HOUSING RESEARCH REPORT

Understanding Social Inclusion and NIMBYism in Providing Affordable Housing

Canada

CMHC SCHL

This study was conducted for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) under Part IX of the National Housing Act. The analysis, interpretations and recommendations are those of the consultant and do not necessarily reflect the views of CMHC.

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Executive Summary:

Fostering social inclusion in affordable housing projects is an important goal when helping people in greatest need. It reduces barriers that restrict the resources and opportunities for disadvantaged groups and allows greater participation in society through better access to resources and opportunities, such as employment, services or education. However, housing providers, particularly serving those in greatest need, often experience not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) syndrome when developing projects. The not-for-profit (NFP) sector is particularly vulnerable to delays and costs associated with resident opposition to proposed affordable housing as they have fewer resources than the for profit sector. In 2018, CMHC commissioned Goss Gilroy inc. to conduct research to better understand what leads to successful social inclusion in mixed-income housing projects and how NIMBYism is overcome. The project involved a literature review about social inclusion and NIMBYism in the context of social and affordable housing development. It also includes case studies and promising practices of mixed housing and other affordable housing projects from Canada and the US.

According to literature, opponents to social housing/low income projects will often develop positions/rhetorical arguments to discourage their development, including effects on the existing citizens' home value, safety, quality of life, and access to greenery. NIMBYism can lead to media campaigns, and efforts to develop/maintain "exclusionary zoning" rules.

While there are limited data on the actual effectiveness of these measures, literature does provide best practices to mitigate NIMBYism, including community involvement in planning, engagement strategies, communication strategies, and policies and legal measures supporting accessible housing. Mixed-income (and other social housing) projects contribute to social inclusion, that can be prohibited by NIMBYism. Various concerns and fears that contribute to NIMBYism, such as concerns over property values and neighbourhood safety can be alleviated by factors and strategies, including better planning, engagement, communications and regulations.

Lessons learned from the case sudies regarding NIMBYism can be grouped into the following four areas: communications and relationship building, partnerships, evidence-based approaches and project planning.

- Communications and relationship building: Early communication about the project is important for buy-in, as is continued provision of information along the way, so as to prevent or mitigate any negative feedback. Proactive relationship building should include outreach with residents and local businesses. Ensuring that management teams are available, in person, to hear residents' and businesses' concerns is important.

- Partnerships: Collaborations and partnership with service providers in instances where needed helps to ensure that the facilities were supported. Partners offer the forms of expertise needed to cover all aspects of the projects.

- Evidence-based approaches: can be used to gain acceptance for proposed programming. Project leads of mixed-income housing projects can also gather data from previous projects to show the benefits and actual impacts on their surroundings, including the limited or positive impacts on surrounding property values.

- Project planning: having a project aligned with a city's plan to combat housing issues and encourage social inclusion can legitimize its implementation.

Résumé

Favoriser l'inclusion sociale dans les ensembles de logements abordables est un objectif important lorsqu'il s'agit d'aider les personnes qui en ont le plus besoin. On réduit ainsi les obstacles pouvant limiter les ressources et les possibilités des groupes vulnérables tout en leur permettant une plus grande participation à la société grâce, entre autres, à un meilleur accès à l'emploi, aux services ou à l'éducation. Cependant, les fournisseurs de logements, et surtout ceux qui aident les personnes ayant les plus grands besoins, doivent souvent faire face au syndrome du « pas dans ma cour » lorsqu'ils aménagent des ensembles immobiliers. Le secteur sans but lucratif est particulièrement vulnérable aux retards et aux coûts associés à l'opposition des résidents à l'implantation de logements abordables. Il dispose donc de moins de ressources que le secteur à but lucratif. En 2018, la SCHL a mandaté Goss Gilroy Inc. pour mener des recherches afin de mieux comprendre ce qui mène à une inclusion sociale réussie dans les ensembles de logements à revenus mixtes et comment surmonter le syndrome du « pas dans ma cour ». Le projet comprenait une revue de la littérature sur l'inclusion sociale et le syndrome du « pas dans ma cour » dans le contexte de l'aménagement de logements sociaux et abordables. Il se fondait également sur des études de cas et les pratiques prometteuses d'ensembles de logements mixtes et autres ensembles de logements abordables au Canada et aux États-Unis.

Selon la littérature, les opposants aux ensembles de logements sociaux et de logements pour personnes à revenu modeste présenteront souvent des positions ou des arguments rhétoriques pour décourager leur aménagement, y compris les effets sur la valeur des habitations existantes, la sécurité et la qualité de vie des citoyens et l'accès aux espaces verts. Le syndrome du « pas dans ma cour » peut mener à des campagnes médiatiques et à des efforts pour élaborer ou maintenir des règles de « zonage d'exclusion ».

Bien qu'il y ait peu de données sur l'efficacité réelle de ces mesures, la littérature fournit des pratiques exemplaires pour atténuer le syndrome du « pas dans ma cour » et favoriser l'implantation d'ensembles de logements inclusifs, telles que la participation de la communauté à la planification, aux stratégies de mobilisation et de communication ainsi qu'aux politiques et aux mesures juridiques. Les ensembles de logements à revenus mixtes (et autres logements sociaux) favorisent l'inclusion sociale, mais se heurtent au syndrome du « pas dans ma cour ». Diverses préoccupations et craintes qui contribuent au syndrome du « pas dans ma cour », comme celles concernant la valeur des propriétés et la sécurité du quartier, peuvent être atténuées par des facteurs et des stratégies, notamment de meilleures pratiques en matière de planification, de mobilisation, de communications et de règlementation.

On peut regrouper en quatre domaines les leçons tirées des cas étudiés concernant le syndrome du « pas dans ma cour » : les communications et l'établissement de relations, les partenariats, les approches fondées sur des données probantes et la planification de projets.

- Communications et établissement de relations : Les communications d'information en amont du projet et de façon continue sont importantes pour l'adhésion, afin d'éviter ou d'atténuer toute réaction négative. L'établissement proactif de relations devrait comprendre des activités de liaison avec les résidents et les entreprises locales. Il est important que les membres des équipes de gestion soient disponibles, en personne, pour écouter les préoccupations des résidents et des entreprises.

- Partenariats : La collaboration et le partenariat avec les fournisseurs de services, au besoin, aident à s'assurer que les installations sont prises en charge. En offrant l'expertise nécessaire, les partenaires couvrent tous les aspects des projets.

- Approches fondées sur des données probantes : Elles peuvent être utilisées pour faire accepter les programmes proposés. Les chefs de projet d'ensembles de logements à revenus mixtes peuvent également recueillir des données sur des projets antérieurs afin de montrer leurs avantages et leurs répercussions réelles sur leur environnement, y compris les répercussions limitées ou positives sur la valeur des propriétés environnantes.

- Planification de projet : Avoir un projet aligné sur la planification municipale pour lutter contre les problèmes de logement et encourager l'inclusion sociale peut légitimer sa mise en œuvre.

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1.0 Introduction

The Not-in-My-Backyard syndrome, otherwise known as NIMBYism, is a potential challenge for implementing some of the aspects of the National Housing Strategy. The objective of this research project is to increase our understanding, in a Canadian context, of how social inclusion is achieved and how NIMBYism is overcome in mixed-income housing projects. The overarching research questions are as follows:

- What leads to successful social inclusion in mixed-income housing projects and how NIMBYism is overcome?
- What conditions, actions and attitudes, etc. result in failed inclusion and promotes NIMBYism

To answer these questions, the research project also looked at the following sub-questions:

- How do these competing concepts (social inclusion and NIMBYism) exist in mixed-income housing projects?
- How do these independent mechanisms develop and interact with each other and how do their relationships vary in more and less socially inclusive, in mixed-income housing projects?
- How can social inclusion / NIMBYism be resolved or not resolved over time?

Approach

The project involved a literature review about social inclusion and NIMBY in the context of social housing development. It also includes case studies of mixed housing and other social housing projects.

2.0 Literature Review Findings

2.1 Social Inclusion and Housing

In 2009, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology was authorized to examine current social issues pertaining to Canada's largest cities, including the issue of social inclusion and cohesion. Their report[1] and other efforts ultimately led to a number of strategies, including the National Housing Strategy. To set the tone for the review of the literature on NIMBYism and social inclusion, it is imperative to begin with a definition of social exclusion, as well as what social inclusion entails.

According to literature, concerns surrounding social exclusion were born out of a need to address the difficulties faced by disadvantaged populations, going beyond economic disenfranchisement. The literature offers multiple conceptual definitions of social inclusion. CMHC's definition, taken from the National Housing Strategy (NHS) glossary, is as follows:

> Social inclusion is the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity. It is a situation in which individuals have the resources and opportunities to be involved in society to an extent that is satisfactory to them. Working towards social inclusion means finding and using measures to reduce barriers that restrict the resources and opportunities of disadvantaged groups. Specifically, when building new housing that promotes social inclusion, the United Nations states "housing is not adequate if it is cut off from employment opportunities, health-care services, access to transit, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, or if located in polluted or dangerous areas."[2]

This definition uses the same core concepts as the definitions used by the World Bank whereby "social inclusion is the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity"[3] and the Commission of the European Communities which defines social inclusion "as having the opportunities and resources to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of wellbeing that is considered normal in the society in which we live"[4].

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[1] The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology Report of the Subcommittee on Cities. In From The Margins: A Call To Action On Poverty, Housing And Homelessness. Senate of Canada. December 2009.

[2] Government of Canada (2018); The National Housing Strategy Glossary of Common Terms. Retrieved from https://eppdscrmssa01.blob.core.windows.net/cmhcprodcontainer/files/pdf/glossary/nhs-glossary-en.pdf?sv=2018-03-28&ss=b&srt=sco&sp=r&se=2021-05-07T03:55:04Z&st=2019-05-06T19:55:04Z&spr=https,http&sig=bFocHM6noLjK8rlhy11dy%2BkQJUBX%2BCDKzkjLHfhUIU0%3D

[3] www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/social-inclusion

[4] Commission of the European Communities, 2000

Some authors support conceptual definitions of social inclusion that focus on the individual's relative position in their community, or perceptions:

- Social inclusion as the sum of a person's social roles in various groups and contexts[5].
- Inclusion is an aspect of how one perceives her access to institutions and resources in the decision-making environment[6].

Describing a socially inclusive environment or what it means to be socially included are other ways to approach a conceptual definition of social inclusion, for instance:

- A socially inclusive society is one which cultivates the skills and abilities of its citizens and communities, and works towards a goal of equal opportunity and freedom from discrimination[7].
- Being socially included means that people have the resources, opportunities and capabilities they need to learn (participate in education and training), work (participate in employment, unpaid or voluntary work including family and career responsibilities), engage (connect with people, use local services and participate in local, cultural, civic and recreational activities); and have a voice (influence decisions that affect them) [8].

Huxley et al. [9] recognize that there is currently no gold standard measure of social inclusion, nor is there agreement upon the exact definition and indicators of social inclusion. Measuring levels of social inclusion often entails looking at economic integration (e.g., employment status), access to services and various aspects of communal, and civil or social participation (e.g., political, associative, volunteering, community involvement). Importantly, attempting to assess social inclusion also relates to perceptions and the fulfilment of expectations and needs, which in included in the CMHC definition. Gingrich and Lightman[10] insist on the need to "[add] subjective measures of social supports and civil involvement to objective conditions".

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[5] Cobigo et al (2012). "Shifting our Conceptualization of Social Inclusion", *Stigma Research and Action,* Vol 2, No 2, 75–84.

[6] Oxoby, R. (2009). Understanding Social Inclusion, Social Cohesion and Social Capital, University of Calgary: Laurier Center for Economic Research and Policy Analysis.

[7] Yukon Bureau of Statistics (2010) *Dimensions of Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Yukon, 2010*, written by Rachel Westfall: https://www.homelesshub.ca/resource/dimensions-social-inclusion-and-exclusion-yukon-2010

[8] Source: Australian Government (2012) *Social Inclusion in Australia: How Australia is faring?,* 2nd edition, Australian Social Inclusion Board, http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/1/3170/1/Social%20inclusion%20in%20Australia%20how%20Australia%20is%20faring2012.pdf

[9] Huxley, Peter (2015). "Editorial: Introduction to 'Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion'", Social Inclusion, Volume 3, Issue 4, Pages 50-51.

[10] Gingrich & Lightman (2015). "The Empirical Measurement of a Theoretical Concept: Tracing Social Exclusion among Racial Minority and Migrant Groups in Canada", *Social Inclusion, Volume 3, Issue 4, Pages 98-111.*

The literature shows that there are many determinants of social inclusion or factors that are likely to influence/predict social inclusion (or exclusion). The distinction can be difficult to make between determinants and indicators, however. For instance, one can intuitively assume that having adequate, well-located and well-serviced housing contributes to social inclusion. However, housing *satisfaction* can also be impacted by one's level of social inclusion: "Households with regular social contacts with their neighbors are more likely to be satisfied with their housing situation than others residing in the same environment who have no social contacts with their neighbors"[11]. Notions like perceived quality of housing and social inclusion can thus be intertwined. This said, authors do distinguish between determinants and indicators:

> An important distinction is between 'risk factors' for social exclusion and indicators of social exclusion (or inclusion) itself. For example, having a Pakistani or Bangladeshi background, lone parenthood, and chronic ill health are all risk factors for social exclusion but are not sensibly thought of as dimensions of social exclusion itself: they are indicators neither of rights nor of participation.[12]

Determinants are given conditions that can either support or hinder inclusion. Income or financial resources are one obvious factor and the lack of resources can be a "major hindrance to social inclusion"[13]. Relatedly, adequate housing and access to infrastructures are also important determinants of social inclusion, as they impact a person's or a household's opportunities and can generate barriers to participation. Social inclusion or exclusion can also hinge on demographic characteristics, including: health and ability, gender and sexual identity, ethnicity and race immigration status, age, etc. Moreover, multiple factors are likely to intersect as determinants of inclusion or exclusion[14]. For example, to measure social exclusion in Canada, Gingrich and Lightman use the individual and household results of the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) to develop an Economic Exclusion Index, and then use their results to compare the trajectories of four groups over time: racial minority immigrants, white immigrants, racial minority Canadian-born and white Canadian-born individuals.

Efforts to foster social inclusion include addressing various forms of discrimination and facilitating individuals' participation and access to services and institutions. Social policy (including housing policy), generating adequate data and data disaggregation, and promoting inclusive institutions (e.g., empowerment structures, engagement, transparency, anti-

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[11] Till, M. (2005). Assessing The Housing Dimension of Social Inclusion in Six European Countries, *Innovation*, Vol. 18, no 2, p. 166.
[12] Huxley, P., Evans, S., Madge, S., Webber, M., Burchardt, Tania, McDaid, David and Knapp, Martin (2012) Development of a social inclusion index to capture subjective and objective life domains (phase II): psychometric development study. Health Technology Assessment, 16 (1). pp. 1-248
[13] United Nations (2016), *Leave no one behind: the imperative of inclusive development,* Executive Summary, p.2.
[14] "The measurement of SE/I must take into account intersections between individual-level characteristics and macro-level factors to uncover alternative systems of capital that interrupt the self-reinforcing dynamics of social exclusion." (Gingrich and Lightman 2015)

discrimination law, etc.) are all important strategies to combat social exclusion[15]. Housing is one of those determinants or conditions that can facilitate or hinder social inclusion. About housing, Till writes: "Housing conditions and related housing policies are an important element of a strategy for social inclusion"[16]. Unfortunately, efforts to enhance social inclusion through housing, such as social housing projects in its various forms, have been challenged by many factors, including the NIMBY syndrome.

2.2 Definitions of NIMBYism and Stakeholders Involved

In many jurisdictions, there are policies with the objective of increasing access to homes and homeownership to various social groups with known housing accessibility issues. These policies coincide with other policies and strategies that aim to prevent urban expansion (or sprawl), in Canadian provinces[17] and abroad[18]. The resulting priorities of these policies are the development of various forms of social housing *in existing neighborhoods*.

