within the neighbourhood. While the first part of this chapter will discuss the opinions and attitudes that exist within Dunbar, the second part will explore the implications of such perspectives, especially with regard to the dominant narratives and hidden transcripts.

7.1. Opinions and Attitudes Regarding LWH

The result of a review of public documents, interview transcripts and surveys reveals that there are several narratives at play within the Dunbar community. The most dominant narrative is the anti-laneway housing view which has been developed and promoted by the Dunbar Residents' Association and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee. The arguments developed by both groups suggest that the City of Vancouver forced laneway housing upon neighbourhoods by enacting a citywide bylaw amendment rather than adhering to the neighbourhood-centric visions for each community. They asserted that the public processes made available to community members regarding LWH lacked meaningful engagement opportunities for residents of Dunbar. Despite consistent and vocal opposition to the housing form, laneway housing became a legal housing option across the city including Dunbar. In addition to arguments opposing the housing form based on the lack of community consultation, both

groups distributed information on the potential disadvantages of LWH which included the increased pressures on community services, a reduction in the availability of parking, shading of adjacent lots and the loss of privacy for neighbours bordering a new build. Underlying this narrative was the notion that the City of Vancouver placed “undue reliance on development and density as a mechanism to achieve sustainability” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2008a, p. 7) and that environmentalism in Vancouver meant “replacing trees, gardens and other green space with ‘green’ building materials” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2009b p. 1).

Despite the pervasiveness of the views expressed by the two community groups, my research demonstrates that there are other visions for development in Dunbar. The information compiled from laneway homeowners develops the view that Dunbar residents are struggling with citywide issues of affordability and are using LWH as a means to generate additional income while creating the possibility for multi-family households. A profile of the community from the 1970s shows that while Dunbar was an expensive neighbourhood, it was still accessible to professional couples and their children (City of Vancouver, 1979). Housing prices in Dunbar today far exceed what even professionals with traditionally very well-paying jobs (like emergency room doctors and real estate lawyers) can afford. Now, only the very wealthiest of individuals can purchase homes in Dunbar. A realtor in the community described the phenomena as follows: “It’s not a traditional market because [there] are individuals with so much money that they buy things that they want. Most of these people will buy places with cash” (Jang, 2013, January 16).

For those who managed to purchase a home in Dunbar like the homeowners interviewed, the costs of maintenance, property taxes and mortgages stretch their incomes to precarious levels. For them, the bylaw amendment allowing laneway housing created a mechanism to generate additional revenue to cover the costs associated with living in an expensive neighbourhood. Many of the homeowners also recognized that their children too were impacted by the exorbitant cost of housing in Vancouver. Laneway housing in Dunbar is also addressing a family dilemma by providing the option of allowing homeowners to provide their adult children with the opportunity to live in a laneway home in Vancouver. Other arrangements being considered were aging homeowners moving to the smaller house and freeing up the main home for their adult

child's growing family. While the imperative is financial, the benefits expressed are personal. Laneway housing is facilitating intergenerational living arrangements and the social support systems (ie. Babysitting, elder care, shared upkeep of home etc.) that accompany such arrangements.

Discussions regarding the revenue-generating potential and intergenerational living arrangements were notably absent in the information provided by the DRA and DVIC. While the interplay and observations of laneway homeowners towards DRA and DVIC members was not a focus of my research, several homeowners expressed frustration because of the uniformly anti-laneway housing narrative communicated on behalf of Dunbar residents. One homeowner articulated his frustration as follows: "The Dunbar Residents' Association has been a centre of gravity for 'dog-in-the-manger'³ activists for as long as it has existed. ...It is there to represent that old view of Dunbar as being a single-family neighbourhood." (Homeowner Interview, 2012). Another summarized their observations as follows:

Boats don't get rocked here and this is causing Dunbar anxiety and there is going to be a lot of people trying to keep control of the neighbourhood the way it was. Not to castigate the association, but often these associations can't keep up. They were made and composed at a different time and maybe that was okay. Now there's a need for a more openness.

A last narrative that emerged from my research is the more nuanced perspective of residents living near a laneway home development. This account is of a community somewhat supportive of laneway housing in Dunbar but struggling with the implications of introducing higher levels of density to the neighbourhood. While the majority of respondents indicated that they approved of the new housing form in Dunbar, they simultaneously expressed reservations regarding the current rules and regulations governing such developments. The storyline that appears to capture the views of the respondents is that residents recognize the potential of laneway housing to solve some of the pressing issues facing residents in Vancouver, and particularly on the westside: the lack of affordable housing stock; homogenous communities; and the challenges

³ A metaphor used to describe those who prevent others from having something that they themselves have no use for.

associated with allowing seniors to age in place and young professionals to remain in the city. Simultaneously however, they recognize that not only positive attributes result from the increase of LWHs in Dunbar. The trade-offs include a reduction in parking availability, a decrease in privacy and shading for adjacent lots. Unlike the perspective espoused by DRA and DVIC, respondents to the survey were less likely to connect issues of community consultation as a problem with laneway housing. The narrative that emerged from neighbours also suggests that laneway housing in Dunbar could not only gain acceptance but traction as well if a few of the disadvantages identified could be addressed.

