

2018-06-29

The Exclusionary Politics of Secondary Suites in Calgary: Homeowners Seeking Class Monopoly Rents

van der Poorten, Kylee Aisha

van der Poorten, K. A. (2018). The Exclusionary Politics of Secondary Suites in Calgary: Homeowners Seeking Class Monopoly Rents (Master's thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Retrieved from <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>. doi:10.11575/PRISM/32258
<http://hdl.handle.net/1880/107036>

Downloaded from PRISM Repository, University of Calgary

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Exclusionary Politics of Secondary Suites in Calgary: Homeowners Seeking Class
Monopoly Rents

by

Kylee Aisha van der Poorten

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN GEOGRAPHY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JUNE, 2018

© Kylee Aisha van der Poorten 2018

Abstract

Secondary suites, broadly defined as additional rental dwelling units within single-detached properties, have been a contentious topic in Calgary's municipal politics for the past three decades. In most cases, suites operate in basements and thus conceal living standards and evade the gaze of the local state. To date, Calgary maintains a high restrictive approach to secondary suites in established suburban areas. Evidence suggests an effective opposition from a vocal minority of residents and community leaders has inhibited secondary suite proponents from easing barriers to legalization. These housing politics are the focus of this study. Using a mixed-method approach, I explore the key institutional actors opposing secondary suite legalization, the basis of their opposition, and the mechanisms they use to steer policy toward their interests. A major finding is that exclusionary practices of neighbourhood governance and coalitions among community association leaders have been an integral part of Calgary's secondary suite outcomes.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge those individuals and families who are experiencing or have experienced housing insecurity – many often internalize their struggle to find housing, afford housing, and/or live in inadequate housing as a personal deficiency. In this study, I endeavor to illuminate the broader social forces conditioning these experiences.

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through Dr. David Hulchanski's Partnership Grant "Neighbourhood Inequality, Diversity, and Change: Trends, Processes, Consequences and Policy Options for Canada's Largest Metropolitan Areas" and Dr. Byron Miller's sub-grant 1034281-1, "The Politics and Policies of Secondary Suites in Calgary." The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the research partnership or the funder. For more information on the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership and related research projects, please visit www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca.

A big thank you Dr. Byron Miller. You have been a graciously flexible supervisor and dedicated professor. Moreover, you have provided me with a truly eye-opening education and introduced me to literature that has fundamentally broadened my understanding of the world. I am grateful for your ongoing encouragement and support.

To David Couroux – first an instructor, then a mentor, and ultimately a friend – thank you for all the brainstorming sessions, the very first of which led to a core research question guiding this project. Somehow, you know exactly when to encourage me to think autonomously but also challenge my assumptions. I appreciate your mentorship; your impact is certainly reflected in this work.

To all of my close friends and family, many of whom frequently switched between wondering what happened to me for months on end or hearing from me *too* much. Thank you for helping me manage the pressures of graduate school.

To Spencer, my best friend and partner, for showing me all there is to look forward to at the end of this road with the beginning of another.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance provided by the City of Calgary's Geodemographics team in the provision of municipal data and mapping software for this project. I would also like to thank the Federation of Calgary Communities, a key community partner who aided the interview recruitment and research dissemination process.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures and Illustrations	ix
 Introduction.....	 1
 Chapter One: The Politics and Policies of Secondary Suites	 7
1.1 Introduction and Definitions.....	7
1.2 Housing Trends	7
1.2.1 The postwar housing context.....	7
1.2.2 Rental housing policy.	10
1.2.3 Secondary rental housing.....	19
1.2.4 Housing inequality.....	21
1.3 Urban Relations	23
1.3.1 Landlords and tenants.	23
1.3.2 Oppositional politics.	25
1.3.3 The urban management of secondary suites.....	34
1.4 Understanding Local Housing Conflicts.....	40
1.4.1 The research gap.....	40
1.4.2 The concept of class monopoly rent: a theoretical framework for understanding the politics of secondary suites.....	43
1.4.3 Research framework.	53
1.5 Conclusion	56
 Chapter Two: Research Design and Methodology	 58
2.1 Study Context: Calgary.....	58
2.1.1 Political context.....	59
2.1.2 Neighbourhood change.	61
2.1.3 Local institutions.	62
2.2 A Mixed Methods Approach.....	65
2.2.1 Historical policy review.....	66
2.2.2 Semi-structured interviews.....	67
2.2.3 Public submissions.....	70
2.2.4 Coding.....	72
2.2.5 Mapping the secondary suite market.	73
2.2.6 Comparative analysis.	78
 Chapter Three: A Historical Review of Calgary’s Secondary Suite Controversy.....	 90
3.1 Introduction.....	90
3.2 Land Use Restrictions in the Post-War Era	91
3.3 Calgary’s Housing Crisis.....	96
3.4 Land Use Bylaw Review	102
3.5 Legalization Strategies and Public Engagement.....	106

3.6 The Four Wards Proposal.....	110
3.7 Conclusion	115
Chapter Four: The Right to the Neighbourhood	118
4.1 Introduction.....	118
4.2 Renters and Risk.....	119
4.3 Homeowners vs. Absentee Landlords	124
4.4 Monopoly Rights.....	134
4.5 Neighbourhood Governance	143
4.6 Community Associations.....	149
4.7 Conclusion	155
Chapter Five: Inter-Community Coalitions in the Geography of Secondary Suite Politics	159
5.1 Introduction.....	159
5.2 The Homeowner Citadel	160
5.3 Contrasting Politics Among Less Affluent Neighbourhoods	166
5.4 Inclusionary Leadership Among Renter-Oriented Neighbourhoods	169
5.5 Creating a Space of Engagement for Class Monopoly Rents	174
5.6 Conclusion	178
Chapter Six: Conclusion	181
6.1 Summary of Findings	181
6.2 Theoretical Contribution and Policy Implications	184
6.3 Limitations and Directions for Future Research	188
References	191
Appendix A: Interview Questions	224
Appendix B: Consent Form	227
Appendix C: Land Use Re-Designation Files for Secondary Suites.....	230
Appendix D: Matrix Assignments	234
Appendix E: Interview Transcription with Cliff de Jong, Planner 2 for the City of Calgary on June 24th, 2016.....	239
Appendix F: Interview Transcription with Beverly Longstaff, Former Councillor for Ward 7 in Calgary, on June 29th, 2016.....	266
Appendix G: Anonymous Email from a community leader to the Federation of Calgary Communities, July 16, 2010.	271
Appendix H: Interview Transcription with Brian Pincott, Councillor for Ward 11 in Calgary, on September 20, 2016.	272

Appendix I: Interview Transcription with an anonymous Municipal Planner with the City of Calgary, on June 23, 2016.....	279
Appendix J: Interview Transcription with Cheryl, a community leader, on July 19, 2016.....	291
Appendix K: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the North Haven Community Association on August 15, 2016.....	305
Appendix L: Interview Transcription with Gian-Carlo Carra, Councillor for Ward 9 in Calgary, on September 15, 2016.	316
Appendix M: Interview Transcription with Jeff Marsh, planning executive for the board of the Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill Community Association, on June 30, 2016.....	318
Appendix N: Interview Transcription with Jim Stevenson, Councillor for Ward 3 in Calgary, on July 21, 2016.	326
Appendix O: Interview Transcription with Andre Chabot, Councillor for Ward 10 in Calgary, on September 8, 2016	337
Appendix P: Interview Transcription with Shane Keating, Councillor for Ward 12 in Calgary, on October 13, 2016.....	345
Appendix Q: Interview Transcription with Ward Sutherland, Councillor for Ward 1 in Calgary on October 19, 2016.....	351
Appendix R: Interview Transcription with Druh Farrell, Councillor for Ward 7 in Calgary on July 27, 2016.	360
Appendix S: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the Tuscany Community Association on August 17, 2016.....	364
Appendix T: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the Montgomery Community Association on August 19, 2016.....	368
Appendix U: Interview Transcription with Elise Bieche, President of the Highland Park Community Association, on September 11, 2016.....	371
Appendix V: Interview Transcription with Marvin Quashnick, President of the Thorncliffe/Greenview Community Association, on July 26, 2016.	374
Appendix W: Interview Transcription with Laura and Glen Greenwood on May 10, 2017.....	382

List of Tables

Table 1. Citywide Averages for Neighbourhood Attributes	87
Table 2. Secondary Suite Applications	162
Table 3. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 8 and 9	163
Table 4. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 2, 5 and 6	166
Table 5. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 1, 4 and 7	169

List of Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1. Calgary's Ward Boundaries in 2015. Source: City of Calgary, 2015a.	64
Figure 2. Legal Categories of Secondary Suites.	74
Figure 3. Spatial Analysis Process for Mapping Secondary Suites.	76
Figure 4. Community Districts in Calgary. Source: City of Calgary, 2011a.	80
Figure 5. Matrix of Tenure and Owner-Occupation of Community Districts	83
Figure 6. Frequency and Jenks Natural Breaks for Owner-Occupation Rates Among Community Districts.	86
Figure 7. Frequency and Natural Breaks for Median Property Value Among Community Districts.	87
Figure 8. Land Use Restrictions for Secondary Suites	92
Figure 9. Permitted Suites in Established Neighbourhoods in 2015.	94
Figure 10. Restricted Suites and Median Income in 2015.	95
Figure 11. Migration and Vacancy Rates 1987-2015. Source: City Archives Office.	97
Figure 12. Primary Rental Housing 1991-2016. Source: CMHC, 2017.	97
Figure 13. Primary and Secondary Rental Housing in 2007. Source: CMHC, 2017.	98
Figure 14. Converted Structures in Calgary from 1985-1998. Source: City Archives Office.....	99
Figure 15. Not4Rz: Why Zoning Matters. Source: Not4Rz n.d.a.....	140
Figure 16. Not4Rz: Concerns. Source: Not4Rz, n.d.b.....	141
Figure 17. Matrix of Community Politics.....	161
Figure 18. Homeowner Citadels in Calgary's Secondary Suite Controversy	164
Figure 19. Matrix of Community Coalitions	174

Introduction

This thesis explores the basis of opposition to secondary suites and how these interests unfold in urban politics. Secondary suites, broadly defined as additional rental dwelling units with low-density housing structures, have been a contentious topic in Calgary's municipal politics for the past three decades despite a physical quality that is, in a literal sense, concealed. Evidently, among the various definitions¹ used to describe the prevalence of this housing form is Mendez and Quastel's (2016) use of the term 'subterranean' commodification. In most cases, suites operate in the basement without institutional permission and thus conceal living standards from neighbours, planners and policy makers. Politically, however, secondary suites became highly visible as a dark underbelly to a serious affordable housing problem in Calgary beginning in the 1990s (Tanasescu, Wing-tak, & Smart, 2010). As landlords have responded to a growing affordable housing deficit by converting space within low density living spaces into rental units, most of these conversions were carried out without compliant safety codes or permissive land use policies. The ultimate consequence of this negligence has been loss of life, when in 2009 the violation of multiple safety and public health laws resulted in a basement fire which took the lives of three young basement tenants in Calgary (CBC News, 2009). A more recent case of charges laid against landlords for fire code violations (CBC News, 2015) makes clear how this negligence continues to beset the municipal government despite a long history of policy makers' attempts to facilitate the legalization of existing suites since the 1990s.

¹ Numerous studies and policy programmes may refer to all or different types of secondary suites as accessory apartments, basement suites, granny flats, mother-in-law suites, garage conversions, and laneway housing.

This study is carried out within a wider discussion of the impacts of secondary rental housing in Canadian cities. Primary, or purpose-built, rental housing refers to high density apartment developments that, in the past, had to be fully constructed before being rented out and consequently demanded sophisticated financial planning, market stability, and high capital resources (Cheung 2014; CMHC 2016a; Crook 1998). Alternatively, the universe of rental dwellings accommodated within structures that have no more than three rental dwellings, including secondary suites, entire single- and semi-detached homes, duplexes, and townhouses, is referred to as the secondary rental market (Gunn, Carter & Osborne, 2009; CMHC, 2016a). As of 2016, 68 per cent of total rental housing stock in Calgary is accommodated within the secondary rental market and may be operated by private landlords that "are often more limited in capacity, operating efficiencies and experience compared to purpose-built rental operators" (City of Calgary, 2017, p. 61). As provincial and federal governments increasingly withdraw subsidies and financial instruments for the primary rental market (Cheung, 2014; Clifford, 2011; Crook, 1998; Dalton, 2009; Falvo, 2017; Gaetz, Gulliver & Richter, 2014), the growing prevalence of the secondary rental market engenders a number of tensions that merit scholarly attention.

Within the literature on the phenomenon of secondary suites there exists a number of important themes and tensions that inform the objectives, research questions, and methodology of this thesis. As Mendez (2011) points out, "the market" and "the law" are often positioned as dominant actors in understanding the proliferation of secondary suites. Many studies attribute the growing prevalence of the secondary rental housing market as a product of changing social and economic characteristics such as aging baby boomers, improvements in the financing and liquidity of rental stock, and the increased capital gains to be realized in a more flexible rental market (Chapman & Howe 2001; Gellen 1985; Cheung 2014; Crook 1998; Miron 1995; Gunn et

al., 2009). Given soaring construction costs, uncontrolled condominium conversions, limited urban revenue streams, and the retrenchment of social housing programs, secondary suites in high-growth urban economies are largely recognized by policy makers as an important option for affordable housing (Miller & Smart 2011; Touati 2013; Gratton 2011). Subsequently, municipal governments tend to apply the law ambiguously when it comes to disciplining illegal secondary suites (Tanasescu et al. 2010; Mendez 2011). What is often missing in these descriptions, Mendez (2011) contends, is an understanding of how the milieu of everyday life, such as the practices and politics of urban residents, shape the geography of secondary suites and legalization efforts.

One study that seeks to address this gap is Goodbrand's (2016) study in Calgary on the perceptions of stigma among renters living in secondary suites as well as tenant-landlord relations. Gratton (2011) pays more attention to urban policy making by investigating the context, processes, outcomes and perceptions of the City of Edmonton Secondary Dwelling Units Program. However, he infers overall consensus among community associations and residents active in secondary suite policy formation without including these actors in the interview process but rather relying on planning reports that omit the divisions among and within different neighbourhood organizations and other stakeholder groups. Tanasescu et al. (2010) make note of how state toleration of illegal suites is reinforced by community acceptance but we do not know the extent to which this toleration is geographically uneven. In the case of garage-to-rental dwelling conversions in Los Angeles, Purcell (2001, p. 182-3) describes an imagined suburban ideal, a "spatial vision", that homeowners mobilize in their activism against conversions that are perceived to invite the "corrupt and contaminated".

Individually, these studies tend to focus on one type of actor such as tenants, planners, or homeowners. Put together, these studies highlight the micro-level perceptions, experiences and negotiations around secondary suites as well as who is performing these mediations. We know less, however, about the geographical unevenness of these interests and how they play out in urban politics. In this study, I respond to this gap by exploring the position of homeowners, councillors and neighbourhood organizations who oppose the entrance of secondary suites and rental tenure in certain areas. To date, the literature on secondary suites is not attentive to local opposition, gatekeeping and conflict.

To explore these politics, this analysis provides a unique perspective to the secondary suites literature by incorporating the neighbourhood as a unit of analysis. As Dansereau (1993) succinctly describes, the neighbourhood is a simultaneously physical, sociocultural, and economic space. Its concrete attributes include features like density, land use, built form, and proximity to other urban infrastructures such as transit, employment, and educational facilities. A neighbourhood is also comprised of a particular social milieu, a group of residents who create, maintain, or re-interpret the symbolic dimensions of their local spaces and may communicate those messages to other residents or outsiders through everyday practices. And lastly, a neighbourhood is a local economy. These local spaces accommodate various centres of employment and social reproduction, including schools, commercial districts, and health facilities. Missing from this account, however, is the neighbourhood as a *political* space. Of course, this is not to say that the neighbourhood itself is a political agent, but is activated in politics of neighbourhood government such as community associations, homeowner associations, common interest developments, and various other forms of neighbourhood representation. Like others (Cheshire, Rosenblatt, Lawrence & Walters, 2009; Cowan & Marsh, 2004; Fraser, Bazuin

& Hornberger, 2015; Somerville, van Beckhoven & van Kempen, 2009; Tissot, 2015), I contend these are important but overlooked agents shaping housing policy outcomes and the trajectories of neighbourhood change.

To explore these politics, I use a class monopoly rent framework to explore opponents' interests in resisting land use change for secondary suites. According to urban land rent theory, various factions in the housing market, such as financial institutions, landlords, and speculator-developers, rely on the absolute partition of urban space for different consumption groups. Certain arrangements make this possible: the institution of private property, zoning controls, and financial lending policies facilitate the monopolization of space. With these arrangements in place, housing actors employ various inclusionary and exclusionary strategies to maintain their monopolies and extract rent from housing consumers. In effect, they ensure value is realized in all sectors of the housing market. Redlining, blockbusting, and steering are three examples that have received considerable scholarly attention (e.g. see Harvey, 1973; Harris & Forrester, 2003; Aalbers, 2012). Insofar as these actors successfully *coordinate* their efforts to extract a minimum rate of return from residential areas, they provide the basis of what Harvey (1974) defines a class monopoly rent. In this study, I explore the extent to which class monopoly rents motivate opposition to secondary suites, the institutional arrangements that make these class monopoly rents possible, and how class interests plays out in urban politics.

In this study, I employ a mixed-methods approach that includes historical policy review, mapping secondary suites, in-depth interviews, an study of public submissions, and a comparative analysis of neighbourhood politics. A review of the historical policies that gave rise to original restrictions provides a better understanding of present-day contention around secondary suites. Using mapping techniques, I expose the spatial distribution of secondary suites

in Calgary and relate these findings to a geographically uneven tolerance. I will explore the basis of opposition to secondary suites using interview transcriptions and public submissions from a diverse spectrum of housing actors that include councillors, community leaders, and urban planners. Finally but importantly, I will bring the findings of these different methods together in a comparative analysis of community politics in different neighbourhoods. Broadly speaking, this study uncovers the interests that underlie opposition to secondary suites, the key institutional actors who pursue these interests, and the geography of these politics.

The structure of the thesis will be as follows: in Chapter 1, I will cover the broad housing transitions that gave rise to secondary suite conversions, followed by a review of local actors and urban policies responding to this housing trend. In this chapter, I will also present the utility of a class monopoly framework in describing Calgary's contentious secondary suite politics. In Chapter 2, I will describe my methodology in more detail, including its strengths, limitations, and the overall value of a mixed-methods approach. In Chapter 3, I will provide a historical overview of the political events that constitute Calgary's secondary suite controversy, including the origin of secondary suite restrictions in the post-war era and more recent trends in Calgary's rental housing market. In Chapter 4, I will present opponents' perception of landlords and renters and the political significance of their perceived monopoly rights at the neighbourhood and urban scale of governance. In Chapter 5, I will describe where opposition to secondary suites is strongest, where it is weakest, and the neighbourhood qualities and social practices that characterize this geography.

Chapter One: The Politics and Policies of Secondary Suites

1.1 Introduction and Definitions

Numerous studies and policy programmes refer to secondary suites as accessory apartments, basement suites, unauthorized suites, granny flats, mother-in-law suites, garage conversions, and laneway housing (Gellen, 1985; Purcell, 2001; CitySpaces, 2007; Tanasescu et al., 2010; Mendez, 2011; Noble & Selinger, 2012; Goodbrand, 2016). In the broadest terms, secondary suites are independent dwelling units within low-density residential properties. They are typically located either on the main floor or in the basement of a home but also within or on top of a garage. Property owners typically use these dwelling units as a rental properties or family accommodation.

The tension around secondary suites is a product of historical transitions in housing policy and their spatial impacts. In Chapter 1.2, I will discuss housing trends in the postwar era that saw secondary suites largely phased out of suburban areas, the transition from social to private rental housing, and the impacts of housing inequality. In Chapter 1.3, I will explore how landlords, renters, homeowners, and policymakers negotiate secondary suites in an urban context. In Chapter 1.4 I will identify research gaps in the secondary suite literature and present a class monopoly framework for exploring these overlooked tensions in the urban politics and policies of secondary suites.

1.2 Housing Trends

1.2.1 The postwar housing context.

Historical housing trends contextualize the existing practice of leasing suites as well as the opposition that ensues when they develop in low-density neighbourhoods. First among these is

the context in which postwar suburban development unfolded in many cities. As many authors point out, the unprecedented expansion of homeownership for the working class after the Second World War was largely driven by national housing policies, namely the extension of household mortgage debt, government-backed mortgage insurance, and consolidation of smaller lenders into large financial institutions (Bacher, 1993; Carter, 1997; Harris, 2004; Hulchanski, 2007; Foran 2009; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013; Bélec, 2015). At the same time, rising incomes, a large number of soldiers returning home from the Second World War, and an increasing number of women in the workforce provided effective demand for homeownership (Miron, 1993; Stamp, 2004; Harris, 2004). Rising fertility rates, a decrease in mortality, and the waves of immigration associated with European resettlement also doubled Canada's overall population from 1945 to 1985 (Miron, 1993). New housing policies and demographic transitions were thus important factors shaping the demand for housing and the explosion of housing construction activity that followed.

Concurrent with these housing policy transitions was a modernist trend in urban design. If citizens associated urban life before the Second World War with degradation, complexity, and instability, Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit Concept provided an alternative vision of social integration, simplicity, and safety (Patterson 1993; Fischler 1998). Conceived in the 1920s, Perry's Neighbourhood Unit Concept envisioned residential areas bound by highways with interior streets reserved for local traffic, thereby keeping children and their parents safe. Recreational and cultural facilities were located in the core of the neighbourhood, bringing local residents together in a common interest with civic affairs. Strict building controls and comprehensive zoning ensured the longevity of the neighbourhood's character as well as property values, and single-detached homeownership was the predominant element in the neighbourhood while other multi-family,

industrial and commercial uses were segregated elsewhere (Patterson, 1993; Fischler, 1998; Stamp, 2004; Harris 2004; Foran, 2009; Morrow, 2013). In many instances, urban policymakers banned lodging houses and households of unrelated individuals outright (Miron, 1993). In the postwar era, the Neighbourhood Unit Concept became the predominant blueprint for suburban development in many cities.

This particular variant of suburban design came with a number of social implications. More broadly, rationalized suburban environments attended increasingly prevalent social unrest, particularly a growing number of labour, civil rights, and feminist movements in the postwar era. The tax system treated private homeownership more favourably than rental properties (Steele, 1993a; Miron, 1993; Hulchanski, 2007). Other scholars argue homeownership pivoted factions of the working class against one another, made labourers bound by mortgage payments less likely to demand better conditions in the workplace, and further solidified an inconvenient split between work and place of residence (Bassett & Short, 1980; Cox, 1984; Berry, 1986; Harvey, 1985; Marcuse, 1987). Many feminist scholars have also explored a gendered and interlinked division of labour between a feminized private, home-based realm of suburbia and a male-dominated, public world of work in urban centres (McDowell, 1983; England, 1993). Other considerations of social difference, such as race and class, played a more direct role in the conception of the Neighbourhood Unit ideal. For Fischler (1998), Clarence Perry accepted that parents chose their place of residence to avoid having their children interact with those from different classes or races, which inspired a spatial vision that solidified these distinctions. Suburbia was an arguably repressive response to societal demands concerned with labour rights, racial justice, and gender equality.

These covert principles worked in tandem with federal mortgage policies since, by the 1950s, CMHC began to discriminate sharply through the provision of mortgage finance from one

neighbourhood to the next (Harris & Forrester, 2003; Stamp, 2004; Foran, 2009). In addition to segregating consumer groups based on distinctions of class and race, the Neighbourhood Unit Concept was an exercise of private retreat, the legitimized use of zoning to protect property values, and a facilitator of automobile use (Fischler, 1998; Foran 2009; Stamp 2004). As Patterson (1993) notes, in Perry's view it was the corporate developer with large land holdings who was best able to realize this idealized neighbourhood and thus held a privileged position in planning practice as a champion of progress. Today, single-detached zoning is understood "universally [as] the most privileged category of zoning" while "other types of households [are] tolerated only if they can prove that they resemble or emulate a nuclear family" (Valverde, 2012, p. 117-118). The Neighbourhood Unit Concept was more than a mere blueprint of modernist design but rather entailed a specific set of social practices and relations that continue to shaping housing politics today.

1.2.2 Rental housing policy.

Social housing in Canada has been on a gradual decline since the 1960s, while today there are various federal subsidy programs and mortgage lending protections that provide financial benefits to homeowners. In 2005 alone more homeowners were assisted by mortgage insurance than all social housing units in the past 35 years (Hulchanski, 2007, p. 2). As we shall later see, the combination of these rental housing policy transitions and the financial benefits conferred through homeownership continues to polarize homeowners and renters today, with the bulk of the latter receiving little or no tax subsidy for rental expenses. While these tenure differences feature prominently in the discussion about secondary suites as well as local opposition to

affordable housing developments more generally, it is also important to understand the ways in which secondary suites are indicative of larger structural change in rental housing provision.

Historically, urban citizens associated stigma, neglect and transience with rental housing properties, predominantly in the inner city. With the exception of veterans' housing² (CMHC, 2011a), up until the 1960s very little public housing was built in Canada (Bacher, 1993; Crook, 1998; Dalton, 2008). By the 1960s, municipal shelters and non-profit organizations had taken up the responsibility of providing for transient groups, mostly men, displaced by poverty, unemployment, and/or unsuitable living conditions (McClain, 1993; Hulchanski, 2009). Nevertheless, homelessness tended to be transitory rather than chronic (Hulchanski, 2009; Gaetz, Gulliver & Richter, 2014). Poor-quality, "skid-row" rooming accommodations were another increasingly prevalent feature of the urban landscape. Like others (e.g. Gaetz et al., 2014), Bacher (1993, p. 212) notes that many of these developments were characterized by "marginal locations, insensitive designs, and ghettoized accommodation" that imposed a number social costs on tenants. While the CMHC (2011b) outlines a number of policies and programmes designed in the 1940s and 50s to facilitate the production of low-cost housing amongst private entrepreneurs, the empirically reality of a growing population of Canadians accommodated in sub-standard housing conditions demonstrates a glaring deficiency in the Canadian approach to rental housing provision.

² The CMHC's (2011) overview of the history of social housing in Canada lists a select number of subsidized developments built before the 1960s, including Benny Farm in Montréal in 1946 (384 units) and Regent Park in Toronto in 1947 (2, 000 units) as well as various other wartime housing reserves. Patterson (1993) adds to this inventory Jeanne Mance in Montréal in 1956 (900 units) as well as Strathcona in Vancouver, Lord Selkirk and Mulgrave Park in Winnipeg and Halifax, respectively.

Postwar urban renewal as well as heightened interest in social housing investment characterized subsequent trends in Canada's rental housing sector. While many rental communities fell prey to urban renewal schemes in the 1950s (Carter, 1991; Carmon, 1999), the federal government also took a different but short-lived approach to rental housing production from 1964 to 1978. After a number of amendments to the NHA in 1964, the CMHC was able to make long-term loans for public housing to provincial governments as well as non-profit organizations and was held responsible for up to 50 per cent of annual operating losses for a 50 year period (Hannley, 1993; CMHC, 2011a; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013). Subsequently, public housing was rapidly constructed for low-income families (Bacher, 1993) in quantities unmatched in subsequent decades (Falvo, 2017). Not-for-profit housing organizations also became a more prominent feature of the Canadian rental housing sector after 1973, when low-interest loans were made available to mixed-income and co-operative societies. These small-scaled, tenant-controlled and mixed-income developments not only deviated from federally owned projects of the past but would also come to surpass traditional public housing production in the decades the followed (Patterson, 1993; Carter, 1997; CMHC, 2011a; Falvo, 2017).

What proved problematic for CMHC, however, was the fact that these housing programs provided a mortgage interest subsidy to middle-income owners living with low-income tenants in the same projects. Thus while the period from 1973 to 1978 has been described as "a short-lived Valhalla for Canadian housing reformers" (Bacher, 1993, p. 273), CMHC terminated its loan contributions and transferred responsibility to the provinces in 1978 in an effort to target federal subsidies to households in core need CMHC (Patterson, 1993). History thus tell us that 1978 was a pivotal year from which the federal government would continue to withdraw from public housing provision despite the various successes of its experimental approach after 1964. Implicit

in this decision was an assumption that the mixing of different income groups was an inappropriate strategy to addressing affordable housing needs.

From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, the CMHC experimented with a number of stimulus programs for private rental housing production³. These measures provided incentives to private investors to employ rental housing as a highly tax-efficient investment (Crook, 1998). Evidently, between 1975 and 1980 roughly 356,000 units, 56 per cent of all new conventional rental housing construction, was constructed thanks to these programmes. However, beginning in the mid-1970s, the taxation of capital gains on rental housing as well as inflation in building and land costs induced a widening gap between what tenants were willing to pay and the rent needed by developers and landlords to make new construction profitable. The subsequent drop in private rental housing construction prompted the federal government to terminate existing programmes and introduce a number of short-term, incentive-driven policies that also sought to stimulate the economy during the 1980s recession. Long-term housing production was ultimately compromised, however, as many of these units were sold into private ownership when operating agreements expired (Crook, 1998). Overall, the termination of these programmes by the early 1980s thus indicates the end of an era in which private rental housing production, particularly purpose-built apartment structures, was a relatively profitable endeavour.

Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, private rental production in Canada began to significantly drop off and continued to do so well into the late 1990s (Falvo, 2017). The withdrawal of incentives for private rental housing production matched a simultaneous reduction

³ These included the Multiple Unit Residential Buildings (MURB) program, which beginning in 1974 provided a tax shelter for private investors. In 1975, the introduction of the Assisted Rental Programme (ARP) provided landlords with a monthly grant and in later phases, interest free loans, to generate a return on investment and reduce rents for low income groups (Miron, 1995; Carter, 1997; Crook, 1998; Shapcott, 2010; Clifford, 2011; Gaetz et al., 2014).

in federal expenditure on social housing, which continued well into the 1980s with the election of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and a Conservative majority in 1984. In an exercise of fiscal restraint, a series of smaller programs were eliminated in the late 1980s and culminated into the termination of all new funding for social housing by 1993, with the exception of reserves (Carter, 1997; Hulchanski, 2009; 2007; Dalton, 2008; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013; Gaetz et al., 2014; CHRA, 2014). By 1995, CMHC offered to transfer social housing subsidy administration in the 1973-1985 portfolio to the provinces via Social Housing Agreements and thereby reduce administrative costs (CMHC, 2011a; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013). However, most provincial governments have been unable or unwilling to sustain affordability, safety and quality in the social housing sector and made subsequent funding cuts of their own (Carter, 1997; CHRA, 2014).

Beginning in the early 2000s, the federal government developed an entirely different funding structure to the provinces for affordable housing development. Instead of long-term subsidies, one-time capital grant funding via the 2001 Affordable Housing Initiative (AHI) could be accessed by the provinces and territories provided they shared 50 per cent of the costs and used the funding to gear rents below average rates for a minimum of 10 years (Shapcott, 2010; CMHC, 2011a; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013; Gaetz et al., 2014; CHRA, 2014). Policymakers secure affordability in these capital grant-funded units for a much shorter timeframe than the 50-year operating agreements of the 60s and 70s. Furthermore, given that the traditional social housing sector accommodates 544, 000 households as of 2014 (CHRA, 2014), the 53, 400 households funded by AHI from 2001 to 2011 (CMHC, n.d.a) suggests a significant downsizing of affordable housing provision.

Beginning with the election of a Conservative minority government in 2006, funding commitments have been sporadic. In 2009, the Conservative government dedicated \$2 billion in social housing upgrades as well as new construction for specific target groups as part of a broader, post-2008 recession stimulus package⁴. However, in 2011 an expenditure review was re-initiated and affordable housing funding was downsized to an annual \$253 million through the 2014-2019 Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH) initiative. As the CHRA (2014) notes, this investment is relatively diminutive in light of the declining \$1.6 billion within existing social housing agreements, from which 365, 000 residents benefit. They contend that IAH, which provides for 14, 500 households, cannot offset or replace the decline in federal funding for social housing, and conclude that as of 2014 federal investment in social housing will be zero by 2040. As I write this, however, the newly elected Liberal Party has begun to re-engage with affordable housing provision with the 2017 Budget through the development of a National Housing Strategy (e.g. see Government of Canada, 2016). The National Housing Collaborative (NHC), an alliance of non-profit and private housing associations and major foundations, herald the institution of a \$5 billion National Housing Fund that "opens the door to other innovative affordability measures" (NHC, 2017, p. 1). While the outcomes of these recommendations have yet to be seen, much of the rhetoric that characterizes NHC's (2016) submission and the public submissions reported in the federal government's "What We Heard" synopsis (Government of

⁴ Canada's Economic Action Plan (CEAP) was a two-year investment program initiated in 2009 and included housing-related measures such as continued delivery (\$850 million) to the Affordable Housing Initiative, an additional \$1 billion to renovate and energy retrofit existing social housing units, and \$475 million for housing low-income seniors' and persons with disabilities. (CMHC, 2011b). Falvo and Pomeroy (2013) contend the primary motives driving the Conservative Party's stimulus initiatives was to create jobs and respond to weak economic conditions rather than meet unmet housing needs.

Canada, 2016) highlight the role of 'innovative' financing strategies such as the provision of affordable home ownership, alternative financing and equity, and private sector involvement.

The impacts of these rental housing policy transitions have been profound. Many of the non-profit and co-operative organizations that took advantage of long-term federal subsidies in the 1960s and 70s have begun to see a reduction in their annual funding beginning in 2014 and have subsequently responded to this challenge by looking for new partnerships and sources of funding (Carter, 1997; Pomeroy & Falvo, 2013). Social housing organizations have also repeatedly expressed concern over the precarious financial circumstances older housing programs are trying to navigate as 544, 000 low-income households reside in social housing units reliant upon some form of federal housing subsidy (Shapcott, 2011; Noble & Selinger, 2012; Cheung, 2014; Gaetz et al., 2014; CHRA, 2014; City of Calgary, 2017a). New social housing production has also been significantly impacted by these policy trends, as the quantity of social housing units funded by all levels of government combined dropped from 20, 450 in 1982 to just 1, 000 by 1995 (Shapcott, 2008). While these trends will fluctuate with the rise and fall of new affordable housing programmes, evidence suggests a sharp overall decline in social housing units.

New rental housing production is not only being circumscribed but in many instances existing units have undergone condominiumization⁵ or have been all together demolished to make way for new development (Miron, 1995; Crook, 1998; Eberle, 2001; Bunting et al., 2004; Cheung, 2014; Gaetz et al., 2014). A number of important and interrelated factors are at play.

⁵ Condominiumization is a real estate term that refers to the practice of splitting a single property title over a rental housing building into individually salable units, or condos.

First, the termination of federal subsidies for traditional rental apartment production has compounded the widening gap between what renters are able to pay for built-to-rent units and what landlords need to maintain a minimum rate of return on their investment (Hulchanski, 2007). Put simply, developers find the private condo market more profitable due to the tax system, entrance of rent regulation, and an inflationary environment that began in the late 1980s (Steele, 1993b). For those high-earning individuals who lease their privately owned condos, mortgage interest payments can be deducted from tax contributions while taxation of potential capital gains is circumvented until re-sale (Crook, 1998). These processes are more appealing to private entrepreneurs given the deregulation of rent control over the past two decades, as rent increase restrictions are now only applied to pre-existing tenancies (Pomeroy, 2011). This process is more likely to unfold in high growth, urban environments, where overheated housing markets are the norm. What's more, condominium development often out-bids purpose-built rental housing providers competing for the same multi-residential land use zones in these urban markets (Bunting et al., 2004; Hulchanski, 2007; Cheung, 2014).

Many authors have described the trends described here as a policy shift from Keynesian state-run economic redistribution toward neoliberal strategies that favour minimal state intervention and decentralization (Carter, 1997; Dalton, 2008; Peterson, 2013). Clifford (2011) characterizes the period from 1980 to the 2000s as the dismantling of Keynesian approaches to affordable housing provision and the deepening of neoliberalization in housing policies. Neoliberalization has been broadly described as a global project that involves the removal of regulatory barriers for capital accumulation and enhanced economic competition within and between different places and sectors (Peck & Tickell, 1994; Jessop 2000; Larner, 2000; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Miller, 2007; Purcell, 2008; Tanasescu et al., 2010; Clifford, 2011; Davies,

2011). This policy shift does not mean the state's complete withdrawal from the management of economic and social relations but rather piloting economic activity through various agents, particularly voluntary or other private institutions (Elwood, 2002; Herbert, 2005; DeFilippis, Fisher & Shragge, 2006; Rosol, 2010). Transitions in Canada's rental housing sector after the 1980s has involved comparable state retrenchment, devolution of responsibility to the provinces, and a dependence on market-based solutions for housing provision.

Policies that seek to encourage secondary suites entrench a neoliberal ideology that upholds market rationalities and private enterprise as the most efficient ways to meet social needs (Tanasescu et al., 2010). At the institutional level, various provincial and federal policies have sought to legitimize this practice. The CMHC recognizes mortgage applicants' rental income from a secondary suite and will reduce the required annual qualifying income for their home financing (CMHC, n.d.b). In Ontario, a Liberal government modified the Ontario Planning Act in 2011 and obliged municipalities to allow for secondary suites within all low-density residential land use zones (CMHC, n.d.b). Provinces like Alberta have also tried to incentivize conversions by providing interest-free loans and forgivable grants in their affordable housing programs. In fact, Calgary's City Council used provincial funding to create homeowner incentives for the upgrading and creation of secondary suites. Tanasescu et al. (2010) argue these strategies are congruent with provincial and federal strategies to withdraw from social housing and instead provide low-cost subsidies, incentivize property ownership, and entrench individualist solutions to social problems. Situated within a half century of rental housing policy transition, secondary suites signify, in part, a significant restructuring of rental housing provision.

1.2.3 Secondary rental housing.

Concomitant with decline of purpose-built, rental housing stock is the proliferation of secondary rental housing. The CMHC defines secondary rental housing as renter-occupied housing comprised of structures with fewer than three dwelling units⁶ (CMHC, 2016a). Up until 2007, the CMHC did not collect very detailed information about the secondary rental market but infers that 47.5 per cent of all renter-occupied housing in Canada's census metropolitan areas resided in this market in 1996 (CMHC, 2016a, p. 1). To date, secondary suite estimates are included in these totals. By 2011, the proportion in Canada overall rests at 53.5 per cent, however there are differences from one metropolitan area to the next. Overall, condominiums are the largest share of the secondary rental housing market, followed by units within single-detached houses, in 2011 (Cheung, 2014; CMHC, 2016a).

Many studies attribute the growing prevalence of the secondary rental housing market to changing social and economic conditions such as aging baby boomers, improvements in the financing and liquidity of rental stock, and the potential for increased capital gains in a flexible rental market (Gellen 1985; Miron 1995; Crook 1998; Chapman & Howe 2001; Gunn et al., 2009; Cheung 2014). Scholars have also emphasized the intersection of income equality and tenure. As home ownership increasingly became reserved for upper-income groups, Canada's rental sector became a residual one restricted primarily to low-income Canadians beginning in the early 1970s (Hulchanski, 1993; Crook, 1998). At the same time, the state has withdrawn fiscal incentives for corporate investors to supply new rental units for low-income consumers.

⁶ The secondary rental housing market, according to CMHC, includes single detached houses, duplexes, condominiums and freehold row houses. Secondary suites are a component of the secondary rental housing market since they are typically a single rental dwelling unit within a property.

Crook (1998) contends that corporate landlords have thus largely left the private rental sector and moved onto condominium development.

These transitions in rental housing provision have involved the conversion of traditionally owner-occupied single detached houses and duplexes into accessory apartments, including basement suites, that may go unreported to the Canada Revenue Agency and violate municipal zoning and building code regulations (Skaburski, 1993; Poulton, 1995). Consequently, a large component of the secondary rental market is considered illegal given the violation of land use policies and formal health and safety standards. In the absence of such policies, however, the secondary rental market may be considered informal insofar as it lies outside the purview of state control (Mukhija & Loukaitous-Sideris, 2015).

Given soaring construction costs, uncontrolled condominium conversions, limited urban revenue streams, and the retrenchment of social housing programs, policymakers recognize secondary suites as an important option for affordable housing in high-growth urban economies (Miller & Smart, 2011; Gratton, 2011; Touati, 2013). Moreover, insofar as secondary rental units were once oriented toward owner-occupiers, the prevalence of rental tenure in these units suggests an increasing reliance among renters on the filtering down of older housing (Crook, 1998). Overall, the regulatory environment in which these transitions are taking place are more favourable to individual landlords rather than corporations, and landlords may hold onto these assets by renting them out until market conditions induce transfer into the ownership market (Miron, 1995; Crook, 1998).

1.2.4 Housing inequality.

Matched with declining real wages and reduced access to social assistance, these housing market transitions also been directly linked to housing affordability issues, inequality, and a rising rate of homelessness (Bunting et al., 2004; Dalton, 2008; Gaetz et al., 2014; Cheung, 2014; Heffernan, Faraday & Rosenthal, 2015). Across various metropolitan areas, studies show a disproportionately greater number of renters facing housing affordability issues compared to homeowners (Londerville & Steele, 2014). Canadian homeowners, on average, have twice the income of renters (Hulchanski, 2005, p. 3). This reality cannot be divorced from the privileges conferred to private property owners through federal housing policy. As Hulchanski (2007, p. 2) notes, in 2005 alone more individual private property owners were assisted by mortgage insurance than all social housing units in the past 35 years. He goes on to contrast the \$76 million spent on the Affordable Housing Initiative (AHI) in 2008 with the \$6 billion in tax revenue that was forfeited to benefit owners who sell their houses, as capital gains on home sales is not taxed. The orientation of housing policy, evidently, happens to squeeze low-income Canadians.

Increasing numbers of people are at-risk of homelessness due to precarious housing situations, where structural factors such as low income, unaffordable rents, and condominium conversion make it difficult for them to hold onto what housing they have (Gaetz et al., 2014). Indeed, many social researchers point out that Canada did not have a widespread homelessness problem until the 1980s and directly link this increasingly visible problem to the federal housing policy transitions described here (Hulchanski, 2009; Shapcott, 2010; Gaetz et al., 2014). Without deeper subsidy programs from provincial and federal levels of government, low income households may find it difficult to access adequate housing in the private sector, particularly in

places where construction costs and land speculation drives up the cost of housing (Carter, 1997; Hulchanski, 2005). Evidently, the decline of purpose-built, subsidized rental housing stock has arguably worsened the circumstances of low-income renters.

Housing struggle often operates through a number of other social disadvantages. Precarious housing situations and unaffordable rents are most often felt by single-parents, low-income families, those with disabilities, recently arrived immigrants and/or visible minorities, seniors, LGBTQ youth, and indigenous groups (Pental, Theodos & Franks, 2012; Maccio & Ferguson, 2016). The structural disadvantages these groups often face in the labour market as well as society more generally are concomitant with various forms of housing discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, race and/or sexuality. Moreover, stigma is often more broadly ascribed to rental tenure based on a number of prejudices including but not limited to the perception that renters are a transient population with little or no stake in the local community (Rollwagen, 2015). Since the postwar era, social housing has also been associated with crime, poverty, and disorder, which subsequently stigmatizes those who occupy it. While past research indicates these processes of tenure stigma are not new, a study based in Calgary indicates similar processes are at work in areas where private rental housing is development in neighbourhoods traditionally occupied by homeowners (Rollwagen, 2015).

Scholars have also pointed out that secondary suite renters are often structurally disadvantaged. Tanasescu et al. (2010) attribute the growth of informal rental units in Calgary and Hong Kong to the pressures experienced by lower income households, particularly migrant workers. Similarly, Teixeira's (2014) study of immigrant housing outcomes in Surrey and Richmond finds that the subletting and renting of secondary suites is an important coping strategy for both immigrant landlords and renters facing financial duress and housing market

discrimination. Evidently, secondary suites may not only operate as both a housing accommodation to renters but also a mortgage subsidy for property owners (Touati, 2013; Murdie, 1991), the latter of whom may also be compounded by housing affordability issues. Due to these pressures, many attempt to secure a cheaper option of housing, even if it is not necessarily legal according to authorities. Informal suites such as those which have not been inspected by the authorities or built according to mandatory building codes may violate health and safety requirements and create precarious physical and social circumstances for renters more generally (Tanasescu et al., 2010; Goodbrand, 2016).

1.3 Urban Relations

1.3.1 Landlords and tenants.

Landlord-tenant relations are a recurrent topic within the literature on secondary suites. Mendez (2011) categorizes these encounters as conflictive, tolerant, and respectful. Urban policies that seek to promote secondary suites, he argues, do little to promote the latter type of encounter but rather disproportionately benefit homeowner-landlords and thus reinforce tenure-status difference. Urban policy-makers, therefore, are other critical actors shaping landlord-tenant relations through the creation of a legal framework that may "empower owners to build rental suites in their property [but] cannot ... address the larger structural sources of tenure inequality, in particular the organization of space around a private property regime" (Mendez, 2011, p. 203). The work of Goodbrand (2016) is similarly concerned with the power relations between landlords and tenants, ultimately concluding that tenants tend to avoid their landlords for fear of social conflict as "encounter avoidance", a strategy employed when property maintenance is needed (Goodbrand, 2016, p. 115). Furthermore, the majority of secondary suite tenants interviewed in her study were

in transition from one life course to another, either in terms of divorce, graduation, saving for homeownership, or being newly arrived to Canada. Tenants' choice to live in an unauthorized secondary suite, she contends, was often made within a larger context of constraints associated with these transitional circumstances. Overall, these studies illustrate various social dynamics operating both within and outside the living place conditioning landlord-tenant relations.

These relations are made more complex given that landlords of secondary suites are an internally heterogeneous group. In regards to secondary suites, authors have made note of the differences between resident homeowner-landlords and absentee landlords who do not live within the properties they lease (Goodbrand, 2016; Patterson & Harris, 2017). While some studies conclude greater satisfaction among tenants who lease from homeowner-landlords (e.g. Patterson & Harris, 2017), other studies find inconsistency among tenant responses (Goodbrand, 2016). Historically, the literature has asserted that owner-occupants are generally associated with more responsible property maintenance practices (e.g. see Galster, 1983) while absentee landlords must contend with the negative social legacy of the 'slumlord'. Curiously, differences have also materialized through access to local grants. Unlike absentee landlords, homeowner-landlords may access funding for secondary suite legalization efforts due to owner-occupancy requirements (Gratton, 2011). Evidence suggests, therefore, that policy-makers treat homeowner-landlords more favourably than absentee landlords.

Multigenerational living arrangements are an important component of secondary suite practices. Drawing from land use applications in Calgary, Goodbrand et al. (2017) have discovered multi-generational living arrangements are a prominent motivation for leasing secondary suites. As these authors contend, the prevalence of these blended and intergenerational housing relations legitimizes land use change that accommodates more secondary suites. However, the notion that

policy-makers should be more encouraging of these often co-ethnic, 'self-help' strategies, is not without contention. Tanasescu and Smart's (2010) study of immigrant housing in Calgary challenges policies that rely on social capital to buffer to immigrants from housing difficulties, given that family and community assistance often involve their own forms of exploitation and abuse. These authors contextualize the practice of house sharing and the occupation of substandard accommodation with the erosion of immigrants' homeowner advantage, discrimination in formal housing and labour markets, and the unavailability of affordable housing options. Teixeira (2014) reaches similar conclusions regarding immigrant housing trajectories in Surrey and Richmond, illustrating the ways in which constrained housing choices shape involuntary co-ethnic concentrations in the outer suburban neighbourhoods of the Greater Vancouver area. In sum, an important tension in this literature is the extent to which secondary suites are an enabling or constraining housing arrangement for multigenerational families and immigrant populations.

1.3.2 Oppositional politics.

While landlords and tenants have received a considerable amount of attention in studies that explore secondary suites, relatively little is empirically known about the politics of those who oppose legalization strategies and land use relaxations. Based on neighbourhood surveys, Gratton (2011) contends that the experience in Edmonton, as in other places, exhibits strong public support and little concern with the neighbourhood impact of secondary suites. However, this study was limited in the sense that the survey response rate was 6% in one neighbourhood. Other authors point out tension between oppositional homeowners concerned with renters in their neighbourhoods and secondary suite proponents (Tanasescu et al., 2010). These politics have been described as bearing Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) attitudes, a protectionism felt by

those who face an unwelcome development in their neighbourhoods (Dear, 1992; Goodbrand, 2016). This suggests secondary suites are not accepted evenly across all communities. While we know relatively little about secondary suite opponents, an extensive literature that documents the interests driving local opposition to unwanted housing developments more generally presents a number of key tensions and themes.

Within the NIMBY framework is an extensive discussion about the motivations of those who oppose locally unwanted land uses; affordable housing units are a frequent subject of such controversy (Scully & Koenig, 2012; Scully & Tighe, 2015). Earlier studies often characterized the NIMBY syndrome as an inherently self-interested aversion to the negative externalities of undesirable land use (Dear, 1992), while subsequent studies have sought to challenge the moral binary between good and bad participation among such protest groups (McClymont & O'Hare, 2008). This tension is significant given that low-income communities have also employed place-based, representative organizations to challenge long-standing burdens of locally undesirable land uses (Jun & Musso, 2013). Similarly, Lake (1993) challenges the notion that NIMBY antagonisms thwart societal goals but rather enact a barrier to the structurally constrained choices imposed by capital. Other scholars, drawing from social and psychological theories, emphasize the role of place in generating emotional attachments and identity formation. Place-protective actions, Devine-Wright (2009) contends, are a coping response to the symbolic dimensions of change. Nevertheless, the prevalence of well-educated, middle-class property owners within local protest groups challenges the notion that NIMBY politics are inclusive of all community preferences (Schively, 2007; Hillier, 2003). Put together, NIMBY studies demonstrate considerable variation when explaining local opposition to land use change.

More specific attention has been paid to the role of property value concerns and an aversion to the poor as primary factors driving local opposition to unwanted housing developments. In the case of affordable housing, the entrance of low-income groups and/or other marginalized populations with little or no purchasing power is believed to jeopardize property values for existing middle- and upper-class residents. Cox (1982) argues homeowners are more likely to engage in such politics given that transaction costs impede relocation. The role of homeownership in contextualizing local housing conflicts, therefore, has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention. In these analyses, both tenure and class position are categorical social variables that characterize community conflict over housing development. Put simply, relatively well-off homeowners tend to pursue oppositional tactics against development that threatens local property value, including low-income housing. The institution of private property and the operation of competitive housing markets augment these differences and coordinate a set of social relations that are inherently antagonistic. Opposition to unwanted housing developments is but one of many expressions of this structural conflict.

More specifically, place-protective or territorial politics unfold in the context of neighbourhood commodification and consumption-based conflicts. Commodification implies neighbourhoods are increasingly treated as commodities for which the purchase of a home guarantees the right to consume the positive externalities⁷ of the area (Cox, 1982; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Townshend, 2006). Such an abstraction implies the exclusion of others, as

⁷ Externalities or spill-over effects are those activities in an urban system that "may generate certain unpriced and perhaps non-monetary effects upon other elements in the system" (Harvey 1973, p. 57-58). Where one is located relative to these externalities implicates relative income advantage, whether in terms of access to employment opportunities, health, housing, or relatively low transportation expenditures.

neighbourhood commodification "allows people to relate to neighbourhood as *something* from which others can be excluded" (Cox, 1984, p. 292). In this framework, place-protective actions tend to be less about mutual interests in one another but rather based on individual interests in neighbourhood amenities such as particular aesthetics, good schools, and lifestyle preference for nuclear family life (Cox, 1984). Structuring the residential living environment in this way is achieved through formal rules and regulation, such as zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants, as well as informal social controls that often guarantee conformity with these ideals (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). These efforts may be regarded more broadly as a "politics of turf":

a politics conducted by coalitions of residential households... The object of the coalition or local government is to manipulate the environment of externalities impinging in the living place through appropriate land use, public expenditure and taxation policies. Land uses regarded as providing positive externalities for current residents will be attracted in while attempts are made to exclude those imposing some form of external cost. (Cox, 1984, p. 284)

Class distinctions tend to characterize these internecine community conflicts; those who occupy superior positions in the labour market are often motivated to defend their living environments from proximity to those of a lower social status (Harvey, 1973; Cox, 1984). Cox (2018, p. 479) argues these politics are better understood as a "territorialized class politics," where resident groups and neighbourhood groups attempt to structure their living place environments in the interest of *capital*, e.g. profits, rents, wages, and taxes.

Scale is an important part of these strategies. Cox (1998) describes local interests in land as a "space of dependence," where various agents seek to control a particular spatial field in the interest of profits/rents/wages/taxes. To achieve these ends, they construct a "space of engagement," networks and coalitions that span across space but also scales of governance. For example, a group of residents called the Chackmore Against Gravel Extraction (CAGE) group constructed a network of agents among national leaders whose social position and distance from

the local controversy could defend opponents' interests in at a broader scale of governance. More broadly, Cox (1998) describes the connection between spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement as a "politics of space" that emerges to suspend the contradiction between capital in its mobile and fixed forms. He explains,

Value must continue to flow through capital in its fixed forms if industrial capitalists are to continue to realize profits, landowners rents, and workers wages, in particular places ... Yet capital in its mobile form, through its constant search for higher levels of profit, continually threatens to radically devalue capital in these fixed forms. A politics of space emerges in order to ensure that this contradiction is suspended. (1998, p. 4).

Other scholars criticize what they perceive as an economic bias in class analyses of housing conflict and rather emphasize the social and cultural factors that motivate place-based protective action. The earliest of these critics, what Pitkin (2001) refers to as the 'subculturalists' (e.g. see Firey, 1945; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1973), contend that symbolic attachment to place, social networks, and the extent to which local communities are politically organized are overlooked factors shaping why and how residents defend and maintain their neighbourhoods. More recent analyses are similarly concerned with place-based identity formation and collective action. Scholars have shown, for example, the ways in which place acts as a "mobilizing discourse and identity for collective action" (Martin, 2003, p. 730), or how homeowners attempt to realize a "cohesive spatial vision for the neighbourhood" (Purcell, 2001, p. 190). In these analyses, place provides a framework for collective action; as a conceptual space, it is an articulation of a set of social values that brings individuals together in the pursuance of realizing those social values in material space. These interests may extend beyond property value and are rather inclusive of a broad range of ideas including but not limited to the sanctity of private domain, the sensibility of nuclear family orientation and middle class lifestyles, and harmony with nature (Purcell, 2008) - or what Fishman (1989) refers to as a "bourgeois utopia". Valverde

(2012, chp. 5) similarly emphasizes the role of nostalgia, rather than race issues or real estate values, in driving neighbourhood politics. Cox (1982, p. 125) couches a similar idea as "neighbourhood purification," a place "purified of all those undesirable influences such as low-income housing projects and video arcades, *which would detract from the socializing mission and the home-centeredness of the nuclear family*" (emphasis added). Overall, these studies illustrate social goals and place-based interests besides property value that motivate collective action against unwanted development.

Scholars have also framed local opposition to certain developments as an urban conflict between residents and rentiers in the pursuit of use values and exchange values. In the growth machine model, conflicts arise when those who use place as a commodity for monetary exchange threaten the ability of residents to realize the use values of a place (Logan & Molotch, 1987). These use values include but are not limited to the utilization of local shops, schools, and green spaces as well as informal support networks, a sense of civic pride, and personal safety. When rentiers successfully intensify the use of land for profit, subsequent processes of gentrification, land clearance, and redevelopment may disassemble existing communities and undermine their use of urban space. Residents concerned with the use value of land presumably face an uphill battle against a powerful alliance of business and real estate developers who use agenda-setting powers and cultural discourse to foreclose alternative communities and political directions (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). Thus in the growth machine model, interest in land as a vehicle for profit versus utility to human life characterize two diametrically opposed positions in growth politics. Jonas and Wilson (1999, p. 6) add,

Use values are rooted in the neighborhood as lived place; it is here that psychological attachments to place are strongest. Threats to neighborhood attachment and use values come from various kinds of land use and demographic change (Logan and Molotch 1987: chap. 4)...this leads, most

poignantly, to moves by residents to push for suburban incorporation, restrictive zoning, and growth control, or to attempts by rentiers to harness state and federal resources for urban redevelopment.

The oppositional tactics and political mechanisms residents pursue to defend their neighbourhoods from urban densification and neighbourhood change, therefore, are motivated by place-based sociocultural values. Directly antagonistic to these goals are the monetary interests of rentiers who organize themselves into growth coalitions and assert the overall benefits of growth through certain cultural narratives and agenda-setting practices, thereby foreclosing any challenge to the pursuance of exchange values over citizens' use values. Research suggests this framework is relevant for understanding opposition to secondary suites, given that legalization strategies are often a component of broader densification goals. In their discussion of the EcoDensity Initiative in Vancouver as a commodification agenda, Mendez and Quastel (2016, p. 12) point out that opponents understood the initiative to obscure how liberal zoning laws, the legalization of secondary suites, and high-rise development were in fact an exercise of "densification for profit." In this framework, secondary suites are associated with exploitation despite a policy discourse that emphasized their benefits.

While scholars use various frameworks to understand oppositional housing politics, many tactics are common among them. Opposing development applications through land use consultation processes is an oft-cited practice among those who wish to exclude unwanted land uses. Given that secondary suites are often perceived as a deviation of the neighbourhood from the traditional suburban image of housing and family (Gellen, 1985), similar practices have been observed among secondary suite opponents (e.g. see Purcell, 2001). In the event of land use change, opponents voice their concerns through the public hearing process, which is triggered in the event that a property owner submits an application for rezoning their parcel(s). Officially,

land use planning rationales frame negotiations rather than the individual qualities of the property owner and/or future newcomers to the neighbourhood. Research has shown, however, that anxieties around rapid social and economic change are often channelled through land use consultation mechanisms that are ill-equipped to deal with emotional attachments to place (Valverde, 2012, chp. 5). Alternatively, scholars argue opponents seek to exclude the poor and minorities through land use consultations by referencing more benign moral values such as historical preservation (Clingermayer, 2004). The defence of property values has also been frequently observed in the content of these appeals. Land use consultations can therefore provide a rich source of qualitative information regarding the motives and rationales driving neighbourhood development politics.