While a high proportion of citizens may support, in principle, the construction of social housing in their city, they are often less willing to support its construction in their own neighborhoods. This is known as the NIMBY syndrome. NIMBY is commonly defined "as a person who objects to the occurrence of something if it will affect him or her or take place in his or her locality" (Collins); or "Opposition by nearby residents to a proposed building project, esp. a public one, as being hazardous, unsightly, etc. or a person who opposes such a project" (Webster). Opposition to any type of new housing development has been observed in many localities – and opposition appears to be more intensive when projects are to provide social housing in particular[19]. As logic would dictate, literature confirms that opposition is greatest by citizens living closest to the proposed development site. [20] NIMBYism in the face of affordable housing is stated to be complex in that it incorporates more than one type of housing that individuals are likely to oppose. Specifically, it falls into the category of "social services" oriented housing, as well as housing that promoted

[15] United Nations (2016), *Leave no one behind: the imperative of inclusive development,* Executive summary, p.5
[16] Till, M. (2005). Assessing The Housing Dimension of Social Inclusion in Six European Countries, *Innovation*, Vol. 18, no 2, p. 159. The author proposes a theoretical framework for housing integration (or the housing dimension of social inclusion), built around three multi-criteria dimensions of affordability, quality and size of accommodation.
[17] E.g., The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe is a regional growth management policy for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH) area of southern Ontario. The plan identifies density and intensification targets.
[18] E.g., in Australia, all major Australian cities support a move towards more compact cities through dual strategies of urban containment and urban intensification (Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 324-341.)
[19] Nicholas Boys Smith, Kieran Toms. From NIMBY to YIMBY: How to win votes by building more homes. 2018.
[20] Ibid.

intensification/densification, and can often be occupied by specific populations (e.g., immigrants or refugees).[21]

According to literature[22], NIMBYism can be broken down into distinct parts: (1) an individual attitude and (2) an institutionalized action against affordable housing. NIMBYism ***at the individual level*** may reflect a motive to protect his or her individual rights and interests (e.g., housing will lead to a devaluation of "my" property", protection of green space nearby, etc.). [23] [24] It can be shaped by specific fears, such as fears of increased crime. Individual-level attitudes may also be at a higher level, such as motives to preserve the neighborhood for the common good. [25] Individual attitudes may lead to more or less organized actions, ranging from individuals engaging in personal actions (from voicing to simple exiting), to citizen groups and associations undertaking organized actions. Individuals and groups may engage in formal engagement activities, such as consultation processes.[26] Appealing to the media is also a common tactic, followed by information campaigns, internet-based opposition (forums, social media), legal challenges and individuals contacting elected officials to stop development.[27]

Research in the US suggests that high-income residents usually compose the best organized, best connected, and most forceful NIMBY groups. [28] Resistance to supportive housing (defined in this article as housing for "new immigrants and other low income residents…") also tends to be most prominent in neighborhoods that are composed of single family homes.[29] Because these individuals have legal occupancy (i.e., are homeowners), they are said to have increased clout in terms of their influence on land-use planning, in comparison to those who may be trying to access affordable or inclusive housing.[30] Proximity is also a consideration. A 2012 study shows that "risk perceptions" of affordable housing will grow the closer in proximity it moves to one's neighborhood.[31]

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[21] Davison et al., *Op. Cit.*
[22] Corianne Payton Scally. The Nuances of NIMBY: Context and Perceptions of Affordable Rental Housing Development. Urban Affairs Review 49(5) 718 –747. 2012.
[23] Eranti, V. (2017). Re-visiting NIMBY: From conflicting interests to conflicting valuations, Sociological Review 65(2). 292-293.
[24] Monkkonen and Manville (2018) explain that opposition from renters is lower than homeowners and tends to present in high-priced markets.
[25] Eranti, V. *Op. Cit.*
[26] Davison et al. *Op cit.*
[27] Ibid., Scally and Tighe.
[28] John Mangin. The New Exclusionary Zoning. Stanford Law & Policy Review Vol. 25:91. (2014)
[29] Gillard, G. (2014). Minimizing and Managing Neighbourhood Resistance to Affordable and Supportive Housing Projects. Prepared for: The Canadian Housing and Renewal Association, 5.
[30] Roher, JS., (2016). Zoning Out Discrimination: Working Towards Housing Equality in Ontario. *Journal of Law and Social Policy* 25, 27.
[31] Davison, G., Legacy, C., Liu, E., Han, H., Phibbs, P., van den Nouwelant, Darcy, M., and Piracha, A. (2013). Understanding and addressing community opposition to affordable housing development: Final Report for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, 14

According to one source from Australia, behaviors associated with NIMBY attitudes are not necessarily rigid and persistent: they can in fact soften and evolve over time. According to their study, some groups motivated by NIMBY attitudes have gone from antagonistic positions to more strategic and demographic engagement. This can happen when groups engage with other less antagonistic groups.[32]

An ***institutionalized action*** to oppose social housing may take the form of local government actions that restrict the supply of multiple housing. A study in the US suggests that NIMBY opposition is most often expressed by organized and unorganized resident groups (i.e., neighborhood associations), followed by public agencies and officials, and very few by non-profit organizations. [33] Nevertheless, literature indicates that local governments may impose "regulatory barriers" ranging from direct exclusion of multifamily development, to indirect exclusion through growth boundaries, enacting strict environmental controls, requiring low-density development and thwarting infill development, excessive fees, and delaying proposed projects through the permitting pipeline.

Formal/informal actions. Other authors distinguish formal opposition actions from informal ones, the latter being implemented when the formal actions appear to fail[34]. The formal actions are often undertaken in the context of formal planning/consultation activities organized by local governments. For example, legal challenges in support or challenging development are a formal mechanism by which a range of actors (e.g., citizens or developers) can counter NIMBYism (or, development). So is the participation in formal public hearings held by local/municipal and/or provincial bodies and submissions to government by the public. However, it should be noted that access to these formal channels are not equitable, in that minority and socio-economically challenged groups may not have access due to systemic and financial barriers.[35] Informal channels include meetings with community leaders and informal public hearings in which public engagement is at the center and for which trust building is a main purpose.[36] Informal tactics can also include those in opposition focusing on and making known any deficiencies in proposed development. Again, actors might include developers meeting with community leaders, or not-for-profits presenting to community groups about the proposed project. These are considered informal because they, for example, are not required by law or do not use formal, established channels (e.g., municipal boards, councils, etc.) The informal mechanisms are utilized to dissipate fears about projects, while demonstrating benefits of a project.

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[32] Dallas Rogers, Cameron McAuliffe, Awais Piracha and Laura Schatz. Resident Involvement in Urban Development in Sydney: The New Politics of the City. Blue Sky Report. University of Sydney. 2017
[33] Scally, C., and Tighe, J.R. (2015) Democracy in Action?: NIMBY as Impediment to Equitable Affordable Housing Siting, *Housing Studies*, 30(5), 10.
[34] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 324-341.
[35] Ibid., 339.
[36] Ibid.

Consequences of NIMBYs

An Australian study of the development of affordable housing in four communities concluded that escalation is the exception and that typically, NIMBY opposition is short lived. In this particular study, it was noted that first, NIMBYism is most concentrated at the early stages of a project and then lessens upon project completion, possibly due to impacts being "not as bad as feared" (e.g., no changes in safety, limited impact of property value) or because those in opposition no longer saw a point in proceeding with opposition.[37] However, when escalation does occur, it can most likely be attributable to many factors, including local group dynamics, the level of change involved, the planning process, media/political support, etc.[38] When concrete opposition actions are undertaken, it may result in delays, increase costs to developers and the development project, force unanticipated changes and ultimately, undermine equitable (housing) siting decisions, according to a Canadian source[39]. A survey of developers indicated that the vast majority of respondents had experienced consequences as a result of NIMBYism. Most commonly this included delays in construction. Delays can kill projects if carrying costs and approvals costs become too burdensome for the developers. In this study[40], delays were not linked to specific stages, except to say that in cases where projects went ahead, there were leasing and sales delays, due to overall project delays. Additionally, denial of approval was stated to happen either when requesting zoning changes *or* when seeking building permits. Another study indicated that for affordable housing developers specifically, delays in the planning process (namely, the planning assessment) led to more costs. Further, examples of where costs were driven up included having to relocate a project, as well as incurring legal costs if a project required/faced legal action, and loss of funding related to permitting or official approval of delays.[41] In the face of these challenges, the developers can end up losing the property or simply give up. [42] According to one Australian source[43], the not-for-profit (NFP) sector is particularly vulnerable to delays and costs associated with resident opposition to proposed social housing projects.

2.3 Rhetoric and Strategies Associated with NIMBYism

According to literature, opponents to social housing/low income projects will often develop positions/rhetorical arguments to discourage their development. As described below, positions can be of economic, social, aesthetic and environmental nature. One Australian source indicates that some arguments will be proxies to others: for example, while the economic impacts are often invoked, they are invoked to hide other reasons for opposition, including the impacts on the quality of and access to amenities in a neighborhood, such as parking space. Whether they are

[37] Ibid., Davison et al., 2.
[38] Davison et al.. *Op. Cit.*
[39] Scally, C., and Tighe, J.R. *Op. Cit.*
[40] Ibid., Davison et al., 136.
[41] Ibid., 13.
[42] John Mangin. The New Exclusionary Zoning. Stanford Law & Policy Review Vol. 25:91. (2014)
[43] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016. *Op. Cit.*

clearly communicated or not, there is still value in describing the range of arguments invoked by proponents in this paper. Opposition to housing development is argued to be rooted in a desire to "protect one's assets", in that homeowners[44] wish to preserve the amenities and intangible qualities that are part and parcel of the neighborhood in which one lives (e.g., public property such as parks/green space, local schools, crime rates).[45]

Effect on home value

A common argument invoked by opponents to social housing is the impact on the economic value of existing surrounding homes – which represents a personal investment. Those citing the effect of affordable housing on property values as a reason to oppose its development are argued to be situated in a fear that it will increase traffic, crime, noise and that these properties will not be well-maintained – all factors that may decrease the value of their own property. Further, there is concern that the builds will lead to an overall increase in the number of housing units, therefore creating a high concentration of affordable housing and by extension, a concentration of perceived problems that will create a mass depreciation in home values in the area.[46] However, studies on affordable housing (most of which are based in the U.S.) find that generally, the "presence of assisted housing sites generally does not lower single-family property values...", but in contrast larger concentrations of this housing can negatively impact values in "vulnerable neighborhoods".[47] Further, it is recognized it is possible that in some circumstances, upon learning about affordable housing development, multiple owners will sell their property at once, leading to lowered prices.[48] In so far as mixed-income housing is concerned specifically, there is limited research done on the effects of mixed income housing on surrounding properties[49], but one research brief that examined specific mixed-housing projects in the US found that the properties had no negative impacts in one instance (and one positive impact in one study), whereas in another case, it was found that replacing public housing projects that were in poor shape with mixed-income housing contributed to increased property value over the long term.[50] Evidence from Australia[51] suggests that opponents of social housing are typically wealthy, educated and homeowners seeking to defend property investments.

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[44] Monkkonen and Manville (2018) explain that opposition from renters is lower than homeowners and tends to present in high-priced markets.
[45] Monkkonen, P., and Manville, M. (2018). **Opposition to Development or Opposition to Developers? Survey Evidence from Los Angeles County on Attitudes towards New Housing, 6.**
[46] Davison et al., *Op. Cit.*
[47] Davison et al., quoting Galster et al. (2003), 24,
[48] Davison et al., quoting de Souza Briggs (1999), 24.
[49] This is according to a Research Brief produced by the Housing Research Synthesis Project (2009).
[50] Housing Research Synthesis Project (2009). Does Mixed-Income Housing Affect Surrounding Property Values? Available from: https://static.sustainability.asu.edu/docs/stardust/housing-research-synthesis/research-brief-3.pdf
[51] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 324-341.

Safety and quality of life

According to literature[52], opposition to social housing projects are often expressed in terms of negative impact on the quality of life for existing residents on the grounds of an increase in crime, traffic and/or noise, or worsening parking problems. Research shows that although the perception of potentially increased criminal activity is indeed a deterrent to accepting subsidized housing, there is little evidence to show that its development will lead to increase crime. This is particularly true of housing built in areas that do not experience "concentrated poverty" or high levels of crime.[53] According to one US study[54], while there is not always criminal behaviors associated with social housing, some residents report observing certain kinds of behavior associated with 'disorder', such as groups of idle people 'hanging out' on street corners or in front of buildings, hanging laundry in plain view on balconies, playing loud music in public, etc. These are seen as negative cues for potential investors and (higher income) renters, and can ultimately be seen as a damaging factor to the property values of those who have already invested. These concerns are often raised in both development and homeowner association meetings, as well as at a range of other public forums.

Aesthetic effects

A U.S. based study found that the appearance of proposed "transitional" housing projects was cited as a major issue in 20% of cases where such housing was objected to. This speaks to the broader subject of aesthetics. Residents oppose affordable housing and "social services" oriented housing because of the assumption that it will be "visually obtrusive" or that the property will be unkempt. [55] Generally speaking, housing development projects can also find opposition due to loss of green space. [56]

Effects on natural environment

Evidence from the US suggests that environmental reviews/assessments have been giving municipalities a rationale for growth control and become, in practice, an exclusionary tool. Environmental impact assessments have become a tactic for opponents of a development to smuggle as many potential impacts as possible, in order to expand the scope of the assessment and eventually delay or cancel development.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Davison et al., *Op. Cit..*

[54] Robert j. Chaskin and Mark l. Joseph. 'Positive' Gentrification, Social Control and the 'Right to the City' in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. Volume 37.2 March 2013 480–502

[55] Davison et al., *Op. Cit.*

[56] Nicholas Boys Smith, Kieran Toms. From NIMBY to YIMBY: How to win votes by building more homes. 2018

Regulations and restricted access to funding

Municipal zoning by-laws can lead to discrimination against specific populations. In literature, this is referred to as "people-zoning" [57] or "exclusionary zoning" [58]. One study showed how municipal by-laws in Ontario cities restrict particular forms of housing by, for example, by imposing distancing restrictions specific types of homes (e.g., group homes or rooming houses). In many situations, zones are created to restrict development projects to low-density, single family homes that also require large build lots. [59] These zoning regulations can discriminate against the specific populations that tend to inhabit rooming or group homes, which includes individuals with mental or physical disabilities.[60] These regulations can provide potential support for NIMBYism and evidence in the US indicates that "Exclusionary zoning" regulations are encouraged by homeowner associations. [61] However, it should be noted that recently, Ontario included an inclusionary zoning regulation as part of its provincial Planning Act. The regulation provides direction to those municipalities that adopt inclusionary zoning in their planning systems.[62] Municipalities are permitted to set certain parameters, such as how many units must be set aside for affordable housing, administration and monitoring procedures, and for how long an affordable housing unit "must be maintained as affordable".[63] Therefore, this offers insight into how inclusive housing can be supported (i.e., through policies/legislation).

Social housing projects may there involve zone status changes. The process involved in a zone status change is often an opportunity for NIMBY actions[64]. Some research shows that citizen participation in the planning system is more likely to be motivated by motivations of opposition rather than support[65]. If a developer seeks a zone variance, they may be faced with seeking the approval of a board that is itself composed, in part, of citizens and which may require a public hearing. Hearings can be contentious environments in the face of zoning variance[66]. A project can be contested directly by council or lead to an opportunity for contestation by community members.[67]

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[57] Scally, C., and Tighe, J.R. (2015) Democracy in Action?: NIMBY as Impediment to Equitable Affordable Housing Siting, *Housing Studies*, 30(5),7.
[58] John Mangin. The New Exclusionary Zoning. Stanford Law & Policy Review Vol. 25:91. (2014)
[59] Scally, C., and Tighe, J.R., *Op. Cit.*
[60] Roher, JS., (2016). Zoning Out Discrimination: Working Towards Housing Equality in Ontario. *Journal of Law and Social Policy* 25, 27.
[61] John Mangin. The New Exclusionary Zoning. Stanford Law & Policy Review Vol. 25:91. (2014)
[62] Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2018). Proposed regulation under the Planning Act related to inclusionary zoning. Available from: https://ero.ontario.ca/index.php/notice/013-1977
[63] Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2018). Inclusionary Zoning. Available from: http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/Page13790.aspx
[64] Ibid., Scally and Tighe, 6.
[65] Nicholas Boys Smith, Kieran Toms. From NIMBY to YIMBY: How to win votes by building more homes. 2018
[66] Ibid., Scally and Tighe, 6.
[67] Ibid., Scally and Tighe, 6.

This speaks to an issue raised by Roher, whose study of discrimination in housing practices demonstrates the ways in which NIMBYism can affect local government's decision-making processes and decisions proper.[68] Using Ontario and the city of Toronto as an example, she explains that while council must afford individuals the opportunity to voice their concerns on matters involving re-zoning, there are few grounds on which to prohibit discussions centered on *who* uses land, as opposed to discussions centered on the how the land is being used. As such, it has been demonstrated via case studies that city councilors will frame their decisions to reject a zoning decision as being a result of community members' input and these community members are in actuality pushback against the occupants themselves.[69] In short, they are not framing their arguments as a matter of problematic land use, but instead as a matter of problematic occupants. Characteristics of tenants are among the "non-economic" arguments used to protest development for specific populations. There is a so-called "hierarchy" of acceptance in terms of who is deemed worthy of affordable housing, which is linked with the perceived threat of affordable housing. That is, housing for low-income seniors or individuals with physical disabilities will be more readily accepted than housing for those with mental health issues.[70]

2.4 Best practices in Mitigating NIMBYs

Some articles and documents identify strategies and best practices to prevent, manage and overcome NIMBYism. They are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Local planning

According to Davidson et al., [71] citizen consultations during planning activities can mitigate NIMBYism. Buy-in can be sought from communities during planning activities. It is recommended that planners include communities in the development assessments, since it has been consistently demonstrated that excluded community members are less supportive and do not receive the information that may help them to accept the proposed project (i.e., may not learn of benefits to the neighborhood, as discussed in section 6.2). Further, incorporating feedback into planning (where relevant) can help to reduce the sentiment among community members that they are being consulted merely as a tick box exercise. The result is that valid concerns of those in opposition may be recognized and addressed and further, it reduces the possibility that future residents will face negative reception upon taking up residence in the area.[72] The research also pointed to higher-level approaches to help mitigate NIMBYism, including participatory mapping, in which residents in specific areas/regions are provided the opportunity to map out where they

[68] Ibid., Roher.
[69] Ibid., Roher, 46.
[70] Davison et al., 2013, 20-21.
[71] Davidson et al., *Op. Cit.*
[72] Ibid.

think specific types of land use should be allocated (e.g., land or residential).[73] Doing so helps alert developers to residents' preferences and can help them plan accordingly.