7.2. Impact of the Dominant Narrative and Hidden Transcript

In an article regarding community opposition to densification in single-family neighbourhoods, incoming Director of Planning Brian Jackson stated in November 2012 that “city staff [were] being drowned out by residents’ capacity to get their message across...when they oppose a particular project” (Bula, 2013, November 15). Journalist and urban design specialist Bob Ransford extrapolated on the impact of community opposition by making the following observation:

Today, the voices of the vocal few are more loudly and more rapidly amplified than they were in the past, thanks to new communications tools. Those tools allow for, instead, waves of opposition, where issues “trend” for minutes or hours and grab superficial attention, rather than deeply engage the masses and shape or shift wholesale community attitudes.
(Ransford, 2013, January 19)

As demonstrated in this research, local groups like DRA and DVIC have the ability to attract attention to their perspective and create the illusion of a dominant, neighbourhood-wide voice on an issue. Vocal opposition to development projects can reduce and restrict new housing developments in single-family neighbourhoods. Today as planners grapple with the looming implications of climate change, environmental degradation and inaccessible housing prices, sprawl is no longer an option. Yet the proposed solution of urban intensification continues to be met with great resistance. Without demonstrated support from residents of single-family neighbourhoods, the

changes that are necessary to address the aforementioned challenges to urban planning are limited.

While Vancouver's March 2013 proposal to extend the LWH program to all residential neighbourhoods in the city is demonstrative of a council and planning department that is committed to urban intensification, it is possible that lengthy, public opposition from Dunbar could limit the number of laneway homes in the community and reduce the opportunities available for further development. According to interviews with one homeowner, the planning department rejected their application for a laneway house permit twice citing that "even though it met the criteria in every possible way, that they were too concerned about the political optics and they weren't willing to process the permit." (Homeowner Interview, 2012) The homeowner's house was located in the Southern most section of Dunbar bordering the community of Southlands. At the time of his application, no other laneway home had been built in the community. In fact single-family homes were the only housing option within several neighbourhood blocks. Their proposal for a 1.5 story laneway home marked a radical departure for the housing morphology of the area, apparently one that resulted in opposition from some neighbours and reluctance on the part of city staff.

As noted earlier in this research project, there are other examples of municipal governments acquiescing to public pressure on housing forms. In fact, Toronto in the early 2000s introduced infill housing on laneways only to have the option severely restricted in part as a result of public opposition (Gheciu, 2012, December 27). As laneway housing in Vancouver continues to be monitored by city staff, there will be future opportunities to review and adapt the policy. If the city chooses to respond to the concerns of residents such as those surveyed for this research project, changes may improve the integration of laneway housing in Dunbar. However, if instead city planners decide to respond to vocal opposition from groups like the DRA and DVIC, laneway housing may soon become a thing of the past for some westside neighbourhoods in Vancouver.

If in fact the number of laneway homes are restricted and densification further limited in communities like Dunbar, it is possible that there will be ramifications on the

social composition in Dunbar. The relationship between density and aspects of social sustainability, specifically sustainability of community (which refers to the ability of the community to sustain and reproduce itself at an acceptable level of functioning) has been well documented (Dempsey, Brown & Bramley, 2012). The residential density of a neighbourhood is frequently cited as an 'ingredient' of sustainable urban form as it ensures relative stability of the community, both in terms of overall numbers of residents, the diversity of residents and residential turnover. Laneway homes are part of a suite of limited housing options in Dunbar that differ from the dominant single-family home. Without housing diversity, Dunbar may become a neighbourhood for the exceptionally wealthy and aging existing owners. Laneway housing, acts as a mechanism for introducing new residents such as young professionals or middle-income families to the neighbourhood who otherwise would not be able to afford accommodation.

8. Conclusion

In a report submitted to the Director of Planning by the Dunbar Homeowners Association in 1967, the community organization admonished city staff for ignoring the views of residents and recommended that neighbourhood planning be conducted with the participation of residents and shaped by their ideas and visions for their community.

While the planning department should logically be the directing body in planning the location and type of accommodation, citizen participation is a vital part of planning in the community. Good planning, in the final analysis, is based on the support of the public, particularly the support of those who live in areas affected by or about to undergo change.

(Nielsen, 1967)

At the time, the homeowners association was breaking new ground, advocating for a view that was in its infancy. They were asserting a role for community in the development of neighbourhoods, one that Vancouver would become renowned for in the decades to follow. And yet, as this research project discusses, participatory planning is fraught with challenges, especially regarding representation and how to ensure that the voices of all residents are heard in the developmental process, not just those that oppose density. Often, neighbourhood associations tend to only get involved in planning matters "when there is some specific and tangible interest for them and their groups" (Catanese 1984, 121). It has proven difficult to get people interested in planning except in cases that literally affect their 'backyards'. That said, attempts to facilitate participation should continue. The Dunbar neighbourhood acts as a cautionary tale. The Dunbar Residents' Association and the Dunbar Vision Implementation Committee all suggested a community that opposed densification through laneway housing. Yet, interviews and surveys of residents suggest a different story of households who are more open to densification than the community's reputation would suggest.

Not only is representation difficult, but also community views are at times decidedly different than the city's orientation, especially when it comes to density. Then

the challenge becomes whether or not to allow the views of existing residents to determine the development opportunities for future community members. As McAvoy implies, acquiescing to community opposition has huge but generally unrecognized implications for the undisputable silent majority represented by future generations (McAvoy, 1999).

8.1. Recommendations for Municipal Staff

Since 2009 when LWH became an approved option for 94 percent of residential communities, the City of Vancouver continued to introduce more compact forms of housing into single-family neighbourhoods. They approved secondary suites and basement apartments and began to introduce incentives for further densification along arterials in residential communities. In response to these changes, city council and staff have faced significant opposition from neighbourhood groups across the city (Neighbourhoods for Sustainable Vancouver, 2012). As Vancouver plans to encroach even further into single-family neighbourhoods, city staff and policymakers will need to amplify their skills and knowledge of public engagement best practices to improve outcomes for their urban intensification agenda. Based on the findings of this research, there are three approaches that are recommended as a means of improving the public consultation processes while continuing to facilitate the densification of neighbourhoods like Dunbar.