Various other strategies are available to those who wish to oppose unwanted housing development in their neighbourhoods. These include but are not limited to garnering signatures for petitions, engaging the media, and lobbying local representatives. The latter practice is particularly strategic in a ward-based electoral system. As Valverde (2012) argues, geographically bounded constituencies and the absence of party politics are meant to encourage political autonomy, but might also encourage reactive styles of governance that are short-sighted and dominated by a subset of local constituents and those elected officials who wish to defend their interests. Councillors often emerge as local champions of those more prominent or vocal individuals in their communities in a "David versus Goliath narrative" based on political tension between elected officials and municipal administration (Valverde, 2012, p. 81). Furthermore, non-elected individuals may also take on this role to steer policy toward their interests or the interests of their community:

The local champion role is one that can be played by private citizens as well as politicians. Often such volunteer champions are not known beyond a single street or a single residents' association, but the councillor and his/her assistants make a point of knowing who these people are, and not only at election time... While becoming a grassroots champion of the local does not require being wealthy or even being a homeowner, certain skills are crucial: knowing something about city hall, having some acquaintance with the planning process, being confident and articulate, and ... being articulate in English. (Valverde, 2012, p. 100).

Ward-based electoral systems, therefore, can provide certain opportunities for local champions, both elected and unelected, to garner political support for local policy interests and goals - including the exclusion of unwanted housing forms. As one study suggests, ward representation tends to intensify the social homogeneity of local constituencies, enhance the political power of spatially clustered voting groups, and subsequently support the exclusion of unwanted land uses⁸ in such areas (Clingermayer, 1994). The literature also suggests suburban and inner city jurisdictions are polarized in their political attitudes, as inner-city residents tend to prefer the collectivization of services while suburban communities favour tax cuts and privatized access to local amenities (Berry, 1986; Walks, 2006; Townshend, 2006). Local voting systems are thus an important context shaping access to urban policy-making processes among local activists, champions, and/or development opponents.

Opponents might also organize through their local neighbourhood associations. Working as a coalition of local residents, neighbourhood-based associations may: advocate for or protest against a particular objective; seek financial investment, infrastructure, and/or local services; offer services of their own; lobby councillors; and participate in land use planning consultations and neighbourhood development in conjunction with local government (Checkoway, 1985; Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990; Dilger, 1992). Many European studies have conceptualized the

⁸ In Clingermayer's (1994) study, ward representation was found to be strongly associated with the exclusion of group homes.

governance activities of these associations (Lowndes & Sullivan, 2007; Somerville et al., 2009). Lowndes & Sullivan (2007) conceive of neighbourhood empowerment, partnership, government, and management as four ideal types of neighbourhood governance, each with their own objectives, democratic devices, and conception of citizen participation. Somerville et al. (2009) define neighbourhood governance as activities that not only shape the attributes of a neighbourhood but also represent a neighbourhood to others. All together, these studies demonstrate considerable diversity in terms of the functions and governance styles of neighbourhood associations. To date, we know little about these organizations' stance to secondary suites.

1.3.3 The urban management of secondary suites.

In terms of urban benefits, scholars argue secondary suites improve housing affordability and rental housing supply (Hare, 1993; Gellen, 1985; Friedman, 2002), especially in high-growth cities where intense competition for land and significant population growth puts upward pressure on housing costs (Downs, 2004; Alexander & Tomalty, 2002). Urban policy makers may also pursue secondary suites based on the merits of smart growth and ecological sustainability (Wheeler & Beatley, 2004; Andrews, 2005; Gratton, 2011; Downs, 2004; Mendez & Quastel, 2016). Smart growth mitigates the economic and environmental consequences of low-density suburban development by increasing density, thereby maximizing use of existing infrastructure (Alexander & Tomalty, 2002; Carruthers & Ulfarsson, 2008; Mendez & Quastel, 2016). Secondary suites are a particularly "soft" approach to these objectives since urban planners increase the population density of a neighbourhood without changing the overall built density (Touati, 2013). In terms of social benefits, secondary suites foster intergenerational communities

and, relatedly, aging-in-place for senior homeowners who have or will have difficulty affording the costs and physical demands of remaining in their homes and neighbourhoods (Ritzdorf, 1987; Talen, 2006). Mixed income neighbourhoods more generally allow residents to improve their social standing and social intermingling can reduce social and cultural silos (Gratton, 2011; Talen, 2006; Kearns & Mason, 2007). Proponents often tout these benefits in urban policy rationales that seek to formalize secondary suites as a sensible solution to affordable housing deficits.

Secondary suites also present a significant challenge to policymakers in that they are often illegal or all together unrecognized in land use bylaws. As Goodbrand (2016, p. 37) points out, informality and illegality are often used interchangeably but may not conceptually mean the same thing. Scholars define informal activities as those that lie outside state control or regulatory frameworks (Mukhija & Loukaitous-Sideris, 2015). One might argue that the difference between informality and illegality, therefore, is the *absence* versus the *violation* of rules. Illegality thus implies that there are in fact rules and regulations that govern a particular practice. Scholars often prefer terms such as informal or unauthorized as a way to ease the moral judgement that is associated with illegal activities (e.g. Mendez, 2011; Goodbrand, 2016). Nevertheless, how and where authorities discipline informal activities speaks to an important power relation between the local state and the agents of informal practices (Roy, 2005). Evidence suggests municipal governments tend to apply the law ambiguously when it comes to discipline for illegal secondary suites (Mendez, 2011; Goodbrand, 2016; Tanasescu et al., 2010). Consequently, a common theme in this literature is that municipal governments often face a "double bind" when it comes to managing illegal secondary suites. Illegal suites may be of low quality, dangerous for tenants, and offend surrounding neighbours and yet pursuing strict restrictions and a hard enforcement

approach is not only legally difficult but may also push needed housing further underground. Subsequently, many Canadian cities have attempted to navigate this terrain with a broad range of policy instruments and strategies.

Reducing or modifying regulatory barriers to facilitate the production of secondary suites is encouraged by research institutions and actively pursued by urban policy makers. As one example, the University of California's Center for Community Innovation recently published a report, *Yes in My Backyard: Mobilizing the Market for Secondary Units*, that espouses the value of secondary rental housing in addressing rising housing costs, densification goals, and aging populations (Chapple et al., 2012). Similarly, the Municipal Research and Services Center (1995) in Seattle presents a number of benefits to secondary rental units such as an increase in the supply of affordable housing without government subsidies, additional income for homeowners, neighbourhood stability, and densifying areas with under-utilized infrastructure. Both of these research reports make a number of recommendations for policy modification, including the relaxation of zoning restrictions, building codes, and parking requirements. Other scholars take a more critical perspective. For Tanasescu et al. (2010), the formalization and legalization of secondary suites is not only a neoliberal policy trend that encourages state retrenchment from social housing provision but also rests upon effective demand from users who are largely excluded from formal housing and labour markets. Mendez and Quastel (2016) have also shown how municipal governments use legitimization strategies and smart growth narratives to absorb social opposition and facilitate the commodification of new urban spaces.

In Canadian cities where land use bylaws provide for secondary suites, there are a variety of urban management practices used to govern their location, legal status, and regulatory requirements. These include zoning policies, bylaw enforcement practices, business licensing

systems, and covenants. In terms of zoning bylaws, secondary suites may be completely restricted in certain land use zones, provided as a discretionary use⁹, or permitted "as of right"¹⁰. Edmonton, Vancouver and Saskatoon have recently modified their zoning bylaws to provide for secondary suites as a permitted use in all residential zones (Gratton, 2011; Mendez, 2011; City Spaces Ltd., 2007). In Edmonton, land use bylaw relaxations were part of a broader strategy to incorporate secondary suites into an affordable housing programme with little public opposition (Gratton, 2011). Nevertheless, Gratton (2011) found several property owners and the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues advocated for an owner-occupancy requirement under the premise that owners living in residence would exercise more responsible property management and tenant supervision. This request was rejected by Edmonton's municipal administration on the grounds that regulating the users of land, rather than its use, violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms¹¹.

Policy makers in Vancouver took an exceptionally comprehensive approach to secondary suite management. In addition to permitting secondary suites in all low-density land use zones,

⁹ In Canadian land use bylaw terms, discretionary or conditional use typically refers to a use of land that is allowed but requires a development permit. This means a development authority must advertise the intended use of land to surrounding neighbours, ensure the proposal meets a number of planning requirements, and deliberate any bylaw relaxations that are required of the use. Should the use of land be approved, opponents may submit an appeal to the development authority requesting a reconsideration of the approval.

¹⁰ When a particular use is listed as permitted in the land use bylaw, it does not require a development permit or development authority review. For a use such as a secondary suite, in the majority of cases the property owner need only apply for a necessary building permit or request a building inspection to designate their suite as completely legal.

¹¹ Curiously, Quebec is the only province where legislation enables municipalities to limit the occupancy of secondary rental units to family members who are immediately related to the property owner (CMHC, n.d.b). Under section 113 of Quebec's Land Use Planning Act, municipalities have the authority to limit the occupancy of an additional dwelling to a relative, dependent, or persons who are or were related to the owner or occupant of the principal dwelling.

newer homes were required to be constructed as "suite ready" to mitigate future costs, and covenants were enacted to prevent the subdivision of secondary suites into separate land titles for up to one year from the issuing of the occupancy permit (City Spaces Ltd., 2007). In 2004, modifications to the land use bylaw also legalized any suite previously restricted by land use so long as ceilings were of an adequate height and both primary and secondary units were retrofitted with interconnected smoke alarms. All property owners who operate suites pay an annual business license fee as well as additional utility charges. While some consultants assert there was little controversy over Vancouver's particularly assertive approach to formalizing secondary suites (e.g. see City Spaces Ltd., 2007), other scholars point out opposition motivated by an aversion to increased density, parking congestion, noise, property neglect, and damage to property values (Mendez & Quastel, 2016). Nevertheless, Vancouver is said to have taken an absent approach to enforcement as property owners may continue to operate unauthorized suites so long as neighbours do not complain. Consequently, Mendez and Quastel (2016, p. 12) argue that "the new policy of tolerating sub-standard housing conditions legitimized suites as a way for low-income renters and moderate-income homeowners to meet their housing needs, but did so in the context of a severe shortage of affordable housing." A comparable outcome has been observed in Calgary, where secondary suites remain largely restricted in older low-density neighbourhoods but enforcement is only imposed when illegal suites are complained about (Tanasescu et al., 2010).

In Ontario, the provincial government required that every municipality provide for secondary suites as a permitted use in all residential land use zones after modifying the Ontario Planning Act in 2011 (CMHC, n.d.b). Following these changes, cities such as Oshawa, London and Waterloo pursued various rental licensing programs and bylaws to generate revenue from these select rental properties (Hoffer, 2014). In Waterloo, the licensing bylaw passed in 2011 was said

to balance "the needs of property owners with those of residents looking of safe, adequate and properly maintained rental accommodation" and sought to limit the "impact" of rental housing units in residential neighbourhoods (City of Waterloo, 2016, p. 1). However, high-rise buildings and higher density complexes such as fourplexes were initially exempt from the license requirement. Subsequently, the University of Waterloo Students' Union, the Ontario Landlord Association, and eventually the Ontario Human Rights Commissioner levied a critique against the licensing bylaw on the grounds it discriminated against students in lodging housing and families who occupy townhouse tenancy rather than apartments (Desmond, 2014; Brown, 2011; Waterloo Chronicle, 2011). These disadvantages were further compounded by bedroom size requirements and limitations on how close certain types of lodging houses could be to each other (Metro Kitchener, 2013; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013). Given the rental housing licensing fee is passed down to these occupants, and not others, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) initiated an inquiry into the bylaw to identify and eliminate discriminatory practices based on marital status, family status and sexual orientation. Ultimately, the City of Waterloo applied the licensing bylaw to all rental properties in the city (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013). By contrast, the municipalities of Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Guelph have opted out of a licensing strategy and instead sought to enforce existing municipal laws to ensure safety without imposing added costs on landlords and tenants (Hoffer, 2014).

The various approaches to managing secondary suites and their outcomes presents a number of intriguing subjects. In the case of Waterloo, policymakers' differential treatment of rental housing units in low-density areas implies rental tenure in certain neighbourhoods generates undue costs on property owning neighbours. Nevertheless, subsequent legal proceedings demonstrate how municipalities must be cautious of embedding discrimination within their land

use bylaw policies. The situation in Edmonton demonstrates that municipalities may have a comparably difficult, if not impossible, undertaking when it comes to obliging property owners to occupy the residences they lease.

1.4 Understanding Local Housing Conflicts

1.4.1 The research gap.

I would like to highlight some of the key topics and themes that lend to our current knowledge of the politics and policies of secondary suites. A number of broad housing trends and social processes have shaped both the material and political environment in which local conflicts over secondary suites unfold. The postwar housing context tells us there is a history of segregating multi-family housing development, lodging homes, and other types of households that deviate from the normative nuclear family away from predominantly owner-occupied, single-detached neighbourhoods. The depressed state of low-cost housing and shelters in the inner city, both during and shortly after the Great Depression, was a state of affairs that many middle-class Canadians sought to escape. Lest we romanticize the social order associated with suburban development, however, it is important to recognize that suburbanization, working in tandem with the ideological underpinnings of Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood unit, inextricably reshaped, if not repressed, many of the civil demands of the time. The most specific of these controls is apparent in the restrictive covenants, strict zoning regulations, and outmoded building standards that characterize many postwar neighbourhoods to this day.

Single-detached zoning has emerged from this history as a cultural artefact that represents the social prestige conferred to suburban lifestyles, family-oriented living, and homeownership. Not coincidentally, this value is also typically associated with higher property values, buttressed

in a significant way by federal mortgage policies. By contrast, state institutions have subjected social housing to inconsistent financial commitment, urban renewal, and transfer into the private rental market. Major urban centres have witnessed a net loss of purpose-built rental housing because of condominium conversions and redevelopment. Rental tenure does not enjoy the same degree of legal protection and privilege compared to homeownership. At the same time, the stigma associated with social housing occupants and renters more generally exposes an antithesis to the social ideal of suburban homeownership. Renters face other structural disadvantages, including but not limited to housing insecurity, unaffordable rents, and social discrimination based on gender, disability, sexuality, class, race, and ethnicity. In short, tenure differences intersect various other political, sociocultural and material inequalities.

The experiences of secondary suite renters has been well documented, as the literature extensively covers perceptions of stigma among renters; disadvantageous tenant-landlord relations; transience and transition; and exclusion from formal housing markets. These conditions are often made more complex through the informal nature of many secondary rental housing units. While on the one hand the state may disregard the informality of secondary suites, in other situations the state defines these activities as illegal through the enforcement of existing land use policies and building code regulations. In other instances, however, local government takes an active role in legalizing informal housing. This suggests the role of urban governance in managing secondary suites is a rather ambiguous balancing act between respecting private property rights, affordable housing need, renter safety, and community demands. As such, whether municipalities adopt an indifferent, disciplinary, or proactive approach to managing secondary suites is not only inconsistent but also depends on the strength of various political interests. While many studies explore municipal strategies that address secondary suites, less is

known about the nature of community demands when secondary rental housing materializes in postwar neighbourhoods and how these demands permeate policy decisions. More specifically, we know very little about the values and attitudes of resident homeowners faced with the entrance of secondary rental housing in their neighbourhoods.

Literature that investigates the nature of opposition to unwanted housing developments more generally presents some intriguing tensions and opportunities to explore in this study. Within the NIMBY literature, local opposition appears mercurial - at times self-interested, in others an exercise of civic participation, or more broadly a challenge to the structurally constrained choices of our current politico-economic regime. A well-defined theoretical framework provides clarity regarding the differentiated nature of these politics. Scholars challenge class-based analyses that emphasize tenure, income and property value-based interests among housing opponents on the grounds they privilege economic interests and neglect other important social values. There is an opportunity to explore this tension in the controversy that surrounds secondary suites in Calgary.

Another overlooked component of secondary suites controversy is the institutional mechanisms some, but not all, urban residents use to express the superiority of their claims and steer policy toward their interests. While scholars frequently emphasize the role of zoning in creating legal exclusions for secondary suites and their users (Gellen 1985; Goodbrand 2016; Gratton 2001; Mendez 2011), this discussion does not include insights as to *how* local actors have historically exploited this institution and shaped the legal landscape in which secondary suites operate. Other factors also deserve attention, such as local voting structures, the political position of neighbourhood associations, and the relations between community leaders, councillors, and planners. While the literature on secondary suites has explored the position of

homeowner-landlords, renters, urban planners, and real estate professionals, less attention has been paid to the position of homeowners, councillors, and neighbourhood organizations who oppose the entrance of secondary suites and rental tenure in specific areas. We also know little about the geography of opposition to secondary suites, and how that pattern may be related to socio-economic and housing tenure characteristics. There is also the question of the secondary suite housing market itself, which has evaded any definitive survey among scholars and policy-makers alike. In sum, the gaps within the secondary suite literature indicates a need to understand how community conflict shapes secondary suite policy outcomes, including the uneven power relations between different social groups (re)producing urban space.

1.4.2 The concept of class monopoly rent: a theoretical framework for understanding the politics of secondary suites.

David Harvey's class monopoly rent thesis offers a useful theoretical framework for exploring local opposition to secondary suites. Harvey (1982) describes rent as one of several extractions of surplus value in a capitalist mode of production, on par with other distributive allocations including wages, taxes, interest and profit. In capitalist mode of production, rent is a transfer payment made to landowners in exchange for the right to use the land¹² and its resources¹³. The institution of private property is an essential political apparatus for realizing rent by partitioning absolute space among individuals (Harvey, 1974; Ward & Aalbers, 2016). Scarcity and private ownership facilitate competition between different factions of the land

¹² Ground rent is the rent paid to use the land, excluding that which is paid for fixed capital on the land (e.g. buildings).

¹³ Land rent is the total rent paid for both the land and the fixed capital on the land.

market to control property and appropriate these rents. In this context, rent is treated as a theoretical concept to understand the basis of social control over the spatial organization of the city.

Like all other commodities, land has a use value and an exchange value. The use value of land, its material aspect, satisfies some social need or desire, including that which involves its use as a factor of production. In the case of housing, use value is present in the provision of shelter, privacy, symbolic status, a means for storing wealth, and in the relative proximity to other services, locations, and peripheral effects (Harvey, 1973). The exchange value of land is a ratio, a representation of the quantity of other commodities for which a commodity will trade for. As a commodity, therefore, land embodies a relation between use value and exchange value, its utility and what it can be traded for. A Marxist labour theory of value presupposes that socially necessary labour time devoted to a commodity's production, the amount of labour time performed under the social average of labour's conditions, intensity, and skill, is the common evaluative metric upon which the exchange value of commodities may be regulated. Value in this sense is rooted in the production process, which brings together land, labour and capital to produce commodities. Rent, therefore, does not represent an increase in value but rather landlords are able to withdraw a portion of the surplus value generated from production by virtue of owning a scarce factor of production in land.

Urban land rent theory generally describes three main forms of land rent: monopoly, differential, and absolute (Walker, 1974; 1975; Harvey, 1982; Lauria, 1984; Haila, 1990; Jäger, 2003; Park, 2014; Ward & Aalbers, 2016). Property owners collect a monopoly rent when they control land that has a unique, non-substitutable feature for which effective demand exists. This is particularly relevant in urban housing markets, as developers often advertise prestigious

neighbourhoods to affluent housing consumers who are willing and able to pay the monopoly price. Differential rent arises from increases in productivity due to some feature of the land or investment therein. For example, a landowner may appropriate a differential rent if they own agricultural land with above-average fertility or a lower-than-average distance from a major employment centre. In the case of absolute rent, property owners strategically enact a barrier to entry for other housing groups and stand to extract a rent from this practice. All forms of rent are essentially an absolute rent, as the institution of private property creates a broad class of landowners' who seek payment for the use of their land. However, the use of absolute rent specifically applies to those cases where property owners induce artificial scarcity until they secure a minimum rate of return.

Harvey (1974; and Chatterjee, 1974) describe an urban application of absolute rent in the class monopoly rent thesis. As a formal definition, Harvey (1974, p. 239) describes class monopoly rent as "any situation in which the rate of return to a class of providers of an urban resource (such as housing) is set by the outcome of conflict with a class of consumers of that resource." The classic example Harvey introduces in Chapter 4 of *Social Justice and the City* (1973) and later expands with the class monopoly rent thesis in *Regional Studies* (1974) describes the outcome of struggle between landlords and low-income tenants. Drawing from the experience of Baltimore in the 1970s, Harvey describes a situation wherein a class of landlords neglect or withdraw their housing resource units when an abundance of low-income housing results in lower rates of return. Theoretically, such a situation will induce scarcity in the low-income housing market, followed by the rising rents of which landlords of low-income housing ultimately seek. When low-income tenants lack the political power to challenge this class monopoly power through rent control or minimum housing standards, they can do little but

further sublet their dwellings or relinquish a larger portion of their wages to the landlords' appropriation. The degree to which other consumer groups retain political control of infrastructure provision and zoning regulations in the face of speculator-developers seeking a minimum rate of return plays a comparable role. Should middle- and upper-income consumer groups reject speculator-developers' marketing of new neighbourhoods and tastes by curtailing any land use change, so too is the class monopoly power of the speculator-developers. Evidently, control over political mechanisms plays a significant role class struggle over space.

Harvey (1974) emphasizes that the key mechanism for realizing class monopoly rent is *class power*. Put differently, the potential to realize class monopoly rent is thwarted should landlords, developers and/or homeowners not operate with a coordinated *group interest* and release their units at a time that is not *mutually beneficial* among all those that share the same class position. Traditional Marxist scholars describe class structure in terms of the social organization of economic relations, the primary relation being between the working class and capitalists. Here, however, Harvey (1974, p. 241) acknowledges he applies the terms "class" and "class interest" more freely "to refer to any group that has a clearly defined common interest in the struggle to command scarce resources in society." Cox (2018) similarly emphasizes how class relations in terms of social stratification have been constitutive in local struggles over space. Class interests depend upon certain institutional supports if they are to effectively exert collective power over others. Institutional arrangements play a very important role in providing the necessary conditions for these interests to realize class monopoly rents. More broadly, these devices "integrate national and local aspects of economies [and] individual decisions with the needs of society as a whole" (Harvey, 1974, p. 244). In what follows I would like to discuss in more detail what these institutional arrangements mean for realizing class monopoly rent.

Financial and state institutions often provide the institutional arrangements that make class monopoly rents possible. Harvey and Chatterjee (1974) affirm that state institutions coordinate the reproduction of those social and political relations that make a capitalist mode of production possible through various policies and financial mechanisms. These must be translated to the local level, where individual choices are made and the intricacies of housing markets play out. Using the 1974 Baltimore study, Harvey and Chatterjee (1974) describe how state and financial institutions (re)produce a residential structure with different price categories and loan provisions in the mortgage market. These geographical variations in mortgage finance provision creates what they (1974, p. 25) refer to as a "decision environment", imposed by a hierarchal structure quite removed from the individual households making decisions. These choices, they contend, tend to (re)produce this structure, which is a product of history and undoubtedly characterized by gendered, racial, and socioeconomic axes of opportunity and constraint. Certain institutional arrangements enable the creation of urban territories among which housing consumers may or may not be able to move freely. Insofar as housing factions successfully bar certain housing groups from these territories, they are able to realize a class monopoly rent.

The imposition of geographical constraints by financial and state institutions are not the only factors that create a basis for class monopoly rents. Harvey (1974) argues inter-community conflict along social delineations of race, ethnicity, lifestyle, and social status are not irrelevant but may in fact reinforce the residential structure of housing submarkets: "Ironically, all of these features *increase* the potential for realizing class-monopoly rent because they help to maintain the island-like structure, to create the absolute space of the parochially-minded community" (Harvey, 1974, p. 250). In other words, local struggles over space are not necessarily reducible to class structure but there are class interests that stand to benefit from such conflict. On the other

hand, Cox (2018) argues class relations have become a fundamental component of spatial struggle, as the postwar suburban project has effectively immobilized people in space and oriented their financial wellbeing around the defence of property values. The class monopoly rent framework raises some important questions about the extent to which class monopoly rents motivate opposition to unwanted development, the housing agents that take up these conflicts, and the way in which they steer broader institutional arrangements toward their interests.

There is a diverse array of actors (re)structuring urban housing markets in the interest of land rents and use values. Homeowners, landlords, realtors, renters, developers and financial and government institutions are the traditional actors in these politics, and each has their own way of determining use value and exchange value (Harvey, 1973). Lauria (1984) introduces community-controlled actors such as homeowners' associations, tenant unions, land trusts, and neighbourhood organizations. These actors, Lauria argues, are more concerned with quality life and must develop their own strategies to contest traditional actors' monopoly over space to retain the use values of land for the community. However, research has shown the agenda of homeowners' associations is not always progressive. In the case of voluntary homeowner associations in L.A., the defence of neighbourhood character involves the exclusion of others - namely, immigrant renters who tend to occupy garage-to-rental dwellings (Purcell, 2008, chp. 4). While Purcell argues this movement is mostly concerned with quality-of-life issues, he admits property value concerns were not altogether absent. The tension between these two positions is a significant research opportunity, as we know relatively little about the role of community-controlled actors in an urban land rent framework.

Scholars have engaged with the concept of class monopoly rent in various ways. Many contextualize Harvey's contributions in urban land rent theory as a whole (Haila, 1990; Park,

2014; Ward & Aalbers, 2016), while others pay more specific attention to the role of middle- and upper-class spaces of exclusivity as they relate to the appropriation of class monopoly rent (King 1989; Anderson, 2014). A number of scholars find that macro-economic transitions that have changed the conditions under which class monopoly rents are realized, especially in the wake of the US housing market crash of 2008 (Wyly et al. 2009; 2012; Aalbers, 2012) and urban neoliberalization (Anderson, 2014). In an era of global capitalism, it has been argued, the mechanisms coordinating class monopoly rents are no longer confined to local loan sharks and slumlords but are rather captured by a diverse array of actors, both local and global. Scholars have also examined the practices used to define absolute spaces necessary for class monopoly rents. Aalbers (2007) contends that varying degrees of access to and exclusion from home mortgage finance continue to redraw the boundaries necessary for realizing class monopoly rent. Through an examination of local practices such as land banking, historical preservation, and tax-increment financing in Chicago, Anderson (2014, p. 18) contends that class monopoly rent is now appropriated by "a notably different assemblage of actors, institutional mechanisms, and policy arrangements," including the policies and practices of city officials, community organizers, developers, and new homeowners. The concept of class monopoly rent has proven relevant in a variety of processes such as geographies of housing finance, urban neoliberalization, and urban planning outcomes.

A theoretical approach rooted in political economy is not without dispute. In Castree's (2007) historical account, these criticisms are presented as: the early contention among humanistic geographers that Marxist structuralism neglects the role of place and locality in constituting human subjectivity and agencies 'on the ground'; the postmodern critique that a Marxist approach renders forms of social difference beyond class invisible or irrelevant; and the

perception that Harvey's tenacious dismissal of any route to social justice that does not abolish capitalism is ideological. Similarly, Swanstrom (1993) employs a postmodern framework to argue that urban political economy overgeneralizes phenomena into universal theory, aggrandizes the role of economic interests in social struggle, and tends to take a moral stance against capitalism. New urban social movements, Swanstrom (1993, p. 57) argues, "are motivated not by the politics of interest but by the politics of identity ... [they] cannot be accounted for by economic motives or class interests." Among feminist cultural critics, Harvey's adherence to understanding social phenomena as a totality necessarily binds other forms of social difference to a class analysis or renders them altogether invisible (Deutsche, 1991; Morris, 1992). Purcell (2001) makes a comparable criticism in his charge against conclusions that reduce neighbourhood activism to single social variables such as class, race or gender. Drawing from research of homeowner activism in Los Angeles, Purcell (2001, p. 190) comes to understand such politics as "an attempt to realize a cohesive spatial vision of the neighbourhood" in which many interconnected social categories play a role.

Critics contend class analyses reduce social struggle to economic relations and disregard the significance of other social formations. Hall (1980) discusses the theoretical tension between what he terms the 'economic' and 'sociological' tendency to explain racially structured formations. Traditionally, the former reduces social distinctions based on race and/or ethnicity to the determining effect of economic relations. The latter framework theorizes racial and ethnic social formations have structuration effects that are relatively autonomous from rather than dependent upon economic relations. This tension is relevant to the class monopoly rent thesis. In regards to the Baltimore case (e.g. see Harvey, 1974), these economic and sociological counterposed tendencies implore us to ask whether the segregation of African-Americans is ultimately

an effect of a racial *or* class inferiority. Hall (1980) goes beyond this either/or determination to suggest racially structured formations often reshape capitalist structures in different times and places. He explains,

Race continues to differentiate between the different fractions of the working classes with respect to capital, creating specific forms of fracturing and fractioning which are as important for the ways in which they intersect class relations (and divide the class struggle, internally) as they are mere 'expressions' of some general form of the class struggle. Politically and culturally, these combined and uneven relations between class and race are historically more pertinent than their simple correspondence. (1980, p. 339).