Engagement Strategies

As a response to the failures of urban planning , which are characterized by top-down processes and inequitable outcomes that penalize vulnerable communities, there has been a movement to approach planning that advocates for equitable housing that benefits marginalized communities.[74] At the core of this approach are participatory methods that seek to broaden inclusion in housing-related decision-making processes, with the end-goal of improving housing outcomes. In the planning phase, approaches can include deliberation between those that are undertaking planning and those who are affected by it. However, the research does not suggest that simply including a diversity of stakeholders in the planning process will lead to cooperation and agreement on housing plans. Rather, the suggestion is to consult beyond the community being affected, so as to incorporate the needs on a regional level, which in turn allows for communities to "shape the future of their physical and social surroundings", but also permits planners to define the public interest in a manner that is reflective of a wider range of participants.[75]

Research in Australia shows that social housing providers are increasingly implementing targeted community engagement strategies to reduce opposition to a proposed development[76]. Engagement could involve the selection of the actual site. In one case, a "Communications and Stakeholder Relations Plan" was developed by a city council and presented a description of the proposal, its objectives, milestones, key stakeholders and an action plan – which went beyond the statutory requirements. [77] Case study evidence highlights the importance of not only commitment on the part of local government, but also of transparency of the processes, and providing residents with a genuine and timely opportunity to influence decision-making in the process. [78]

One document[79] we reviewed provides in-depth explanations as to how and why citizenship engagement can enhance and increase the likelihood of success of housing development projects. According to research in the UK, most opponents to new housing would or might change their minds if they could have more of a say over design and layout. Support is also enhanced if changes were accompanied by improvements to local infrastructure, and/or if construction provided jobs to local people, and/or if local people were given priority for buying/ renting the properties,

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[73] Brown, G., and Glanz, H. (2018). Identifying potential NIMBY and YIMBY effects in general land use planning and zong. Applied Geography, 99.
[74] Scally and Tighe. *Op. Cit.*
[75] Ibid.
[76] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 324-341.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Nicholas Boys Smith, Kieran Toms. From NIMBY to YIMBY: How to win votes by building more homes. 2018

among other conditions. While the document is about the NIMBY syndrome associated with housing development *in general*, recommendations to reduce NIMBY are likely to be useful in the context of social housing in particular. They state that acceptance of projects is more likely if citizens feel that people (or people they trust) have meaningfully fed into the overall design and development process. Among other strategies, they suggest to give people confidence that local greenery will be preserved or enhanced.

Communications

According to Doberstein et al.[80], the level acceptability to housing projects depends on how the project and its purpose are understood (or "framed") by the general public. The authors quote literature showing how housing projects may be perceived positively as a public benefit – or negatively as a cost to their private lives/living conditions. Positive messaging though media campaigns may explain the need for social housing, respond to myths and misunderstandings about social housing and address the community's concerns about possible impacts. [81] Based on an experiment in a Canadian community, researchers found that messaging/framing can impact the residents' perceptions of housing projects. Specifically, framing housing density as a public benefit in key messages was found to increase the residents' willingness to accept attached housing on their street. Based on their research, residents exhibit a greater willingness to accept incremental increases in residential densification if it is framed as delivering public benefits to residents, in particular reduced traffic congestion (as commuting is lessened) and lower carbon footprint associated with more compact growth[82]. Further, advice as to how not to frame the issues includes avoiding discussions as to whether those being housed are a "good fit for the neighborhood", since such a discussion strays from the rational approach required to ensure clear and targeted messaging is disseminated and bolsters the potential for discrimination.[83]

In terms of specific tactics, developers in one study were asked to provide information about which tactics they most commonly used to overcome NIMBYism, as well as which proved to be the most effective. The results show that informal public information sessions are the most commonly used tool, followed by formal public hearings and informal meetings with community leaders.[84] However, a commonly used tactic is not necessarily the most effective tactic. Interestingly, although informal public information sessions are used with the most frequency, informal

[80] Carey Doberstein, Ross Hickey, Eric L. Nudging NIMBY: Do positive messages regarding the benefits of increased housing density influence resident stated housing development preferences? Land Use Policy 54 (2016) 276–289

[81] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E. *Op. Cit.*

[82] Carey Doberstein, Ross Hickey, Eric L. Nudging NIMBY: Do positive messages regarding the benefits of increased housing density influence resident stated housing development preferences? Land Use Policy 54 (2016) 276–289

[83] Gillard. Op. Cit.

[84] Scally and Tighe. Op. Cit.

meetings with community leaders are perceived to be the most effective. [85] From a housing agency perspective, communication is also cited as a key mechanism by which buy-in from neighbors can be sought Transparent messaging and education about housing models, as well as relying on the assistance of community leaders who have witnessed and experienced success with a particular model to spread messaging and engage community members. [86] Similar to the point raised above about public benefits, it is recommended that ideally, education and public relations campaigns be shaped so as to speak to their target audience and focus on positive aspects of the project. This can include emphasizing economic benefits (e.g., work opportunities in construction, revitalizing a building's appearance, etc.)[87] Forums for communication and engagement include extending implementing Neighbor Advisory Committees, which are said to be useful because they are a "contained forum" in which parties (e.g., local business, community organizations, and residents) can learn about a proposed project, as well as voice their concerns. It also allows those spearheading the committee (e.g., a housing association) to steer the conversation in a way that highlights successes from previous projects, etc.[88]

Yet at the same time, some[89] argue that slight changes in messaging (e.g. framing) cannot overcome widespread opposition across all groups. While framing can introduce new considerations into an individual's conceptual map of an issue, literature and their own research indicates that there are limits to framing effects, and that they often will not overcome core values or preferences among residents.[90] The authors suggest that engagement with stakeholders and the public that frames the issue of growth and densification as one that may provide public benefits and welfare in the form of reduced congestion and a lower carbon footprint from the city may introduce new beliefs within a resident's conceptual map about the (positive and negative) effects of densification[91].

Independent Committees

In Australia, some city councils have formed independent committees to assess proposals in order give legitimacy to the process and to the decision to support the redevelopment[92].

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Gillard, G. (2014). Minimizing and Managing Neighbourhood Resistance to Affordable and Supportive Housing Projects. Prepared for: The Canadian Housing and Renewal Association, 4.
[87] Davison et al. *Op. Cit.*
[88] Gillard, *Op. Cit.*
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 324-341.

Policy/Regulatory/Legal measures

At the centre of policy discussion is the overarching idea that policy initiatives require multiple levels of government (i.e., state/provincial and local/municipal) to be supportive of each other's policy and to avoid implementing policies that are in contradiction to one another.[93] Doing so reduces the questioning of policies' legitimacy and reduces the possibility that opponents will use contradictory policy to invalidate the one they are in disagreement with/to support decisions they are in favour of.[94] Likewise, planning assessment tracks, as dictated by policy, hold the possibility of further entrenching NIMBY attitudes and behaviours and as such, using the same assessment thresholds for both affordable and market housing can promote acceptance of the former. Using one set of criteria to determine whether affordable housing should be built and another to determine if, for example, market rate infill should be developed is said to only further the possibility that opposition becomes entrenched.[95]

While Roher finds that there are challenges invoking protective legislation (e.g., Human Rights Codes) to prevent discriminatory municipal zoning practices in particular, the former can potentially be used to ensure that consultation by city councils are inclusive and accommodating of Code/Charter protected groups. Further, bodies like the Ontario Human Rights Commission have provided input and made recommendations regarding zoning bylaws in Ontario's municipalities to ensure that the practice of excluding certain types of housing (i.e., rooming) did not trump an individual protected under the Human Right's Code right to housing.[96]

Specific to affordable housing, there is evidence that policy can play a role in preventing opposition to developments by ensuring that housing targeted to low income inhabitants is dispersed throughout a district. In Seattle, a "geographic dispersion policy" prevents the development of affordable housing in areas where 20% or more of available housing is already subsidized for low-income residents.[97] Montreal is an example of a city that implemented an inclusionary housing strategy, which stipulated that new, multi-unit housing projects with more than 200 units dedicates 15% of units to non-profit housing and 15% to affordable unit (private and geared to home ownership). Since then, the province of Quebec adopted a law that is similar to Ontario's and permits municipalities to require inclusionary zoning. Montreal will therefore have a by-law in place to reflect this. These projects are dispersed throughout the city and the end product is such that it avoids a concentration of low income units in specific areas, which in turn leads to less resistance to the housing projects.[98] It should be noted that part of the success is attributable to Montreal's history and culture of mixed income neighborhoods.[99] Other policy-related suggestions to mitigate perceived issues include the development of parking standards for

[93] Davison et al. *Op. Cit.*
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Roher, *Op. Cit.*
[97] Gillard, *Op. Cit.*
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

affordable housing, since a lack of parking is cited as a concern in the face of affordable housing development.[100]

Additionally, Seattle has a policy that groups applying for funding to develop housing must show that it notified all residents living within 500 feet of the proposed development that an application is being submitted. This can also serve as a safeguard for organizations or developers, who can show that they have done their due diligence in the case that residents deny having been informed about the application.[101] A review of the literature found a case that highlighted how legal measures could be invoked to prevent NIMBYism.

Conclusions and summary

To summarize, social inclusion refers to the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity. It is a situation in which individuals have the resources and opportunities to be involved in society to an extent that is satisfactory to them. Working towards social inclusion means finding and using measures to reduce barriers that restrict the resources and opportunities of disadvantaged groups. Specifically, when building new housing that promotes social inclusion, the United Nations states "housing is not adequate if it is cut off from employment opportunities, health-care services, access to transit, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, or if located in polluted or dangerous areas."

While a high proportion of citizens may support, in principle, the construction of social and affordable housing in their city, they are often less willing to support, in some cases oppose, its construction in their own neighbourhoods. This is known at as the NIMBY syndrome. Opposition appears to be more intensive when development projects are to provide social housing in particular. NIMBYism can be expressed in different ways, from individual to organized actions, as well as local regulations that pose barriers to low-income housing. There is evidence that NIMBY attitudes are not necessarily rigid and persistent: they can soften and evolve over time.

NIMBY opposition may result in delays, increase costs to developers and the development project, force unanticipated changes to the project, and ultimately undermine equitable (housing) siting decisions. There is some evidence that the not-for-profit (NFP) sector is particularly vulnerable to delays and costs as they tend to have fewer resources than the for-profit sector.

According to literature, opponents to social housing/low income projects will often develop positions/rhetorical arguments to discourage their development, including effects on the existing citizens' home value, safety, quality of life, and access to greenery. NIMBYism can lead to media campaigns, and efforts to develop/maintain "exclusionary zoning" rules.

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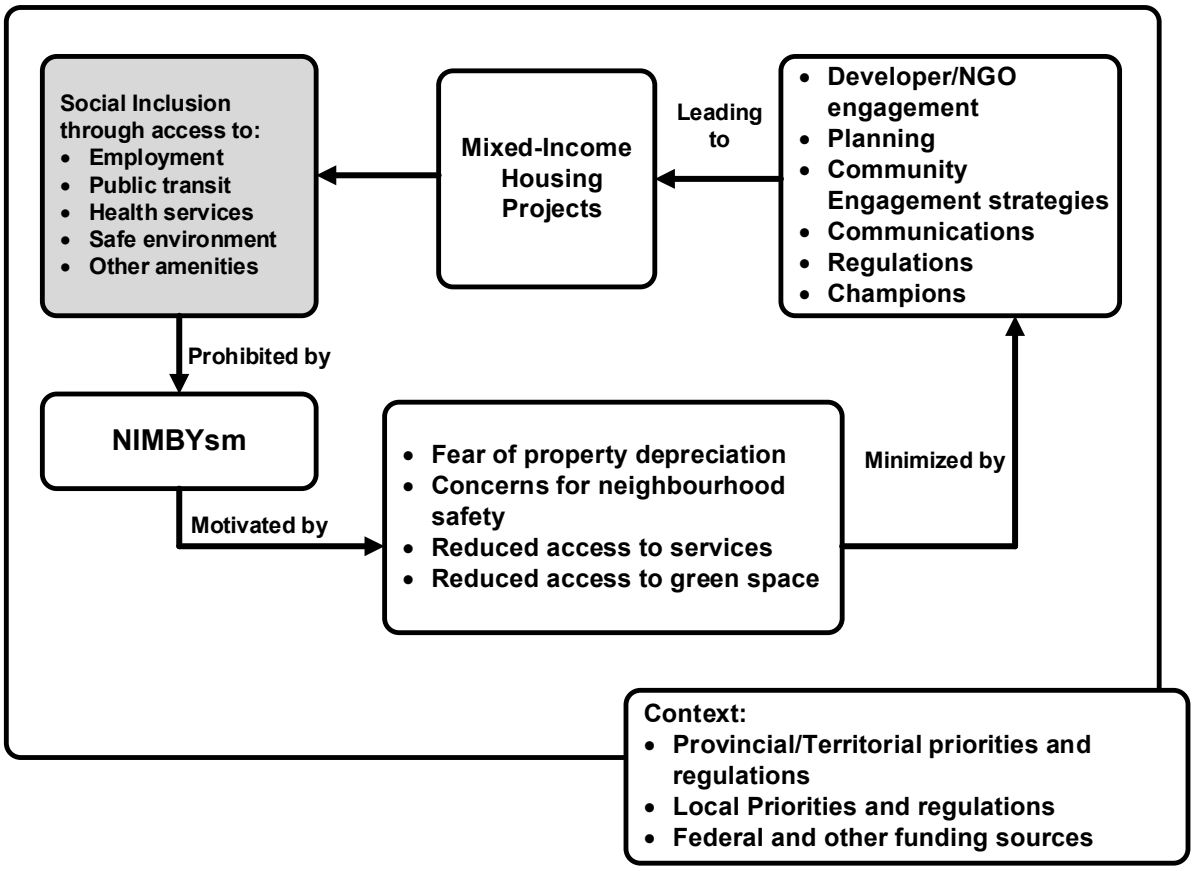
[100] Davison et al., *Op. Cit.*
[101] Gillard. *Op. Cit.*

While there are limited data on the actual effectiveness of these measures, literature does provide best practices to mitigate NIMBYism, including community involvement in planning, engagement strategies, communication strategies, and policies and legal measures supporting accessible housing. Figure 1 summarizes the above findings. As shown, mixed-income (and other social housing) projects contribute to social inclusion, that can be prohibited by NIMBYism. Various concerns and fears contributes to NIMBYism, as shown, but can be alleviated by various factors and strategies, including better planning, engagement, communications and regulations.

Figure 1: Social Inclusion and NIMBYism



3.0 Case Studies

3.1 The Oaks in Ottawa, Ontario

3.1.1 Project Background

The Oaks is located several kilometers west of downtown Ottawa, in the Carlington neighbourhood. The neighbourhood has a population of approximately 48.5K individuals[102] and is characterized by similar proportions of single-detached homes (27.5% of dwellings), high rise apartments (23%) and low rise apartments (26%). About 32% of the neighbourhoods' residents live in subsidized housing, which is double the city's average.[103] The neighbourhood faces some challenges, in that it experiences higher crime rates and socio-economic challenges when compared to the city average. For example, crimes against another person occur at a rate of 543/100,000 people in the city of Ottawa, whereas that number is 1268/100,000 in Carlington.[104] This and other forms of crime have been longstanding issue in the area. Additionally, the total population living in low income after taxes is 35.5%, whereas the city average is 11.6%.[105]

Constructed in 2009, the Oaks project is composed of two buildings (approximately 8000 and 15000 square feet respectively), with each building close in proximity to the other and situated off a main road. The buildings were previously a long term stay motel and hotel. The building is owned and operated by Shepherds of Good Hope, in partnership with Ottawa Inner City Health and the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA). Ottawa Inner City Health is the health service provider for the building and undertakes referrals, as does the CMHA.[106] Shepherds of Good Hope is an Ottawa-based not for profit organization that provides supportive housing, community-based supports, transitional shelter programs, and a social enterprise program for people requiring the aforementioned supports in the Ottawa area.[107]

Total cost for the project was $6M, with $4.9M going towards the building and land purchase and $1.1M to soft costs and renovations to the existing buildings. Funding for the building was acquired through a Federal-Provincial Affordable Housing Program grant, with subsidies provided

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[102] City of Ottawa (2016). 2016 Census: Population and Dwelling Counts. Available from: https://ottawa.ca/en/city-hall/get-know-your-city/statistics-and-economic-profile/statistics/2016-census
[103] Ottawa Neighbourhood Study (ONS) (2019). Carlington. Available from: https://www.neighbourhoodstudy.ca/carlington/
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association (ND). Innovations in Housing Stability, 2.
[107] Shepherds of Good Hope (2019). Our Programs and Services. Available from: https://www.sghottawa.com/programs-services/

via the City of Ottawa's Resident Services Homes (domiciliary hostel) subsidies.[108] The project was managed by a small, private construction firm that acted as project manager, planner and undertook the construction. Because the firm was responsible for permitting and managed the critical path of the project, the case study interviewee had limited insight into what the permitting process entailed. In terms of consideration for the organization's not-for profit status, the construction firm used value engineering to secure affordable subcontracting arrangements for parts of the projects (not specified).

There are 55 units combined (19 in the smaller of the buildings and 36 in the larger).Of the available units, 30 are reserved for clients of the Managed Alcohol Program (MAP)[109], 15 for aging at home residents (individuals 55+), and 10 units are for individuals living with mental health challenges who have complex health needs, which is a result of the partnership with the CMHA. The project was proposed to provide supportive housing to individuals with chronic alcoholism, who begin their transition to the Oaks by first participating in Shepherds of Good Hope's shelter-based MAP.[110]

Currently, Shepherds of Good Hope is responsible for the supportive housing management component of the buildings, but also works in partnership with Carefor, Ottawa Inner City Health, and CMHA, which manage various aspects of the services provided to residents. For example, Carefor provides client care workers and there is a nursing team that provides care though Inner City Health (e.g., there is an on call nurse for 16 hours a day).

3.1.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The project was announced in July of 2009 via a media release, which itself was viewed as problematic by residents and other officials because it was perceived as a "deliberate effort" to withhold information.[111] The counter to this point was that funding was only received in June 2009 and the purchase finalized in July.[112]In an effort to mitigate the issues, Shepherds of Good Hope and its partners decided to "go through the front door and not the basement window" and enlisted the help of a professor from Carleton University, who provided media training and connected project proponents to a group of Master's students to help with a door to door campaign to engage with residents (home owners, renters and business owners) to determine

[108] Ibid., Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association.
[109] The Managed Alcohol Program (MAP) is a harm reduction program that provides its participants with a "medically prescribed dosage of wine", with the aim of preventing "harms associated with binge drinking or drinking non-consumable substances", which in turn reduces a participant's visits to hospitals and their interactions with emergency service providers. From: Shepherds of Good Hope (2019). Managed Alcohol Program (MAP). Available from: https://www.sghottawa.com/managed-alcohol-program-map/
[110] Ibid.
[111] Sibley, R. (September 2, 2009). Group Home Splits Carlington: Critics vent frustration at meeting. *Ottawa Citizen*, p.
[112] Ibid.

what their primary concerns were. Additionally, a town hall (otherwise described as a "public information session") was held with community members.