First, urban planners and policymakers must incorporate approaches that access the views of more than just development-minded neighbourhood associations. While the opinions of organizations such as the DRA and DVIC will and should continue to play an important role in shaping the development plans for the neighbourhood, they must be considered within a range of other community views and perspectives. As this research has demonstrated, Dunbar has established a reputation as an anti-densification community. Targeted consultation with the DRA and DVIC are likely to reinforce the oppositional view. To access the views and opinions of other residents, urban planners should look specifically at the community services and congregating mechanisms for residents. These may include the libraries, community centres and schools as well as local festivals and churches. They may also include other neighbourhood associations

that have been active in the community such as the Dunbar Community Garden group. By expanding the outreach efforts, city staff will be more likely to capture a diversity of views from the community and gain a deeper understanding of how these may differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood.

Second, city staff should identify and amplify the narratives that capture the impact of a denser housing form (such as LWH) on a community. While facts, maps, diagrams, and charettes all play an important role in conveying information on a housing type to residents, stories have the ability to connect to people at the emotional level. Rather than articulating how a new development will look in a neighbourhood, stories allow the recipient to connect with the potential and possibility of a development initiative. In the case of Dunbar, a public engagement campaign seeded with the personal anecdotes of the homeowners and their neighbours would help bring to life the challenges and issues being faced by everyday Vancouver residents. Within this context, LWH can play a living role as the stories explain how the housing form is being used by real Vancouverites.

Last, the City of Vancouver must clarify the role that community visions and neighbourhood-specific development plans can play in shaping the future of specific neighbourhoods like Dunbar. *CityPlan* and its predecessor, *Local Area Planning* empowered neighbourhoods with the tools to specify the amount and nature of development that could occur in their community. *CityPlan* went so far as to describe Vancouver as a “city of neighbourhoods” where communities like Dunbar were actively involved in creating the parameters that would determine the type of development that would be appropriate for its residents (City of Vancouver, 2011). Arguably, the Dunbar Community Vision provided homeowners and residents with the security of understanding how their neighbourhood would change over time. In a letter to the Mayor and Council, the DRA extrapolated on this perspective as follows: “The character of Dunbar is important to its residents. Many of us purchased homes in this neighbourhood with an eye to its layout and future uses. Those expectations derive from existing planning” (Dunbar Residents’ Association, 2012b). The approach of Vision Vancouver has been to introduce amendments to zoning bylaws that impact multiple neighbourhoods simultaneously without special consideration for the particular differences among neighbourhoods. In the case of laneway housing 17 neighbourhoods

were affected in exactly the same manner by the initial policy changes. Arguably, Dunbar could have accepted laneway housing with little opposition had the bylaw amendments been tailored to the Community Vision and been limited to larger lots where a laneway home could play a role in the preservation of a heritage home.

Local area planning continues, with new neighbourhoods undergoing intensive consultation processes to help envision the parameters for their future development. However, scepticism is increasing as neighbourhoods recognize the limited role such plans have in constraining or modifying future development. If in fact neighbourhood centered planning is no longer a realistic approach for the City of Vancouver, then forums to solicit the opinions of residents from specific neighbourhoods should be halted. Instead, residents across the city should be made aware of the particular tools and mechanisms available to them to shape development in their neighbourhoods.

8.2. Future Research

While my research did reveal important narratives from the Dunbar community on laneway housing and density, my sample size was a major limitation of the study. As cities grapple with the intensification of single-family neighbourhoods, the need to understand community representation and the role that residents' opinions play in the development of neighbourhoods will become increasingly important.

A first suggestion would be to expand the research conducted in this study to a more representative sample of residents. Not only would this mean more interviews and surveys but it would also likely mean an expansion of the boundaries of the outreach. It would be helpful to hear from residents living further from laneway home developments, for example. Another interesting way to build on the findings of this research would be to conduct a comparison between a neighbourhood in the eastside of the city with a westside neighbourhood. Considering the differences already alluded to in this research, attitudes and opinions may be different between the two communities. However, a larger and perhaps more important focus for future research would be to explore the implications of citywide versus neighbourhood centered approaches to planning. Within such a framework a researcher could explore how the voices of residents impact the

development options available in single-family neighbourhoods within each respective paradigm and subsequently whether or not the planning outcomes differ greatly as a result of two different processes. Ultimately, as this research has demonstrated, capturing the views and opinions of residents is not an easy activity. But even more difficult perhaps are the decisions that follow when urban planners and municipal staff weigh the input of a community against policy orientations of the city all the while keeping in mind the opportunities for future residents.

References

- ACRBAH (Advisory Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing). (1991). *"Not In My Back Yard": Removing barriers to affordable housing. Report to President Bush and Secretary Kemp*. Washington: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Alfasi, N. (2003). Is public participation making urban planning more democratic? The Israeli experience. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4, 185-202.
- Anonymous. (2012, November 28). Park sign recreation. *The Vancouver Courier*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancourier.com/life/Park+sign+recreation/7620706/story.html#ixzz2DeGC60IA>
- Anonymous. (2009, May 30). Dunbar townhouses a start-to-finish addition; Older households have an 'aging in place' choice, giving younger a chance at a west-side address, Stirling developer hopes. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/243958680>
- Antonucci, T. C., & Jackson, J. S. (1990). The role of reciprocity in social support. In B. R. Sarason, I. G. Sarason, & G. R. Pierce (Eds.), *Social support: An interactional view* (pp. 173–198). Oxford, UK: Wiley.
- Arbury, J. (2005). *From Urban sprawl to compact city – An analysis of urban growth management in Auckland*. Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Arnstein, S. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *American Institute of Planning Journal*, July, 216-24.
- Athanassakos, G. (2012, September 10). Sign point to a severe housing Correction in Canada. *Globe and Mail* Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-investor/investment-ideas/signs-point-to-a-severe-housing-correction-in-canada/article624541/>
- Aurand, A. (2010). Density, Housing Types and Mixed Land Use: Smart Tools for Affordable Housing? *Urban Studies* 47(5), 1015-1036.
- Babbie, E. R. & Benaquisto, L. (2002). *Fundamentals of Social Research*. Toronto, ON: Nelson Thomson Learning.
- Babcock, R. F. (1966). *The zoning game: Municipal practices and policies*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.