In other words, how race and class relations intersect are critical to the organization of a capitalist system; racial differentiation often distinguishes intra- and inter-class relations in variable and significant ways. This constitutive effect is contingent: "[r]acism is not present, in the same form or degree, in all capitalist formations: it is not necessary to the concrete functioning of all capitalisms... Nor can it be assumed that this must take one, single form or follow one necessary path or logic, through a series of necessary stages" (Hall, 1980, p. 338-339). Racism is understood as an expression of class struggle, but also social phenomenon that may or may not condition the constitution and fraction of class in a capitalist society.

Various groups experience class through race, whether they occupy a dominant or subordinate position. Social but 'non-economic' forms of privilege, such as inclusion in a dominant racial or ethnic category, may condition a relatively advantageous relation to capital. It might also be the case that racially dominant and subordinate positions within the same class are expressed through racism. In this way, racial differentiation within and between classes becomes a mechanism for capitalist hegemony. This is what Hall (1980) refers as the internal fractioning and lived experience of class, which ultimately leads to domination and (re)production of class. As Hall (1980, p. 341) argues,

Race is thus, also, the modality in which class is 'lived', the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and 'fought through'... racism is also one of the dominant means of ideological representation through which the white fractions of the class come to 'live' their relations to other fractions, and through them to capital itself.

Rather than reducing an analysis of social conflict to race or socioeconomic relations, Hall encourages us to examine the intersection of these formations to better understand the variations, contradictions, and contingencies of society in conflict.

There is an important contrast between Harvey's initial engagement with the class monopoly rent thesis in the early 1970s to the more recent engagements that I would like to point out here. While the former focused heavily on the role of institutional mechanisms and financial policies, subsequent work engages the cultural question. Harvey (2002) emphasizes the significance of collective symbolic capital, markers of social distinction, and cultural commodification for the realization of class monopoly rents in a neoliberal era where traditional state protections for monopolies are being dismantled. He contends that rather than reducing all cultural differentiation to economics, the concept of class monopoly rent as it relates to capital accumulation shows how "capital has ways to appropriate and extract surpluses from local differences, local cultural variations and aesthetic meanings of no matter what origin" (2002, p. 107). Here, cultural artefacts, those special environmental characteristics of the social and cultural environment, are a critical terrain upon which monopoly claims are made. Indeed, Harvey (2002, p. 104) points out that "[g]iven the general loss of other monopoly powers through easier transport and communications and the reduction of other barriers to trade, the struggle for collective symbolic capital becomes even more important as a basis for monopoly rents." This exploration of symbolic capital, cultural claims and collective memories not only appears to be reflective of those historical changes in technology, global financial policies, and

state re-structuring in the 40 years since Harvey first engaged with the concept of class monopoly rent but also a shift in scholarly focus to other conceptions of space itself (e.g. see Harvey, 2006).

1.4.3 Research framework.

Class interests, variably positioned around the pursuit of use value and exchange value of housing, are a significant driver of local housing conflicts. Certain housing groups express a class power when they coordinate their efforts to sustain institutional arrangements in the interest of appropriating land rent. The interests of these groups may, at times, be antithetical to one another in what amounts to a type of class conflict. The work of Lauria (1984) as well as Logan and Rabrenovic (1990) suggests we might also include homeowners' associations and neighbourhood organizations in these politics. Various institutional and financial arrangements augment these groups' class power over space, the most basic being the institution of private property but also control over the timing of land use change.

Residential differentiation is simultaneously a precursor and product of these class conflicts over housing. Segregation practices among financial and state institutions as well as local communities create island-like territories from which housing groups extract class monopoly rents. These practices, in turn, (re)produce particular urban social geographies and corresponding housing market structures that make class monopoly rents possible in all sectors of the housing market. Inter-community conflict reinforces this process as various place-based groups compete with one another to secure the best locational advantages; protect their neighbourhoods from disinvestment, loss of prestige, and proximity to the poor; or defend their turf from the perceived incursion of the social 'other'. The outcomes of this struggle often

reinforces prevailing social inequalities in what amounts to a zero-sum game among communities. The housing submarkets from which class monopoly rents are realized, therefore, are not only structured around certain institutional arrangements but also inter-community competition and territorial politics. These politics are often based upon social distinctions, such as those rooted in class but also race, ethnicity, and citizenship.

Residential neighbourhoods shaped by sociocultural values and material interests of the past often stage contemporary housing politics. The construction of class monopoly claims, Harvey (2002, p. 103) points out, is a discursive practice drawing from "historically constituted cultural artefacts and practices", imbuing local places with a particularity that makes class monopoly rents possible. Evidence suggests housing actors appeal to certain cultural traditions through collective action, including local oppositional movements concerned with housing and neighbourhood trajectories (e.g. Purcell, 2001). Insofar as class relations shape these politics, we may identify what Cox (2018) refers to as a "territorialized class politics."

Various studies suggest class interests, territorial politics, and socio-spatial exclusions are a significant component of the politics of secondary suites. Scholars have described homeowners who oppose land use change for secondary suites as bearing Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) politics in the interest of property value and neighbourhood conformity (Goodbrand 2016). Mendez and Quastel (2016) find that residents in higher-valued neighbourhoods expressed the most opposition to secondary suite legalization in Vancouver. Teixeira (2014) suggests we learn more about the operation of gatekeepers in housing submarkets to better understand the involuntary concentration of immigrants in suburban peripheries and sub-standard secondary suites. Overall, however, few studies explore secondary suite opposition in detail. I apply a class

monopoly rent framework to explore oppositional politics in Calgary's secondary suites controversy.

This study explores whether secondary suite opponents are driven by an interest in class monopoly rent. This involves identifying the key actors and institutions opposing secondary suites, the basis of their opposition, and the mechanisms and channels used to express that opposition. More specifically, we may identify class conflict in the politics of secondary suites insofar as opposition to land use change involves a group effort to control, or govern, urban residential environments. These efforts are often buttressed by certain institutional arrangements at various levels of government, though as Harvey (1974) notes, these may vary from one political context to the next. While land use planning and housing finance policy is an oft-cited practice enabling class interests in the housing market, other forms of political machinery also play a role. In this study, I explore the role of neighbourhood organizations, structure of neighbourhood governance, and a ward-based electoral system in Calgary's secondary suite controversy. Insofar as opponents are concerned with the appropriation of land rent and are able to successfully bar other housing consumers (e.g. renters) and/or class actors (e.g. landlords) with these mechanisms, one can identify the basis for a class monopoly rent.

The (re)production of urban social geography also merit attention; history no doubt plays a role. I explore the historical context that gave rise to the original restrictions placed on secondary suites to better understand more recent conflicts around suite-related land use change in these areas. Relatedly, we might also gain a better understanding of secondary suite controversy by interpreting contemporary patterns of residential differentiation. I will therefore also consider the ways in which the spatial distribution of opposition to secondary suites is associated with certain

socio-economic, and housing tenure characteristics. In sum, this study explores secondary suite controversy in Calgary through that which makes class monopoly rents possible: a territorial organization of the city defined by history, residential structure, institutional arrangements, informal practices, and, ultimately, unequal power relations among different social actors (re)producing space.

1.5 Conclusion

The literature review highlights the broad housing policy transitions that shape local contention around secondary suites, and suggests a theoretical approach grounded in urban land rent theory to better understand how this contention has played out in Calgary. While most of the literature on secondary suites has focused on financial trends, urban management, and landlord-tenant relations, we know relatively little about secondary suite opponents. However, the literature also demonstrates local opposition to unwanted development is not new. Scholars have shown how local residents resist unwanted development based on their class interests, emotional attachments to place, and resistance to the marketization of their neighbourhoods. Broader structural transformations in the housing market and concurrent policy shifts in housing policy have a strong presence; however, the literature also suggests these politics are historically and geographically contingent. The concept of class monopoly rent is a useful theoretical framework for evaluating the interests that drive opposition to secondary suites in Calgary. With this framework, I explore the extent to which class interests drive opponents' politics and whether these groups search for class monopoly rents through the exclusion of certain housing groups. At the same time, I accept that the socio-spatial conditions and institutional arrangements producing

these politics are contingent. By exploring these contingencies, I will further develop a useful yet overlooked theoretical concept of class monopoly rent.

Chapter Two: Research Design and Methodology

2.1 Study Context: Calgary

Despite decades of deliberation, Calgary has retained some of the most restrictive land use policies for secondary suites compared to other major metropolitan areas such as Vancouver and Toronto. Calgary's municipal neighbour, Edmonton, has also adopted an approach that allows for secondary suites in all low density residential districts (e.g. see Gratton, 2011). In this section, I will discuss Calgary's unique policy approach to secondary suites.

In Calgary, the land use bylaw does not allow for secondary suites in most established neighbourhoods. Property owners who want to accommodate secondary suites in these areas must apply to re-designate their property to a land use zone that permits secondary suites. Many secondary suite proponents lament what they see as an unnecessarily arduous application process for relatively small parcels of land. The City's planning department assists applicants with their request while also publicizing the application in the neighbourhood and collecting public input. Following an assessment as to whether the application is in accordance with prevailing planning principles, the planning department presents the proposal to the Calgary Planning Commission (CPC), a committee appointed annually by City Council. The CPC provides its final recommendation to Council¹⁴, who then host a public hearing to elicit public feedback before making a decision on the re-designation application.

In 2014, the land use re-designation fee for secondary suites was lifted under the leadership of Mayor Naheed Nenshi. This resulted in an unprecedented number of applications

¹⁴ The vast majority of proposals are recommended for approval by CPC.

before Council. From June to December, Council often spent at least a third of its monthly public meetings deliberating secondary suites (Farkas, 2014). This practice has garnered a significant amount of negative attention, as many characterize public hearings that draw out into the evening and even the next day as an inefficient use of Council's time, especially given how Council approves the vast majority of applications (CBC News, 2017). Applicants and opponents often present extremely personal and emotional content to make their case. In sum, secondary suites are a contentious, emotional, and much publicized issue in Calgary.

2.1.1 Political context.

As a major city in Alberta, Calgary offers an intriguing political context in which local contention around secondary suites has played out. A political as well as educational¹⁵ stronghold for many well-known conservative figures, Alberta and Calgary have, until recently, had a reputation for being a hotbed of "virulent neoliberalism" (Miller, 2007, p. 238). In Chapter 1.3, we saw how the CMHC terminated a number of social housing programs and tax incentives for rental housing in the 1980s. At the same time, Progressive Conservative governments—in power from 1971 to 2015—made drastic cuts to social spending beginning in the 1980s. The subsidized housing sector was one of many of these eviscerated social programs, as provincial spending on housing was nearly cut in half from 1995 to 1996 and continued an overall downward trend well into the early 2000s (Falvo, 2017). Combined with explosive urban in-migration, these policy directions came to bear directly on Calgary's housing crisis in the early

¹⁵ The Calgary School is informally known as a group of politically conservative academics and former students from the University of Calgary, mainly from the disciplines of Political Science, Economics, and History.

1990s and well into the early 2000s. Not coincidentally, it was precisely within this timeframe that secondary suites became such a contentious topic in Calgary's local politics.

One could argue that political conventions in the province also appear to be at odds with this approach. With over 40 consecutive years under the helm of the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta, political priorities have been characterized by low taxes, increased autonomy, and free markets unfettered by government regulation. Individualist values and a populist wariness of elitists in government characterize these politics (Sayers & Stewart, 2011). It is curious, then, that local policymakers in Calgary should opt for an approach to secondary suites that not only restricts individuals' property rights but also frustrates a private sector-driven strategy for affordable housing provision.

Recent political events suggest Calgary's political culture is in transition, as new migrants and an exceptionally young demographic have come to establish an increasingly diverse city. In 2010, Calgary elected Naheed Nenshi as the first Muslim mayor of a large North American city. Re-elected in 2013, Nenshi is known for his strong stance with the housing industry and advocacy for secondary suites. At the provincial level, a 44 year long Progressive Conservative legacy ended with the election of the Alberta New Democratic Party (ABNDP) as majority government in 2015, including 15 seats won in the conservative stronghold of Calgary. Nevertheless, episodes of contempt for those in need of affordable housing, often with sexist and racist overtones, continue to plague Calgary politics while right-wing xenophobic politics increasingly characterize Alberta's socially conservative circles. Not surprisingly, these political currents have been observed in opposition to secondary suites (e.g. see Kaufman, 2016).

2.1.2 Neighbourhood change.

Like many other urban centres in Canada, Calgary's postwar neighbourhoods are experiencing significant lifecycle changes. For many residents who purchased their homes between the 1950s and the 1990s, it is not uncommon for children to have left home, local schools and services to have been downsized or shuttered, and neighbourhood population to be declining (e.g. see Babin, 2016). Not surprisingly, these are precisely the neighbourhoods where contentious battles over redevelopment and densification frequently materialize, including heated controversies over transit-oriented development in Brentwood, golf course redevelopment in Highland Park, and new bus rapid transit lines in the southwest of the city. At the same time, suburbs on the periphery have witnessed explosive population growth, particularly young families, while many redevelopment projects in the inner-city are marketed toward young professionals. The future of older suburban neighbourhoods, where much of the secondary suites controversy plays out, is contested and ambiguous.

Calgary's neighbourhoods are characterized an alarming trend of income polarization. A study conducted by Townshend et al. (2018) finds the proportion of neighbourhoods defined as middle income in Calgary declined from 70 to 41 per cent between 1970 and 2006, the most significant decline of any major Canadian city. As these authors point out, this transition appears most extreme in Calgary's northeast quadrant, where a significant number of neighbourhoods once classified as middle income are now defined by very low household incomes. Not coincidentally, neighbourhoods in this declining income category accommodate high proportion of visible minorities, groups with lower levels of post-secondary education, and a high occupation of sales- and manufacturing-based labour positions.

The income polarization study suggests a residential structure in flux; neighbourhoods once considered stable or middle-class are now seeing increasing concentrations of lower-income groups, while upper-income groups have maintained their status as well as their spatial locations. These are conditions for what Cox (2018, p. 479) describes as a “territorialized class politics,” where socio-spatial stratification of the working class has erupted into competitive struggles over space since the Second World War. These transitions are thus an intriguing stage for controversy around secondary suites. Lower-income groups who find it difficult to afford homeownership are relying on the filtering down of older housing stock, and yet some neighbourhoods appear to resist this trend. Insofar as these latter neighbourhood residents successfully prohibit lower-income groups, we can identify the basis of a class monopoly over space.

2.1.3 Local institutions.

Community associations have an important role in Calgary’s urban governance structure. Davies and Townshend (1994) provide a historical overview of community associations in Calgary. Some of Calgary’s earliest community associations have their roots in Ratepayer Associations active during the interwar period. These associations were largely concerned with the provision of basic infrastructure and utility services such as sewage, road networks, water, electricity and lighting in new residential areas. As more residents settled in, these organizations became oriented toward the provision of social and recreational programs in their neighbourhoods. This shift in activity appears to have rebranded these organizations as ‘community’ associations instead of ‘ratepayer’ associations. The Alberta Societies Act of 1924 allowed community associations to incorporate themselves as non-profits. Today, many of

Calgary's Community Associations are also involved in urban planning activities (Conger et al., 2016). With the encouragement and assistance of the City, many of them have organized their own planning committees to assess various land use re-designation files and development permit applications.

While the legacy of many of Calgary's Community Associations representing inner-city neighbourhoods is rooted in a postwar, grassroots initiative, today's associations are incorporated legal entities recognized by the Societies Act. Their activities are oriented toward those who live within jurisdictional boundaries locally known as community districts. Since the 1960s, the City has defined these community districts in the spirit of Perry's Neighbourhood Unit Concept, with arterial and connector roads separating different residential territories (Davies & Townshend, 1994). After the provincial government incorporated the Federation of Calgary Communities¹⁶ in 1961, local planning authorities began to rely on the Federation to assist with the definition of new community district boundaries. As Davies and Townshend (1994) note, these districts came to define geographical and social units, formally recognized by city planners and City Council, for the purpose of planning and development consultation. Policymakers often consider community associations a proxy for resident views on development proposals.

Overlapping this particular geographical division of the city is Calgary's ward-based electoral system. Initially abolished following a 1913 plebiscite, Calgary's ward-based electoral system was re-instated in 1960 with the condition that ward boundaries be "block shaped" rather than "pie shaped" (City of Calgary, 2012a). While ward boundaries have changed over time, they

¹⁶ A not-for-profit organization that supports community associations with organizational development, financial services, and urban planning expertise.

Current Ward Boundaries with Community Districts

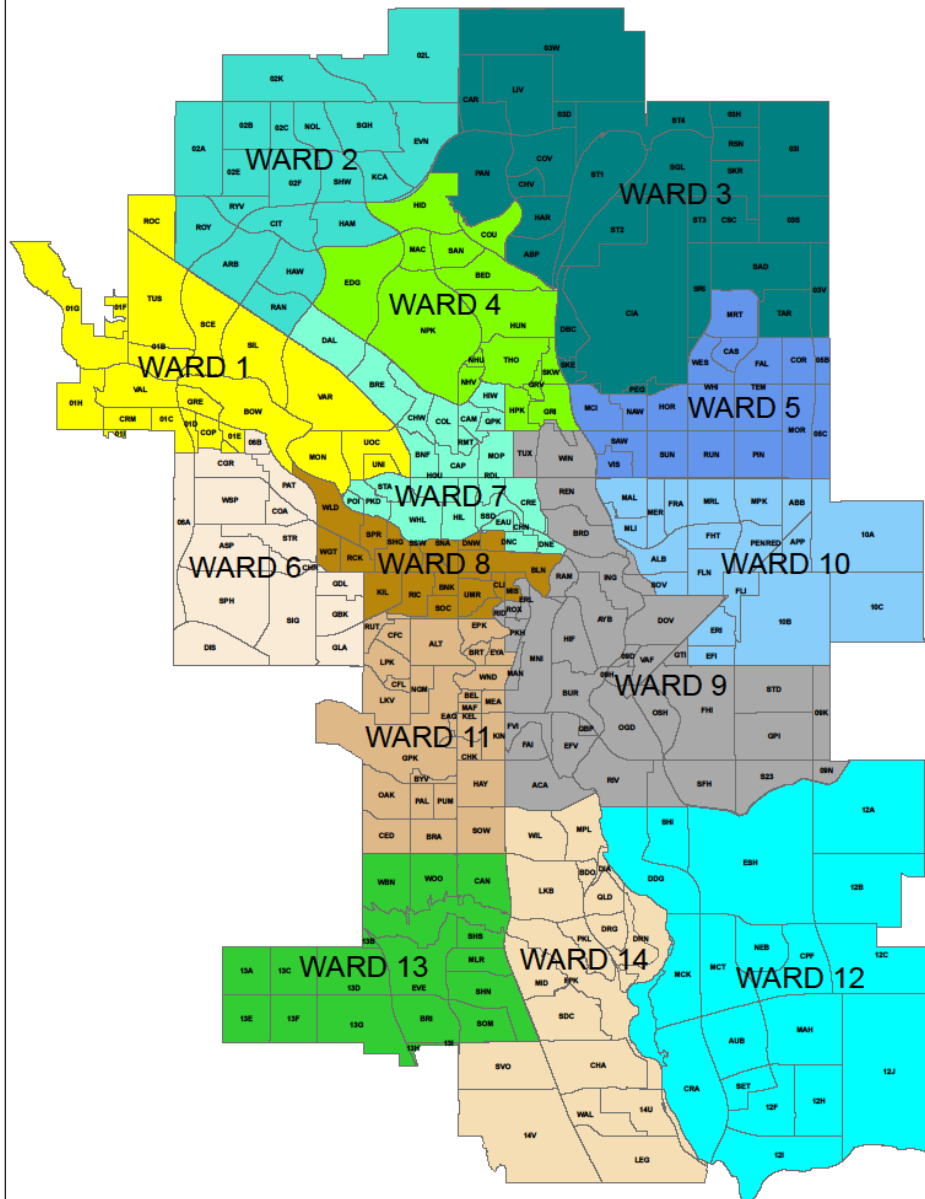


Figure 1. Calgary's Ward Boundaries in 2015. Source: City of Calgary, 2015a.

are consistently comprised of predominantly inner-city or suburban neighbourhoods, rather than a mix of the two (Figure 1). As has been discussed in Chapter 1, this territorial form of electoral representation has important implications for local politics.

2.2 A Mixed Methods Approach

Harvey's (1974) initial inquiry into class monopoly rents not only mapped the urban social geography of Baltimore's housing submarkets but also sought to understand *how* that geography came to be. Subsequent studies that investigate the context in which class monopoly rents are realized rely on analyses derived from geographic housing data, multi-scalar governmental and financial policies and qualitative exploration of power relations (e.g. see King 1989; Wyly et al., 2009; 2012; Aalbers, 2012; Anderson, 2014). Several analyses have also highlighted the role of discursive practices and sociocultural narratives in the mobilization of class monopoly claims (e.g. see Harvey, 2002; Anderson, 2014). Overall, these studies suggest a variety of methodological approaches can provide a comprehensive picture of the social context in which various interests seek class monopoly rents.

Social conflict, institutional arrangements, and residential differentiation are key themes within the class monopoly rent framework. In this study, I employ a mixed-methods approach to explore the politics and policies of secondary suites. A mixed-methods approach produces corroborating evidence through multiple and different sources – this information can be weighed against the researcher's own experience and may support or contradict the interpretation (Cresswell, 2007; Eisner, 2017). This triangulation allows me to weigh different sources of information against my own interpretation to establish confirmability. Additionally, a mixed-methods approach allowed me to collect numerous data on these politics to ensure credibility.

For this study, these sources include public hearing submissions, policy proposals, interviews with community leaders, and housing and neighbourhood data.

A mixed-methods approach that draws from urban policymaking practices generates important insights into Calgary's contentious secondary suite politics. As Valverde (2012, p. 3) points out, "urban governance on the ground" is relatively under-studied despite its everyday presence, particularly in the Canadian context. Examination of everyday urban decisions illuminates how micro-governance practices and planning negotiations shape urban housing markets, while a comparative approach illustrates the spatial context in which a class politics might emerge. A historical policy analysis helps us understand how these conflicts have developed over time and identify enduring claims, perceptions and beliefs. Interviews with key actors who engage in urban policymaking provides insights into precisely who exercises agency and to what ends. Altogether, these methods address the roles territorial struggle, political machineries, and urban social geographies play in shaping secondary suite politics and policies.

2.2.1 Historical policy review.

In this study, I chart the history of various motions, committees, studies, bylaws, land use consultations and council deliberations that have shaped secondary suite politics in Calgary over the past thirty years. To find this data, I used the City of Calgary online archive search engine (City of Calgary, 2017b) which provides council minutes, bylaw documents, public submissions, and planning reports from as far back as the 1990s. I also viewed data published prior to the 1990s, including land use bylaws and historical census data, at the City of Calgary Corporate Records and Archives office. Analyzing these documents sheds light on what gave rise to the original land use restrictions on secondary suites as well as why those restrictions were sustained

over time. Relatedly, the public content of these data not only identifies key institutional actors who oppose secondary suites, but also illuminates linkages between certain political claims and policy outcomes.

There are a number of limitations with this type of data. All council minutes, studies and reports were written by administrators, consultants, or planning staff, as per various bureaucratic procedures. Much of what actually happened during council deliberations is missing in the account, including key dialogues and records of who attended. Moreover, document content is at best a secondhand summary of community positions. Those who produced these documents did so within a legal framework that often makes it difficult to articulate the emotional content of public engagement. As Valverde (2012) concludes from her analysis of governance practices in Toronto, the legal mechanisms of land use planning are often ill-equipped to deal with the social anxieties associated with rapid social and economic change. Civil documentation, therefore, is not a direct substitute for personal contact with political agents.

2.2.2 Semi-structured interviews.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with a broad range of actors including city councillors, community leaders, and urban planners to illicit information about the politics of secondary suites in Calgary. I completed a total 30 interviews with 12 former and present city councillors, 13 community leaders, 3 urban planners, one planning consultant, and one provincial committee member. I engaged various positions to triangulate the findings - using different perspectives to maximize understanding (Carter, 2014). I prepared a list of predetermined questions to direct the conversation toward specific subject matter. However, the interviews

unfolded in a conversational manner, allowing participants to articulate the issues they felt were important. The interview questions are located in Appendix A.

Many of the research questions, particularly those that explore the basis of opposition to secondary suites and perceptions of landlords and renters, are exploratory in nature. I used a semi-structured rather than structured interview process to explore what participants thought was important rather than imposing my own predeterminations. For example, participants often voiced concerns about secondary suites that were not necessarily related to property values, such as inadequate public engagement. A degree of informality in our interviews allowed the participants and me to explore these themes and include them in the analysis. Additionally, I had to accept a degree of flexibility when it came to the place and context for the interviews. For example, one participant was not comfortable participating in the study unless I joined her for a bike ride through her neighbourhood. In this setting, the participant showed me perceived infractions in the neighbourhood to help me better understand her perspective toward secondary suites. In other instances, participants were only available via telephone. In the majority of cases, participants determined the interview setting, such as their home, office, or a favourite coffee shop. Participants felt more comfortable in these settings, and our interviews tended to unfold in a more conversational manner.

I used different sets of questions to interview city councillors, policy experts, and community leaders. I recruited city councillors by directly contacting their offices through email. The response rate for this group was very high - ten out of the fourteen Calgary city councillors participated in the interviews. Two former city councillors also responded to email requests for an interview. I targeted policy experts based on the historical policy review. With this information, I found three urban planners heavily engaged in secondary suite policy files in

2014, a consultant who worked with Calgary's administration in evaluating land use restrictions for secondary suites in the mid-2000s, and a Calgary resident who participated in provincial public engagements on building code relaxations for secondary suites in the late 1990s.

I reached out to community association board executives through an intermediary, the Federation of Calgary Communities (FCC). The FCC was a community partner for the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership (NCRP), a national seven-year research program funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to explore urban inequality and socio-spatial polarization. The NCRP provided funding for this study, while the FCC provided a number of source documents for analysis, acted as an intermediary between the researcher and community association executives, and facilitated a number of public engagements that connected NCRP research, including the findings of this study, to the broader network of community association volunteers. The initial response rate to requests for interviews with community association board members was very low. The FCC sent two subsequent rounds of requests, which yielded 10 interviews.

Over the course of the interview process, I recruited other participants from the "Not4Rz," or Not For Rezoning, group. Not4Rz is an informal but very active organization that lobbies councillors during secondary suite policy deliberations in 2014. Other participants identified this group as vocal opponents to land use relaxations for secondary suites. The group's public website (not4rz.ca) provided contact information for the core group members as well as a number of information packages. I sent requests for interviews through email, and 3 out of 5 contacts agreed to an interview. Notably, these individuals are also heavily involved in their community association boards. More broadly, the Not4Rz group were critical actors shaping secondary suite deliberations during the course of this study.

I provided a consent form to all participants prior to the interview. This form provided a broad overview of the research project as well as a number of options regarding disclosure (see Appendix B). Participants could choose to maintain anonymity for themselves as well as their organization, and they were given the option to be directly quoted. During some interviews, participants asked I stop recording segments. I omitted these segments from the recording and did not transcribe them. This practice was important for eliciting the participation of those who feared retribution or unwanted media attention. Overall, however, this request was an exception rather than the rule.

2.2.3 Public submissions.

Public submissions to the City provide insight into the claims, perceptions and beliefs that motivate opposition to secondary suites. In this study, I draw from public input regarding individual secondary suite files as well as broader policy proposals. In the former case, I draw from a number of public hearings regarding secondary suite land use re-designations. In the latter case, I draw from public submissions to a recent policy proposal for secondary suites in May 2015.

Accessing this data was timely, as a significant number of individual files came before Council after a prohibitive land use re-designation fee was lifted in 2014. I reviewed 102 files presented to Council from June 2014 to March 2016 (see Appendix C). I obtained these files through the City of Calgary's online archive search engine, and files included written submissions from surrounding neighbours and, in some instances, the official stance of representative community associations. For each of these files, I recorded the community district of the applicant's property and made note of opposition from the community association or

residents. A case was considered contentious if a community association submitted a letter of opposition and/or more than three residents submitted letters of opposition. Contentious files have been noted in Appendix C. During this timeframe, Council also deliberated a major policy proposal for land use relaxations in Calgary's four inner-city wards in May 2015. A number of community associations as well as leaders of the Not4Rz group attended the public hearing and delivered public submissions to the planning department. I coded public feedback on these files from residents and community association leaders.