The interviewee explained that in its earliest stages, there were concerns expressed by community members about the project. The concerns were what the interviewee described as "typical" and not necessarily any different than what would factor into any other project that offers supportive housing. Among the most common concerns were fears of property values decreasing, increases in crimes such as break ins, and questioning of why the project was being established in the Carlington neighbourhood. Among those initially dissenting was the ward's councillor, Maria McRae, who later supported the project. The expressed concerns are further corroborated by looking to a newspaper article that provided coverage of the town hall. As mentioned earlier, the neighbourhood has been one in which there have been socio-economic challenges and higher crime rates than many other wards and neighbourhoods in the city and attendees homed in on this as an argument to pushback against the location of the project. For example, a resident expressed that the frustration of those in opposition was "symptomatic of a larger issue, namely that Carlington was being used as a "speed bump" for the city's social problems".[113]

The town hall also served as an opportunity for agency and other officials to explain details about the project, its purpose and frame the project as encompassing facilities with security features (e.g., monitoring cameras) and serving a population that required a quiet and stable environment.[114] The interviewee observed that they believed the pivotal moment to be the (then) police chief voicing his support for the project, while also emphasizing that overall, the neighbourhood had seen a reduction in crime. Additionally, the presence of volunteers from Shepherds of Good Hope who happened to live in the neighbourhood helped with messaging by relaying their positive experiences with clients and in their work as volunteers.

Notably, after this point, the project was pursued with little documented or notable pushback from residents. The interviewee noted that pushback was never so severe as to threaten the progress of the project and when asked about whether those in opposition ever sought alternative avenue to stymie progress, the interviewee noted that it was not the case. It can be postulated that the opposition in Carlington was borne of two issues primarily. Firstly, concerns about increases in crime in a neighbourhood that experiences high levels of crime and socio-economic challenges. Secondly, the news came via a media release, without prior warning to residents. However, when determining what factors may have helped to navigate and mitigate concerns, it can be postulated that because it is a neighbourhood that has a presence of community-based organizations, which provide services to a diversity of populations and for differing needs, perhaps residents are more receptive to projects framed as providing services to populations in need. Carlington has several

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

community centres, which offer health, housing and recreational services and programming to underserved community members.

Additionally, Shepherds of Good Hope and its partners tried to navigate any pushback by seeking direct feedback from residents and meeting with them to provide information. Furthermore, an open house was held to invite community members to visit the premises when the building renovations were completed. The approach was one that was described as purposely avoiding blending into the community, which is a typical way to avoid community backlash/NIMBYism. The hope was to "bring the community" to the Oaks and avoid what is perceived to be a more common NIMBY approach, which is to blend in to the community in a covert manner in the hopes that the project go relatively unnoticed.

3.1.3 Project Outcomes

In terms of successes of the project from a social housing perspective, the Oaks has been and continues to be a success in terms of achieving its stated aims. The interviewee explained that the project is akin to a community-based retirement home and is an end point along a continuum of care for individuals with complex needs. Shepherds of Good Hope work with local hospitals and the Ottawa Police to divert individuals to its shelter where they begin to receive care, which itself is estimated by the interviewee to save the city approximately $100k in costs associated with emergency service usage. Using a proactive strategy, individuals can be transitioned to the Oaks, where they continue to receive care. As a permanent housing model, the Oaks is a different than a more transitional approach, in which clients aim to transition out and live fully independently. As the interviewee explained, in the case of this project, there is less pressure on the individual than in a more traditional transitional model.

There are currently 60 clients (a small number of clients expressed a preference to share a space with another individual and therefore there are slightly more tenants than units). The majority are MAP clients, as well as some aging at home clients and 10 CMHA residents who are described as benefitting from the 24/7 medical model. The comprehensive medical model and 24/7 staffing are among the most significant benefits of living in the building.

Residents have access to public transit and although 95% of health services are brought to residents, there is a peer support program in place to help residents take the bus to any appointments or outings, should they request it. Furthermore, residents can access a pharmacy and grocery store by foot or by transit and the area has parks within walking distance.

The Oaks is itself a community that is part of a greater community, in that the majority of the $1.1M invested in the building went to developing the common space in the larger building. According to the interviewee, the entire ground floor is a shared space for resident and is designed for program engagement. This includes a dining space, communal gathering space, recreation area, etc.

3.1.4 Lessons Learned

In terms of key factors to success, the interviewee and other material[115] list some major factors as contributing the project's success. These include:

- ***Collaborations and partnership*** with Ottawa Inner City Health and the CMHA, to ensure that the facilities were supported and healthcare provision in place. Further, partners all had various forms of expertise available to cover all aspects of the projects.
- ***Using an evidenced-based approach*** to gain acceptance for the managed alcohol concept.
- ***Proactive relationship building***, which included undertaking outreach with residents and local businesses after the approval of capital funding. Further, the town hall and other forums were held and partners' management teams were available, in person, to hear residents' and businesses' concerns.
- The promotion of a "harmonious community" by ***framing the project*** as one that builds on "the clients' own desires for a quiet, gentle, safe environment". The interviewee noted that a number of community members volunteer at the Oaks and that there have been no further challenges in the neighbourhood.

In terms of improvements to the process, the interviewee was confident that while there were challenges with receptiveness among some community members, the communications strategy and engagement, as well as support from key actors, helped gain buy-in to the process. When offering insight into what they might have done differently, it was noted that they would have explored the option of "building up" to create more facilities. The interviewee expressed that this also has advantages over new builds, cost wise.

3.1.5 Conclusion

Overall, the Oaks is an example of a socially inclusive, supportive housing project that achieved its anticipated outcomes via several channels. Namely, these include the appropriate funding mechanisms, solid partnerships, using evidenced-based approaches to garnering support for the programming on offer, and a communications strategy that helped gain buy-in from community members. The latter point is pertinent to the NIMBY component of the project. In this case, members of the community exhibited their actions at the individual level. This is evidenced by the messaging evoked by individuals, which included more commonly cited rhetoric and strategies to oppose projects.

The proponents engaged in what are generally viewed as best practices to mitigate NIMBYism, but did overlook one key facet. Specifically, they did not involve community members in local

[115] Ibid., Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association.

planning. Communications was a key component in overcoming the pushback from community members.

Although the avenue of using media was to disperse positive messaging was not undertaken by project proponents, communications avoided focusing on the whether the residents would be a "good fit for the neighbourhood", but rather on how the neighbourhood is a good fit for the residents and the ways in which this is the case (i.e., appealing to the positive benefits of a "harmonious community").

3.2 Steve Cardiff Tiny Home Community, Whitehorse, Yukon

3.2.1 Project Background

Like many other urban areas, Whitehorse can be a challenging place for those experiencing homelessness issues. Whitehorse has an affordable housing shortage as there are very few private rental apartments available. Individuals needing supports for successful housing outcomes are often left out of market rental housing and can be forced to live in temporary shelters year-round[116].

The Blood Ties Four Directions Centre is a non-for-profit organization based in Yukon. Its mission is to "eliminate barriers and create opportunities for people to have equal access to health and wellness and to live in the community with dignity". Blood Ties works to improve the lives of the homeless, those with drug use issues, a history of incarceration, and/or those living with HIV. Blood Ties works to help ensure that these individuals have access to non-judgemental health care and outcomes. As housing is a major barrier to health and wellness, Blood Ties worked on a project to provide housing for individuals with a history of homelessness.

In 2012, Blood Ties initiated a micro house pilot project called the "Steve Cardiff Tiny House". The 200 square-feet house was built on land that Blood Ties did not own. It was developed as a four-year pilot, which proved to be successful. This initial project housed individuals in transition, by "providing a safe, secure, transitional housing for one client for up to 1 year". While traditional in its construction, the tiny home is both affordable to build and affordable to operate. From 2012 to 2016, the Steve Cardiff House provided housing for five individuals.

After four years, the house was put into storage as the landowner had other construction plans for the lot. To continue with the project, Blood Ties sought for a permanent solution through the purchase of a lot that Blood Ties could own and manage. The project was also to add four more

[116] https://communityforwardfund.ca/portfolio-selection/#1525194455870-2d5305cB-2aa6

tiny houses on the same piece of land. As land is expensive in Whitehorse, the installment of five homes was necessary to ensure the financial viability of the project.

Blood Ties identified an opportunity and proceeded to acquire a 5,000 square-foot lot in an appropriate location. A loan was required as Blood Ties could finance only half of the land purchase. It was a stressful exercise as Blood Ties needed to move fast to secure ownership ("there is a lot of demand for land in Whitehorse"). The loan approval was obtained in advance and this was a key success factor: Blood Ties managed to obtain a pre-approval from a lending organization, the Community Forward Fund, that specializes in the provision of loans for non-profit organizations. Blood Ties was confident it could raise sufficient capital to initiate construction and find supports to pay off its 10 year loan. The acquisition of the lot was finalized in 2017.

The construction project was initiated by Blood Ties, who received key supports from a Developer (330 DesignBuild), an architecture firm (Kobayashi and Zedda) and a construction company (Ketza Group). Many groups contributed to the project funding[117]. Construction finished early 2019 and the ribbon-cutting ceremony occurred in January. The partnership with the architect originated from the first Steve Cardiff tiny project. Since them, Blood Ties and the architect came up with the "little village" concept, that can provide a sense of community to its inhabitants. Many volunteering hours were dedicated to the project by the architect and the construction team. The project benefitted from many savings thanks to this dedicated team, says Patricia Bacon of Blood Ties.

The first five occupants were expected to move in within the following three months. The project also includes a number of services, including case management support. The occupants will also be recipients of other Blood Ties health services. Occupants will have a case management plan, including a strategy to help those with drug problems. Blood Ties also has a "Housing Navigator" that deals with housing issues.

Source:Bloodties.ca

[117] https://Bloodties.ca/steve-cardiff-house/

3.2.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The project is located in a residential area of Whitehorse (near the centre of the city). It required a zoning amendment as the zoning status of the lot allowed up to four residences (the project includes five to be financially viable). An application was made for the zoning amendment, which proved to be a lengthy process for Blood Ties (about eight weeks). It was a stressful period as Blood Ties feared that some members of the community would submit comments and complain about the project. This could have affected the city counsellor's support to the project.

The public meetings did bring about some residents who voiced their opposition. Blood Ties was able to secure some supporting voices at the meetings. Some residents called Blood Ties to expressed fears for their children and wondered why such a project needed to be in the urban core of Whitehorse. Blood Ties explained that the health services and supports are located downtown, and the residents needed to be near these. The Downtown Resident Association sent a letter for information to Blood Ties during the zoning amendment process. Blood Ties responded in writing to present their organization and the project. Blood Ties offered to speak at their next association meeting. The association responded by saying it would remain neutral – which in fact was a positive message for Blood Ties. Opposition from the association might have triggered doubts among the councillors and the mayor.

Both the city councillor and the mayor expressed support for the project. Also, the media was positive about the project and helped communicate the rationale for the project. One key factor was that the project aligned with the city's 10 year plan on homelessness, which includes, among other actions, an action for "improving zoning by-laws to ensure timely construction of new housing options when opportunities arise"[118]. Blood Ties raised this point during the meeting. The efforts of the many partners were successful: a positive vote at the city council was secured to approve the zoning change.

3.2.3 Project Outcomes

One of the objectives was to provide housing that goes beyond the apartment model: Blood Ties wanted to provide housing that provides a sense of autonomy.

BD states that there is no one-size-fits all solution to homelessness, and that the tiny homes are a good model for people who need to have a sense of mastery and autonomy over their space. The common space of an apartment building can be threatening for some individuals, who are ready to

> "Not everybody should be in a 20-unit apartment Building, where you have shared hallways, and then you have other issues around security"
>
> – Patricia Bacon, Blood Ties.

[118] *Safe at Home: A Community-Based Action Plan to End and Prevent Homelessness in Whit*ehorse

live in their own home. The lot will be fenced for safety, and there are plans for a common area for a picnic table.

The micro size of the home also helps individuals to have better control over their social environment. The 200 square-feet format basically leaves no room for guests – including those that may encourage drug-related group activities.

The location is another positive aspect of the project. It is four blocks away from the NFP's offices. It is close to the soup kitchen where residents can access meals, as well as a food bank. The homes are close to the case workers offices, as well as other government offices.

3.2.4 Lessons Learned

From the perspective of Blood Ties, many factors contributed to make the Tiny Homes project successful:

- ***Alignment with City Homelessness Plan***: the project required a zoning amendment which could have faced barriers from some members of the community. The project team was successful in aligning the project with the City's Homelessness Plan that explicitly called for improved zoning by-laws to ensure timely construction of housing options for the homeless.
- ***Support from volunteers in the construction sector***: while the project is not entirely based on volunteering time, many unpaid hours (and creativity) were provided by construction professionals to realize the project.
- ***Support from social lending organization*****:** In the context of a buyers' market, the project required a pre-approved loan, which was not easily accessible from traditional banks. Fortunately, a loan was secured in advance from a national NGO that funds projects such as these.

3.2.5 Conclusion

Like in many other cities, Whitehorse struggles with a lack of housing infrastructure to address a chronic homelessness issue. With the help of local construction professionals, Blood Ties successfully developed five tiny homes to house individuals in transition. In addition to the expertise brought in by the various partners, Blood Ties was successful in bringing in a loan from a non-profit organization specialized in social financing. The project was also realized in part due to its strong alignment with the City of Whitehorse plan to address homelessness. While far from being as spacious than other social housing concepts, the tiny home provides many advantages, including manageable space for those who are ready for this step towards independent living.

3.3 Rita Thompson Residence Ottawa, Ontario

3.3.1 Project Background

The Rita Thompson Residence is in Ottawa, Ontario. It provides a home to individuals who have experienced chronic homelessness. The project was initiated by the John Howard Society of Ottawa. The residence houses 34 individuals in separate apartments within a single 3 storey, 23,336 square-feet building. All residents pay rent that is subsidized by the City of Ottawa.

Source: PBC

The project was initiated in 2014, with construction ending in 2015. The project was funded by various groups, including the John Howard Society that bought the property. The City of Ottawa and the CMHC also supported the project. A national construction firm (PBC) also provided a key role in the design, planning and construction phases. PBC was the project manager for the construction and helped the JHS apply for funding with the City of Ottawa. The actual site was identified by PBC, that has partnered with the JHS before on other projects. PBC managed the engineering consultants and architectural firms that handled the feasibility studies, engineering reports and design drawings. The actual construction was managed by PBC.

The dwellings are bachelor-type apartments. The residence also offers common space for its inhabitants, including a yard for outside social activities, a dining area, and leisure space in the basement, with sofas, television and pool table. There is a lounge area on the main floor, and two open kitchens, in addition to the kitchen areas within the apartments. A number of apartments also include special facilities, including walk-in Bathtubs. The initial concept was to provide housing for men with homeless issues. It was decided that the residence would benefit from a more mixed clientele, including both men and women, and individuals with mental health conditions, including addiction issues. Many have complex health needs including Hepatitis C, HIV and mobility issues. A few residents receive pensions, while others are on the Ontario Works program.

The residence is owned and is managed by the JHS. Ten (10) other Buildings are owned by the JHS in Ottawa, all with similar social housing objectives with various clienteles. The residents Benefit from a number of services on-site. In addition to the open space and other amenities, residents Benefit from the presence of two case managers, and three full-time support workers. These

professionals ensure a 24 hour presence at the residence. There is also an in-house clinic for the provision of health services: JHS partners with Ottawa Inner City Health (OICH), who provide health services on-site. OICH specializes in the health care to the homeless and street communities. The Royal Ottawa Mental Health Centre is also a partner and ensures mental health services when required.

3.3.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The Rita Thompson Residence is located in a residential area of Ottawa, in the Vanier sector, between (and fairly close) to other single homes. As such, it could have been affected by NIMBY reactions by local residents. Fortunately, JHS faced more support than opposition from local residents and groups. But this has more to do with JHS efforts than just good fortune: the management of the project, both before and after construction has allowed JHS to Build and operate the residence with success.

The partnership with PBC was a key success factor for this project. PBC and the JHS have partnered together on many similar projects over the last 16 years. As mentioned by the JHS respondent we interviewed, PBC does this "to give back to society". One of the key factors of this success is that PBC is highly aware of the construction market, the zoning amendment processes and the construction aspects of these projects. The knowledge of the market allows PBC to keep an eye open for opportunities for the JHS, that is, potential sites for social housing projects. One of the secrets of their success is not only to search for sites with the right physical characteristics and location, but also locations where no zoning amendments would be required. As experienced developers, PBC is very well aware that the acquisition processes are much simplified when no (or minor) zoning amendments are required. In the case of the Rita Thompson Residence, only a minor amendment was required, that is, extra space for staff parking. To obtain this amendment, JHS went to the Ottawa Committee of Adjustments, and made the case that parking was necessary to retain staff. PBC also provided value by minimizing the costs of construction: as a major developer, PBC could benefit from Bulk purchasing for components such as heating components.