- Beierle, T. C. (2002). The quality of stakeholder-based decisions. *Risk Analysis*, 22(4) 739-749.
- Bellett, G. (2005, November 9). Halfway house riles neighbours. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/242221856>
- Bish, R. L. (1971). *The public economy of metropolitan areas*. Chicago: Markham.
- Bookman, A. (2008). Innovative models of aging in place: Transforming our communities for an aging population. *Community, Work & Family*, 11(4), 419-438.
- Bourne, L. (2011). *Canadian urban regions : trajectories of growth and change*. Don Mills, ON : Oxford University Press
- Breheny, M. (1992). *Sustainable Development and Urban Form*, (Introduction). London: Pion Limited.
- Breheny, M. (1996). Centrists, Decentrists and Compromisers: Views on the Future of Urban Form in Jenks, M., Burton, E. and Williams, K. (eds.) *The Compact City: a sustainable urban form?*, E & FN Spoon, London: 13-35
- Breheny M, (1997). Urban compaction: feasible and acceptable? *Cities*. 14(4), 209-217.
- Brooks, Michael P. (2002). *Planning theory for practitioners*. Chicago: American Planning Association.
- Brion, D. J. (1991). *Essential industry and the NIMBY phenomenon*. New York: Quorum.
- Bula, F. (2008, April 16). City revising EcoDensity draft to ensure low-cost housing built in. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/243872985>
- Bula, F. (2009, July 28). Vancouver Set to Approve Garages as Houses, *Globe and Mail*, S1
- Bula, F. (2012, November 15). Vancouver Planning Chief Promises Clarity, *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/vancouver-planning-chief-promises-clarity/article5360476/>
- Bula, F. (2012, March 20). Vancouver's vacancies point to investors not residents. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/vancouver-vacancies-point-to-investors-not-residents/article10044403/>
- Bunting, T., Walks, A., & Filion, P. (2004). The Uneven Geography of Housing Affordability Stress in Canadian Metropolitan Areas. *Housing Studies*, 19, 361-393.
- Burningham, K. (2000). Using the Language of NIMBY: A topic for research not an activity for researchers. *Local Environment*, 5, 55-67.

- Burningham, K., Barnett, J., & Thrush, D. (2007). *The limitations of the NIMBY concept for understanding public engagement with renewable energy technologies: A literature review*. Manchester: Manchester Architecture Research Centre, University of Manchester.
- Burton E. (2000). The Compact City: Just or just compact? A preliminary analysis. *Urban Studies*, 37(11), 1969-2007.
- Burton, E. (2002). Measuring urban compactness in UK towns and cities. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29, 219-250.
- Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation (2012). , *Canadian Housing Statistics* Ottawa, ON: Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation
- Catanese, A. J. 1984. *The Politics of Phnning and Development*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Carr, D. S. & Halvorsen, K. (2001). An evaluation of three democratic, community-based approaches to citizen participation: Surveys, conversations with community groups, and community dinners. *Society & Natural Resources*, 14,107-26.
- Care (2012). *Market Summary: A summary of the assisted living and independent supportive living markets in the market area of Vancouver, BC*. Pacific Arbour: Vancouver BC.
- Chapin, R. (2011). *Pocket Neighborhoods: Creating Small Scale Community in a Large Scale World*, Newtown, CT: The Taunton Press
- City of Vancouver Housing Centre. (2010). *Rental Housing in Vancouver*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/housing/RentalHousing.htm>
- City of Vancouver. (1979). *Dunbar-Southlands Community Profile: A Technical Report*. City of Vancouver: Vancouver BC.
- City of Vancouver. (1996). *Dunbar Community Vision*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/cityplan/Visions/dunbar/pdf/fullreport.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2006). *Community Webpages: Dunbar-Southlands – Community Statistics Census Data*
- City of Vancouver. (2007). *Ecodensity: How Density, Design and Land Use will Contribute to Environmental Sustainability, Affordability and Liveability*. Retrieved from [http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/ecocity/pdf/EcoDensity%20Summary%20Report%20_web\(1\).pdf](http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/ecocity/pdf/EcoDensity%20Summary%20Report%20_web(1).pdf)
- City of Vancouver. (2008). *Laneway Housing in Single-Family Areas: Issues and Options*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/20081030/documents/pe3.pdf>