It is important to acknowledge the political context of this qualitative data. As Valverde (2012) points out, urban planning is structured by a legal framework that governs land parcels rather than individuals. In this context, urban citizens interact with city officials as well as each other "not as human beings, but rather as owners (or legal occupiers) of properties" (p. 31). Land use consultation processes generate an inherent bias toward class interests because deliberations are in and of themselves structured around property relations. Nevertheless, the content of many submissions defied this framework. This suggests land use consultation processes do not always provide a comprehensive picture of residents' concerns.

Moreover, public submissions do not necessarily represent all views of a neighbourhood community, but rather those who are willing and able to engage in land use consultation processes. These individuals tend to be older homeowners who are English-speaking and at least somewhat knowledgeable of the formal procedures of land use consultation. Uncontested land use re-designations, then, do not necessarily mean opposition is lacking in those neighbourhoods. Conversely, contentious cases may have broad support from the surrounding community but draw vocal opposition from a minority of residents.

2.2.4 Coding.

After collecting public submissions and completing interview transcripts, I used Microsoft Excel to code this content. Coding involves processing large amounts of qualitative data into various themes, categories and concepts to answer research questions. Various authors describe a coding process that begins with the particular and ends in the abstract (Hahn, 2008; Saldaña, 2009). Hahn (2008, chp. 1) outlines a number of steps to complete the coding process that begin with an open coding stage, followed by category development, then applying the convergence of ideas across categories into themes during an axial/thematic coding stage, and finalized with theoretical development. In this final stage, I re-visit the themes and categories derived from the data and explore their significance in a class monopoly rent framework.

Coding reliability is an oft-cited difficulty with interview transcript analysis (Campbell et al., 2013; MacPhail et al., 2015). Participants' words often have multiple meanings and may be open to interpretation from one researcher to the next. Without additional coders to challenge and/or discuss the initial set of codes, the researcher runs the risk of biasing the results. As Campbell et al. (2013) point out, there is very little guidance for establishing reliability in a situation where coding is left up to a single coder. Given this limitation, I have made an effort to be what Lynch (2000) refers to as being methodologically self-conscious. Blair (2015, p. 15) explains,

Being methodologically self-conscious means that the qualitative data analyst should be aware that their particular perspective is likely to influence their choice of coding method – but, in qualitative data analysis, this is not generally thought to be a bias that needs to be 'corrected' rather it is seen to be beneficial that the analyst is able to use their own unique skills, talents and expertise.

In this study, I acknowledge my perspective to the data is not objective. I bring my own knowledge of the land use planning process and social theory as well as personal experience with

rental tenure to explore oppositional politics, but I strive to remain open-minded and receptive to the thoughts of others. This open-minded approach was critical for building trust with opponents who were initially wary of discussing their perspective with me. In this study, I often include long excerpts to capture the spirit of what participants share, and I compare these findings with many other sources of data to generate a holistic picture of secondary suite controversy. To generate this understanding, I use an ontology and epistemology grounded in urban political economy to describe themes and concepts in the data. For this reason, the codes, categories and themes speak to social relations involved in secondary suite politics. Three broad concepts derived from the data are renters and risk, class conflict with absentee landlords, and homeowners' perceived zoning rights. The need to control disadvantageous neighbourhood change links these concepts together; practices of neighbourhood governance and regulatory demands are a product of these perceptions. I discuss these five themes in Chapter 4 under the headings Renters and Risk, Homeowners vs. Absentee Landlords, Monopoly Rights, and Neighbourhood Governance.

2.2.5 Mapping the secondary suite market.

To describe the characteristics and geography of the secondary suite market in Calgary, three sets of municipal spatial data were cross-analyzed using spatial analysis tools available in ArcGIS software. This analysis utilized civic census data from the City of Calgary's 2015 Civic Census, land use and land parcel data from the planning department, and locational data for legal secondary suites from the City's registry. The City of Calgary's annual Civic Census provides information such as housing structure type, number of dwelling unit conversions, and tenure of occupants for each parcel of land within city limits.

I used three categories of secondary suites to collect my data (Figure 2).

Type of Secondary Suite	Description	Land Use Zones
Legalized	Obtained all necessary permits and were inspected to meet Alberta's Safety Code requirements. Land use permissions enable the property owner to apply for these permits.	R-1N, R-1s, R-2, R-2M, R-C1s, R-C1Ls, R-C1N, R-C2, R-CG, R-G, R-GM
Authorized by Zoning	The land use governing these properties list secondary suites as a permitted or a discretionary use, but the dwellings are not included in the legal registry. They have not been inspected or achieved all necessary permits to be considered legalized.	R-1N, R-1s, R-2, R-2M, R-C1s, R-C1Ls, R-C1N, R-C2, R-CG, R-G, R-GM
Unauthorized by Zoning	The land use governing these properties do not list secondary suites as a permitted or discretionary use. A land use re-designation is required to authorize a secondary suite before permits can be acquired and an inspection can be conducted.	R-1, R-C1, R-C1L

Figure 2. Legal Categories of Secondary Suites.

Legal secondary suites have been inspected by bylaw authorities and received a permit from the planning department. The planning department lists legal secondary suites in online legal registry (City of Calgary, n.d.a). Authorized secondary suites, on the other hand, are not listed in the city's legal registry and are therefore presumed to be lacking inspection and/or legal permits. Nevertheless, the land use bylaw permits their use and does not prevent property owners from seeking necessary permits. These secondary suites can be found in land use zones that listed secondary suites as a permitted or discretionary use. Unauthorized secondary suites are those in land use zones that do not list secondary suites as a permitted or discretionary use. In these cases, property owners need to change their land use district to authorize the suite. As we shall later see, the legal differences between these three categories are important with respect to land use

bylaw enforcement practices and policy proposals. Owner-occupation of suites was another contentious topic among secondary suite opponents and policymakers.

The data analysis followed a process of elimination illustrated in (Figure 3). First, I selected and exported all land parcels accommodating a converted structure into a new data layer. Converted structures are defined in the civic census as "[t]he additional dwelling unit in a structure that contains more units than the building was originally designated and built to contain" (City of Calgary, 2017c, p. 125). Then, I linked land use attributes this data layer. Using this information to identify irrelevant land uses, I retained only those parcels with a low-density land use zone. This data set constituted a land parcel base of the secondary suite universe. I overlaid point-level household data from the civic census on this parcel base to identify parcels where an owner resides on the property. I also summarized the number of converted structures on each parcel. In this way, I identified the total number of secondary suites as well as those that were owner-occupied.

In the second phase of the process (Figure 3), I used the geographic data provided in the city's online legal registry. This data provides geographic coordinates of legal secondary suites. I matched this data to my parcel base of the secondary suite universe. With this information, I deduced that the remaining parcels did not have a legal permit. In other words, all other secondary suites that did not match with the legal registry are either completely unauthorized or they are authorized by do not have a permit. In the third phase of the process, I analyzed the land

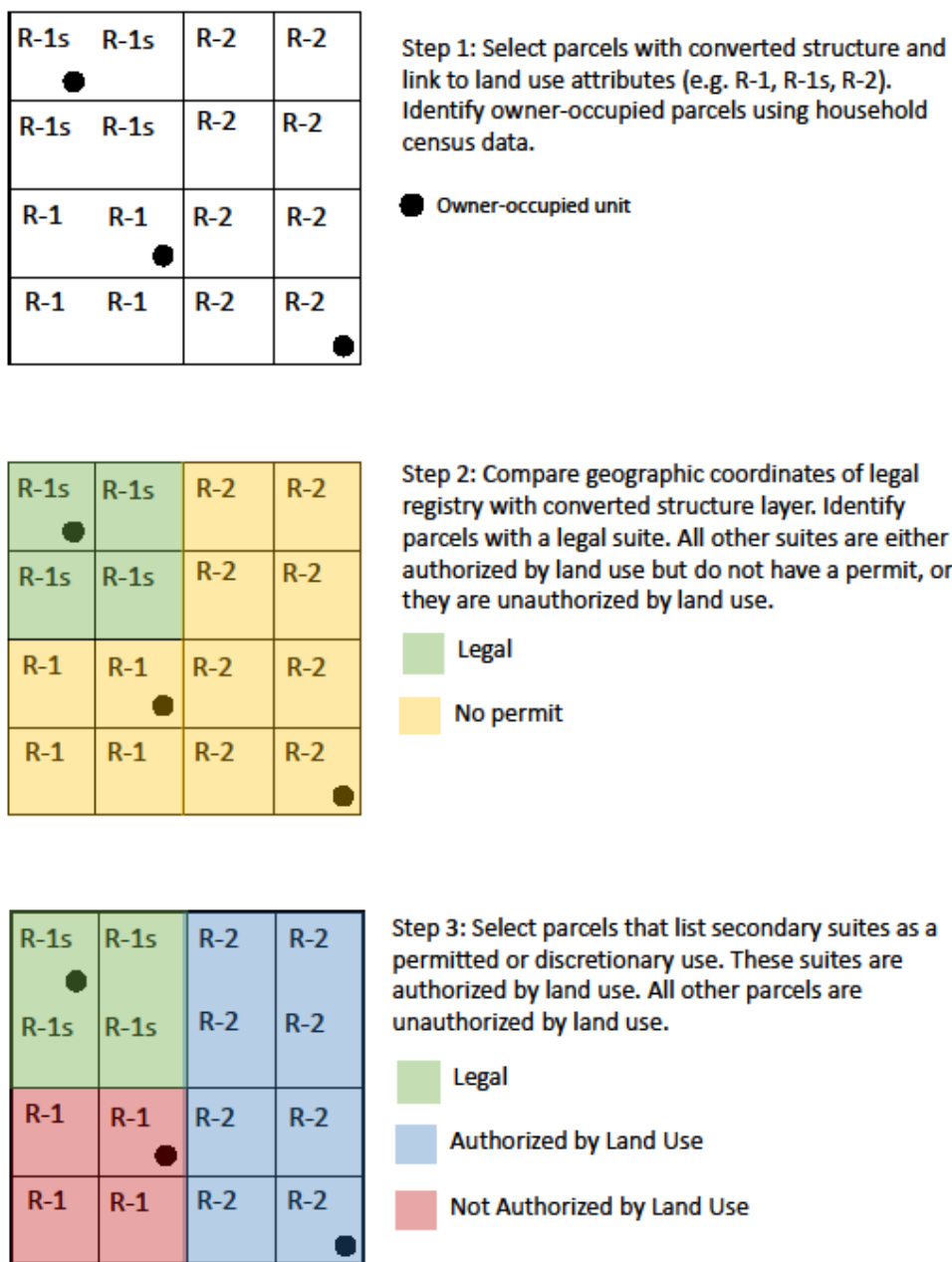


Figure 3. Spatial Analysis Process for Mapping Secondary Suites.

use attributes to determine whether the non-legal suites were authorized or unauthorized by land use (Figure 3). I used the same method from the first part of the process to summarize the number of converted structures and determine owner-occupation on these parcels.

Household level civic census data is classified as highly sensitive information. Consequently, I had to secure special permissions from the City of Calgary to access to this information. Thanks to a data-sharing contract between the City of Calgary's Census department and the University of Calgary's Spatial and Numeric Data Services, the City provided the final dataset aggregated to the community district level. Personal relationships with members of the Geodemographics team at the City of Calgary allowed me one-day access to city offices to conduct the analysis. With access to point-level data and the ArcGIS software, I performed the spatial analysis with oversight from the Geodemographics team. The team submitted the data to the University of Calgary's Spatial and Numeric Data Services (SANDS). SANDS only allows me to access this data.

Throughout this data acquisition process, informal arrangements as well as institutional contracts were necessary for data access and analysis. The data-sharing contract was initially difficult to obtain; administrative contacts at the University of Calgary were unable to provide information regarding due process in acquiring sensitive municipal data. At the same time, census stewards at the City of Calgary were unable to provide data without formal disclosure of whom the data would be released to, as well as its use. Ultimately, the Geodemographics team at the City of Calgary mediated the data exchange by connecting census stewards with the University of Calgary's Spatial and Numeric Data Services.

The absence of formal rules and regulations regarding public access to spatial data owned by the City of Calgary was a significant obstacle in the data collection process. Without internal

organizational policies to regulate data access, I relied on informal relationships to establish trust and advance my research goals. In these cases, who you know shapes access to data and information. While researchers may selectively employ various ethical strategies for gaining access to and disseminating sensitive data, the absence of internal data management policies in public-sector organizations is problematic. Public-sector organizations should balance data security with accessibility through formal policies regulating the use of data provided by the public through censuses and property assessments.

2.2.6 Comparative analysis.

In this study, I compare and contrast the neighbourhood politics of various community districts in Calgary to gain a better understanding of where opposition to secondary suites is strongest, where it is weakest, and how this pattern relates to socio-economic and housing tenure attributes. I use semi-structured interviews and public submissions to understand neighbourhood politics. Secondary suite housing data helps me understand geographically uneven tolerance of secondary suites and identify neighbourhoods where secondary suites are particularly contentious. Using the 2015 civic census and the 2006 federal census, I compare these findings with neighbourhood attributes.

Highlighting the prominence of comparative analysis in urban research, Ward (2010, p. 473) defines this method as "describing, explaining and developing theories about sociocultural phenomena as they occur in and across social units (cities, groups, regions, nations, societies, tribes)." Baxter (2010) similarly describes comparative analysis or comparative case study as the utilization of multiple instances of a phenomena studied at the same point in time. Comparative analysis is useful for observing how local variations emerge in relation to general structures,

such as those discussed in theories of political economy (Dickens et al., 1985; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Miller, 1995). Comparative analysis helps secure external validity: conducting research in a way that findings can be extended beyond individual cases.

The literature suggests this method is useful for extending knowledge of local phenomena to more abstract theoretical constructs. As Dickens et al. (1985, p. 1) assert, "what are identified as basic structural mechanisms actually produce widely variable outcomes in different times and at different places." From the realist perspective, these variations help identify "the different sets of causal conditions under which these relationships can occur and which can be expressed in complex causal models" (Pickvance, 2001, p. 98). The realist approach moves social science away from the empirical regularity of positivism and towards necessary and contingent relations that allow the outcome to occur (Ward, 2010; Sayer, 2000). I use a comparative analysis to clarify theoretical ambiguities as to when, why and where a territorial class politics might materialize.

In this study, I compare and contrast the politics and neighbourhood attributes of community districts in Calgary. Community districts are jurisdiction boundaries used to describe neighbourhoods in Calgary (Figure 4). Up until the 1960s, the City of Calgary determined these districts. Today, the Federation of Calgary Communities negotiates these boundaries with the City. In a number of cases, community associations serve more than one community district, e.g. the North Haven Community Association serves Upper North Haven and North Haven.

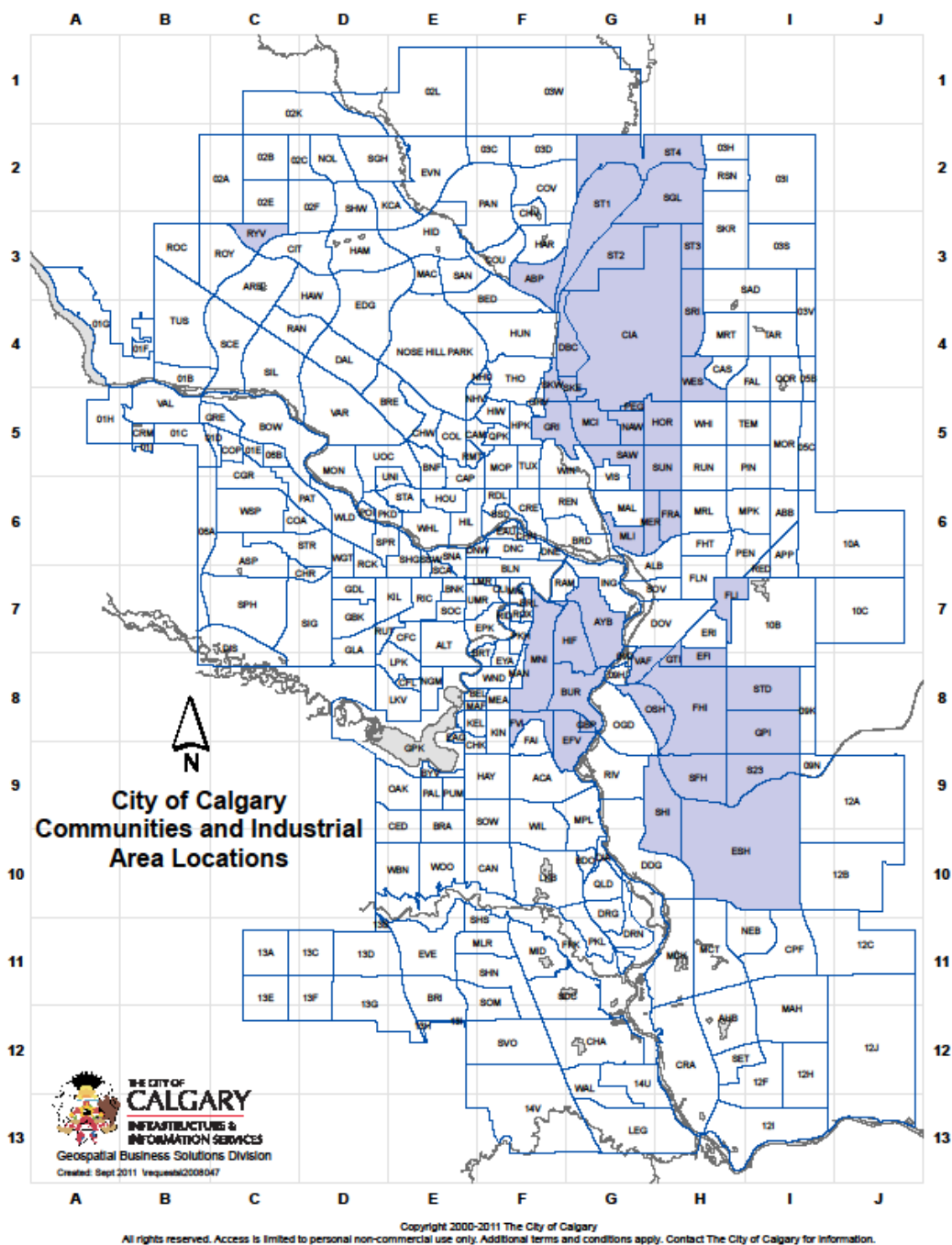


Figure 4. Community Districts in Calgary. Source: City of Calgary, 2011a.

I use this unit because policymakers recognize these boundaries through local institutional practices including (re)development planning, community engagement, and electoral representation. Moreover, data institutions such as the civic census and federal census data aggregate data to these boundaries. A limitation of this approach, however, is that the territories of community associations and community districts are not always the same. Moreover, community politics based on shared attitudes, experiences, interests and goals, is not always concerned with neighbourhood issues (Gilbert, 1999), nor is it necessarily cultivated through spatial proximity and face-to-face contact (Grabher & Ibert, 2014). For example, a number of participants referred to their distrust of municipal administration as an underlying basis of opposition rather than a neighbourhood-specific issue. In the case of Not4Rz, opponents rarely met one another but were kept informed through an email listserv. To address these limitations, I identify cases where a community association represents more than one community district, and I distinguish between shared, place-based interests from those that are geographically ambiguous.

I made a number of considerations in the selection and comparison of community districts for the analysis. As Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 229) argues, "[r]andom samples emphasizing representativeness will seldom be able to produce this kind of insight [into deeper causes]; it is more appropriate to select some few cases chosen for their validity." Therefore, a representative sample of community districts is less important than selecting a set of cases that illustrate *meaningful* patterns of cause and effect; for this reason, "[t]he selection of cases must proceed based on the specifications of the theoretical model" (Miller 1995, p. 118). This does not necessarily mean that cases are selected simply to illustrate the validity of the model, since investigation may demonstrate that the outcome occurs in a way that deviates from the model – this leads to theory revision. Drawing from John Stuart Mill's *System of Logic* (1868), Miller

(1995) asserts that the indirect method of difference, whereby an instance where the outcome does not occur is compared to others that it does, can help researchers determine the validity of a causal effect by virtue of its absence. Essentially, the goal is to compare use 'negative' cases to support conclusions drawn from 'positive' cases. I also recognize interaction among cases, rather than treating them as if they were strictly bounded and self-contained.

In this study, I explore cases of opposition or support as they occur to me. In other words, if community leaders express opposition or support through the interview process or through public submissions, I consider these politics in the comparative analysis. In my initial approach, I sought an equal number of community districts from each comparative category. A very low response rate to interview requests suggests many community associations have a neutral or apathetic stance on the secondary suites issue; in fact, a small minority of community associations submit responses to individual cases as well as broad policy proposals. Moreover, I found greater participation in certain comparative categories than others. For example, community associations from neighbourhoods of high property value and a high proportion of homeowners were more likely to engage in secondary suite politics.

Following these observations, I adopted a less rigid approach to my selection process. My findings explore engaged rather than representative cases: I selected cases where community leaders are actively engaged with the secondary suites issue and have made efforts to influence policy outcomes. This means my case study selection is not necessarily representative of Calgary as a whole, but rather the views of those who exercise power over policy outcomes. To address this limitation, I acknowledge this 'silence' in my analysis by comparing 'active' comparative categories with those that are 'less active'. In other words, I compare the neighbourhood

attributes of communities who are actively opposed to secondary suites against those that appear to be relatively neutral or apathetic.

A matrix defined by axis of tenure and property value is the basis of my comparative categories (Figure 5). In the class monopoly rent framework, local housing conflicts are a product of class interests in land value. Class monopoly rents are achieved through coordinated group effort among those who are able to exploit certain institutional arrangements and governance mechanisms. While other social markers also characterize these politics, those

Median Property Value	\$525, 413 to \$2, 082, 830	High Median Property Value, Low Owner Occupation 7	High Median Property Value, Mid-Range Owner Occupation 8	High Median Property Value, High Owner Occupation 9
	\$371, 460 to \$ 525, 412	Mid-Range Median Property Value, Low Owner Occupation 4	Mid-Range Median Property Value, Mid-Range Owner Occupation 5	Mid-Range Median Property Value, High Owner Occupation 6
	\$0 to \$371, 459	Low Median Property Value, Low Owner Occupation 1	Low Median Property Value, Mid-Range Owner Occupation 2	Low Median Property Value, High Owner Occupation 3
		1 to 56 %	57 to 78 %	79 to 96%
Percent of Owner-Occupied Dwellings				

Figure 5. Matrix of Tenure and Owner-Occupation of Community Districts

groups with the highest incomes tend to secure the best locations in an urban housing market while leveraging political resources to share externalities and exclude others, particularly the poor (Harvey, 1973). Consequently, low-income groups are often confined to/segregated within the least prestigious neighbourhoods. Income, therefore, is influential in mediating community conflict and access to political power.

Income alone is an inadequate indicator of class structure, as it excludes wealth tied up in property. This is particularly relevant for the large number of homeowners who have invested the bulk of their savings in housing as a retirement plan. I contend that property value is a better variable than household income for classifying community districts in the comparative analysis. In the Baltimore study, Harvey (1974) similarly compares average sale prices among different housing submarkets to describe the geography of class monopoly rents. In this study, I use property values to explore patterns between class monopoly rents and community opposition to secondary suites. One limitation of this approach is that class monopoly rent is one of three different forms of rent captured in property value. Therefore, I cannot determine that property value among oppositional communities is *entirely* a product of their ability to exclude housing groups.

Tenure is another important categorical variable. The literature consistently shows how tenure demarcates socioeconomic status. Low and very low income Canadians are predominantly renters who enter into lease agreements with landlords, while homeowners have more control over their living arrangements, including the resale of their properties. Homeownership also provides a greater propensity for wealth accumulation through rising property values. There is a social hierarchy in tenure that can translate into the stigmatization of renters (e.g. see Rollwagen, 2015; Scally & Koenig, 2012) as well as exclusionary homeowner politics (e.g. Purcell, 2001).

Relatedly, an increase in rental tenure indicates lifecycle change in the neighbourhood. Long-term residents may perceive this as decline and try to resist what they perceive as encroachment. Harvey (1973, p. 172) describes this process as "blow out", whereby affluent groups often resist low-income encroachment with success while intermediate socioeconomic groups are pushed to relocate. Contention with rental properties is a consistent theme in Calgary's secondary suite politics.

In this study, I use a matrix with median property values and percent of owner-occupied dwellings as axes (Figure 5). I derived the owner-occupation rate of all community districts from the 2015 civic census, which is available on the City of Calgary's open data catalogue (City of Calgary, n.d.b). I retrieved property assessment data for single- and semi-detached homes aggregated to the community district level from the Calgary Assessment Office via an email request. The two sets of data are not normally distributed, so a Jenks Natural Breaks method was used to create three bins for each data set (Figure 6) (Figure 7). I have also included averages for other neighbourhood attribute data used in this study in (Table 1). With these two data sets, I categorized every community district as low, mid-range, or high median property value and low, mid-range, or high owner-occupation rate. Then, I combined the categories to sort every community district into each part of the matrix, which are described as follows:

Section 1: Low Median Property Value (\$0 to \$371, 459) and Low Proportion of Homeowners (1% to 56% of owner-occupied dwellings)

Section 2: Low Median Property Value (\$0 to \$371, 459) and Mid-Range Proportion of Homeowners (57% to 78% of owner-occupied dwellings)

Section 3: Low Median Property Value (\$0 to \$371, 459) and High Proportion of Homeowners (79% to 96%)

Section 4: Mid-Range Median Property Value (\$371, 460 to \$525, 412) and Low Proportion of Homeowners (1% to 56% of owner-occupied dwellings)

Section 5: Mid-Range Median Property Value (\$371, 460 to \$525, 412) and Mid-Range Proportion of Homeowners (57% to 78% of owner-occupied dwellings)

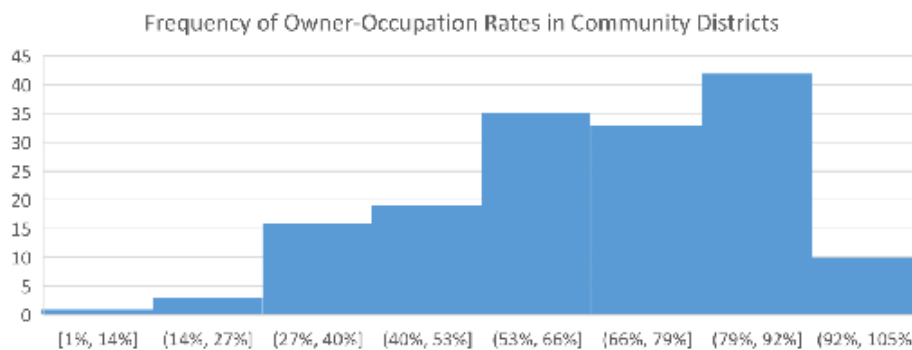
Section 6: Mid-Range Median Property Value (\$371, 460 to \$525, 412) and High Proportion of Homeowners (79% to 96%)

Section 7: High Median Property Value (\$525, 413 to \$2, 082, 830) and Low Proportion of Homeowners (1% to 56% of owner-occupied dwellings)

Section 8: High Median Property Value (\$525, 413 to \$2, 082, 830) and Mid-Range Proportion of Homeowners (57% to 78% of owner-occupied dwellings)

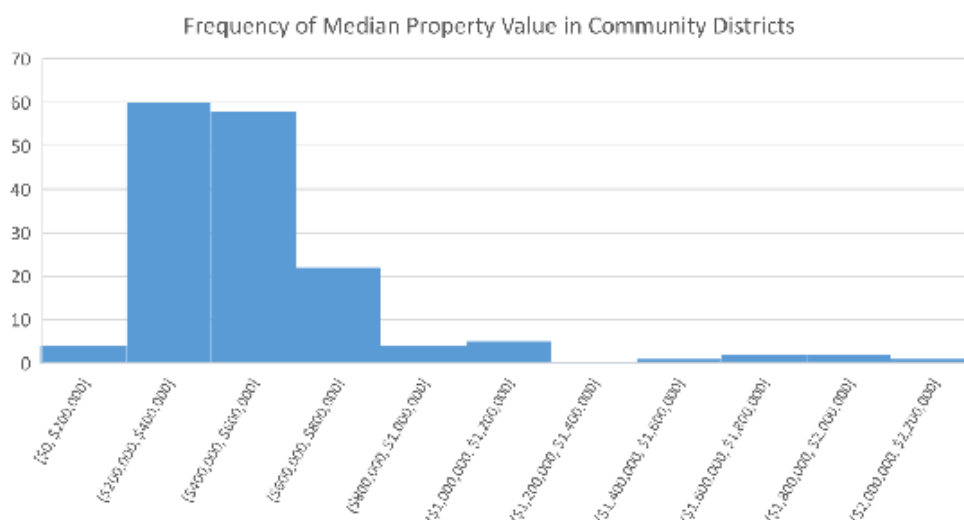
Section 9: High Median Property Value (\$525, 413 to \$2, 082, 830) and High Proportion of Homeowners (79% to 96%)

Matrix assignments for each community district can be found in Appendix D. Each matrix assignment is labelled in the bottom right corner of the matrix boxes Figure 5.



Jenks Natural Breaks Optimization for Owner-Occupation Rates			
Bin	Lower Limit	Upper Limit	Count
1	1%	56%	51
2	57%	78%	55
3	79%	96%	53

Figure 6. Frequency and Jenks Natural Breaks for Owner-Occupation Rates Among Community Districts.