At the zoning amendment stage, there was a potential for negative public reactions to the project. To obtain the minor amendment, there was a public notice, and a public meeting was held. There were questions asked by some community members, But the JHS/PBC team were well prepared to respond to their questions and concerns. The JHS also benefitted from the support of the local city councillor – another success factor. The JHS/PBC team had met with the councillor early on, and met many times afterwards to get the project approved. The councillor provided his full support, and visited the residence under construction. JHS also met with the local residents' association to present the project. Despite the fact that the sector has actually been gradually gentrifying these last few years (it is not far from the downtown core), many stakeholders supported the project given the homelessness issue affecting the community.

Some residents were still concerned about the project, saying that it is not busy street, and that that the project would change the quiet environment the residents have been enjoying there.

Some also said that the project would look out of place, that is would increase density and street traffic (including ambulances). Some residents were also worried about the negative impact on their home value. JHS and PBC responded to these concerns using various examples. The project team was also sensitive to specific architectural requests from the neighbours, including trees and façade, which they met even though they were not obliged to.

Prevention of Post-Construction NIMBYism. The fact that the zoning amendment was minor facilitated the project at the Beginning. However, JHS also put in place measures to prevent NIMBYsm after the residence opened its doors. JHS puts efforts to keep a positive relationship with the local neighbours of the residence. The landlord is very responsive to comments, and the official message to the neighbours is that JHS is there for them. JHS applies the transparency principles in its communications, and intervenes swiftly if any issues arise with residents. The fact that the building has many in-house services, including case workers, helps prevent problems and escalations. JHS also keeps track of any events that would be recorded at the Ottawa Police – this was a new approach in Ottawa. Neighbours appreciate the fact that there is a case worker presence 24h a day, 7 days a week. It should also be mentioned that the residents who were there previously (in the previous Building, that was torned down) were not necessarily appreciated by the local residents, as it housed renters who were noisy – without much response from the landlord to their complaints. In comparison, many residents feel that JHS is very responsive.

For the JHS, the ongoing management and prevention of any NIMBY behaviours is highly important as it may affect other projects. JHS is constantly on the look-out for other social housing projects, and it is very well aware that if JHS carried a negative reputation, it would make things more difficult for future projects. In fact, a highly positive experience allows them to show how social housing can be successful and well integrated within the community, when working to get other projects approved. The JHS works very hard to stay away from the media lines. Negative press would chase away partners and prevent future projects from happening.

3.3.3 Project Outcomes

The project had multiple direct outcomes for its residents. Most of these residents had lived chronic homelessness issues – the residence allows them to enjoy a stable home that is safe and affordable. Many were homeless for more than a decade before finding a place at the residence. According to JHS, many would not have found another housing solution. For many, this was a significant change in their lives. The residence is located in a very accessible area – there are multiple bus routes nearby and some residents appreciate this as they bus to work. There are many services nearby: a pharmacy within 2Blocks, a supermarket a few meters away, and a park near the Rideau River nearby. The local hospital is also within a few kilometers. The residence is also only a few kilometers away from the Vanier Community Resource Center, that provides counseling services, legal services, and food Bank services. The JHS society also provides counselling and employment services in that sector of the city.

The residence also provided employment for two residents, through the service providers. The residence was also designed to instill a sense of community, a shared experience, with the extensive open space and services. The design of the building helps prevent social isolation.

Another success factor is associated with food security. For the first few years, the JHS did not have access to a pay-direct arrangement with the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP). While JHS was able to obtain funds directly to pay for the rent (rent subsidies), it took a few years to obtain pay-direct arrangements that allows the JHS to provide food services directly to the tenants. About half of the tenants benefit from the service. Other local NGOs are also involved in providing food supplies to the residents. According to the JHS, when rent and food are managed by the residence, it contributes to prevent crime-related issues with its residents.

3.3.4 Lessons Learned

JHS is very proud of what it managed to accomplish with its partners. With the assistance of the multiple partners involved, a residence was successfully built to provide not only a place to live for individuals with previous homelessness issues, but also a comfortable place with a "homey" feel to it. A number of lessons were learned:

- ***Working with specialized partners*** allowed the JHS to successfully design obtain approval and Build a home for many at-risk individuals. A partner that is part of the construction sector, who is knowledgeable about the market and the necessary city approvals, is a major success factor.
- ***Obtaining pay-direct arrangements with governments*** and partnering with ***specialized partners*** providing health and other services are also major success factors. These partners ensure the health and safety of the residents, and help prevent misbehaviours within and outside the building.
- ***NIMBYsm can happen before and after a social housing is built***. Although NIMBYsm is not a major threat after the project has been completed, it can be a major threat to future social housing endeavors, if it leads to negative views from the media. Future project partners would be difficult to find if NIMBYsm Behaviours perpetuated after project implementation. With its partners, JHS conducts an ongoing effort to maintain a peaceful environment and positive relationships with members of the nearby community.
- Although project partners were experienced in this type of projects, they realized that investing in more robust, commercial grade materials would reduce maintenance costs in the longer-term.

3.3.5 Conclusion

The Rita Thompson Residence is a prime example of how a social housing project can be successful in fostering social inclusion with individuals who have had a long history of homelessness. By partnering with experts who willingly provide real estate market information,

advice and expertise, JHS is capable of finding opportunities and removing barriers to social housing projects that are at walking distance from most essential services. Because of the long-term vision that is instilled in every project: in addition to good design, the projects benefit from careful management and monitoring activities that prevent NIMBYsm before and after construction, which can be an immediate threat to new and future projects.

3.4 Olivia Skye in Vancouver, British Columbia

3.4.1 Project Background

Olivia Skye was completed in 2018 and is in the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood of Vancouver. The Downtown Eastside is a diverse community that has experienced significant challenges. The area experiences a high rate of homelessness, including increases over time (e.g., 1600 individuals were homeless in 2013 and 1847 individuals in 2016).[119] As of 2014, 36% percent of families that filed taxes reported receiving income assistance[120] and the median household income is $13,691, whereas that figure is $47,299 for the remainder of the city.[121] There is a shortage of affordable housing in the area, which itself is compounded by the recent loss of low income units. Many units in the neighbourhood are privately owned single room occupancy (SRO) rooms (located in rooming houses or hotels) and these have decreased in availability over time. For example, the percentage of SROs renting at or below the shelter rated decreased from 24% to 17% between 2013 and 2015.[122] In 2017, the area lost approximately 400 such housing units due to city closure or redevelopment. [123]

Olivia Skye is a high rise building, comprised of 198 units. The building is a partnership between the Atira Development Society, the City of Vancouver, B.C. Housing (which purchased 54 units), CMHC and the federal government's Homelessness Partnering Strategy. The property is owned by the Development Society and managed by Atira Property Management Inc.. The Development Society and Atira Property Management Inc. operate under the Atira Women's Resource Society, a not-for-profit organization that focuses on gender-based violence and provides programming and services to vulnerable women, including housing services. The purchase process was initiated in 2009, with Atira securing the land purchase for $4.7M and another mortgage secured through the City of Vancouver, which also provided $1.2M in grants and delayed development costs and charges. Bridge loans were also required since some grants did not come in until after the building was completed. Construction and development were undertaken by the Cressey Development Group, a private enterprise that specializes in condominium builds.

There are both one bedroom units and studios. The building is mixed income . 52 units are rented at the maximum shelter allowance rates (currently $375 per month) and are reserved for women or couples where a woman signs the lease. 78 are rented at low end of market rates and 68 units

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[119] City of Vancouver (2017). Three-Year Progress Update of the Downtown Eastside Plan, 6. Available from: https://council.vancouver.ca/20170411/documents/rr2.pdf
[120] Ibid.
[121] Pathways to Education (2018). Pathways Vancouver. Available from: https://www.pathwaystoeducation.ca/pathways-vancouver
[122] Ibid., City of Vancouver, 13.
[123] Carnegie Community Action Project (2017). 2017 Hotel Survey and Housing Report, 16.

are for those that earn $49K or less, at housing income limits. While many tenants access support services, the building itself is geared towards independent living.

3.4.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The project required undertaking a rezoning process to add extra height (2 extra floors) and density beyond the building bylaws. Because the neighbourhood is one in which there is a dearth of affordable housing and there is support from city council to develop the area with a view to creating the latter, the project faced limited pushback overall. Atira's experience in housing development was useful in mitigating issues, particularly due to the steps that were undertaken to pre-emptively manage challenges.

Two challenges were addressed during the course of the development process. Firstly, there were requests made by community-based organizations that 100% of the units be at the welfare rate of 375$. The most vocal group, the Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP), engaged in negotiations with Atira and agreed to 52 units. Secondly, there were complaints regarding the location of the building from occupants of a stratum of buildings close in proximity. Namely, there were complaints that Olivia Skye would block occupants' views. Ultimately, Olivia Skye gained support from the council. The key informant explained that Atira's longstanding history in the community and experience with housing development is what allowed them to "get ahead" of any issues and partake in the necessary steps to gain buy in for the project.

Among the activities that the Atira initiated and undertook were:

- Holding an urban design panel, to get feedback on the design from community members.
- Participation in the public hearing where council voted on rezoning.
- Open houses to showcase the commitment to the community, including recognizing and respecting that it is a low income community. For example, the first floor of the building has commercial space which was slated for an affordable grocery store.
- Also held open houses for the community at the end of the project , so as to encourage them to see the outcomes of the project and encourage their applications for housing.

3.4.3 Project Outcomes

Olivia Skye began accepting tenants in March 2018 and while housing was made available to residents across the city, Atira aimed to offer the housing income limit rentals to those that work in the area.[124] While the building is located in an area that has notable socio-economic challenges, Atira was transparent about the location and neighbourhood and faced no issues beyond a larger

[124] The Georgia Straight (March 7, 2018). Mixed-income building begins moving some 200 tenants onto the East Hastings unit block. Available from: https://www.straight.com/news/1041306/mixed-income-building-begins-moving-some-200-tenants-east-hastings-unit-block

than anticipated response from prospective tenants, which led to a delay in move-in dates as Atira was required to sort a significant number of applications.[125]

Building residents are well-located and within proximity to transit (East Hastings is a major transit artery), within walking distance to health services, and to a pharmacy. There are primary and secondary schools accessible by transit or on foot. The area has seen a small decrease (1.5.%)[126] in local businesses and the case study's key informant interview explained that the area is lacking in grocery stores (hence the desire to integrate one into Olivia Skye). Further, BC Housing, Vancity Community Foundation, and the City of Vancouver established the not-for-profit Community Impact Real Estate Society (CIRES), which leases commercial spaces to meet low-income needs.[127] Proximity to services is important, especially given that the tenants of Olivia Skye are not receiving supportive housing services on site. The building does have a number amenities available for tenant use, including access to a concierge onsite, common spaces, meeting rooms, and a community kitchen. Additionally, there are full-time community animators that are present on site to offer activities to tenants. Olivia Skye has been characterized as a successful model that is innovative in its approach because, in part, it relies on market and rent geared to income units to subsidize support service staffing costs that tenants of the building may access (though again, Olivia Skye does not offer onsite, integrated services).[128] As such, additional government funding is not required to cover staffing costs. [129]

3.4.4 Lessons Learned

Project successes are attributed to the several factors, including:

- Building relationships with the community, including trust building and having a presence as a service provider.
- Engaging the community and potential tenants via open houses, including mindfulness that the downtown Eastside is a low income community
- Public and private partnership allowed for leveraging of resources to support multiple areas of the project.
- Relationship building with the local developer, which has its own construction company and donated its construction management fee (this saved Atira approximately $800K)

The key informant expressed that generally, there was little to be improved with the process, beyond rezoning being a lengthy process (which is generally out of anyone's control).

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., City of Vancouver, 11.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Streetohome (2018). Olivia Skye. Available from: http://www.streetohome.org/project/olivia-skye/
[129] Ibid.

Fundamentally, provincial, municipal and community support, as well as support from the private sector, were integral to the process being a success.

4.0 Conclusion

Olivia Skye is a unique mixed income property that demonstrates positive outcomes for a neighbourhood that has experienced notable socio-economic challenges. The area has undergone redevelopment in recent years. As of January 2018, there were 23 housing projects underway, of which 11 were offering social housing at above or at the welfare rate.[130] Further, a community action plan was implemented by the City of Vancouver in 2014 and had as its vision the establishment of "mixed income communities with a range of affordable housing options (including social housing) for all residents…"[131] As such, Olivia Skye is well-aligned with the vision for the neighbourhood and its inclusivity (of tenants from different income brackets) is reflective of the needs of the neighbourhood. The project highlights the potential challenges that pose with regards to NIMBYism in a developing neighbourhood. In this case, newer occupants were concerned about the building obstructing views, whereas advocacy groups were concerned about the availability of units for those who are among the lowest income earners. However, support from the City, a diverse group of players in the project's partnership, and a longer standing presence in the area contributed project success.

[130] Ibid., CCAP, 23.
[131] Ibid., City of Vancouver, 1.

3.5 Father O'Leary Seniors Complex, Saint John, New Brunswick

3.5.1 Project Background

Father Eugene O'Leary Seniors Complex is located in Saint John, New Brunswick. In New Brunswick, the percentage of the population that is 65+ is slightly higher than the national average (approximately 20% as compared to the national average of 16%, as based on the 2016 Statistics Canada Census). According to longer term projections, by 2038, 24% of the Canadian population will be "seniors", whereas the percentage will be 31% in New Brunswick.[132] Residents of New Brunswick have the lowest median outcome of Canada's provinces and territories and the second highest prevalence of individuals/families classified as living in low income. (about 20% for individuals 65+).[133] Further, individuals aged 65-74 have a media income of $25, 066 and those 75+ have a median income of $22, 163. [134]The median for the province is $59, 347 and nationally, the number is $70,336.[135] The cost of living has increased by 43.8% in the province over the last twenty years as well.[136] Father Eugene O'Leary Seniors Complex (referred to as "Father O'Leary" from this point forward) came to fruition in view of the challenges faced by an aging population in New Brunswick.

Father O'Leary is a low-rise building with 46 units, situated in the eastern section of Saint John, along a main road. Construction was completed in 2013 and tenants moved in in 2014. The project was initiated by the Knights of Columbus, a faith-based charitable organization and it is owned by Columbian Charities, a property company started by the chapter of the Saint John Knights of Columbus. 23 of the building's units are market rate units and 23 are allocated for social housing and to single individuals and women who have lost a spouse (median income across the population of New Brunswick is approximately $12,000 less for women than men).[137] Affordable units are rented at 30% of an individual's income. Because of the presence of market rate and social housing units, the property is managed jointly by Columbian Charities and Housing Alternatives, a not-for-profit that provides housing development and management services to housing cooperatives and non-profit housing organizations.[138] The key informant stressed the importance and value of Housing Alternatives' presence as they are a well-known, trustworthy and reputable organization that works closely with New Brunswick's Department of Social Development.

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[132] Province of New Brunswick (2017). We are all in this together: An aging strategy for New Brunswick, 5.
[133] Province of New Brunswick (2018). New Brunswick Analysis 2016 Census Topic: Income, 15-16.
[134] Ibid., 11.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., Province of New Brunswick, We are all in this together.
[137] Ibid., Province of New Brunswick, New Brunswick Analysis, 12.
[138] Housing Alternatives Inc. (ND). About Housing Alternatives Inc. Available from: http://housingalternatives.ca/about

The process took approximately four years from start to completion. The building was financed in part by the Knights of Columbus Saint John, with funds raised through their charitable activities and the remainder via contributions from CMHC ($920K)and Social Development New Brunswick (which also provides $2M in rent supplements). A mortgage was secured via a private mortgage lender (First National). The Knights of Columbus attributed part of their success in securing a loan as stemming from the fact the building contained affordable and market rate units. The latter were also going to be leased for on a ten year basis, which the key informant noted provided some reassurance to lenders. A private construction firm developed the project, for a total cost of $6-7M. Total costs for the entire project (including architect fees, permitting, furnishing, etc.) was approximately $8-8.5M.

3.5.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The key informant explained that the project was initially relatively well-received, at least in part because of the population that was being targeted through the project. Additionally, the Knights of Columbus are a well-known entity in the community and hold a number of charitable events and activities throughout the year. The key informant estimated that about 70% of the surrounding community was receptive to the project, with the remainder pushing back for two reasons. Firstly, there was concern about the fact that the complex included affordable housing. Secondly, the development was going to result in changes for the surrounding residential area's traffic flow. The former was easily managed, whereas the pushback regarding the latter was described as more challenging to deal with. Individuals that reside in the area immediately surrounding the complex were going to see their cul de sac opened up to create connectivity to a major road. Connectivity was in fact required by the city, so as to allow for access for emergency and other other vehicles. It was also supported by the Knights of Columbus because in addition to the former, it would make access to bus stops and surrounding areas easier for tenants.

Residents in the area formed a committee and relied heavily on social media to target the proposed changes to the areas. Participants framed their messaging so as to pushback against the change to the street and did not vocalize any issues with the complex itself. They started a petition and contacted both Knights of Columbus and city council to voice their concerns.

In the earliest stages of the project, the Knights of Columbus made use of their presence in the city to organize informal community gatherings and invite community members to learn about the project. The purpose was twofold. Firstly, this was to ensure that the community had information about the development itself (e.g., the key informant explained that they were transparent about the mixed income nature of the building from its inception) and to gain interest from prospective tenants. The initial concerns concerning affordable housing dissipated. But the Knights of Columbus continued their efforts during the period of pushback from residents as well, but also increased activities to meet with and communicate to the community. This included visiting local churches and community centers, as well as using social media to advertise (e.g., display floorplans) and provide information about the building. However, resistance remained from the residents in the immediate vicinity of the complex. Fundamentally, the issue was a city-based one

because it was the city requiring the change to be made. The key informant explained that as such, they attempted to further deal with the issue by developing a strategy, including a communications strategy that centered on bringing the key players and decision-makers to the table to meet with residents and answer questions. The key informant explained that Knights of Columbus did not want to appear unconcerned or leave it entirely in the hands of the city (although it was ultimately up to the city to manage the issue), at the risk of creating discord in the neighborhood or causing animosity towards tenants once they moved in. A meeting was convened with residents, city managers, surveyors, and the developers. The meeting was beneficial in that it demonstrated goodwill, although ultimately, the plans moved ahead via the city's decision-makers.