- City of Vancouver. (2009a). *Report to Council: Special Council Meeting Minutes, July 21 and 23 2009*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/20090721/documents/phea20090721min.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2009b). *Community Vision: Vision Implementation Program Review*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/cityplan/Visions/review/step2/pdf/dec09issuesopportunities.pdf>
- City of Vancouver, (2010a), *EcoDensity Summary Report*. Retrieved from <http://storage.ubertor.com/cl1271/content/document/15541.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2010b). *Monitoring of Laneway Houses Implementation Report*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/20101021/documents/csbu3-MonitoringofLanewayHousingImplementation-Report.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2010c). *Vancouver 2020: A Bright Green Future: An Action Plan for Becoming the World's Greenest City by 2020*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/greenestcity/PDF/Vancouver2020-ABrightGreenFuture.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2010d, Nov. 29). *CityPlan and Community Visions*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/cityplan/Visions/index.htm>
- City of Vancouver. (2010e). *Minutes – Special Council Meeting, Public Hearing: 2009 July 21, 23*. Retrieved from <http://former.vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/20090721/documents/phea20090721min.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2011). *Community Planning 101 – Backgrounder*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/backgrounder-community-planning-101.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2012a). *Final Report from the Mayor's Task Force on Affordable Housing*. Retrieved from http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/Staff_report_to_Council_re_task_force_report.pdf
- City of Vancouver. (2012b). *Public comments against laneway housing collected since 2008*.
- City of Vancouver. (2012c). *Permits issued for laneway housing by neighbourhood as of August 2012*.
- City of Vancouver. (2012d). *Carbon Talks: Density in a City of Neighbourhood, Dialogue Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.carbontalks.ca/documents/Dialogue%20reports/DensityDialogueReport.pdf>

- City of Vancouver. (2012d). *Laneway Houses and Secondary Suites*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/home-property-development/laneway-houses-and-secondary-suites.aspx>
- City of Vancouver. (2013). *Permits and Regulations*. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/home-property-development/permits-and-regulations.aspx>
- Chouinard, V. (1997). Structure and agency: Contested concepts in human geography, *The Canadian Geographer*, 41(4), 363-377.
- Cohan, M. (2012, November 12). Dunbar residents take densification fight to steps of City Hall. *The Vancouver Courier*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancourier.com/news/Dunbar+residents+take+densification+fight+steps+city+hall/7562526/story.html>
- Crookston M., Clarke P., & Averly J. (1996). "The Compact City and Quality of Life" in *The Compact City: A Sustainable Form?*, University of Oxford: London.
- Curic, T. & Bunting T. (2006). Does Compatible Mean Same As?: Lessons Learned from the Residential Intensification of Surplus Hydro Lands in Four Older Suburban Neighbourhoods in the City of Toronto. *The Canadian Journal of Urban Research*. 15(2), 202-204.
- D'Amour, D. (1991). Sustainable Development and Housing; Research Paper no. 1. Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation: Ottawa, ON
- Day, D. (1997). Citizen participation in the planning process: An essentially contested concept. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 11(3), 421 – 434.
- Davidoff, P. (1965). Advocacy and pluralism in planning. In *A reader in planning theory*, ed. A. Faludi, 277-96. Pergamon Press: Oxford
- Dear, M. (1992). Understanding and overcoming the NIMBY syndrome. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 58(3), 288 - 300.
- Dempsey, N., Brown, C. & Bramley, G. (2012). The key to sustainable urban development in UK cities? The influence of density on social sustainability. *Progress in Planning*, 77(3), 89 – 141.
- Devine-Wright, P. (2011). Renewable energy and the public: from NIMBY to participation. *International Journal of Ambient Energy*, 32(2), 113 - 114.
- Dijk van T. & Wulp van der N. (2010). Not In My Open Space: Anatomy of Neighbourhood Activism in Defense of Land-Use Conversion. *Journal of Landscape and Urban Planning*, 96, 19-28.
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2008a). *DRA Newsletter February* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/DRA-Newsletter-Spring-2012-FINAL-small.pdf>

- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2008b). *DRA Newsletter June* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/newsletter/archives/DRA-Newsletter-Jun2008.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2008c). *DRA Newsletter October* Retrieved from <http://www.dunbar-vancouver.org/newsletter/archives/DRA-Newsletter-Oct2008.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2009a). *DRA Newsletter February* Retrieved from <http://www.dunbar-vancouver.org/newsletter/archives/DRA-newsletter-Feb2009.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2009b). *DRA Newsletter October* Retrieved from <http://www.dunbar-vancouver.org/newsletter/archives/DRA-newsletter-Oct2009.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2010a). *DRA Newsletter October* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/DRA-Oct-2010-web.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2011a). *DRA Newsletter February* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/DRA-Feb-2011-Final-web.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2011b). *DRA Newsletter June* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/DRA-June-2011-final-web.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2011c). *DRA Newsletter October* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/DRA-Fall-2011-FINAL-small.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2011d). *Questions for 2011 Civic Candidates Meeting* DRA Website. Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Questions-for-2011-Civic-Candidates-Meeting.pdf>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2012a). *2011-2012 Board of Directors Biographies* Retrieved from <http://dunbar-vancouver.org/archives/category/dunbar-residents-association/dra-board>
- Dunbar Residents' Association. (2012b). *Letter to Mayor and Council regarding a letter of intent submitted by Pacific Arbour for a seniors housing complex in Dunbar*
- Eldridge, L. (2010). *Baby Boomers' needs and preferences for retirement housing: A phenomenological qualitative study*. Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest
- Fainstein, S. (2000). New directions in planning theory. *Urban Affairs Review*, 35, 451-78.
- Forester, J. (1993). *Critical theory, public policy, and planning practice*. Albany: SUNY Press.