Jenks Natural Breaks Optimization for Median Property Value			
Bin	Lower Limit	Upper Limit	Count
1	\$0	\$371,459	54
2	\$371,460	\$525,413	52
3	\$525,414	\$2,082,830	53

Figure 7. Frequency and Natural Breaks for Median Property Value Among Community Districts.

Neighbourhood Attribute	Citywide Average
Owner-Occupation of all Dwellings	66.0%
Median Property Value	\$523,929
Median Household Income	\$76,898
Density	15.7
Suited Parcels	6.1%
Owner-Occupation of Suites	29.9%

Table 1. Citywide Averages for Neighbourhood Attributes.

For the selection process, I used my data from semi-structured interviews and public submissions to identify community districts that have significant support for or opposition to

secondary suites. Data from community districts in the 3rd part of the matrix was sparse; interview participants from these districts did not respond to recruitment efforts and public submissions were nonexistent. Upon closer observation, it became apparent that all the community districts from this part of the matrix are located on the edge of the city and are either still under (re)development or only recently established. A total of 41 community districts used in the comparative analysis were sorted into the matrix in Figure 5. I discuss these findings in Chapter 5.

In addition to property value and tenure, I explore other neighbourhood attributes among community districts included in this comparative analysis. The City of Calgary planning department calculates the density of community districts in dwelling units per gross residential hectare (City of Calgary, 2015b). I obtained this information via an email request. Another neighbourhood attribute used in this study is median income, which I pulled from a special aggregation of the 2006 federal census data into community districts. This dataset is outdated, however there are limitations to subsequent datasets. The 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) was voluntary, and thus has a number of data integrity issues compared to the 2006 census; many census tracts included in the NHS would be disqualified by 2006 standards¹⁷. Statistics Canada has completed a 2016 census, but they have not yet aggregated this data to Calgary's community district geography.

The construction of the matrix conditions the findings of the comparative analysis. The classification of the community districts along natural breaks in owner-occupation and property

¹⁷ For more information regarding this issue see Hulchanski et al.'s (2013) published submission in the *Globe and Mail*.

value data is but one of many other statistical methods that can be used for such a task. For example, Townshend et al. (2018) use income ratios to classify census tracts into five groups. In this study, I use natural breaks as a simple method for constructing data breaks in the matrix. More broadly, the matrix is a helpful tool for exploring patterns to secondary suite opposition and yet other statistical methods, and thus an alternative matrix, may yield different insights to the geographical pattern of secondary suite politics.

Chapter Three: A Historical Review of Calgary's Secondary Suite Controversy

3.1 Introduction

The geographic structure of housing markets, as Harvey (1974) argues, is a product of history. In Calgary, the contention around secondary suites has followed various attempts to reconcile restrictive land use policies of the past. Beginning in the 1950s, a combination of new urban planning practices, financial policies, and cultural tastes saw rental and multi-family dwellings largely phased out of suburban neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, secondary suites have become a significant yet informal source of housing supply in a city beset by consistent affordable housing deficits. Today, the vast majority of secondary suites evade inspection; over the past 30 years, some urban policymakers have sought to remedy this situation by lifting land use restrictions.

In this historical account, I outline the major political events that characterize Calgary's longstanding controversy with secondary suites. These events include the initial land use restrictions as they emerged in the postwar era, the housing crisis that ensued in the late 1990s, and subsequent efforts amongst policymakers to relax restrictions for secondary suites. Resident homeowners in single-detached neighbourhoods are the key opponents in this story; working through their community associations and councillors, these opponents exercised significant influence over the outcomes of land use consultation. Evidently, by a long history of policy considerations, public engagement, and community organizing characterize Calgary's secondary suite controversy.

3.2 Land Use Restrictions in the Post-War Era

Land use bylaws recognized secondary suites as a duplex, an apartment house with separate entrances for two households, as far back as the 1930s. Foran (2009) postulates that as far back as the 1930s the 'R2' land use designation largely meant secondary suites in Calgary. In Calgary as well as other Canadian municipalities, a more restrictive approach emerged in the 1950s, when provincial legislation required municipalities to adopt comprehensive zoning plans (Harris & Kinsella, 2017). In new residential neighbourhoods designed around Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit Concept, urban planners afforded single-detached properties with better and more exclusive locations. Not surprisingly, they became the preferred housing type. At the same time, zoning for renter-oriented housing such as duplexes and multi-family apartment blocks became less common. As discussed in Chapter 1, this trend was buttressed by a number of interrelated factors, including but not limited to demographic changes in household structure; rising incomes; shifting cultural tastes; and institutional as well as financial interests in expanding homeownership for the middle class.

What few efforts urban planners and developers made to integrate higher densities in newer communities were often thwarted by community opposition and, by proxy, local Council (Foran, 2009). The rejection of these proposals were based on the belief that property values for single-detached housing units would suffer; property owners in established areas saw zoning change as a breach of contract. While lacking in any legal foundation, the notion that zoning should ensure stable land use for existing property owners was nonetheless widely accepted. Single-detached suburban living represented social prestige, privacy, and security (Harris, 2004), and communities were willing and able to exert political pressure to preserve this landscape of status and privilege. Not surprisingly, today's zoning landscape is largely prohibitive of

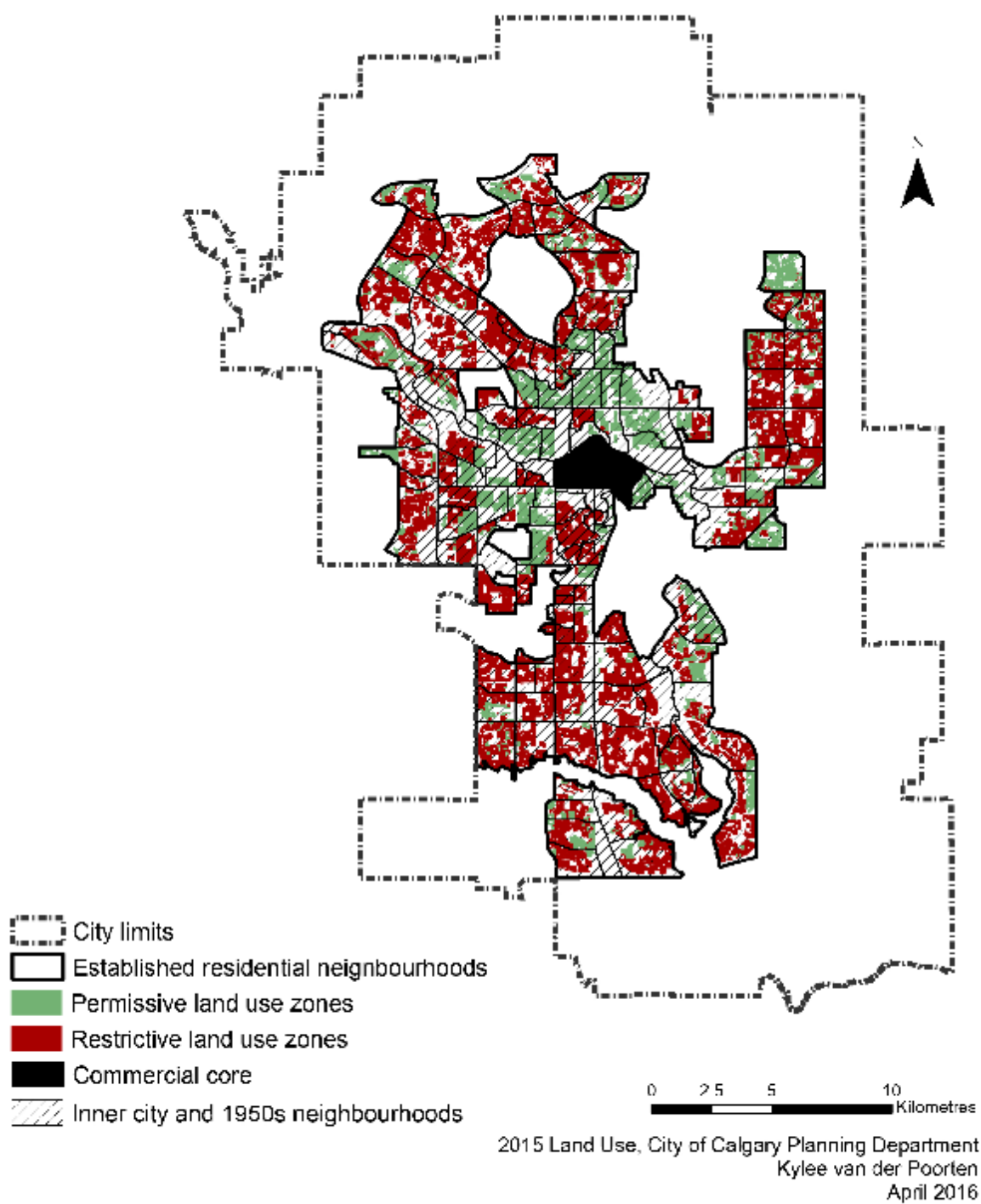


Figure 8. Land Use Restrictions for Secondary Suites

secondary suites in neighbourhoods built from the 1950s to the 1990s (Figure 8). As we shall later see in Chapter 4, this informal yet compelling social contract prevails in present negotiations around land use relaxations for secondary suites.

Policymakers introduced additional restrictions for duplex structures in zoning bylaws of the 1970s and 80s. By 1970, property owners who wished to convert their single-detached dwellings into a duplex would require a land use re-designation (City of Calgary, 1970). Should these property owners apply for land use change, a public hearing solicited neighbours' input before Council ultimately decided on the application. By 1972, additional bylaw amendments mandated completely independent dwelling units within both semi-detached and duplex structures (City of Calgary, 1972). As city planner Cliff de Jong explains, these requirements demanded a higher degree of building and fire code compliance:

In effect, the only real legal secondary suites had to be the exact same unit up and down, totally self-contained, and not reliant on one another whatsoever. It was a much more expensive build. (de Jong, personal communication, June 24, 2016, see Appendix E).

De Jong explains most secondary suites did not comply with these strict standards. The City thus considered them illegal. Urban planners and developers not only phased duplexes out of suburban neighbourhoods but any subsequent conversion was further discouraged through strict building controls and land use change requirements well into the 1970s and 80s. Nevertheless, secondary suites continued to serve a segment of housing consumers in the rental housing market. By and large, these historical restrictions established a legal landscape in which the vast majority of existing secondary suites were (and still are) considered illegal.

As of 2015, only 278 out of the 13, 812 existing secondary suites in built-out neighbourhoods are captured in the Calgary Suites Registry and considered legal. Of the remaining 13, 534 unauthorized suites, approximately 73 per cent exist within zones that permit

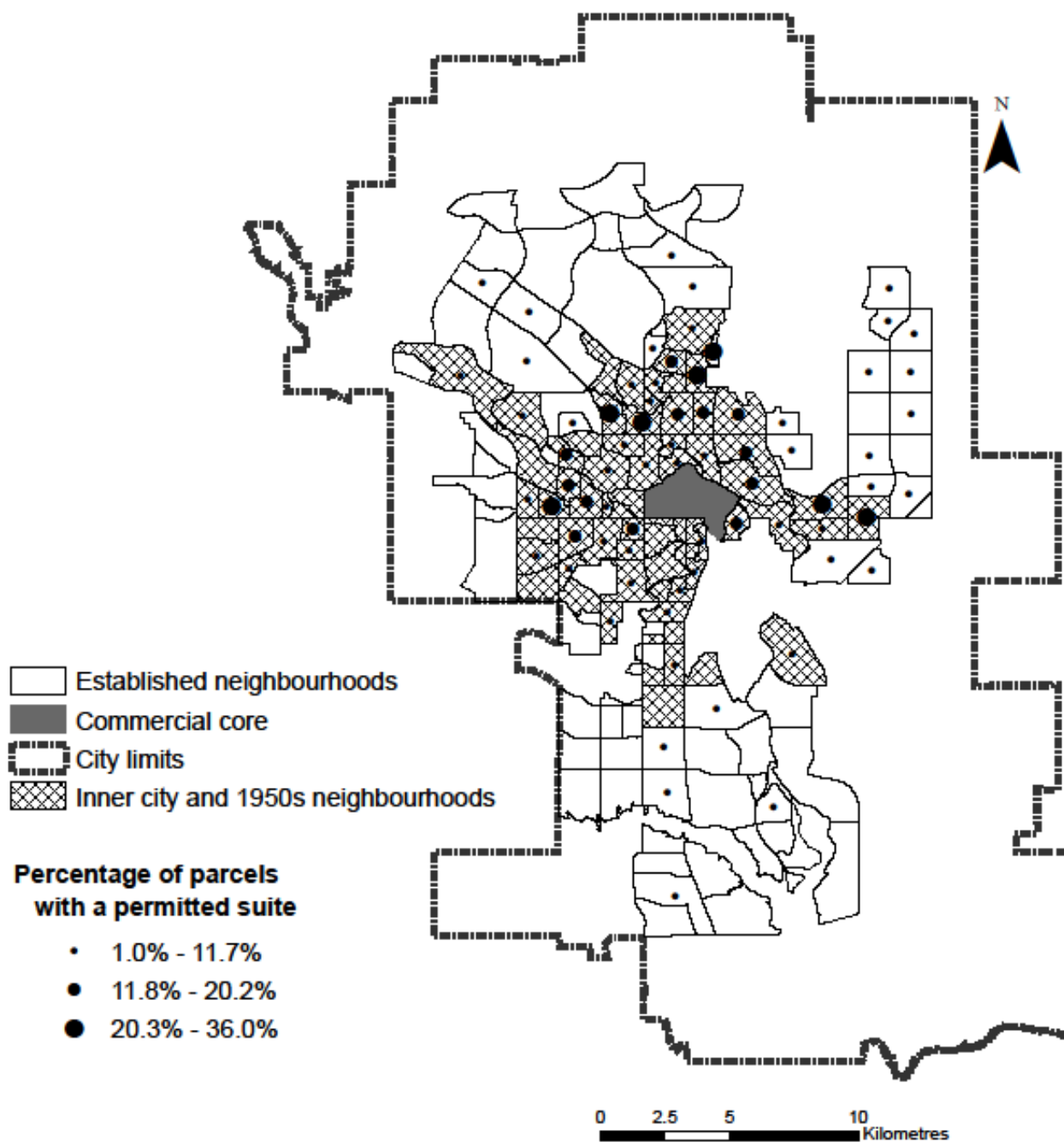


Figure 9. Permitted Suites in Established Neighbourhoods in 2015.

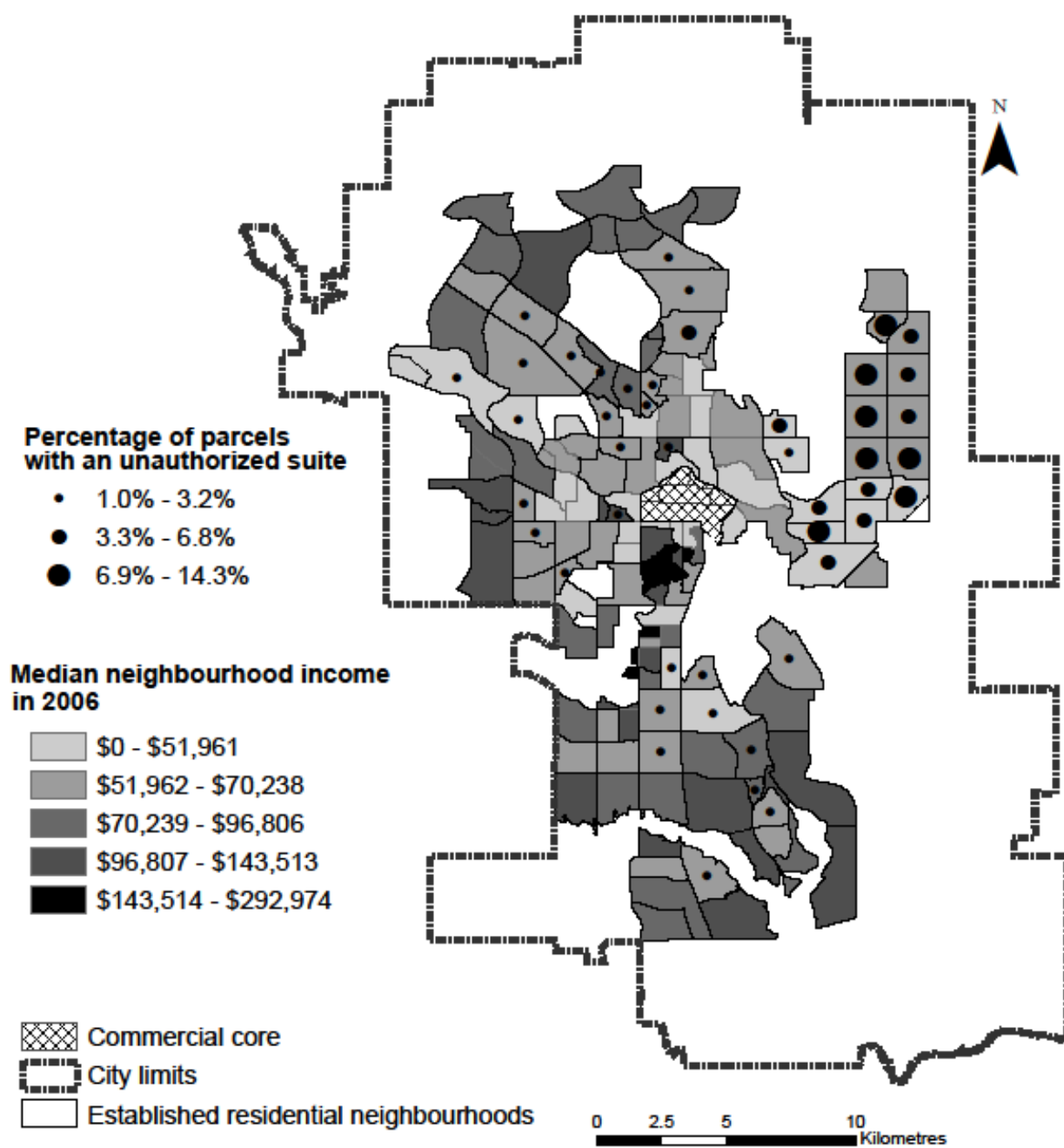


Figure 10. Restricted Suites and Median Income in 2015.

secondary suites while 27 per cent are in restricted zones. The majority of existing secondary suites, therefore, are permitted by land use policies and yet landlords have not applied for a legal permit. These suites are concentrated in established inner-city neighbourhoods that predate prohibitive planning policies of the postwar era (Figure 9). Restricted suites are particularly concentrated in the northeast quadrant of Calgary, suggesting uneven tolerance. These neighbourhoods are characterized by low median income (Figure 10) and a high immigrant-orientation (e.g. see Townshend et al., 2018). The historical context which gave rise to the original restrictions on secondary suites shape the present day geography of this housing form.

3.3 Calgary's Housing Crisis

A number of interrelated factors prompted Council to address secondary suites as a significant component of rental housing supply in the 1990s. During this time, the affordable housing shortage in Calgary was compounded by the retrenchment of social housing programs at the provincial and federal level of government, soaring local construction costs, lack of restrictions on condominium conversions, and redevelopment of older affordable housing (Miller & Smart, 2010). These trends are evident in census data. Annual net migration increased sevenfold from 1988 to 1990, providing Calgary's population with an additional 18,740 new migrants from other provinces and abroad (Figure 11). By 1991, however, net migration dropped and did not significantly recover until 1996. Calgary's population growth pattern would follow this boom and bust pattern well into the 2000s. At the same time, the primary (built-to-rent) rental housing market witnessed a net loss of 2,736 units from 1991 to 1998 (Figure 12). During boom times, we might expect a drastic fall in vacancy rates due to this consistent reduction in traditional rental housing stock, and yet there is little correspondence. From 1992 to 2015,

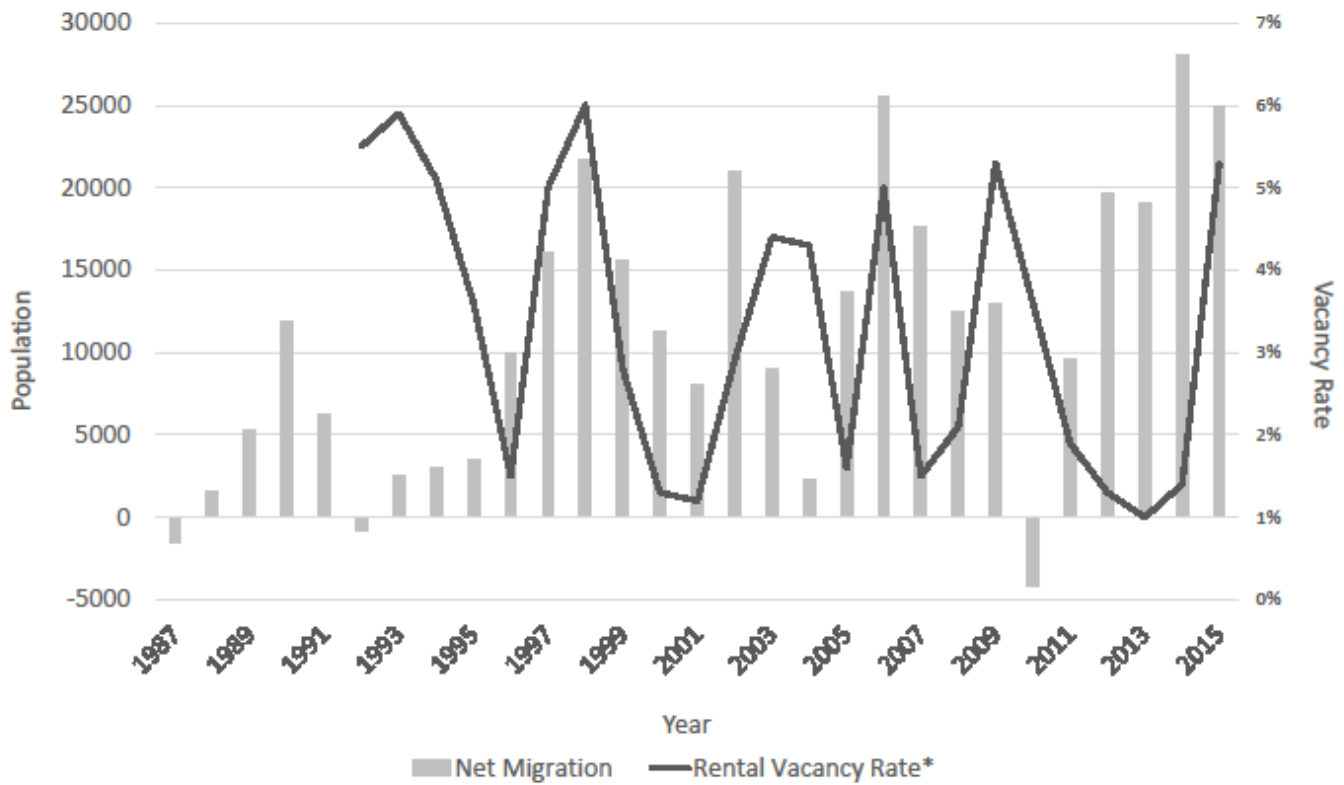


Figure 11. Migration and Vacancy Rates 1987-2015. Source: City Archives Office.

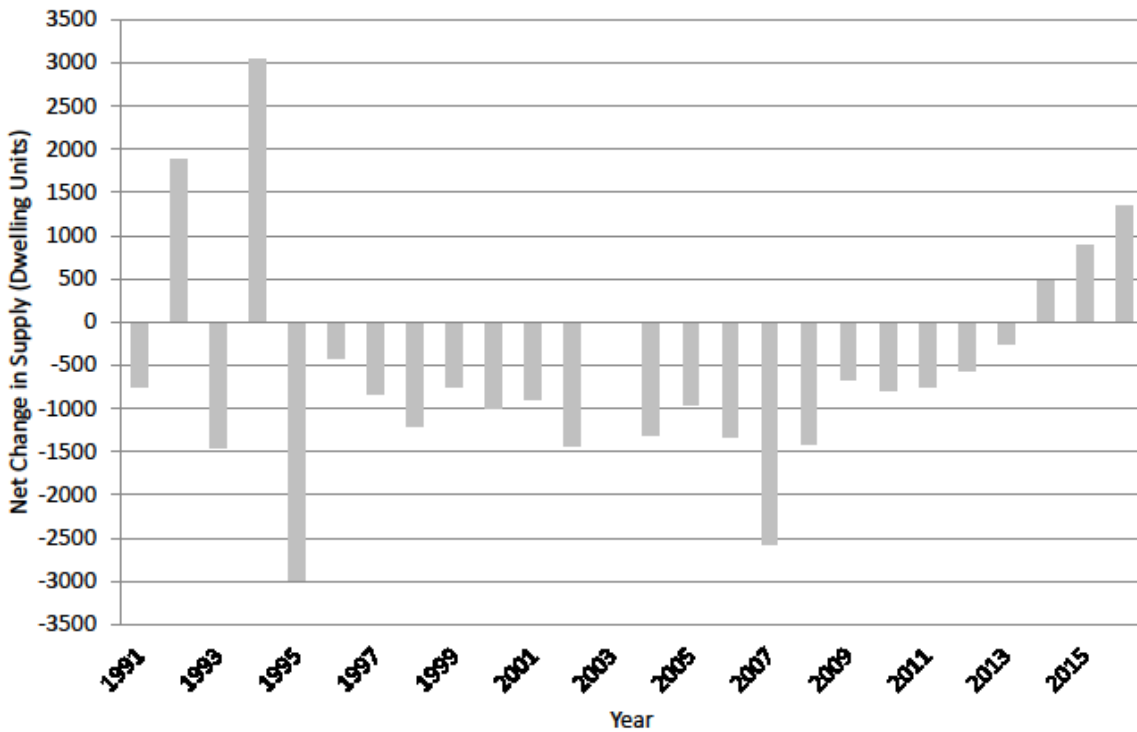


Figure 12. Primary Rental Housing 1991-2016. Source: CMHC, 2017.

Primary and Secondary Rental Housing in Calgary, 2007

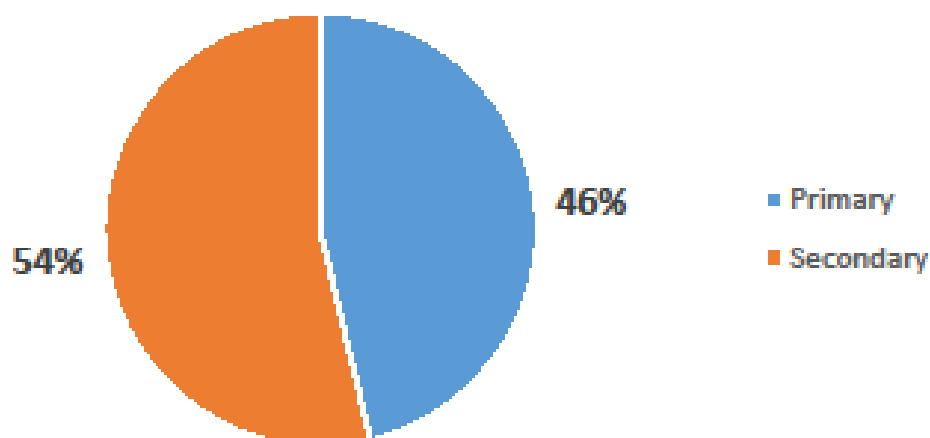


Figure 13. Primary and Secondary Rental Housing in 2007. Source: CMHC,

vacancy rates ranged from 1 to 6 per cent (Figure 11). In fact, the primary rental housing sector is one part of the story. By 2007, a secondary rental housing market of 49, 042 units had surpassed the primary rental housing market as a total percentage of the rental housing stock (Figure 13).