3.5.3 Project Outcomes

Residents began moving in in 2014, after several delays that were primarily attributable to delays at the city-level due to the need to undergo a zoning change. The key informant explained that compared to their experiences in other cities, it was particularly challenging in this case due to delays on the city's part. However, the city has since undertaken steps to rectify the challenges it has been facing regarding permitting more broadly. Pushback from the neighboring community was concerning but did not ultimately lead to delays or prove detrimental to the development. The key informant emphasized the importance of having a sizeable contingency fund. In their case there were unanticipated adjustments that needed to be addressed with the architect. They also had issues with the heating system they installed and it cost $15K to fix it.

Initially, the Knights of Columbus received the contact information for interested tenants and after four information sessions, they had accrued a list of 400 names for the market rate apartments. The affordable apartment component was managed by Social Development and Housing Alternatives. Closer to the date of opening, the list was close to 90-100 names for the market rate units and currently there is waitlist of 50-60 people.

Tenants reside in a building where affordable and market rate units are located side by side, so as to minimize any sense of preferential treatment. All units have private decks as well. Property managers are accessible to tenants on an "as needed basis" and Housing Alternatives also sends a staff member twice a week so that tenants can visit and explain any issues. The key informant noted that there are some features within the apartments that distinguish the affordable units from the market rates ones. For example, market rate units come with steel stain appliances and a gas stove, whereas affordable units are equipped with "basic models" of appliances. This is in fact a regulation set forth by Social Development. Likewise, affordable units cannot exceed 500 square feet. There is a community room accessible to tenants, as well as onsite laundry.

Tenants have access to onsite parking (with 8 accessible spots) and are close to public transit (bus). After the project was completed, the bus was rerouted to include a stop closer to the complex and a crosswalk with flashing lights were installed for increased safety precautions. Although the building is geared towards independent living, a pharmacist visits the complex and

other health services are accessible by bus. Otherwise, service provision is at the discretion of tenants. For example, some have caregivers that visit daily. Further, although not located close to a public park, the complex itself is situated on a green space and there are gardens on ground. A community garden is also supported by a local not for profit and helps tenants grow fruits and vegetables. Community barbecues and events are also held on the grounds with some regularity. Tenants have social hours and games nights as well. Overall, the complex aims to maintain the social and physical well-being of tenants.

3.5.4 Lessons Learned

The project's success is attributable to specific factors and the key informant also stated that lessons were learned, which will be applied to future projects.

- ***The mixed market rate and affordable housing dynamic was more palatable to potential lenders*** and the market rate, plus the rent supplements offered by Social Development allows for the complex to maintain its financial health
- ***Early communication about the project*** was viewed as important for buy-in, as was continued provision of information along the way, so as to prevent or mitigate any negative feedback (e.g., about construction, etc.)
- While ultimately a "city issue", the key informant stressed the importance of ***being present and demonstrating that they wished to find a solution*** to the discontent expressed by residents concerned about the changes to their neighbourhood.
- A key to success was creating a building that ***fostered relationships among tenants*** (e.g., community space, the garden, the mix of affordable and market rent units), which in turn has created positive sentiments around the project from tenants, which can be leveraged for future projects as well.

3.5.5 Conclusions

Father O'Leary addresses a pressing need for affordable housing in New Brunswick, for which there are an estimated 5500 households on a waitlist.[139] The Saint John experience highlights that firstly, while there is research linking degrees of buy-in to the population being served by affordable housing (e.g. seniors might be viewed as a more "acceptable group as compared to others), it does not mean resistance will not arise. The complex came to a fruition in a period where Saint John was experiencing an increase in mixed income development, encouraged by a since defunct federal-provincial program.[140] This could ostensibly lead to pushback (e.g., if

[139] Homeless Hub (2018). Community Profiles: Saint John. Available from: https://www.homelesshub.ca/community-profile/saint-john
[140] CBC News (2013). Saint John sees boom in mixed income housing construction. Available from: https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/saint-john-sees-boom-in-mixed-income-housing-construction-1.1958467

residents perceive it to be an overdevelopment of housing and/or affordable housing specifically). Additionally, the case demonstrates another consideration when seeking to understand NIMBYism. Namely, that includes the fact that in instances where pushback is directed at something over which project proponents have little decision-making power, proponents can still play an important and valuable role in mitigating that, if to at least ensure that there is no residual animosity after project completion.

3.6 Experiences from Abroad: Full Circle Communities

3.6.1 Background

Full Circle Communities (FCC) is a non-profit organisation based in the US. Its mission is to "expand access to quality affordable housing through preservation and development, thoughtful design, and the provision of significant and targeted supportive services to our residents and the surrounding communities."[141] It was founded in 1999. Today, FCC owns more than 800 units in three states, with another 250 approved or under construction. This case study focusses on a the Jefferson Park project, that is still in gestation.

FCC began working on a project in 2016 in Portage Park. The initial project was to build a 40 units project in a low density area that lacks affordable housing. The alderman of that sector took interest in the project, and suggested that the project also target veterans. This was added to the project. Unfortunately, there was a strong NIMBY reaction to this first project and FCC was forced to cancel. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Source: Full Circle Communities

After the first project was cancelled, an alderman from another ward contacted FCC to see if the organization would consider a project in his area (Jefferson Park). The alderman expressed interest for a project in a low density unoccupied site. There were development plans for the area, for both housing and commercial infrastructure, and the alderman wanted to ensure that affordable housing was part of the development. A high-end housing development was already in the works in the same area. The city had an interest in developing the area to increase density. FCC expressed concerns – there

[141] http://www.fccommunities.org/our-mission/

was history of NIMBY in the sector – but the alderman assured his support, and that his support would carry significant weight in the zoning decision-making processes. The project involved zoning amendments and associated consultations.

The Jefferson Park project initially planned for 100 units targeted to veterans and persons with disabilities, including 20 market rate units and 80 low cost units. This project also encountered resistance, and the project was scaled back to 75 units, including 60 affordable units for households earning up to 60 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI). The project is awaiting funding from the State.

3.6.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

Both projects encountered resistance from some community members and groups. For the first project, although FCC had partnered with a service-providing organization and had received support from the alderman, a community meeting basically led FCC to cancel the project. The alderman required a public meeting to present the project, and groups were mobilized to support it during the meeting, including parents and service providers. Unfortunately, few members of these supporting groups showed up or spoke openly in support. On the other hand, many community members attended the presentation and showed strong opposition to the project, saying that it would destroy the character of the neighborhood. "It was a train wreck", according to an FCC representative. As a result, the alderman revoked his support.

The project in Jefferson Park, while ongoing, is more promising but also faced community resistance. Zoning amendments were required. Although community meetings were not a requirement, FCC conducted community meetings, which were difficult as many groups provided negative views. Those opposed said that the affordable homes would increase crime and drive down property values. The projects gave rise to a neighborhood group called Northwest Side Unite that was opposed to the project. On the other hand, another new neighborhood group, called Neighbors for Affordable Housing in Jefferson Park, emerged to support the proposal[142]. Other organizations also brought support, including veteran associations and service providers. More meetings were organized and changes to the proposal were made, including a reduction of number of units. FCC was finally successful in obtaining the zoning changes. They are now waiting for state funding to come through.

Other FCC projects in other areas have also encountered resistance from some community members. In all cases, FCC asked for local organizations to express their support, including NGOs, schools, etc. Institutions such as schools support these projects as they providing housing for their staff and constituents. Other organizations, such as veteran organizations, will bring in credible voices expressing the need for low-income housing, and why it is good for the

[142] Alex Nitkin, "Jefferson Park mixed-income apartments pass key city hurdle". Chicago Real Estate News. September 2918. https://therealdeal.com/chicago/2018/09/13/jefferson-park-mixed-income-apartments-pass-city-hurdle-despite-uncertain-funding-path/

community. According to FCC, typical arguments from opposing parties will include negative impacts on the character of the community, impacts on school crowding, impacts on parking availability, increased traffic and impacts on property values.

For completed projects, FCC actually monitors data on the evolution of property values after project implementation. Data generally shows that the property values actually continued to increase. According to FCC, the data allows FCC to respond to post-project NIMBYsm. Data is also used in presentations made by FCC for other projects, to show that social housing does not necessarily lead to lower property values.

3.6.3 Project Impacts

As the project is ongoing, it is too soon to gather any data on the impacts of the project. The parameters of the project are believed to be conducive to social inclusion, with some units that will be accessible for those with mobility disabilities. The complex will also be located near a public transportation hub (rail and bus) and major employment centers.

3.6.4 Lessons Learned

FCC's projects in the US provide a number of lessons learned that are likely to apply to other jurisdictions, including the following:

- NIMBYsm can mobilize citizens and community groups that oppose mixed-income projects. However, projects can also mobilize – in some cases create – organizations and alliances of local groups that see many advantages to mixed-income housing in their communities, including employers that seek to ensure affordable housing for their own staff.
- Opposition to mixed-income projects often raise a mix of arguments against projects. In addition to gathering support from local groups, project leads of mixed-income projects can also gather data from previous projects to show the benefits and actual impacts on their surroundings, including the limited or positive impacts on surrounding property values. This data can limit post-NIMBYsm, and present fact-based arguments during meetings of projects at the zoning amendment stage.
- Flexibility can be a key factor. In the case of Jefferson Park, changing the parameters of the project in terms of size facilitated the approvals from local authorities.

3.6.5 Conclusion

While the US context can be different from the Canadian context, this case study suggests that many lessons can be learned from successful American mixed-income developers. The case study shows that careful preparation of community meetings, patience and data gathering of post-project impacts can make a difference in getting approvals and successfully implementing a mixed-income project.

3.7 Mixed-Housing Project in Cité Angus, Montreal QC

3.7.1 Context

Cité Angus is a large-scale development project proposed in the Rosemont-La-Petite-Patrie ward of Montreal. The project includes a multi-building complex, comprising both commercial buildings and residential infrastructure. This case study focuses on one of the components of this project, that is, a mixed-housing unit of the project.

Cité Angus is located on a former industrial site owned by Canadian Pacific Railways. The once-contaminated industrial zone was transformed in 1999 into Technopôle Angus, a techtropolis located in a pedestrian neighbourhood. When fully developed, the Cité Angus will be adjacent to the technopolis and will cover 895,000 square feet and include 13 buildings. The commercial buildings are expected to host about 50 private sector enterprises, providing about 1500 jobs. A space for a school is also planned. This case study focuses on the first phase of the housing component, which is a building comprising 120 units. The building will be LEED V4 certified[143]. The building will also eventually be connected to the heating systems of the other surrounding buildings of the Cité Angus project (through an energy circulating system), to further reduce heating and energy costs. It will also feature a rainwater recuperation system, reducing water consumption by 40%, according to estimates.

The six-floor building will comprise 120 condos – no units will be rented out. Each home will include between 2 and 4 bedrooms, 2 washrooms, balcony, and will be split between 2 levels. About 70% of the units will be reserved for families and will be provided at lower cost than market: a $10,000 grant will be made available to the families acquiring them (with a minimum of one child). Owners will also have access to other property access programs, including low cost loans. According to the developing corporation, each family will save about $300 per month.

All approvals have been obtained and construction is set to begin in Spring 2019.

3.7.2 Project Implementation: Neighbourhood Receptiveness

The project involved a zoning amendment in order to build a residential building. However, as the project is located in a low density area, as few as 10 residents could block the project if a referendum was requested. For this reason, it was decided that the project go through an alternative approval process. Instead of going through the normal city consultations process, that could have led to a referendum, it was decided that a consultations mandate be given to

[143] LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) is a green building rating system. LEED provides a framework that project teams can apply to create healthy, highly efficient, and cost-saving green buildings. (https://www.usgbc.org/help/what-leed)

Montreal's Office of Public Consultations (OPC). The Office is an independent organization that acts as a neutral third party between the public, the developers and the City of Montreal.

As part of the OPC consultations, about 1,500 citizens attended the meetings for the first mixed-housing project (covered by this case study). During the consultations, a number of citizens expressed NIMBY comments, including concerns about the high density of the housing project, saying that it would decrease the value of their homes. Others voiced concerns about increased traffic and higher noise levels. The sector had very low density at that time. The OPC also received over 100 written submissions. After discussions, the housing project was revised by reducing the number of floors by two (from eight to six). The OPC made a positive recommendation to the municipality, and the project was approved by the councillors. It should be mentioned that the developer also had a social media campaign to present the project and highlighted the environmental benefits of the projects, including the LEED certification. It is believed that this also helped the developers obtain support and city approvals.

3.7.3 Project Outcomes

It is anticipated that the project will have extensive positive impacts on its residents. While still in construction, the Cité Angus project will feature a green and pedestrian-friendly environment, including:

- A pedestrian street, with two public squares, lined with local shops;
- An area featuring 25% green space, that will be open to the public; and
- An urban forest.

Located in the heart of Montreal, the inhabitants of the housing project will be close to bus lines, subway accesses (8 minute walk) and a bike path. There is a supermarket, a fish market, a gym and hardware store at walking distances. There is also a medical clinic nearby. Many are expected to have jobs in the Technopolis project, that will be at walking distance.

From a health and economic perspective, the project will also have positive impacts associated with the LEED certification. There is an average 20% reduction in maintenance costs for the owners[144]. They also provide healthier in-door environments for the inhabitants: LEED-certified homes are designed to maximize fresh air indoors and minimize exposure to airborne toxins and pollutants[145].

3.7.4 Lessons Learned

For the organization behind the project, the following lessons were learned:

[144] https://new.usgbc.org/press/benefits-of-green-building
[145] https://medium.com/@elementalgreen/the-many-benefits-of-leed-certified-homes-38c83f4f04f

- While complex and lengthy, going through the consultation processes managed by the Montreal's Office of Public Consultations allowed all parties to present their views, verbally and in writing, in an organized fashion. It led to an independent, third-party recommendation to the councillors. This was deemed highly successful.
- The project approval was also linked to its LEED certification – many supported the project for this reason. It is also believed that it will attract home owners for its LEED qualities.
- Project approval was also facilitated by the fact that it is a component of a larger Technopolis project, that will provide a home for families and businesses in the heart of Montreal.

3.7.5 Conclusion

The construction of the Cité Angus project is only beginning, and it is too soon to assess the actual successes and impacts of the project. However, the project offers many lessons learned, including how a vast and ambitious project can successfully obtain a zoning amendment and project approval through a formal and independent public consultation process. It was also successful in addressing NIMBY reactions by adopting a lower-density design, without compromising its mixed-housing concept. Finally, it also shows that a mixed-housing, accessible housing project can feature high-quality, environment-friendly components.

* * *

4.0 Conclusions

A list of lessons learned regarding NIMBYism across case studies is provided below, followed by Table 1, which overviews findings for the six cases, including a project description, receptiveness to the project, how NIMBYism was mitigated, and high-level lessons learned.

Communications and Relationship-Building

- ***Proactive relationship building*** should include outreach with residents and local businesses. Ensuring that management teams are available, in person, to hear residents' and businesses' concerns is important.
- ***Early communication about the project*** is important for buy-in, as is continued provision of information along the way, so as to prevent or mitigate any negative feedback (e.g., about construction, etc.)
- ***Being present and demonstrating that project proponents wish to find a solution*** to the discontent expressed by residents concerned about the changes to their neighbourhood is a notable approach.
- The promotion of a "harmonious community" by ***framing the project*** as one that builds on "the clients' own desires for a quiet, gentle, safe environment" is useful in instances where incoming residents are perceived negatively community members.
- A key to success is creating a building that ***fosters relationships among tenants*** (e.g., community space, the garden, the mix of affordable and market rent units), which in turn can create positive sentiments around a project from tenants, which can be leveraged for future projects as well.
- Communication and ***demonstration of a building's features and benefits*** can help with buy-in, as was the case in Montreal with Cite Angus's LEED building.
- NIMBYsm can mobilize citizens and community groups that oppose mixed-income projects. However, projects can also mobilize – in some cases create – organizations and alliances of local groups that see many advantages to mixed-income housing in their communities, including employers that seek to ensure affordable housing for their own staff.
- ***NIMBYsm can happen before and after a social housing is built***. Although NIMBYsm is not a major threat after the project has been completed, it can be a major threat to future social housing endeavors, if it leads to negative views from the media.

Partnerships

- ***Collaborations and partnership*** with service providers in instances where needed helps to ensure that the facilities were supported. Partners offer the forms of expertise needed to cover all aspects of the projects.
- ***Support from volunteers in the construction sector***: while projects are not entirely based on volunteering time, those volunteered by construction professionals help to realize projects.
- ***Working with a partner that is part of the construction sector***, who is knowledgeable about the market and the necessary city approvals, is a major success factor.

Evidenced-Based Approaches

- ***Use an evidenced-based approach*** to gain acceptance for proposed programming.
- ***Project leads of mixed-income projects can also gather data from previous projects to show the benefits and actual impacts on their surroundings***, including the limited or positive impacts on surrounding property values. This data can limit post-NIMBYsm, and present fact-based arguments during meetings of projects at the zoning amendment stage.

Project planning

- ***Alignment with a city's plan to combat housing issues,*** such as the City Homelessness Plan in Whitehorse, helped with ensuring timely construction of much needed housing.
- ***Flexibility can be a key factor.*** In the case of Jefferson Park, changing the parameters of the project in terms of size facilitated the approvals from local authorities.
- While complex and lengthy, going through ***the consultation processes managed by the Montreal's Office of Public Consultations allowed all parties to present their views, verbally and in writing, in an organized fashion***. It led to an independent, third-party recommendation to the councillors. This was deemed highly successful.
- ***Project approval in Montreal was also facilitated by the fact that it is a component of a larger Technopolis project***, that will provide a home for families and businesses in the heart of Montreal.