- Forester, J. (2009). *Dealing with difference: Dramas of mediating public disputes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Colin Gordon ed.
- Friedmann, J. (1998). Planning theory revisited. *European Planning Studies* 6, 245 - 253.
- Freudenburg K. & Pastor S. (1992). NIMBYs and LULUs: Stalking the Syndromes. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(4), 39.
- Garcia, D. & Riera, P. (2003). Expansion versus Density in Barcelona: A Valuation Exercise. *Urban Studies*, 40(10), 1925 - 1936.
- Gordon, P. & Richardson, H. (1997). Are compact cities a desirable planning goal?. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(1): 95-106.
- Government of British Columbia. (1998). Dunbar Residents' Association Constitution.
- Grant, J. (1994). *The drama of democracy: Contention and dispute in community planning*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Groothuis, P. & Miller, G. (1994). Locating Hazardous Waste Facilities: The Influence of NIMBY beliefs. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 53(3), 335 - 346.
- Gunder, M. (2006). Sustainability: Planning's Saving Grace or Road to Perdition?. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 26(2), 208 - 221.
- Gheciu, A. (2012, December 12). Can living in laneways fix Toronto's density issues?. Toronto Star. Retrieved from http://ward20.ca/news_article.php?article=1009
- Hartman, C. (2008). The New Politics of Affordable Housing. *Housing Policy Debate*. 19, 249 - 54.
- Hall, P. (2002). *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Higgins, D. J. H (1986). *Local and Urban Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Gauge Educational Publishing.
- Hunter, S., & Leyden, K. M. (1995). Beyond NIMBY: Explaining opposition to hazardous waste facilities. *Policy Studies Journal*, 23, 601 - 619.
- Hutton, T.A., (2004). Post-industrialism, post-modernism, and the reproduction of Vancouver's central area. *Urban Studies*, 41, 1953 - 1982.
- Iglesias, T. (2002). Managing local opposition to affordable housing: A new approach to NIMBY. *Journal of Affordable Housing* 12(1), 78 - 122.

- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Random House.
- Jang, B. (2013, January 16). West-side Vancouver Sellers Holding Out for Deep-Pocketed Buyers, *Globe and Mail* Retrieved from <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/west-side-vancouver-sellers-holding-out-for-deep-pocketed-buyers/article7381772/?service=mobile>
- Jenks, M. (2000). The acceptability of urban intensification. In *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*, ed. Katie Williams, Elizabeth Burton, and Mike Jenks. London: E & FN Spon.
- Jenks M., Burton E., and Williams K. (1996). A sustainable future through the compact city? Urban intensification in the United Kingdom. *Environment by Design* 1 (1), 5 - 20.
- Johnson R. and Scicchitano M. (2012). Don't Call Me NIMBY: Public Attitudes Toward Solid Waste Facilities. *Environment and Behavior*, 44, 410.
- Kimmet, C. (2007, September 21). Birth of EcoDensity Backlash: Angry residents demand voice in upped growth plans. *The Tyee*, Retrieved from <http://thetyee.ca/News/2007/09/21/EcoDensity/>
- Kraft, M. E., & Clary, B. B. (1991). Citizen participation and the NIMBY syndrome: Public response to radioactive waste disposal. *Western Political Quarterly*, 44(2), 299 - 328.
- Landis J., Hood H., Li G., Rogers T. & Warren C. (2006). The future of infill housing in California: Opportunities, potential, and feasibility, *Housing Policy Debate*, 17(4), 681 – 725.
- Lee, J. (1992, January 30). Owners protest as Vancouver council takes step toward legalizing secondary suites. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/243392721>
- Lee, J. (2010, November 3). Council Plans to Soften Impact of Laneway Housing. *The Vancouver Sun*. A.6.
- Leopold, T. (2012). The Legacy of Leaving Home: Long-Term Effects of Coresidence on Parent – Child Relationships. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74, 399 – 412.
- Lowry, K. (1997). Participating the public: Group process, politics and planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 16, 177 - 87.
- Mansfield, C., Van Houtven, G. and Huber, J. (2001). The efficiency of political mechanisms for siting nuisance facilities: Are opponents more likely to participate than supporters? *Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics* 22(2), 141 - 61.

- Martin, D. G. (2003). 'Place Framing' as Place-Making: constituting a neighborhood for organizing and activism, *Association of American Geographers*. 93(3), 730 – 750.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McAfee, A. (1997). When theory meets practice – Citizen participation in planning. *Plan Canada*, 37(3), 18 – 22.
- McAvoy, G. E. (1998). Partisan probing and democratic decision-making: Rethinking the NIMBY syndrome. *Policy Studies Journal*. 26(2), 274 - 292.
- McCleary, D. (2003). The smart growth and environment trump cards. *Ontario Planning Journal* 18(4), 16- 18.
- Mitchell, K. (2004). *Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mitchell, B. (2006). *The boomerang age: Transitions to adulthood in families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Mitchell, B. (2006). The Pendulum of Family Transitions in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 37(3), 325 – 1.
- MLS Home Price Index. (2011). *Vancouver, BC: The Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver*
- Moos, M. (2012). *Housing and location of young adults, then and now : consequences of urban restructuring in Montreal and Vancouver*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia
- Neighbourhoods for Sustainable Vancouver (2012). *Priority Concerns: Neighbourhood Planning Process*. Retrieved from <http://nsvancouver.ca/priority-concerns/neighbourhood-planning-process/>
- Nielsen, D. (1967). Policy for the Location of Low-Density Multiple Housing Projects in the Suburban Parts – City of Vancouver. *Dunbar Homeowners Association*. Report submitted to the City of Vancouver.
- O'Connor, N. (2009, December 16). Approved multi-storey development riles residents; City council greenlights Dunbar project despite vocal opposition at public hearing. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/359287467>
- Owens, S. (2010) 'Learning across levels of governance: expert advice and the adoption of carbon dioxide emissions reduction targets in the UK', *Global Environmental Change* 20, 394 – 401.