Secondary suite conversions are a part of this trend. Deficient built-to-rent housing investment, the arrival of new migrants, and a significant demand for rental housing provided a ripe environment for secondary suite conversions. The City of Calgary captures this type of housing as a "converted structure" in the annual civic census. It defines converted structures as "[t]he additional dwelling unit in a structure that contains more units than the building was originally designated and built to contain" (City of Calgary, 2017c, p. 125). As Figure 14 demonstrates, converted structures steadily rose beginning in 1990 after a net drop of 1, 775 units from 1985 to 1989. A drop in net migration of 1, 566 people in 1987 suggests a bust cycle

reduced demand for converted structures from 1985 to 1989 (Figure 14). From 1990 to 1994, vacancy rates in these structures was consistently lower compared to the 1985 to 1989 time

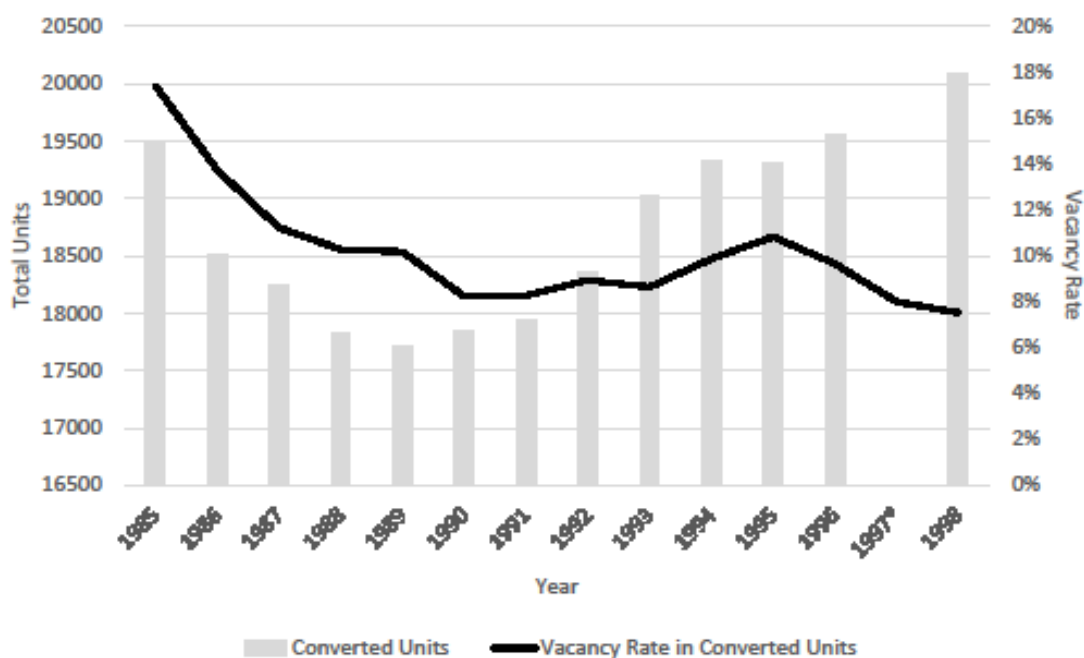


Figure 14. Converted Structures in Calgary from 1985-1998. Source: City Archives

period, suggesting heightened demand (Figure 14). By 1994, converted units accounted for 17%, or 19, 337 units, of the total 111, 463 rental housing units captured in the annual civic census.

Given the highly restrictive land use policies of the time, the vast majority of these units operated illegally. Nevertheless, economic conditions appear to have made the practice relatively lucrative.

Put together, these trends are indicative of Calgary's housing challenges. Beginning in the 1990s, social service agencies began to recognize a growing population of working people who could not find housing in Calgary's tight rental market. By 1998, an estimated 45 per cent of emergency shelter users were working but unable to find a place to live (Williams, 1998). While

the Chamber of Commerce and Calgary Economic Development encouraged higher immigration levels to respond to the City's labour shortages, an increasingly expensive housing market posed a significant challenge to these strategies (Miller & Smart, 2011). There were, in short, a number of social as well as economic consequences to the housing problem.

The timing of these events suggests the demand for inexpensive and, coincidentally, illegal housing is linked to ongoing processes of income polarization, labour market stratification, and the dislocation of low- and middle-income renters. By the 1990s, illegal secondary suites had become a significant component of the rental housing market. It is in this context that secondary suites emerged as a controversial topic among neighbours as well as city council. As former inner-city councillor and Subdivision and Appeal Board (SDAB) member Councillor Beverly Longstaff explains,

even in 1989 there was the same issue then as we have now. There was an affordable housing crisis in this city, which became worse in subsequent years because the province sold off all of its affordable housing portfolio... we tried to do a lot of things to address that. Allowing second dwellings in a single detached homes was one of them. (Longstaff, personal communication, June 24, 2016, see Appendix F)

Serving the inner-city Ward 7 from 1989 to 2001, Councillor Beverly Longstaff was the first of many city councillors to propose secondary suite relaxations as part of a larger municipal affordable housing strategy¹⁸. Still, secondary suites were unpopular among a number of homeowners in single-detached neighbourhoods who believed land use change would unfairly affect them. Those who applied for secondary suite conversions were often confronted with considerable opposition. In one highly publicized application, surrounding homeowners

¹⁸ Longstaff would later become the affordable housing advisor for the Calgary Homeless Foundation in 2006.

submitted more than fifty letters of opposition. Many of these opponents were afraid of the entrance of other suites and a decrease in surrounding property values (Ferguson, 1991b). Such opposition pervaded Council's position at the time, as Longstaff's motion to discuss secondary suites in 1989 was ultimately defeated by council.

Inner-city Councillor Barb Scott of Ward 8 lamented the lack of leadership among council. A prominent voice pushing for secondary suite relaxations in the 1990s, Scott often blamed Council for being "too sensitive to communities who guard with watchdog efficiency their [single-detached] community" and criticized the fact that some councillors "just reflect the [local] community" without addressing the affordable housing crisis facing the city as a whole (Ferguson, 1991b). Nevertheless, subsequent councillors sought to remedy Calgary's persistent housing crisis. In 1998, Councillors Joanne Kerr from Ward 2 and Bob Hawkesworth from Ward 4 presented a motion asking city administration to investigate mechanisms for encouraging private sector involvement in the construction of affordable rental housing (Collins, 1998). These efforts would eventually culminate into a Council-approved Corporate Affordable Housing Strategy (CAHS) in July 2002 (City of Calgary, 2002a). The report included a preliminary work program which outlined eight roles for the City, including changes in planning and land use regulation.

Calgary's affordable housing strategy at this time is indicative of broader neoliberal housing trends. With revenue streams restricted to property tax, urban policymakers were limited in their capacity to directly fund affordable housing production. Consequently, policymakers pursued a number of alternative strategies in CAHS: the leveraging of resources from the provincial and federal government as well as the private sector; working with community stakeholders; and the reduction or waiving of development fees as well as relaxation of

standards. Following these directions, Councillor Madeleine King from Ward 8 asked city administration for a report on the potential benefits, as well as a work program and resource allocation plan, of amending the land use bylaw and incorporating secondary suites in both single-detached and semi-detached dwelling units (City of Calgary, 2002b). Policymakers then folded the Secondary Suites Policy Study into CAHS in recognition of how "secondary suites are the most important source of 'informal' affordable housing in the city" (City of Calgary, 2002c, p. 1). Secondary suite relaxations became part of a broader strategy to reduce housing production costs through deregulation.

Between community opposition to secondary suites and the ongoing housing crisis, urban policymakers found themselves in a bind. It was well known among Council that secondary suite relaxations were not welcome by some vocally opposed homeowners. Nevertheless, given a significant affordable housing deficit, insufficient revenue-generating mechanisms and limited constitutional powers, urban policymakers pursued creative strategies, including secondary suites. Land use relaxations were part of a larger initiative to reduce regulatory barriers to private market investment in the rental housing sector. In the case of secondary suites, this investment involved the creation of rental housing units in traditionally owner-occupied dwellings.

3.4 Land Use Bylaw Review

Following the implementation of CAHS, from 2002 to 2005 the planning department put together a new land use bylaw, including a new set of low-density residential districts.

Administration sought to introduce land use relaxations for secondary suites in the new land use bylaw to fulfil the goals outlined in CAHS. During this time, city planners conducted extensive

consultation with builders, developers, planning professionals, community associations, and business and special interest groups. Despite support for the integration of secondary suites into the new land use bylaw among the majority of these groups, Council deferred the secondary suite component to a later date (City of Calgary, 2005a). A number of affordable housing proponents considered Council's decision unhelpful. The Alberta Association of Architects

found it hard to understand why the idea of secondary suites is so unpalatable to this Bylaw review" ... older established communities may actually maintain more of the original building stock with the opportunity of a secondary suite... Given the treatment of secondary suites... affordable housing does not appear to be a priority in the Framework. (City of Calgary, 2005b, p. 2).

The Calgary Homeless Foundation also expressed concern over what they saw as a stymied opportunity to recognize secondary suites in the new land use bylaw. Like other proponents, the Calgary Homeless Foundation considered the inclusion of secondary suites in the new low-density residential districts as an opportunity to "regulate and control this use and mitigate potential negative impacts, and to provide an incentive to upgrade existing properties" (City of Calgary, 2005b, p. 7). For these proponents, land use relaxations for secondary suites would have reduced a significant barrier to legalization and encouraged the production of additional rental housing units in a tight housing market.

A number of community association leaders, on the other hand, expressed an altogether different view. Many were concerned that land use relaxations for secondary suites would encourage a growing number of poorly-maintained rental properties in their neighbourhoods. As Liz Murray, President of the St. Andrew's Heights Community Association wrote,

Where it hurts us is the rental nature of these suites... The potential to increase rental income with a fairly small investment would add incentive to retain these properties as rental units. We find that rental properties are not maintained in our community which negatively impacts other properties. (Murray, 2005, p. 1).

For this reason, some community association leaders were quick to demand that all secondary suite applications require consultation with neighbours and the community association. Carol Steele of the Marlborough Community Association writes,

I have great reservations regarding the bylaw as it relates to secondary suites... it is imperative that these suites **MUST** only be allowed after the City has consulted with the residents of the immediate area and the Community Association... As we all know many landlords build more than one suite in a house for rental purposes, which then becomes an apartment house in actual fact. This is **NOT** acceptable in an R1 area. Residents who live in R1 areas paid a higher premium to live in this type of area, if they had wanted to live in an R2 area they would have chosen to live there. (Steele, 2005, p. 1).

A number of community association leaders were specifically concerned with a home being used as a duplex for two or more renter-occupied dwellings and contested land use policies that would encourage rental housing tenure in their neighbourhoods. These politics contradict the legal limitations of land use planning, which cannot regulate housing tenure. In fact, the Supreme Court of Canada overturned land use bylaw charges based on the relationship of occupants. In a landmark 1979 case, Douglas Bell was convicted of violating the land use bylaw of North York, Ontario, because he lived with individuals who were not related to him by blood in a single-family land use zone (Leisk, 2012). Multiple tenants paid rent for “what was and what remained a self-contained residential unit” (Supreme Court of Canada, 213). In considering the provisions of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (the *Charter*), the Supreme Court emphasized a land use bylaw cannot prescribe the relationship of occupants. Thus, land use bylaws in Canada no longer frame restrictions in terms of family structure, but rather built form, unit size, rooms per unit, lot size, and frontage.

Community leaders argued land use relaxations would infringe upon homeowners who sought to avoid density, multi-unit housing, and renters. Land use relaxations, they argued, would encourage landlords' stake in these areas and denigrate certain qualities for existing

residents. Broadly speaking, opponents often describe these qualities in terms of aesthetically pleasing properties, parking availability, and premium property values. Land use bylaws do not guarantee these qualities, and yet opponents diverted policymakers' attention toward these false issues and away from the policy decision at hand: removing outdated zoning restrictions that ultimately come down to the addition of a stove. In fact, land use bylaws in Calgary do not restrict landlords who lease three or less rooms in a house (City of Calgary, n.d.c). In these cases, landlords need only apply for a lodging house business license rather than a land use change.

Evidence suggests oppositional homeowners exerted a significant influence over policy deliberations. On June 30th, 2005, a number of councillors on the Standing Policy Committee (SPC) on Land Use, Planning and Transportation considered administration's report on the new low-density residential districts, including recommendations for the integration of secondary suites into the new land use bylaw. The report made note of how permissions for secondary suites in all low density residential districts meant "equal treatment [for suites] throughout the City," and was "more effective from a housing choice standpoint" but "[m]ay not be as acceptable from a *community* perspective" (City of Calgary, 2005c, p. 3, emphasis added). Evidently, despite broad support from the real estate industry as well as poverty reduction and affordable housing advocates, the views of oppositional homeowners were considered "community" interests.

Policy outcomes suggest many on Council were largely sympathetic to these homeowners' concerns. Councillor Gord Lowe of Ward 2 asked for an amendment that would remove secondary suites as an allowable use in single-detached districts, opting instead for land use re-designation in these areas. Notably, the committee was largely comprised of councillors representing suburban wards. While inner-city Councillors Farrell of Ward 7 and King of Ward 8

voted against the amendment, a bloc of five votes among Councillor Hodges of Ward 1, Councillor Lowe of Ward 2, Councillor Chabot of Ward 10, Councillor Erskine of Ward 11, and Councillor McIver of Ward 12 were in favour. The official recommendation of the SPC was presented to Council on July 25th, 2005, where council carried the SPC's recommendations despite administration's assertion that this option would "provide a significant process barrier in existing areas and may effectively prevent secondary suites in [these] locations" (City of Calgary, 2005c, p. 3). For those homeowners and community association leaders who sought to resist secondary suite (and largely rental) housing in their neighbourhoods, the vote was a win.

The events of the land use bylaw review are significant. A number of community association leaders were key institutional actors opposing land use relaxations for secondary suites. Moreover, these leaders' concerns about the suitability of "rental housing" units in "premium" single-detached areas suggests a politics shaped by homeowner interests. A number of councillors appeared sympathetic to the idea that secondary suites are not appropriate in all single-detached areas and consequently maintained land use restrictions in these areas. Voting differences between suburban and inner-city councillors on this issue also suggest a spatial pattern to these politics. These facts have continued to hold true in subsequent secondary suite policy debates.

3.5 Legalization Strategies and Public Engagement

After Council had voted against land use relaxations for secondary suites in existing low-density districts, a new land use modifier was introduced into the bylaw in 2007. Property owners who wanted to accommodate a secondary suite in restricted land use zones would need to apply for this modifier through a land use change application and public hearing at Council.

Administration acknowledged that views brought forward on secondary suites during the Land Use Bylaw Review

varied from strong support for allowing suites in all residential areas of the city to outright opposition to any form of suites in single family neighbourhoods ... to date the City has not undertaken a formal survey of Calgary residents to gauge the level of general awareness, attitudes and perceptions towards legal secondary suites (City of Calgary, 2007a, p. 1).

To explore public perceptions of secondary suites and the new land use process, Council directed City Spaces to consult stakeholder groups and communities beginning in July 2007 (City of Calgary, 2007a). The terms of reference proposed a survey to gauge public perceptions of secondary suites as well as stakeholder focus groups, interviews, and facilitated public meetings. In October and November of 2009, City Spaces used a survey designed by the Mustel Group to gauge public perceptions of secondary suites. City Spaces found broad, citywide support for secondary suite development and legalization. More specifically, telephone survey results showed little difference between renters and owners as well as between different quadrants of the city with respect to their support for suites. Across the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest, 79 to 84 per cent of telephone survey respondents supported the development of new suites. With respect to renters and owners, 89 and 82 percent supported the development of new suites. Many respondents also supported secondary suite development in their own neighbourhood. For the telephone survey, 32 percent responded with “strongly support” while 44 per cent responded with “somewhat support.” For the online survey, 53 per cent responded with “strongly support” while 20 per cent responded with “somewhat support.”

However, key informant discussions with city staff, builders, developers, realtors, community advisors and housing advocates uncovered key differences between different groups:

high level of consensus was noted at the first three workshops with building industry and tenant representatives. Participants in the community association workshop, however, had varied perspectives – ranging from hostility or limited encouragement of secondary suites to broad-

based support for a city-wide policy... A few community association participants did not support legalization of secondary suites in R1 zones (City Spaces Consulting Ltd., 2011, p. 7).

Many community associations were also divided on the issue, while others outright rejected the idea that *legal* secondary suites were appropriate in single-detached neighbourhoods. Given the broad support uncovered in the survey, Mayor Nenshi argued community leaders were not representing the views of their residents:

Some community associations support the legalization of secondary suites and some do not. What this demonstrates is that those community associations that have been vocal in their opposition do not reflect the true views of the people who live in their communities. (Nenshi, 2011)

Moreover, evidence suggests that some community association leaders felt the illegal status of secondary suites afforded them more control over the perceived nuisance impacts of renters in their neighbourhoods. As one community association executive argued of a secondary suite applicant,

The fact still remains, with an illegal suite, we can do something to stop wild parties, noise, parking, and leaving the place in a messy state. With a legal suite we do not have any control, as the occupants have rights and privileges too! ... A rented home without the owner there, with a legal suite, could be a nightmare! (Anonymous community leader, personal communication to the Federation of Calgary Communities, July 16, 2010, see Appendix G).

The statement suggests opposition to legalization is, in essence, opposition to renters' unrestricted right to occupy space in the neighbourhood. Legally, zoning governs the use of land rather than its users (e.g. see Leisk, 2012), and yet, for some community leaders, zoning controls who lives next door. Given that bylaw enforcement is complaints-driven, the illegal status of secondary suites enables a mode of social regulation that would otherwise be controversially applied, if not in outright violation of the law. Put simply, renters of illegal secondary suites must conform to the unsaid rules of the neighbourhood to live there. City Spaces Consulting Ltd. (2007) reports that as many as 70 units a year are shut down, though it has been noted that in

many situations basement suites are fully finished and could easily be turned into a legal suite, given the opportunity.

With a land use process in place, policymakers focused their efforts on the efficacy of legalization programs. Property owners who lease a secondary suite cannot obtain official permits unless their land use allows for a secondary suite. In 2008, policymakers introduced the Secondary Suites Grant Program to incentivize the legalization of existing secondary suites through a 50% reduction in the land use re-designation fee as well as a \$25, 000 grant to cover construction costs required for compliance with the Alberta Building and Fire Code. In an effort to learn more about how property owners navigate this part of the legalization process, City Spaces Consulting Ltd. conducted an evaluation of the Secondary Suites Grant Program on behalf of the City of Calgary. As one anonymous consultant I spoke with explained, many program participants were afraid bylaw officers would shut down their existing suites before they could finish the program. Neighbours' efforts to discipline illegal suites is a significant component of Calgary's secondary suites controversy, having thwarted both land use relaxations and legalization efforts.

From 2010 to 2011, Council and administration made some headway with secondary suites by relaxing restrictions in new developments and, ultimately, in all but the established single-detached districts, with little debate. In March 2011, Council considered allowing secondary suites in established single-detached districts while still providing neighbours the ability to appeal applications through the discretionary use provision (City of Calgary, 2011b), but the proposal was defeated by a 6-7 vote. Those in favour included secondary suite proponent Mayor Nenshi and three inner-city councillors, while those opposed represented suburban wards.

This suburban/inner-city split on Council motivated proponents to pursue a new strategy for secondary suite relaxations following the 2013 municipal election.

3.6 The Four Wards Proposal

Mayor Nenshi re-energized the politics of secondary suites after he won his second mayoral election in 2013. In September 2014, in conjunction with inner-city Councillors Druh Farrell, Evan Woolley, Gian-Carlo Carra, and Brian Pincott, Nenshi asked administration to prepare amendments that would see secondary suites allowed in all low density residential districts within Wards 7, 8, 9, and 11, as well as within 600 metres of all LRT stations (City of Calgary, 2014a). Council directed administration to prepare a proposal for a public hearing in May 2015 (City of Calgary, 2015c). The erosion of housing affordability, the prevalence of illegal suites, the availability of transit service in the inner-city, and a deficiency in rental housing supply were among the reasons listed in the original notice of motion. An underlying strategy for these councillors, however, was to lift restrictions for secondary suites without incurring political risk for suburban councillors. As Councillor Pincott notes,

It is a classic suburban-urban split on Council. Our approach was to try and find a compromise that would allow us to move forward without suburban councillors feeling like it would be politically untenable for them. We tried to pull off the threat for them. (Councillor Pincott, personal communication, September 20, 2016, see Appendix H).

From October 2014 to May 2015, planning staff hosted four open houses in each of the affected wards as part of a larger strategy to inform the public about existing rules and regulations as well as the impacts of the proposed land use changes in those areas. At the same time, proponents sought a favourable vote from suburban councillors in what became a highly publicized issue involving affordable housing advocates, student groups, and community

associations. A number of proponents organized through a grassroots group, Calgarians for Secondary Suites, with the goal of increasing the availability of legal suites in Calgary. Their partners included the University of Calgary Students' Union, the Students' Association of Mount Royal University, and the non-profit poverty reduction organization Vibrant Communities. The group was largely responsible for acquiring endorsements for Council action on secondary suites from more than 46 civic leaders, community organizations, and businesses. Many of these organizations were involved with poverty reduction strategies. Several polls (Ipsos, 2015; Zinc Research, 2014) conducted at this time also demonstrated overwhelming city-wide support for the legalization of secondary suites.

A number of business, economic development, and real estate organizations also sought to elicit Council's approval in the interest of accommodating a high-growth, diversified labour market; stimulating investment and construction activity in rental housing production; and facilitating homeownership for young and low-income households. These included the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, Calgary Economic Development, Redline Real Estate Group, and the Canadian Home Builders' Association.

Community associations impacted by the amendments were divided on the issue. Proponents included the Killarney-Glengarry, Thorncliffe-Greenvue, and Marda Loop Community Associations which argued a favourable vote among council would help improve housing affordability, allow seniors to age in place, supplement urban densification strategies, and facilitate suite safety despite opposition from some factions of their communities. As Anne Kaufmann, President of the Marda Loop Communities Association, articulated,

There are also arguments against secondary suites which even some in our community might support - parking shortages, lower property values, higher density stressing infrastructure, etc. but in looking into these we find that they are not supported by data...So, then, are there other

underlying reasons that are not spoken of and are perhaps self-serving? And if so, is that the kind of community we want for ourselves? (Kaufman, 2014, p. 1)

A number of community associations, however, were opposed to the proposed bylaw amendments. Fifteen community associations representing 18 community districts in the four wards submitted letters of opposition to the amendments. The content of these submissions may not necessarily represent residents' views. The Zinc Research (2015) poll, for example, found that only 7 per cent of Calgarians knew the position of their community associations on the secondary suites issue. Overall, the poll showed 75 percent of Calgarians supported the bylaw amendments, while support within all 14 wards ranged from 72 to 79 per cent. In fact, one of the goals of the poll's sponsor, the University of Calgary Students' Union, was to ensure councillors had access to representative data about their ward's opinion on the four wards proposal. The Zinc Research poll demonstrates oppositional community associations are serving the views of a minority.

A number of community association leaders also vocalized their opposition to land use relaxations through the Not4Rz group. Not4Rz stands for "Not For Rezoning." The group's website explains they are a "group of homeowners" who are "active in [their] Community Association Boards" and "represent communities" within the four inner city wards that were slated for secondary suite land use relaxations in 2014 (NOT4RZ, n.d.a). The group played a critical role in providing information to opposing homeowners and galvanizing oppositions through an email listserv, lobbying councillors through personal visits and letters, submitting editorials to the local media, and providing residents and community associations with consistent messaging materials. The group was highly active in a number of consultations leading up to the public hearing. As one planner explained,

They created a website and the website had, like, FAQs or information that was specific to what was coming forward as a part of our package of amendments. I certainly remember seeing members of this group at more than one information session and so I think that they were not just there to speak to the councillors and advocate for their position but also to talk to other community members. They wanted to talk to as many people in the room as they could to tell us that they felt that this was a bad idea. (an anonymous city planner, personal communication, June 23rd, 2016, see Appendix I)

Among the concerns expressed on the group's website, property value, nuisance impacts, and zoning protections are often emphasized. For example, This informal but highly organized group is largely concerned with their perceived rights as homeowners. More specifically, their politics outlines zoning as a protection of property values, and land use relaxations for secondary suites in single-detached areas are perceived as a threat to these interests. The group's policy demands include a business licensing system, an owner-occupancy requirement, and stringent enforcement as a way to mitigate risk. Without these mechanisms in place, the group adamantly opposes land use relaxations for secondary suites.

Members of the Not4Rz group were also highly active in the final public hearing for the bylaw amendment in June 2015. George Reti, a Not4Rz member and board executive for the Lakeview Community Association, provided Council with 14 letters of opposition from community associations, many of which were replicas with different signatures. Douglas Ratke, another member, implored Council to consider why communities were "almost universal in their opposition to [the amendments]" in his public submission for the Riverbend Community Association (Ratke, 2015, p .1). Melanie Swailes, a founding member who was familiar to a number of suburban councillors, eloquently summarized the group's politics during the public hearing:

Zoning exists for a good reason. Before spending hundreds and thousands of dollars on a home, most homeowners look very closely at zoning to find out what is and what isn't allowed in their neighbourhood. They want to know what the future development options are. The homeowner buys something compatible with his desires. If you buy in a single family [sic] neighbourhood

only single family [sic] homes are permitted, and this might be the environment you choose to raise your family. Zoning provides security for that investment. To change the zoning takes away the rights of some individuals while providing new rights to other individuals, so we need to do it carefully. (Swailes, 2015, 19:14)

Not4Rz was a significant political vehicle for homeowners' perceived zoning rights, having mobilized a number of community association leaders as well as ensuring a strong presence and consistent messaging in public consultation processes. While the four original proponents in Wards 7, 8, 9, and 11, as well as Mayor Nenshi and Councillor Colley-Urquhart of Ward 13 voted in favour of the amendment, the motion was defeated by a majority vote among suburban councillors. History, evidently, repeats itself.

Following a municipal election in 2017, Council returned to the secondary suites issue during a public hearing in March 2018 (City of Calgary, 2018a). The bylaw amendments proposed secondary suites as a discretionary use¹⁹ in established single-detached land use districts. In effect, an often emotional and time-consuming deliberation of individual secondary suites applications will be devolved to a quasi-judicial Subdivision and Development Appeal Board (SDAB), where neighbours can appeal secondary suite approvals at the development permit stage. As to be expected, many homeowner and community leaders voiced their opposition during the public hearing in March 2018. The amendments would effectively limit

¹⁹ When secondary suites are a discretionary use in a land use district, property owners must submit an application for a development permit if they wish to accommodate a secondary suite. Once the Calgary Planning Commission (CPC) makes a decision on the application, it may be appealed through a quasi-judicial subdivision authority, which in Calgary is referred to as the Subdivision and Development Appeal Board (SDAB). This authority operates independently from the City of Calgary Planning Department and is comprised of citizen members who are instructed to make decisions in an impartial manner and apply procedural fairness to all stakeholders. Any individual may appeal the decision by paying an appropriate fee. The SDAB then provides a notice of hearing within 30 days that outlines a location, date and time at which evidence and information will be presented to the Board. After deliberation, the board issues a decision at the conclusion of the hearing. Through this process, the approval of a development permit for a secondary suite may be granted or revoked, given appropriate and sufficient evidence.

appeal considerations to planning rationale and require a \$100 filing fee for appeals. More broadly, the amendments would effectively sever opponents' influence over Council's decision-making power.

Council approved the amendments on a 9-6 vote. Those who voted in favour of the amendments include Councillor Gondek of Ward 3, Councillor Chahal of Ward 5, Councillor Davison of Ward 6, Councillor Farrell of Ward 7, Councillor Wooley of Ward 8, Councillor Carra of Ward 9, Councillor Keating of Ward 12, and Councillor Colley-Urghart of Ward 13. Those who voted against the amendments include Councillor Sutherland of Ward 1, Councillor Magliocca of Ward 2, Councillor Chu of Ward 4, Councillor Jones of Ward 5, Councillor Farkas of Ward 11, and Councillor Demong of Ward 14. The majority vote among inner-city and suburban councillors alike suggests opponents could not effectively challenge Council's shared interest in political expediency. Nevertheless, property owners who acquire a development permit in established single-detached areas may have their permit revoked should the SDAB rule in favour of appellants during a public hearing process.

3.7 Conclusion

Despite the efforts of numerous policymakers to relax land use restrictions for secondary suites and facilitate legalization, established suburban neighbourhood politics remain much the same today as they were in the 1960s and 70s. The historical context in which the original restrictions were placed on secondary suites is an important one. Beginning in the 1950s, the CMHC, homeowners, and advocates for greenfield development among the city's planning administration and real estate community stood to gain from suburban homogeneity insofar as zoning restrictions for multi-family and rental accommodation protected their long-term

investments (e.g. see Foran, 2009; Harris & Forrester, 2003). As Cox (2018, p. 486) similarly observes of postwar housing development, “developers were in it from the start.” Over time, homeowners have strived to maintain the restrictions of this zoning landscape to protect the ‘premium’ they paid to live in these neighbourhoods. Community associations have provided a political platform for these interests, and suburban councillors appear to be sympathetic with their views.

These politics have unfolded at time when many of Calgary's neighbourhoods are experiencing significant socioeconomic and demographic change. The contention around land use relaxations for secondary suites is fundamentally linked to structural trends that see an increasing number of renters in neighbourhoods that traditionally have been occupied by homeowners. Opponents argue this tenure change is antagonistic homeowners and community leaders who believe renters are inappropriate in their neighbourhoods and will threaten property values. Where illegal secondary suites are already present, opponents see legalization efforts as a threat to their control over tenants who in some way denigrate the qualities of the neighbourhood. In this sense, zoning is more than a principled planning tool; secondary suite opponents want to withhold appropriate zoning as a means to exclude, discipline, and control transgression that might compromise property values.