Table 1. Summary Across Case Studies

Projects	The Oaks, Ottawa ON	Steve Cardiff Tiny Home Community, Whitehorse YK	Rita Thompson House, Ottawa ON	Olivia Skye, Vancouver BC	Father O'Leary Seniors Complex, Saint John, NB	Full Circles Communities, United States	Cité Angus, Montreal QC
Project Type	• Supportive housing for individuals with complex health needs • Low and mid-rise buildings in a residential area • 55 units, 30 reserved for MAP participants, 15 for aging at home residents, and 10 for individuals with complex mental health needs • Funded through grants and subsidies • Managed by Shepherds of Good Hope (NPO)	• One year of transitional housing for individuals with history of homelessness, substance use issues, incarceration and/or HIV • Five micro homes, with one tenant each • Loan from social lending organization and donations • Owned and managed by Blood Ties (NPO)	• Housing for individuals who are chronically homeless • Low rise building with 34 units, in a residential area • Funded by the John Howard Society, City of Ottawa, CMHC, and in-kind support through a construction firm. • Owned and managed by the John Howard Society	• Mixed income building (maximum shelter allowance, low end of market, and housing income limits) • High rise with 198 units • Funded through loans, subsidies and grants • Owned by Atira Development society and managed by Atria Property Management Inc. • BC Housing purchased 5 4 units	• Mixed income (market rate and low income), for individuals 55+, with some units reserved for single individuals and women • Low-rise building with 46 units • Funding via charity, CMHC and government of NB • Owned by Columbian Charities Inc., and managed jointly with Housing Alternatives	• 60 affordable units for households earning up to 60% of the area median income • Situated in a low-density urban area • Project proposed after another was cancelled due to strong NIMBY reactions (ongoing)	• Commercial and residential buildings, which include a mixed income housing component. (Ongoing) • 120 condos, with 70% of units offered at lower than market rates to families • Includes a $10K grant to families for purchase

Projects	The Oaks, Ottawa ON	Steve Cardiff Tiny Home Community, Whitehorse YK	Rita Thompson House, Ottawa ON	Olivia Skye, Vancouver BC	Father O'Leary Seniors Complex, Saint John, NB	Full Circles Communities, United States	Cité Angus, Montreal QC
Receptiveness	• Neighbourhood pushback • Concerns about crime and population moving in • Concerns about decreases in property value • Residents felt taken by surprise	• Some pushback from residents • Concerns around public safety and location	• Little to no pushback from community members	• Some pushback from a community association seeking all units to be at the welfare rate • Small number of complaints from tenants of a building in close proximity re: their view being blocked	• Initially well-received • Some pushback against affordable housing component • Immediate neighbours expressed concern over changes to traffic flow	• Current project faced issues due to rezoning requirements • Concerns about public safety and crime • Concerns about decreases in property values	• Consultations held, where about 1500 residents attended meetings • Concerns about high density of project expressed • Quality of neighbourhood used as a point of reference for discussions
Mitigation	• Town hall/public information sessions • Support from councillor and local police chief • Directly addressing concerns • Door to door info campaign	• Public meetings • Directly addressing concerns • Support from city councillor and mayor • Media portrayal • Alignment with policy and plans for the city	• Ongoing project management (from pre- to post-construction) • Partnerships • Forging relationship with community members	• Got ahead of issues by holding an urban design panel • Participation in public hearing on rezoning • Open houses to show case the commitment to the community and held some at end of the project	• Communications strategy • Ensuring public officials and decision-makers were available to residents to answer questions • Informal community gatherings, that doubled as information sessions	• Attempts to accrue vocalized support from community groups and service providers • Use of evidence to circumvent speculation • Generally limited success	• Reduced height of building • Was recommended by the Office of Public Consultations • Councillors approved of project • Developer used social media to promote environmental benefits of the project

Projects	The Oaks, Ottawa ON	Steve Cardiff Tiny Home Community, Whitehorse YK	Rita Thompson House, Ottawa ON	Olivia Skye, Vancouver BC	Father O'Leary Seniors Complex, Saint John, NB	Full Circles Communities, United States	Cité Angus, Montreal QC
Lessons	• Importance of collaboration and partnerships to "cover all bases" • Using evidence-based approach • Proactive relationship building • Promoting a harmonious community	• Alignment with the City Homelessness plan reduced potential barriers • Support from volunteers in the construction sector helped realize the project • Support from a social lending organization allowed for a different route than traditional bank loans	• Working with specialized partners • Obtaining pay-direct arrangements with governments • Managing possibility of NIMBYism both before and after project completion	• Success requires building relationships and trust with the community, helped by having a presence as a service provider • Use of open houses is crucial • Public and private partnerships allow for successful leveraging of resources • Relationship with local developer was integral to success	• Important to communicate early about the project • Mixed income approach more palatable to lenders • Relationship building and taking a solution-oriented approach is key • Using success to leverage future projects	• Use of evidence of success from previous projects is a way to limit NIMBYism and can be used at different stages for the projects • Organizing for community support can be framed as beneficial on a number of levels • Flexibility in project parameters can contribute to project approvals	• Assessing and using the appropriate channels for consultation processes can increase chances of project success • Being one component of a larger project helped with project approval • Environmental friendliness (i.e., LEED) helped with support for the project

Appendix B: Annotated Bibliography

2.1 Social Inclusion

Peer Reviewed

Gingrich & Lightman (2015). "The Empirical Measurement of a Theoretical Concept: Tracing Social Exclusion among Racial Minority and Migrant Groups in Canada", Social Inclusion, Volume 3, Issue 4, Pages 98-111.

This paper provides an in-depth description and case application of a conceptual model of social exclusion: aiming to advance existing knowledge on how to conceive of and identify this complex idea, evaluate the methodologies used to measure it, and reconsider what is understood about its social realities toward a meaningful and measurable conception of social inclusion. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual tools of social fields and systems of capital, our research posits and applies a theoretical framework that permits the measurement of social exclusion as dynamic, social, relational, and material. We begin with a brief review of existing social exclusion research literature, and specifically examine the difficulties and benefits inherent in quantitatively operationalizing a necessarily multifarious theoretical concept.

We then introduce our conceptual model of social exclusion and inclusion, which is built on measurable constructs. Using our ongoing program of research as a case study, we briefly present our approach to the quantitative operationalization of social exclusion using secondary data analysis in the Canadian context. Through the development of an Economic Exclusion Index, we demonstrate how our statistical and theoretical analyses evidence intersecting processes of social exclusion which produce consequential gaps and uneven trajectories for migrant individuals and groups compared with Canadian-born, and racial minority groups versus white individuals. To conclude, we consider some methodological implications to advance the empirical measurement of social inclusion.

- Conceptual discussion about defining and measuring social exclusion, followed by the description of an Economic Exclusion Index applied to the cases of migrant populations and racial minorities. Research done in a Canadian context.

Huxley, Peter (2015). "Editorial: Introduction to 'Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion'", Social Inclusion, Volume 3, Issue 4, Pages 50-51

https://www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion/article/viewFile/395/395 **and following articles in the same issue**
The introductory article in the special issue covers some of the most significant methodological and conceptual issues in the measurement of social inclusion. While it is recognised that the concept is a contested one, for the purposes of the present editorial I offer the World Bank definition: Social Inclusion (SI) refers to the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society.
• Special issue regrouping several texts on how to measure social inclusion, namely looking at different understanding of social participation. Whole special issue available.

Grey Literature and Other Sources

Silver, H. (2015). "The Contexts of Social Inclusion" (working paper), UN : Department of Economic and Social Affairs. http://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2015/wp144_2015.pdf
In light of the emphasis on "inclusion" in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), this paper contends that social exclusion and inclusion are context-dependent concepts in at least three senses. First, the ideal of an inclusive society varies by country and by region. Second, different places have different histories, cultures, institutions and social structures. These influence the economic, social and political dimensions of social exclusion and the interplay among them. Third, context – where one lives – shapes access to resources and opportunities. Social inclusion is thus spatially uneven. The paper also shows how context matters, identifying some of the mechanisms by which nation-states and localities influence processes of economic, social, and political exclusion and inclusion.
• Conceptual exploration of social inclusion, history of the concept and exploration of the idea of social inclusion in a diversity of context (e.g., spatial, socio-economical, international variations, etc.)

Parliament of Victoria (2014) Inquiry into social inclusion and Victorians with disability, September 2014, PP No.356, Session 2010-14, Australia, http://www.otaus.com.au/sitebuilder/advocacy/knowledge/asset/files/33/vicparliamentinquirysocial_inclusion_final_report.pdf
Social inclusion extends beyond simply being present or passively participating in activities in the community. For people with disability, like everyone, social inclusion means experiencing respect for difference and for individual aspirations. It means having control over their own

lives and having opportunities to contribute and participate in society in meaningful ways. It means feeling valued and experiencing a sense of belonging. It involves having significant and reciprocal relationships. It can also mean having the appropriate support to be socially included.
• Committee examination of issues of social inclusion and disability in Australia following the introduction of new legislation and programming. Interesting conceptual and practical discussion of various aspects of social inclusion (as active participation) for persons with disabilities, historical dimension, with considerations related to concrete measures implemented.

2.2 NIMBYism

Peer-reviewed

Brown, G., and Glanz, H. (2018). Identifying potential NIMBY and YIMBY effects in general land use planning and zong. Applied Geography, 99. 1-11.
The terms NIMBY (Not-In-My-Back-Yard) and YIMBY (Yes-In-My-Back-Yard) describe negative and positive attitudes toward proposed development projects respectively. These attitudes are posited to be influenced by geographic (spatial) discounting wherein the distance from domicile may contribute to local opposition or support. In contrast to specific development projects, the potential influence of NIMBY/YIMBY in a general land use planning process has not been systematically evaluated. In this study, we analyzed empirical data from a public participation GIS (PPGIS) process implemented for a general plan revision to examine the evidence for geographic discounting for a range of land uses using mapped preferences by community residents. Using distance analysis, we found significant evidence for geographic discounting by land use type with variable discount rates influenced by location of residence and the spatial configuration of land use in the planning area represented by zoning. The findings were consistent with NIMBY/YIMBY expectations with the exception of residential development where the results were more ambiguous. Residents want future land uses with amenities (open space, recreation, and trails) closer to domicile and more intensive, developed land uses (commercial, tourism, events, parking) further away. The findings have potentially broad implications because general/ comprehensive planning—a requirement of most local governments in the U.S.—is operationalized through land use zones that appear subject to spatial discounting and the manifestation of potential NIMBY/YIMBY effects in the planning process. Future research should examine other planning contexts such as large urban areas with a greater diversity of land uses.
• Quantitative insight into role of geographical proximity

Brownill, S., and Bradley, Q. (Eds). (2017). Localism and neighbourhood planning: Power to the people? Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
A critical analysis of neighbourhood planning. Setting empirical evidence from the UK against international examples, the editors engage in broader debates on the purposes of planning and the devolution of power to localities
• Although specific to the UK, there is information about general theories behind movements to empower communities and local government with community planning/development decisions.

Doberstein, C., Hickey, R., and Li, E. (2016). Nudging NIMBY: Do positive messages regarding the benefits of increased housing density influence resident stated housing development preferences? Land Use Policy, 54. 276-289.

Do positive messages regarding the benefits of increased housing density influence resident stated hous-ing development preferences? We employ an experimental research design to test the efficacy of positive messages regarding increased housing density to reduce observed NIMBYism (Not In My Back Yard). Using a survey-based experiment, we compared four messages: a notification of the public benefits; the private benefits; a social comparison drawing on expert knowledge of housing preferences; and a control stating recent trends in the municipality. Our sample of 202 residents of a mid-sized Canadian city indicates that messages regarding the public benefits of increased density reduced NIMBYism by four times the control message. We find some evidence in favor of the efficacy of the social comparison treatment as well. We discuss these findings with reference to the literature on smart city growth, and the policy implications that emerge.

- Canadian context
- Not specific to social inclusion, but offers insight into what might help overcome NIMBYism

Doney, R. H., McGuirk, P. M. & Mee, K. J. (2013). Social mix and the problematisation of social housing. Australian Geographer, 44 (4), 401-418.

Social housing in Australia is at a significant juncture. High levels of housing stress, increasing levels of sociospatial polarisation and reduced government funding are posing complex policy challenges. Social mix policies are one response to these challenges, arising from the problematisation of social housing estates as socially excluded. This problematisation is examined through case studies of two Sydney social housing renewal projects: Telopea and Riverwood North. Drawing on interviews with government, private-sector and not-forprofit housing practitioners, the paper identifies two distinct discourses of social exclusion within this problematisation-culture of poverty discourse and equity discourse-that shape the implementation of social mix. These discourses reveal that implementing social mix is more complex than simply managing the cohabitation of residents in different tenures. Rather, the practice of social mix is embedded within discourses about the nature and causes of social exclusion. These discourses, in their turn, inform the multiple and sometimes conflicting aspirations pursued through social mix policies.

- In contrast to work focused on policy as a driver, this work focuses on discourse as a driver of policy that affects inclusion and perception thereof.

Esaiasson, P. (2014). NIMBY-ism-A re-examination of the phenomenon, Social Science Research, 48(4), 185-195.
NIMBYism is the idea that citizens will oppose the siting of facilities in their neighborhood for selfish reasons. Using a new treatment – type of facility rather than geographical proximity to a particular site – the paper explores two rarely researched manifestations of NIMBYism: that people are so sensitive to nuisances that they oppose the siting of *all* facility types in their neighborhood; and that people will adjust motivations for resistance to appear public minded. Results from both observational and experimental studies support the basic claims of NIMBYism.
• Provides context from the perspective of community members on the "receiving end" of new facilities in their neighbourhoods.

Eranti, V. (2017). Re-visiting NIMBY: From conflicting interests to conflicting valuations, Sociological Review 65(2). 285-301.
This article presents a new way of understanding local land-use conflicts, also called NIMBY, developing from justification theory and literature from the sociology of engagements. The article builds on the multiple systems of valuation used by people to perceive local land-use cases as conflicts, following the pragmatic sociology of Boltanski and Thévenot. The conflicts are shown to be not only about conflicting interests of the residents, but also about broader conflicting systems of valuation. Empirically, land-use cases in Helsinki, Finland are analysed to show the variety of argumentation used by residents opposing land-use. Over 500 dispute letters are analysed, the vast majority of which base their argumentation on common good. About 40% also use argumentation based on individual interest. Argumentation based on close familiar affinities is rare but existing, which might be because of the type of data used in the article. The framework used allows for the non-moralizing use of the concept NIMBY when describing the conflicts.
• Insight into individual perceptions within the rubric of NIMBY. International context.

Mangin, J. (2014). The New Exclusionary Zoning, Stanford Law & Policy Review, 25(91). 91-137.
If low-income families can't afford the suburbs and the cities, where should they go? For the first time in American history, it makes sense to talk about whole regions of the country

"gentrifying"—whole metropolitan areas whose high housing costs have rendered them inhospitable to low-income families, who, along with solidly middle class families, also feeling the crunch, have been paying higher housing costs or migrating to low-housing cost (and low-wage) areas like Texas, Arizona, or North Carolina. Underlying both of these phenomena—high housing costs in the suburbs and high housing costs in the cities—is a relatively straightforward problem of supply and demand. A city's ability to remain affordable depends most crucially on its ability to expand housing supply in the face of increased demand. Among the people who care most about high housing costs there is a lack of understanding of the main causes and the policy approaches that can address them. The central message of this Article is that the housing advocacy community—from the shoe-leather organizer to the academic theoretician—needs to abandon its reflexively anti-development sentiments and embrace an agenda that accepts and advocates for increased housing development of all types as a way to blunt rising housing costs in the country's most expensive markets.

Matthews, P., Bramley, G., and Hastings, A. (2015). Homo Economicus in a Big Society: Understanding Middle-class Activism and NIMBYism towards New Housing Developments, Housing, Theory and Society, 32(1). 54-72

Problems of housing supply and affordability in England have long been recognized by policy-makers. A key barrier to supply is seen to be community activism by so-called not-in-my-back-yard activists (NIMBYs). The localism policy agenda, or devolving decision-making down to the local level, is central to how the UK coalition government seek to overcome this opposition. This conceives NIMBYism as a demonstration of *homo economicus* – of the rationality of economic beings seeking to maximize their utility. In this view, residents would not accept large urban extensions in suburban areas because they took on localized costs with no obvious benefits, unless incentivised appropriately. In this paper, we use analysis of British Social Attitudes Survey data as well as the results of the first review of middle-class activism in relation to public services to identify the likelihood of residents being incentivized by this version of localism to accept new housing. We conclude that the evidence on the individual and collective attitudes suggests that it is unlikely that localism will deliver new housing. Importantly, the political power of affluent and professional groups means they can ensure that their opposition is heard, particularly in the neighbourhood plans delivered through localism. The paper argues that planning for housing needs to understand communities as *homo democraticus* – as actively engaged in negotiating between complex interests with respect to support for new housing.

- Theoretical underpinnings driving NIMBYISM, influencers re: development and the opposition thereof.

Grey Literature and other sources

Boys Smith, N., and Toms, K. (2018).NIMBY to YIMBY: How to win votes by building more homes. CREATEstreets. Available from: http://dev.createstreets.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Nimby-to-Yimby-280418.pdf
Overviews principles of NIMBYism and how to overcome it. This document is useful for definitions, references, high level perspectives on addressing housing issues

Innovation Research Group (2013). Trends in NIMBYism and Reaction to NIMBYs.
Presentation to the Globe and Mail. Gives results of a pan-Canadian survey focused on NIMBYism in the context of large infrastructure projects, with a particular focus on energy projects.
• Useful to gain an understanding of attitudes about NIMBY including geographic differences.