- Palmer, K. (2007, December 12). The new parent trap: More Boomers help adult kids out financially. *U.S. News & World Report*. Retrieved from <http://money.usnews.com/>
- Pendall, R. (1999). Opposition to housing. *Urban Affairs Review*, 35, 112 - 136.
- Pettit, B. (1992). *Zoning, the Market and the Single-Family Landscape: Neighbourhood Change in Vancouver*, Canada. Phd. Thesis, Department of Geography. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Petts, J.(1997). "The Public-Expert Interface in Local Waste Management Decisions, Expertise, Credibility, and Process." *Public Understanding of Science*. 6, 359 - 81
- Piat, M. (2000). The NIMBY phenomenon: Community residents' concerns about housing for deinstitutionalized people. *Health & Social Work*, 25, 127 -138.
- Plotkin, S. (1987). *Keep out: The struggle for land use control*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Punter J., (2003). *The Vancouver Achievement: Urban Planning and Design*, Vancouver, BC, UBC Press
- Quastel N., Moos M., and Lynch N. (2012). *Sustainability-as-density and the return of the social: The case of Vancouver*, Vancouver BC, UBC Press.
- Ramey, K. (1990, May 11). Dunbar residents want zoning control. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/243545024>
- Ransford, B. (2010, May 15). Why I lined up to tour Vancouver's first laneway home; McGill Street addition a demonstration of how to accommodate population growth and preserve neighbourhood character. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www2.canada.com/vancouvernews/news/westcoasthomes/story.html?id=62e52bf5-f434-4c23-9135-910052a388fc&p=2>
- Ransford, B. (2013, January 19). Development Standoffs Have a Long History. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www2.canada.com/vancouvernews/news/westcoasthomes/story.html?id=440be321-1248-431e-8e63-4a0c81c20f73&p=2>
- Rossi, C. (2010, October 26). Residents voice laneway housing concerns at Vancouver city hall: Lack of notification rankles some neighbours, *The Vancouver Courier*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancourier.com/Residents+voice+laneway+housing+concerns+Vancouver+city+hall/3729380/story.html>
- Rydell, R. J. (1984). Solving Political problems of nuclear technology: The role of public participation. In *Citizen participation in scienc policy*, ed. J.C. Petersen, 182-195. Amherst: Univeristy of Massachusetts Press.

- Sarkissian W., Hurford, D., & Wenman, C. (2010). Creative community planning: Transformative engagement methods for working at the edge. *Australian Planner*, 48(3), 237 – 238.
- Schively, C. (2007). Understanding the NIMBY and LULU phenomena: Reassessing our knowledge base and informing future research. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 21, 255 - 266.
- Schneider, M. (1989). *The competitive city: The political economy of suburbia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Schofield, P. (2007). *The Story of Dunbar: Voices of a Vancouver Neighbourhood*, Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press.
- Scott, M. (1969). *American city planning since 1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Scott J. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. The Hidden Transcript*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sherlock, T. (2012, May 4). Laneway eases path to ownership; Growing trend sees smaller homes popping up next to larger ones, on the same lot. *The Vancouver Sun* Retrieved from www.vancouver.sun.com
- Sherlock, T. (2012, August 30). Vancouver Housing Affordability Falls: Homeownership Eats up 91 percent of Household Income *The Vancouver Sun* Retrieved from www.vancouver.sun.com
- Sinoski, K. (2012, February 10). Is laneway housing an affordable housing solution? *The Vancouver Sun* Retrieved from www.vancouver.sun.com
- Skaburskis, A., and Moos, M. (2008). The redistribution of residential property values in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver: Examining neoclassical and Marxist views on changing investment patterns. *Environment and Planning*, 40, 905 - 927.
- Stein, D. (1992). *Winning community support for land use projects*. Bethesda, MD: Urban Land Institute.
- Sutherland, J. (2010, November 24). Is Vancouver in a real estate bubble? *The Globe and Mail* Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com>
- Statistics Canada. (2011a). Census Profile: Census Tract 9330024.00 Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CT&Code1=2251&Geo2=CMA&Code2=933&Data=Count&SearchText=9330024.00&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>

- Statistics Canada. (2011b). Census Profile: Census Tract 9330025.00 Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CT&Code1=2252&Geo2=CMA&Code2=933&Data=Count&SearchText=V6S1K4&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>
- Takahashi, L. M., & Dear, M. J. (1997). The changing dynamics of community opposition to human service facilities. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 63(1), 79 - 93.
- Thomas, S. (2005, December 19). Dunbar residents win battle with developer. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/242199108>
- Thomas, S. (2008, January 23). Dunbar residents rally against park tower proposal; Public response in favour of toppling 60-metre plan. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/359487823>
- Thomas, J. C. (2012). Citizen, Customer, Partner: Engaging the Public in Public Management. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe
- Tighe, J. (2010). Public Opinion and Affordable Housing: A Review of the Literature *Journal of Planning Literature* 25, 3.
- Till, J. E., & Meyer, K. R. (2001). "Public involvement in science and decision making", *Health Physics*, 80(4), 370 – 378.
- Toderian B. (2010). Hidden Density Showing Up Across the City. *Planetizen*. Retrieved from <http://www.planetizen.com/node/46877>
- Walsh, E., Warland, R. & Smith C. D. (1997). *Don't burn it here: Grassroots challenges to trash incinerators*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Ward, D. (1997, March 12). Fighting against growth is a losing battle: More than a million people will be moving into the Lower Mainland in the next 25 years: Housing experts warn that neighborhoods will have to learn to accept increased density -- whether they like it or not. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/242956119/137FDBEF4F973B980F/1?accountid=13800>
- Ward, D. (1998, April 29). Dunbar residents oppose 3 projects: The single-family area becomes the latest site to struggle with plans to increase density. *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/docview/242907674>
- Williams, K., Burton, E., and Jenks, M. (1996) 'Achieving the Compact City through Intensification: an acceptable option?' in Jenks, M., Burton, E. and Williams, K. (eds.) *The Compact City: a sustainable urban form?* E & FN Spon, London: 83-96.

- Williams, K. (1999). Urban intensification policies in England: problems and contradictions. *Land Use Policy*, 16(3), 167 - 178.
- Williams, K., Burton E. & Jenks, M. (2000). 'Defining Sustainable Urban Form.' in Williams, K., Burton, E., and Jenks, M., *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*, E & FN Spon, London: 7- 9.
- Wood, D. (2011). Living Small in Laneway Houses In *BC Business Retrieved from* <http://www.bcbusinessonline.ca/profiles-and-spotlights/industries/homes-and-real-estate/living-small-laneway-houses>
- Woodcock, I., Dovey, K. & Wood, S. (2008). The Character of the Compact City: Intensification and resident opposition, *Urban Planning International*, 23(5), 35 – 43.
- Yan, A. (2013). *Foreign Investment In Vancouver's Real Estate Market*. BTA Works Retrieved from http://www.slideshare.net/ayan_bta/btaworks-foreign-investment-in-vancouver-real-estate

Appendices

Appendix A Sample Interview Questions

The following are sample questions that will guide the semi-structured interviews with laneway housing owners.

1. Tell me about yourself. (E.g. How long have you lived in Dunbar? What is your occupation? Do you have family?)
2. Why did you decide to build a laneway house?
3. Tell me about the permitting process. Was it difficult to get approval from the city?
4. Did you consult your neighbours before you applied?
5. Did you receive any feedback from your neighbours about your decision to build a laneway house?
6. Were they supportive or did they oppose your decision. Tell me more about the nature of their opinions.
7. If there was opposition to your new development, did you try to address their concerns?
8. Who lives in the laneway house now?
9. Have you read anything or attended any events about laneway housing in Dunbar? Please describe.
10. (If applicable) Do you think the views of the Dunbar Residents Association reflect the opinions of the community?
11. What are your plans for the future?

Blank page
No text omitted
Notice inserted by SFU Library

Appendix B

Laneway Housing Questionnaire

Letter of Invitation

Dear neighbour,

I would like to invite you to participate in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in Urban Studies at Simon Fraser University.

In 2009, the City of Vancouver passed a policy to allow single-family homeowners to build a secondary dwelling on their property. Laneway houses (also known as coach houses or granny flats) have been springing-up all over Dunbar the last few years. While some community members have publically opposed the laneway housing bylaw, there are signs that others support the new initiative. I'd like to hear your views.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at [REDACTED] or by email at [REDACTED].

I thank you in advance for sharing your views with me.

Akua Schatz

Questionnaire

The laneway housing bylaw was adopted by city council in the summer of 2009 and since that time several small homes have been built in the backyards of single family homes in Vancouver. I would like to hear from you about what you think about the changes to your community and whether or not you see a role for laneway housing in the future.

Please return the completed survey by March 31st by placing it in the pre-paid envelope. (The return address is provided on the sticky note.) You may also complete this survey online at [REDACTED]

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. **Gender** (Please \surd one response)

Male

Female

2. **Age** (Please \surd one response)

Under 18
 19 – 29
 30 – 39
 40 - 49

50 - 59
 60 - 69
 70 plus

3. **How many individuals live in your household?** (Please \surd one response)

I live alone.
 There are two of us.

Between 3 and 5.
 6 and over.

4. **What kind of housing do you live in?** (Please \surd one response)

Detached single-family home
 Duplex
 Rowhouse

Apartment
 Laneway house
 other

5. **Do you rent or own?** (Please \surd one response)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Rent	<input type="checkbox"/>	Own BUT rent out part of my home.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Own		

6. How long have you lived in the Dunbar community? (Please ✓ one response)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Less than one year	<input type="checkbox"/>	Between 11 and 20 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	Between 1 and 5 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	Over 21 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	Between 6 and 10 years		

LANEWAY HOUSING IN DUNBAR - PRESENT AND FUTURE

Please indicate your level of support or opposition to laneway housing.
(Please ✓ one response per statement)

STATEMENT	Do not know	Strongly disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
I support the laneway housing policy.					
I believe some changes to the policy are necessary to improve its application in Dunbar.					
I believe there should be a moratorium on laneway housing in Dunbar.					
No more laneway houses should be built in Dunbar and projects slated for development should be suspended.					

What do you think? PROponents of laneway housing argue that...	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Laneway houses are a great option for aging parents and adult children.					
Laneway housing creates affordable rental options for Vancouverites.					
Laneway houses pave the way for younger and more diverse community members to live in Dunbar.					

Laneway housing maintains the integrity of the single-family neighbourhood by introducing invisible density.					
Lanes are reclaimed as laneway occupants turn back alley garbage collectors into green, walkable and tranquil community spaces.					
Laneway houses are architecturally pleasant and help to beautify a neighbourhood.					
Laneway houses will help us become a more environmentally sustainable community.					
Because laneway houses can only be built to a maximum of 750sq feet, they prioritize 'small-living' and redefine the amount of space necessary to live comfortably in a single-family neighbourhood.					

What do you think?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
OPPONENTS OF LANEWAY HOUSING ARGUE THAT...					
Laneway houses negatively impact the housing prices of surrounding homes.					
Laneway houses create issues with shading in the backyards of adjacent homes.					
There will be an increased demand for street parking as a result of the laneway houses.					
There will be an excessive burden on services such as transit and the community centre as a result of laneway housing.					
Homeowners seeking to build a laneway house should be required to consult their neighbours for approval.					
The laneway houses being built in Dunbar are too big.					
Dunbar will be changed for the worse as laneway houses become rental accommodations for individuals not connected to the community.					
The new laneway houses often have windows that look directly into neighbouring homes negatively impacting privacy.					

7. COMMENTS

In order to better represent your views, please include your comments and opinions on laneway housing in your neighbourhood. They could include improvements to the policy, suggestions for better representation of community views and/or stories of your experience.