McCrea, R., Foliente, G., Leonard, R. and Walton, A. (2015). Proceedings of the State of Australian Cities National Conference (SOAC 2015), Gold Coast, Australia
In the context of urban population growth, urban consolidation and intensification is a common policy response and challenge across all capital cities in Australia. The urban residents' views and perceived impacts of different types of intensification will critically shape the nature of what will be accepted and eventually implemented in local suburbs. However, little is known about general attitudes toward urban growth across metropolitan regions. This paper reports on data from a recent Survey of Community Wellbeing and Responding to Change conducted in six Local Government Areas (LGAs) in inner, middle, outer, and urban fringe areas of Melbourne. It examines levels of community acceptance of urban growth in these LGAs, including some alternative explanations which help explain some of the variation in community acceptance of developments related to urban growth. Most important for predicting community acceptance of urban growth were perceptions of a community's resilience (adaptation) and the associated processes around planning and navigating urban change; and whether changes to suburbs were perceived as varied, mixed and interesting. These alternative explanations provide a point of focus for stakeholders aiming to implement policies around urban consolidation and intensification while maintaining or enhancing community wellbeing. Potential implications of results to policy and further research are identified.
• Insight into how perception of impacts/outcomes of intensification type will influence is accepted (macro level insight)

Monkkonen, P., and Manville, M. (2018). Opposition to Development or Opposition to Developers? Survey Evidence from Los Angeles County on Attitudes towards New Housing
Opposition to new housing at higher densities is a pervasive problem in planning. Such opposition constrains the housing supply and undermines both affordability and sustainability in growing metropolitan areas. Relatively little research, however, examines the motives behind such opposition, and much of the research that does exist examines only opponents' stated concerns, which may differ from their underlying reasons. We use a survey-framing experiment, administered to over 1,300 people in Los Angeles County, to measure the relative power of different arguments against new housing. We test the impact of common anti-housing arguments: about traffic congestion, neighborhood character, and strained local services. We also, however, introduce the idea that local residents might not like development because they do not like *developers*. We find strong evidence for this idea: opposition to new development increases by 20 percentage points when respondents see the argument that a developer is likely to earn a large profit from the building. This magnitude is double the increase in opposition associated with concerns about traffic congestion.
• US context, tests theories related to common anti-housing arguments. Quantitative.

2.3 Social Inclusion and NIMBYism

Peer-Reviewed

August, M. (2014). Negotiating Social Mix in Toronto's First Public Housing Redevelopment: Power, Space and Social Control in Don Mount Court, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38(4). 1160-1180.
This article examines the experience of social interaction in Toronto's Don Mount Court community, the first socially mixed public-housing redevelopment site in Canada. Similar to the American HOPE VI program, redevelopment involved the demolition and mixed-income reconstruction of the community to include both public housing and new market condominiums with a neo-traditional redesign. Based on participant observation, this article describes four struggles that emerged over the course of a series of mixed-income community governance meetings intended to promote social inclusion. These struggles related to (1) unequal power relations in shaping local priorities; (2) the power to brand the community and define its aesthetic characteristics; (3) the power to define and use public space; and (4) power over modes of surveillance and exclusion. The findings challenge the myth that the 'benevolent' middle class will use their political influence and social capital to the benefit of their low-income neighbors in mixed neighbourhoods. Instead, the research found that public-housing tenants were often on the receiving end of antagonism. It is argued that policymakers intent on ameliorating problems related to residence in disadvantaged communities should focus on funding for social programs and transformative change, rather than on public-housing demolition and state-driven gentrification via mixed-income redevelopment

August, M. (2016). Revitalisation gone wrong: Mixed-income public housing redevelopment in Toronto's Don Mount Court, Urban Studies, 53 (16)
This article challenges the presumed benevolence of mixed-income public housing redevelopment, focusing on the first socially-mixed remake of public housing in Canada, at Toronto's Don Mount Court (now called 'Rivertowne'). Between 2002 and 2012 the community was demolished and replaced with a re-designed 'New Urbanist' landscape, including replacement of public housing (232 units) and 187 new condominium townhouses. While mixed redevelopment is premised on the hope that tenants will benefit from improved design and mixed-income interactions, this research finds that many residents were less satisfied with the quality of their housing, neighbourhood design, and social community post-redevelopment. Drawing on in-depth qualitative interviews and ethnographic participant observation, this article finds that tenant interviewees missed their older, more spacious homes in the former Don Mount, and were upset to find that positive community bonds were dismantled by relocation and redevelopment. Challenging the 'myth of the benevolent middle class' at the heart of social mix policy, many residents reported charged social relations in the new

Rivertowne. In addition, the neo-traditional redesign of the community – intended to promote safety and inclusivity – had paradoxical impacts. Many tenants felt less safe than in their modernist-style public housing, and the mutual surveillance enabled by New Urbanist redesign fostered tense community relations. These findings serve as a strong caution for cities and public housing authorities considering mixed redevelopment, and call into question the wisdom of funding welfare state provisions with profits from real estate development.

Chaskin, R.J., and Joseph, M. L. (2013). 'Positive Gentrification, Social Control and the 'Right to the City' in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place.

Public policies supporting market-oriented strategies to develop mixed-income communities have become ascendant in the United States and a number of other countries around the world. Although framed as addressing both market goals of revitalization and social goals of poverty deconcentration and inclusion, these efforts at 'positive gentrification' also generate a set of fundamental tensions — between integration and exclusion, use value and exchange value, appropriation and control, poverty and development — that play out in particular concrete ways on the ground. Drawing on social control theory and the 'right to the city' framework of Henri Lefebvre, this article interrogates these tensions as they become manifest in three mixed-income communities being developed to replace public housing complexes in Chicago, focusing particularly on responses to competing expectations regarding the use of space and appropriate normative behavior, and to the negotiation of these expectations in the context of arguments about safety, order, what constitutes 'public' space, and the nature and extent of rights to use that space in daily life.

Davison, G., Legacy, C., Liu, E., Han, H., Phibbs, P., van den Nouwelant, Darcy, M., and Piracha, A. (2013). Understanding and addressing community opposition to affordable housing development: Final Report for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute

The development of affordable housing in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods is frequently frustrated by opposition from local residents, planners, politicians and the media. This opposition can lead to costly construction delays and amendments for affordable housing developers and in some cases may even force the abandonment of projects. In the most high-profile cases, the opposition threatens to undermine political and public support for affordable housing provision. There has been much research on the phenomenon of community opposition to affordable housing development in the USA, but there is almost no equivalent research in Australia. This is a concern because current policy directions suggest that new

affordable housing development in the coming years will increasingly be located in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, most often on small sites bounded by multiple properties. The central aims of this study were to improve understanding of community opposition to affordable housing in Australian cities and to consider how that opposition can be mitigated or addressed.

- Provides a solid overview of policy and housing marklet context, as well as the stated and unstated factors underlying community opposition to affordable housing projects. Also focuses on why escalation (in opposition) happens.

Davison,G., Legacy, C., Liu, E. and Darcy,M. (2016) The Factors Driving the Escalation of Community Opposition to Affordable Housing Development, *Urban Policy and Research*, 34(4),386-400

Community opposition to locally unwanted development is not inherently problematic, but it can be destructive where conflict between proponents and objectors escalates. This paper relates mixed-methods findings from a Sydney case-study where opposition to planned affordable housing projects was widespread but uneven. Five factors are identified that escalated individual opposition campaigns in this case: public notification procedures; sense of injustice; prejudice; strong campaign leadership; and the involvement of politicians. We argue that these factors will likely also escalate opposition to the planned development of other forms of critical social infrastructure, and that an understanding of them can help minimise destructive conflicts between proponents and host communities.

- Five factors offer insight into what causes escalation and to what effect. Australian context.

Legacy, C, Davison, G and Liu, E 2016, 'Delivering social housing: examining the nexus between social housing and democratic planning', Housing, Theory and Society, 33(3) 324-341.

The construction of social housing in gentrifying neighbourhoods can invoke contestation, revealing tensions between economic imperatives, social policy and neighbourhood change. With a view to understanding how the convergence of these agendas preserve unpopular, but socially critical housing infrastructure, the aim of this paper is to explore how the challenges social housing implementation encounters across these agendas intersect with a broader agenda for local democratic planning. Using social housing as our empirical focus and directing attention to the gentrifying local government area of Port Phillip in Victoria, Australia, this paper reveals how a council's main asset to support implementation – its

policy frameworks – creates an urban narrative of social inclusivity and diversity. Through this case we illustrate how elected officials and some residents draw from these policies to interject into episodes of community contestation, which we argue presents opportunities to expose and renew commitments to social housing over space and time.
Policy focused, with emphasis on policy as an instrument that drives NIMBYism

Hughen, W., and Read, D. (2013). Inclusionary Housing Policies, Stigma Effects and Strategic Production Decisions, the Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics, 48(4). 589-610.
Inclusionary housing policies enacted by municipal governments rely on a combination of legal mandates and economic incentives to encourage residential real estate developers to include affordable units in otherwise market-rate projects. These regulations provide a means of stimulating the production of mixed-income housing at a minimal cost to the public sector, but have been hypothesized to slow development and put upward pressure on housing prices. The results of the theoretical models presented in this paper suggest that inclusionary housing policies need not increase housing prices in all situations. However, any observed impact on housing prices may be mitigated by density effects and stigma effects that decrease demand for market-rate units. The results additionally suggest real estate developers are likely to respond to inclusionary housing policies by strategically altering production decisions.
• Offers vantage point of municipalities and real estate developers. Pertains to affordable housing more broadly, though not necessarily geared to vulnerable populations.

Roher, JS., (2016). Zoning Out Discrimination: Working Towards Housing Equality in Ontario. *Journal of Law and Social Policy* 25, 26-53.
In Ontario, it is the role of local government to ensure that housing is accessible and to eliminate barriers to housing. This paper examines how the Ontario Human Rights Code can be employed to challenge municipal zoning bylaws regulating permitted land-uses, namely by establishing that certain bylaws adversely affect individuals protected under the Code by restricting where those individuals may live. While Ontario litigants have been relatively successful in using the Code to challenge direct and indirect discrimination in housing, the case of zoning bylaws reveals key limitations to achieving housing equality through human rights legislation. This paper compares the relative success of legal challenges to bylaws regulating group homes that house people with disabilities to bylaws regulating rooming houses that house people who cannot afford other housing. This comparison reveals the difficulty of challenging discrimination faced by a diffuse group of individuals falling within multiple prohibited grounds (residents of

rooming houses), rather than a discrete group that falls under a single identifiable ground (residents of group homes). It also reveals the challenges of confronting discrimination when procedural inequalities are entrenched in municipal decision-making processes. It concludes that the larger challenge for housing and human rights advocates, in addition to eliminating discriminatory bylaws, is to confront systemic discrimination in housing policy and practice. In this task, litigation is a valuable tool but only part of the solution.

- This is useful because:
- Considers provincial and municipal contexts
- Offers an overview of NIMBY-ism and the its interplay with legal contexts, which can offer insight into what conditions (i.e., legal) might uphold NIMBY-ism.

Ruming, K. (2013). "It wasn't about public housing, it was about the way it was done'': challenging planning not people in resisting the Nation Building Economic Stimulus Plan, Australia, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment

In response to the Global Financial Crisis of 2007–2009 the Australian Federal Government introduced the Nation Building Economic Stimulus Plan (NBESP) to halt possible descent into recession. The NBESP mobilised a number of economic triggers, such as family and business payments. However, the bulk of funds were allocated to large capital works programs focused on building educational infrastructure and new sociaxl housing. This paper explores the planning and delivery of the Social Housing Initiative (SHI) in New South Wales. The SHI rests at the centre of a series of complex and competing objectives of the Federal government responding to global economic conditions, State governments operating within timeline and budget constraints established by the Federal government, and councils and residents responding to local contexts. Global economic conditions acted as the catalyst for the most significant expenditure on social housing in decades. Nevertheless, support for construction was far from universal as a series of localised conflicts arose around the planning and implementation of the SHI. Using a series controversial development sites, this paper traces community and council concerns over social housing provided under the NBESP. These positions are contrasted by State government employees charged with implementing the program. The paper explores the major areas of local concern. What is apparent is that communities opposed to social housing development mobilised complex points and modes of resistance which extend beyond NIMBYism and anti-social housing rhetoric.

- International (Australian context), but provides insight into reactions to larger scale mixed housing projects.

Scally, C. (2013). The Nuances of NIMBY: Context and Perceptions of Affordable Rental Housing Development, *Urban Affairs Review*, 49(5), 718-747.

This research investigates the nuances of local not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) attitudes and actions, asking why some communities support publicly assisted affordable rental housing development, while others do not. Six case studies within New York State explore local acceptance and avoidance of affordable rental housing development through the low-income housing tax credit program. Findings inform future marketing, planning, and programming to encourage local participation in affordable rental housing development. More research is needed on the contextualized nature of NIMBY, how NIMBY attitudes and actions can be effectively reduced, and whether this increases the supply of affordable rental housing.

- U.S context, provides info on tools utilized to promote and incentivize participation in affordable rental housing development

Scally, C., and Tighe, J.R. (2015) Democracy in Action?: NIMBY as Impediment to Equitable Affordable Housing Siting, *Housing Studies*, 30(5), 749-769.

Abstract: Effective democracy requires participation. However, the history of urban politics, housing policy, and neighborhood revitalization has demonstrated that wealth and power often overshadow participation and community activism. Proponents of equity planning and advocacy planning in the USA have fought to include vulnerable, marginalized populations within planning decisions, yet there have been few examples of this in action. We apply Fainstein's principles of The Just City (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010) to investigate the extent to which local opposition affects affordable housing development. In doing so, we question the extent to which housing policy and planning in the USA successfully achieve the goals of equity and fairness, or whether not-in-mybackyard forces operating within (and beyond) "democratic" planning processes override those principles in siting decisions. Our results suggest that community opposition is a considerable barrier to the efficient siting of affordable housing, and propose changes to local planning and implementation strategies in order to minimize opposition and produce more equitable outcomes.

- U.S context, provides some theoretical applied background information.

Grey Literature

Gillard, G. (2014). Minimizing and Managing Neighbourhood Resistance to Affordable and Supportive Housing Projects. Ottawa, Ontario: *The Canadian Housing and Renewal Association.*

This document summarizes strategies to combat opposition to housing projects that were presented at the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association's 2014 Annual Congress. Strategies are presented from Edmonton (as summarized in Focus Consulting Inc. annotation), Seattle and Montreal.

- What's worked in a Canadian context

Stahl, K. (December 2017). 'Yes in My Backyard': Can a New Pro-Housing Movement Overcome the Power of NIMBYs? *Zoning & Planning Law Report*, 41(3), 1-16. (Newsletter)

For years local politics across the country have been dominated by homeowners who strongly oppose the construction of any new development – especially housing – in their communities. The success of these homeowners, often derisively called NIMBYs ("Not in my Backyard") can be measured in skyrocketing housing costs, a sluggish economy, and widening inequality. In the last few years, a new grassroots movement has begun to emerge and, adopting the moniker YIMBY ("Yes in My Backyard"), has taken aim squarely at the NIMBY problem. As housing costs have risen to shocking levels in prosperous cities like Boston, Portland and San Francisco, residents in these and many other cities have formed organizations devoted to advocating at both the local and state level for policies that facilitate the construction of more housing. In a short time, YIMBY has had remarkable success, helping push an important package of housing bills through the California legislature in 2017, among many other achievements. YIMBY's meteoric rise poses the question of whether it can sustain its success where other movements to combat NIMBYism have failed. NIMBYism is a powerful force because both state and local governments are structured to favor the interests of slow-growth homeowners over advocates for new housing. In this paper, I sketch some of the challenges YIMBYs are facing as they confront NIMBYism, and what strategies may be successful in overcoming those challenges.

- U.S context, gives insights into overcoming NIMBYISM within a social inclusion context

2.4 Web Links

https://policywise.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Annotated-Bibliography-Community-Inclusion-Frameworks-for-Vulnerable-Populations-and-Strategies-for-Combating-NIMBY-Attitudes-to-Social-Housing-Projects.pdf

https://www.dartmouth.edu/~wfischel/Papers/00-04.PDF

https://fcm.ca/home/programs/past-programs/affordability-and-choice-today/responding-to-nimby.htm

https://fcm.ca/Documents/tools/ACT/Housing_In_My_Backyard_A_Municipal_Guide_For_Responding_To_NIMBY_EN.pdf https://ontario.cmha.ca/documents/housing-and-mental-health/)

http://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/SSRN-id1018536.pdf

https://www.be.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/upload/pdf/cityfutures/cfupdate/DMullinsCommunity-ledhousing.pdf

https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=2ahUKEwi8i9LfgZPdAhVi9YMKHapWBVIQFjAEegQIBhAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fir.lib.uwo.ca%2Fcgi%2Fviewcontent.cgi%3Farticle%3D1114%26context%3Dlgp-mrps&usg=AOvVaw2pAciimO0HFSc4FaE0UV7J&httpsredir=1&article=1114&context=lgp-mrps

http://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/document_consultation/3aeng_0.pdf

https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/housing-and-tenancy/tools-for-government/uploads/nimbytoolkitvfin.pdf

Appendix C: Key Search Terms

NIMBY/ism
NIMBY/ism **AND** Canada/Toronto/Vancouver/Winnipeg/Ottawa
NIMBY/ism **AND** social inclusion **AND** PWDs/homelessness/LGBTQI2S/seniors
NIMBY/ism **AND** Australia/United States/United Kingdom
NIMBY/ism **AND** social mix
NIMBY/ism **AND** mixed income housing development(s)
YIMBY
(le movement) pas dans ma cours
Exclusionary zoning
Inclusionary zoning
Protest **AND** social housing/mixed income housing

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