The history of these politics suggest an important power relation between oppositional homeowners, community association leaders, and suburban councillors. While evidence suggests oppositional community associations only represent a small minority of homeowners in their neighbourhoods, suburban councillors have consistently voted in favour of the opposition. I will focus on the nature of this alignment in Chapter 5. The historical analysis demonstrates how local ward delineations create certain political opportunities and constraints in Calgary's

secondary suite controversy. Councillors who primarily represent post-war suburban areas, where secondary suites are the most restricted, outnumber proponent councillors in the inner city. This institutional arrangement has consistently characterized a suburban/urban split on Council when it comes to policy reforms for secondary suites. The events suggest suburban councillors are willing to neglect citywide affordable housing needs in the interest of maintaining support from vocal secondary suite opponents in their wards. Community associations appear to be an important mediator in this dynamic, and yet consistent city-wide support for secondary suites raises questions about the outreach efforts and representativeness of these organizations. Moreover, rhetoric dressed in terms of *community* representation obscures what appears to be *homeowners'* interests in opposing secondary suites. In what follows, I present a more in-depth analysis of these politics.

Chapter Four: The Right to the Neighbourhood

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore opponents' efforts to resist land use relaxations for secondary suites, and the interests that underpin that resistance. In a class monopoly rent framework, certain factions operating in the property market coordinate their efforts to control land use change and enhance property value (Harvey, 1974). Insofar as these class interests successfully bar housing groups that may induce property value risk, they exercise a class power over space. Homeowners are very cognizant of potential threats to property value given their investment in property (Harvey, 1978). Moreover, transaction costs (Cox, 1982) and strong emotional attachments to place (Devine-Wright, 2009) are significant impediments to relocation should conditions in the neighbourhood change. This kind of spatial fixity not only shapes homeowners' contention with other housing groups but also their own sense of territorial power and their demands on the state.

The role property values may play in homeowner politics is contentious. For Purcell (2001; 2008), homeowners' opposition to garage suites in Los Angeles was less about concerns for property value than it was quality of life issues. More specifically, homeowner associations sought to preserve a conceived space, the "suburban ideal: low-density, single-family houses, and respectable clean, verdant landscapes" (Purcell, 2008, p. 158). There is often a postwar nostalgia in homeowners' defence of space, and yet we cannot deny that occupation came at a certain entry price. The concept of ownership is important here, as it often confers political agency and legitimacy in an institutional setting structured around property relations. In fact, this is a pervasive claim in Calgary's secondary suite controversy.

Beginning with Chapter 4, section 2, I explore how opponents associate the presence of renters with social and economic risk in the neighbourhood. Intra-class conflict between

homeowners and absentee landlords will be the focus of section 4.3. In 4.4, I explain how oppositional homeowners justify exclusionary politics based on a perceived monopoly right over land use change. As we shall see in 4.5, opponents not only rely on zoning controls to govern the aesthetics of their neighbourhoods, but also its occupants. Finally, and importantly, I explore the role of oppositional community associations in 4.6.

4.2 Renters and Risk

Tenure relations are a consistent theme characterizing opposition to secondary suites in both land use re-designation submissions as well as interviews among community leaders. While opponents of secondary suites perceive landlords and renters as a coupled threat, there are some important distinctions in the intolerance directed toward these two groups. Opponents often associate renters with transience and anti-social behaviour. Typical statements include

We would not feel comfortable living so close to a house that has so many transients, where we do not know their identity. This is especially true for families with small children. (Wong, 2015, p. 1).

Re-zoning of this neighbourhood will only result in bringing crime and general disorder to our peaceful neighbourhood. As we all know that with rentals comes an increase in crime. (Chapdelaine, 2014, p. 1).

Typically renters are known to take very limited care of their homes and yards. Our community is neat and well-kept which we enjoy. (Pauls & Pauls, 2014, p. 1).

In a number of other accounts, opponents describe personal encounters with rude and noisy neighbours, criminal activity, public intoxication, unruly yards, parking issues and various other infractions to justify exclusion of additional renters from the neighbourhood. Surprisingly, these generalizations can be found in all kinds of neighbourhoods: those with median incomes that are below and above citywide averages as well as those that are more renter-oriented and predominantly owner-occupied. They stereotype renters with a greater propensity to commit

crime, disrupt the neighbours, take up parking spaces, and neglect certain duties. More broadly, they also believe housing tenure affects neighbour relations. Many opponents see renters as relatively short-term residents with little incentive to respect their neighbours:

We have witnessed many issues arising from this property. First and foremost, is the constant rotation of groups of young people. Which has resulted in numerous drunken house parties on any given night of the week, waking up neighbours at all hours of the night. We have experienced broken beer bottles in the curbs on both sides of the avenue...The owner or manager of this property has demonstrated a lack of caution and foresight in regards to the groups of tenants. There are new tenants every six months, and not one group within the last six years that we have owned our home has stayed more than the six months. (Gregory & Gregory, 2015, p. 1).

Tenants have no sense of responsibility or loyalty to the home, the property, or the neighbourhood in general. (Anderson, 2014, p. 1).

For these reasons, opponents believe renters jeopardize neighbourhood qualities that underlie the appeal and market value of single-detached homes in the area - more specifically, a sense of safety and quiet, parking availability, and displayed pride of ownership:

When I purchased my home, it was because this was a quiet neighbourhood with single family homes...When people suite out their homes, it brings in strangers, parking problems, and just the unknown. When trying to sell a home, it's a tough sell if potential buyers find out there are secondary suites in homes close to theirs. (Rockefeller, 2015, p. 2).

Reduction of nearby property values is likely if this property is re-zoned to allow for increased numbers of tenants and the likelihood of neglect of the property due to infrequent or inadequate maintenance and care. (Anderson, 2014, p. 1).

It is our view that the increase in transient population will decrease value and lessen pride in ownership and upkeep to the properties in this area. (Boland, 2015, p. 1).

Opponents believe renters not only threaten the aesthetic qualities and use values of the neighbourhood, but also deter future homebuyers and consequently endanger exchange values. For these homeowners, renters are unknown, temporary, and unfamiliar residents whose potential conduct runs the risk of jeopardizing the market value of surrounding properties.

A number of community leaders also believe renters are unwilling or unable to participate in community association activities such as recreational programming, volunteering, and events.

They argue this work would be difficult to perform without commitment from resident homeowners:

We don't want ... to turn into a transient community. The longevity of the community, what we have is residents that have been in their houses for thirty, forty, fifty years and those residents bring something to the community, they are involved in the community association or the board. It changes the nature of the community if you don't have permanent residents that make it their permanent resident home. (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

There's reasons people get together. And, you know, they're actually owners over there ... They have a commitment so they'll come to these social events... There's a strong sense in the community, in North Haven, a strong awareness that the renters don't have that sense of commitment and participation. (an anonymous community leader for North Haven Community Association, personal communication, August 15th, 2016, see Appendix K)

Notably, community leaders believe land use change that draws renters instead of resident homeowners will diminish social capital in the neighbourhood. They imply, therefore, that renters lack the same social commitments as resident homeowners, and that resident homeownership provides a necessary foundation for community. Other opponents talk about community building and property upkeep in tandem with one another. For example,

The majority of the homes on Nesbitt Road are owned by the people who live in them. The properties are looked after and the owners become involved in the community. (Clarke, 2014, p. 1).

property owners tend to care for their homes and land. Renters have no vested interest in maintaining a property or building a strong sense of community. (Moffatt & Moffatt, 2015, p. 1).

In statements like these, opponents associate community dedication and good neighbour relations with pride of ownership. A number of opponents believe resident homeownership motivates property upkeep, and that this practice is indicative of moral and social obligation to one's neighbours and the community. Put simply, these opponents believe certain neighbourhood aesthetics signal a strong community. Conversely, many opponents believe property neglect is indicative of renters' apathy or anti-social behaviour - in other words, the antithesis of care for one's neighbours and a commitment to building communal bonds. Once again, however, some

opponents believe property neglect is the culprit behind the depreciation of surrounding property values:

The community is quiet, and supports single family homes. Should this property be re-zoned to accommodate a rental basement suite the impact to the remainder of the homeowners in the area would be detrimental...Reduction of nearby property values is likely if this property is re-zoned to allow for increased numbers of tenants and the likelihood of neglect of the property due to infrequent or inadequate maintenance and care. (Anderson, 2014, p. 1).

The fact that many opponents base their conception of community on resident homeownership and a shared concern for neighbourhood property values suggests "community," for some, is synonymous with *class interest*. In other words, opponents regard renters as community outsiders based on presumably incompatible property relations that might jeopardize resident homeowners' appropriation of land rents. The data also suggests other class exclusions related to, but distinct from, housing tenure. Some opponents exclude renters from their neighbourhoods based on lower-income status. For example, some opponents argue property neglect is a condition of renters' inability to afford homeownership in the neighbourhood:

This neighbourhood must be allowed to attract families that can afford to improve their properties. (Horkan, 2014, p. 7).

Those few individuals with the resources to purchase a lot in our neighbourhood for construction of their personal residence will not be planning on sharing their back yard with an arm's length (stranger) tenant. (Rosedale Community Association, 2015, p. 1).

As this latter statement suggests, a number of oppositional homeowners see themselves in a superior income group that can purchase and maintain a home, and they reject renters from what they consider, based on class difference, as *their* neighbourhood. Evidence also suggests some community leaders exclude renters from their neighbourhood based on occupational status. Speaking anonymously, one councillor explained how a community association executive in his ward told him they did not want someone such as a barber living in an area they had not "earned" the right to occupy. Some community leaders believe renters' low socioeconomic status renders

them undeserving of a place in a prestigious neighbourhood. According to one city councillor and one urban planner, opponents often disguise the fact their politics seek to exclude the poor:

What they are really trying to articulate is that they don't want to be around those kind of people because those are poor people that they don't want to have anything to do with and they're not willing to say that. (Councillor Carra, personal communication, September 15th, 2016, see Appendix L)

So mostly people would say, they stand up and argue and say renters are second class citizens. They might not get into gender or age or race specifically, or income, but I think they're using those judgments. What I've seen, in my opinion, that's what I feel is behind their comments. (an anonymous city planner, personal communication, June 23rd, 2016, see Appendix I)

One opponent is explicit about his belief that an increased presence of renters means his neighbourhood is turning into a slum:

It is our hope City Council will give careful consideration before granting such permits in our neighbourhood and thereby escalating the area into a slum. Noun: 1. Often, slums, a THICKLY POPULATED, run-down, squalid part of a city, inhabited by poor people. 2. Any squalid, run-down place to live. (West, 2015, p. 1).

In these instances, opponents seek to resist what they perceive as social pressures and neighbourhood stigmatization that results from proximity to low income groups. These politics are indicative of what Harvey (1973, p. 172) refers to as "blow out," whereby "[s]ocial and physical pressure is exerted at the bottom end of the housing market... which leaves the various intermediate groups squeezed." While the most affluent groups often resist low-income encroachment with success, lower socioeconomic groups are pushed to relocate. Overall, however, there is relatively little data about these concerns. Overt socioeconomic exclusion may be absent; it might also be the case that opponents obscure offensive positions with arguments that are more socially acceptable, or politically viable, to local policymakers.

4.3 Homeowners vs. Absentee Landlords

Residents' struggle against inconsiderate and exploitative practices of absentee landlords is a consistent narrative characterizing opposition to secondary suites. Opponents blame unruly tenant behaviour on landlords who do not reside within the properties they lease. For example,

Because the owner/landlord is often absent throughout the year, it would be difficult to maintain a reasonable level of respect and consideration for other area residents and property owners with regards to noise, traffic, yard care, and general upkeep and maintenance of the property. (Anderson, 2014, p. 1).

In other accounts, oppositional residents believe absentee landlords do not consider the social qualities of their tenants or discipline unruly behaviour because they are primarily motivated by profits rather than good neighbour relations:

We have nothing against rental properties as we ourselves have a revenue property. We strongly believe that tenants chosen should be comparable to the surrounding neighbours and community lifestyle. (Gregory & Gregory, 2015, p. 1).

Although the landlord will be making a good profit renting a single house to groups of people at a time, however, the neighbours' safety is compromised. It is obvious that the landlord does not screen his/her tenants and has been constantly renting the house to people who have no respect for the environment, community and adjacent neighbours. (Sim Yin et al., 2015, p. 1).

By contrast, Cheryl points out residents tolerate landlords who occupy the properties they lease because neighbours believe these landlords have a vested interest in the upkeep of the property, ensure model tenant behaviour, and are in genuine need of a mortgage helper:

she's a single person, and this is a good example of a suite... she has rented out to one tenant and so it's two of them in a house and she has done wonders with the property. The neighbours all love it because the property was quite run down, she fixed it up. She has good tenants, she's always there. (personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

The housing data compiled in this study indicates secondary suites are in fact primarily leased by absentee landlords rather than resident, or owner-occupier, landlords. Out of the 14, 604 identified land parcels accommodating a secondary suite in 2015, 8, 908, or 61 per cent, were entirely dedicated to rental housing tenure. A quick browse on Rentfaster, an advertisement site

for rental units in Calgary, also reveals many basement suites operated by real estate and property management companies. There is a fair degree of private investment in the secondary suite rental housing market.

As we shall later see in section 4.5., many opponents demand an owner-occupied requirement for secondary suites based on the perceived threat of this trend. In general, many oppositional homeowners associate resident landlords present less risk to neighbourhood quality of life and property values. They believe resident landlords are accountable to the neighbours and take responsibility for the aesthetics of their properties. For these opponents, an owner-occupied home with a suite is truly a secondary suite in the sense it is accessory to the primary *user*, or homeowner, not just an accessory *use* of the property. On the other hand, opponents consider the practice of renting out both the basement and upper unit of a single-detached home a "de facto duplex" or small apartment house. A number of community leaders explain,

When there are two rental suites it goes against the spirit of what an R1 area is supposed to be and what a secondary suite is supposed to be. The motivation is different. In the first case the goal is to be able to buy or keep a home, either by having a caregiver live in the home or by having someone help you with the payments. In the second case the goal is to maximize profits, and without a landlord living there, maintenance and repair generally get neglected because they come out of cost. (Swailes, 2015, 19:14)

If the owner is not in the suite then we're allowing investors to come in and create duplexes, and allowing duplexes in an R1 neighbourhood, and that was never the intent of a secondary suite. (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

Homes with secondary suites are at risk to become de facto up/down duplexes when the owner resides elsewhere. These houses can become a revenue commodity with negative impacts for the adjacent owners and nearby neighbours. Those negatives are often unkept properties, high turnover of tenants and pressure on street parking as well as the reduced visual appeal of our streetscapes. (Triwood Community Association, 2015, p. 1).

Opponents perceive the presence of de facto duplexes as a threat; they are highly critical of what they see as singularly profit-oriented use of these rental dwellings among absentee landlords:

It appears to be based on a "family" dynamic, although it is quite obvious to us, the real driver for the property owner is to generate revenue from renters. (Moffatt & Moffatt, 2015, p. 1).

We do not want the greed for profit from rental to interfere with what we have accomplished here, and with the remainder of our lives. (Donovan & Donovan, 2015, p. 1)

These opponents denounce landlords' interest in profiting from renting to tenants, and they often criticize what they see as corrupt choices made in the interest of realizing these profits. For example, a number of community leaders do not believe absentee landlords want to legalize the dwelling units they lease, make rental dwelling units safe, or declare the income generated to the Canada Revenue Agency due to a singular interest in maximizing profits:

If you have a house and you rent out the house on the top to somebody and you create an illegal suite in the basement and you rent out the basement, you can show Revenue Canada that the rental for the house, and hide the basement. (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

You're a slumlord. There's a difference between legal and safe. Illegal doesn't mean safe or unsafe, depends on the landlord. If it's legal it ensures a certain level of safety. (Marsh, personal communication, June 30, 2016, see Appendix M)

Indeed, the housing data compiled in this study indicates that the vast majority of secondary suites – 71 per cent of the total 14, 604 – have land use authorization, yet these suites are not included in the city's legal registry. These suites more likely to evade bylaw inspection and/or lack necessary development and building permits, but they are not prohibited by land use restrictions. While there are a number of reasons for this situation (e.g. see Carra, 2018), many opponents believe landlords of single-detached homes with secondary units are violating land use and building code regulations in order to earn rent and cheat the tax system. Opponents do not believe that land use relaxations for secondary suites will remedy this (mal)practice but will instead signal that such practices are acceptable. As one resident explains,

I've heard that Calgary has many illegal secondary suites, and a law that is defied is worse than no law at all. (Leonard, 2014, p. 1)

Notably, a significant number of councillors who have voted against land use relaxations for secondary suites take up similar arguments:

There are lot of people who do not want to disclose the income they make from renting out their basement. They don't pay income tax on it so it's all money under the table, cash. But the big thing that's a concern to me is the fact that they don't want to spend the money to provide the property egress from the basement bedrooms, things that are purely dangerous for the safety, and you know, effects of safety of those people living in those suites. But it's costly to do that and so they don't want to do that if they're already raking in this money under the table, you know? (Councillor Stevenson, personal communication, July 21st, 2016, see Appendix N)

when you tell people that regardless of whether or not you have the land use, secondary suite, it will only become legal if it complies with those ... requirements, which are provincial regulations. When they start looking into it and figuring out what the cost is to bring a unit into compliance they quickly come to the conclusion that it's way cheaper to do it illegally and so better to ask forgiveness than permission. (Councillor Chabot, personal communication, September 8th, 2016, see Appendix O)

there are those people who want secondary suites whether they are investors or they live there who don't want to pay the expense to bring a legal suite up so they are illegal and they will stay illegal no matter what, and there are those who do not want to claim the income. (Councillor Keating, personal communication, October 13th, 2016, see Appendix P)

In another example, Councillor Sutherland speaks about this experience with landlords who dropped out of a pilot program for legalizing a number of secondary suites:

They didn't want to spend the money to make them safe. And the second one was they don't want Revenue Canada to know they are making money renting. Those are the two major things, the failure of it. So I'm not sure that's going to change anything now. Because if you're not going to invest the money, by blanket zoning, how does that change anything? People aren't going to come forward if they didn't want to spend the money anyway. (Councillor Sutherland, personal communication, October 19th, 2016, see Appendix Q)

A number of councillors believe land use relaxations for secondary suites will do little to address landlords' efforts to avoid the financial cost of legalization. While these councillors emphasize their concern for renters' safety, opponents emphasize impacts on the neighbours:

Trying to make a buck off their home may be good for them but certainly not for the neighbours or our community. (Rockefeller, 2015, p. 2).

Unfortunately, their financial gain is going to come at the expense of lowering the quality of our community, and I am therefore strongly opposed to the granting of this amendment. (Stocki, 2014, p. 1)

This request for rezoning is for profit purposes and not for the goodwill of the neighbourhood. (Taylor, 2014, p. 2)

I don't believe our circle should be used in this manner for the profits of one person. (Halliday, 2015, p. 1).

Statements in favour of a secondary suite application were very rare. Applicants would sometimes garner signatures for a standard letter of support from a few of their neighbours. In a few other instances, applicants would approach the community association to support their application. On the other hand, opponents argue that secondary rental units reduce quality of life for surrounding neighbours. For some opponents, however, absentee landlords' financial gain also comes at the expense of lower property values for resident homeowners in the neighbourhood:

It seems very wrong that an entire neighbourhood should face more difficulties and property depreciation to facilitate some slum lord putting more money into his pocket. (Starchuk, 2015, p. 1).

Our neighbourhood is fortunate to have primarily owner-occupied homes. We believe it would change the character of the neighbourhood and result in loss of property value if a number of secondary suites are built and used as rental properties. (Wood & Wood, 2015, p. 1)

Other opponents are displeased that land use change for secondary suites will provide the landlord with rent as well as higher property value, but will produce financial disadvantages to adjacent properties. In these instances, opposition to secondary suites is clearly about intra-class conflict between two different kinds of property owners: absentee landlords and resident homeowners. They explain,

If the R-C1s zoning bylaws are passed, literally allowing anyone to have a rental suite in the basement, land prices will obviously escalate. This will have the effect of increasing land property values and consequently property taxes. For those of us on fixed income and, because of the design of the home unable to add, or do not wish to have a second residence to offset taxes, this will eventually and unfairly force us out of our homes. (Staveley & Staveley, 2014, p. 2)

Opponents believe land use change for secondary suites will increase surrounding property assessments. According to the City of Calgary's Planning Department , the development of a

legal secondary suite may increase the market value of the property (City of Calgary, 2010a).

Consequently, the property owner will owe more property tax. In Calgary, residential property assessment for taxation purposes is determined in one of two ways. While most are based on the sale price of similar properties, multi-residential properties are assessed based on a capitalization of the potential income generated from the property. In this instance, the homeowner is concerned that the higher property assessments generated by legal secondary suite development will have a spillover effect on their own property assessment. At the same time, there is a perception that this land use change will not necessarily materialize into satisfactory re-sale value for adjacent homeowners:

I fail to see in the proposal any benefit to our street or community as a whole. Our single family homes will no doubt decrease in value while the said property would increase. (Leech, 2015, p. 1).

Changing the zone on 3147 would increase the value of that lot but probably decrease the value of all lots around it. (Moriarity & Moriarity, 2014, p. 1)

This concern may seem irrational in the sense that these opponents associate rising land value in one location with lower land value for adjacent properties. In this situation, however, opponents are talking about two distinct bases for assessing land value. More often than not, the property assessment value of a home is lower than its market value. Moreover, property assessments capture value at a specific point in time and may or may not reflect the resale value. These fluctuations may be large or relatively small, depending on a wide variety of factors. Not least among these factors is the fact that resale value depends on the purchasing power of a *typical buyer* for property in that housing submarket. I will return to the implications of this circumstance in the next section. For now, I argue oppositional homeowners perceive landlords' investment in secondary suites as a financially disadvantageous to them.

More broadly, the public submissions and participant interviews demonstrate how absentee landlords and renters are associated with adverse neighbourhood change for resident homeowners. Many opponents express fear over the precedent incurred by land use change for secondary suites, and relate these individual land use changes to a broader rental housing transition in the neighbourhood:

If the change to R1s were allowed to go ahead, we feel it will open the door to others who might see it as way to make money. It would then start to change the whole integrity of the street that is made up of single family dwellings. (Bond & Bond, 2016, p. 1).

If this suite is approved it will set a precedence for future secondary suite applications and could result in a neighbourhood that attracts absentee landlords committed to making money instead of home owners committed to pride of ownership and the community. (Stacey-Watson, 2015, p. 1)

Not only will the value of our house and property possible be reduced ... but it may also set a precedent for the neighbourhood which will in turn mean that others around us may also consider using garages to construct secondary suites. (Schulenburg & Schulenburg, 2015, p. 1)

By approving this application the city opens up Old North Haven to a potential influx of developers purchasing existing single family, contextual one dwelling (R-C1) District, converting them either through the development of secondary suites or knocking them down and building multi family units. This would completely change the nature of our community and make it significantly less desirable. (Mathieson & Mathieson, 2014, p. 1)

In addition to profiteering and densification, some opponents exclude landlords from their neighbourhoods based on citizenship status. During one particularly controversial public hearing (e.g. see Fletcher, 2016), several opponents from the community district of Southwood expressed intense xenophobia toward secondary suite applicants:

These people come to our country and think they are going to change things to their liking and way; they know nothing about how we live in our communities and what living without secondary suites mean to most of us. They just want someone else to pay their mortgage. They should just butt out, right out of the country. (Dougall, 2016a, p. 1)

I am opposed to these 'people' from other countries coming here and trying to change their land use from R1 contextual to R1s. Who do they think they are?? Could we do this in their country? We do not want secondary suites in Southwood. (Dougall, 2016b, p. 1)

If I wanted to live in a community of savages I would move to a 3rd world country that didn't have outrageous taxes that Calgary has. (Jeffries, 2016, p. 1)

These opponents reject the entrance of immigrant landlords who may share living quarters with friends and family, or lease a portion of the home to better afford the mortgage. They believe immigrant landlords and their practices violate the normative aspects of the neighbourhood community. Clearly, nuclear-family orientation and owner-occupation are not the only criteria for inclusion in the neighbourhood; citizenship status is another important determination of one's acceptance. Given the identifiably foreign names listed on the application, the use of the term 'savages' also emphasizes the presence of ethnocentrism in opponents' politics.

Based on the data, xenophobia and racism were the exception rather than the norm in opponents' discourse. With the exception of the statements listed here, citizenship status, ethnicity, and race did not surface among participant interviews or public submissions. This is not to say that these tensions were absent, as it is often difficult to observe racism and xenophobia in a context where such sentiments are considered politically incorrect and/or inappropriate. Moreover, participants would be less likely to share these opinions based on my own ambiguous ethnic status. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize how opponents' politics are motivated by social distinctions beyond class; in this case, categories based on ethnicity, race and citizenship status clearly intersect class politics.

The presence of these social tensions are curious given the perspective of councillors on landlords and secondary suites. Councillor Chabot believes a negative neighbourhood reputation can diminish the value of properties relative to those in other areas. Speaking of Forest Lawn, a community district in Calgary, he argues stigmatization of the neighbourhood has induced the loss of resident homeowners and the proliferation of secondary suites operated by absentee landlords:

Forest Lawn has gone down significantly in the owner-occupied side of things and it's because of the negative connotations. Just the name – typically property values are 10 to 20 % lower than everywhere else in that area. It may be identical homes, but because it's Forest Lawn. A lot of those people have sold and moved out, and because they're lower, investors started taking advantage and suiting them. So there's been more of a changeover in regards to having secondary suites which is now permeated throughout the community. There is a higher level of acceptance because there is so many of them. (Councillor Chabot, personal communication, September 8th, 2016, see Appendix O)

This suggests oppositional homeowners believe the development of secondary suites in their neighbourhood is indicative of decline, and they often associate the social and financial consequences of this process with absentee landlords. Opposition to secondary suites typically entails efforts to bar absentee landlords and renters from single-detached areas in the interest of certain qualities that make the neighbourhood valuable. I argue the sociocultural and class dimensions of these politics are often interrelated. There is the belief that renters' impermanency and low socioeconomic status is incompatible with homeowners' commitment to neighbourhood character, nuclear family-oriented lifestyles, and social capital. Not coincidentally, opponents believe these attributes confer value to properties in the neighbourhood, and that the loss of these attributes will discourage family-oriented homeowners in the future and, in turn, reduce market values for existing homeowners. The shared commitment to these attributes among resident homeowners constitutes a class interest in the qualities and land rents of the neighbourhood.

Absentee landlords' appropriation of rent is often considered directly antagonistic to homeowners' interests. Oppositional homeowners believe that landlords' singular interest in rental income promotes derelict properties and the unchecked presence of unruly tenants. Among these oppositional homeowners, absentee landlords facilitate the development of neighbourhoods overwhelmed by low-quality rental housing and their occupants - the transient, the uncommitted, and the poor. In some cases, opponents also exclude immigrants and ethnic minorities. These homeowners believe the presence of these groups will deter future home

buyers and devalue properties in the neighbourhood, thereby accelerating the neighbourhood's vulnerability to the proliferation of absentee landlords. Those who are unable or unwilling to relocate before this transition is complete face the risk of property devaluation as well as nuisance impacts. For this reason, landlords' instigation of land use change to permit secondary suites provokes homeowners' fears of neighbourhood decline. Intra-class conflict between homeowners and landlords is a fundamental component of secondary suite opposition, while other markers of social distinction, such as citizenship status, might also mark these tensions.

The public submissions and participant interviews suggest opponents of secondary suites have multiple motives for excluding renters from their neighbourhoods. Opponents seek to exclude renters based on their relation to property, which involves an assumption of indifference or inability to perform property maintenance and upgrades. In some cases, opponents also exclude renters based on low socioeconomic status.

Increasingly prevalent is opponents' opposition to absentee landlords, whose exchange value interests are believed to be antagonistic to their own. This conflict appears to involve other moral judgements in much the same way that rental housing tenure is associated with negligence, transience, and disorder. Among opponents, the typical narrative of absentee landlords is one of indifference, greed, and exploitation. Such practices are unwelcome in single-detached, family-oriented neighbourhoods, where opponents believe resident homeownership encourages commitment to safety, cleanliness, and stability. In some cases, opponents appear to associate 'whiteness' and/or the privilege of citizenship status as synonymous with these qualities. Moreover, the maintenance of these virtues is associated with higher property value.

The narrative of absentee landlordism is also politically significant. Many on Council share opponents' anxiety with absentee landlords. More specifically, there is an underlying belief that

landlords subvert the state to make profits and that these practices unfairly compromise the property value of other homeowners. For this reason, some councillors reject land use relaxations for secondary suites and advocate additional measures of discipline and control for secondary suites. However, addressing unsafe living conditions and conceding homeowners' control over who lives next door are two different issues. I will discuss this in section 4.5, but first I turn to homeowners' political claims over the trajectory of neighbourhood change.

4.4 Monopoly Rights

Opponents of secondary suites frequently justify their rejection of land use change that would permit secondary suites based on perceived zoning rights, which date back to the original restrictions placed on secondary suites. A number of opponents colloquially use the term "R1 covenant" to refer to this claim; the term denotes certain privileges for resident homeowners of single-detached properties in established neighbourhoods:

While we understand that the City is not a party to the Restrictive Covenant, it does, in our view, have a fundamental responsibility to property owners to honour reasonable contractual arrangements among them. (Lehodey & Lehodey, 2016, p. 1)

We insist that this neighbourhood maintain the R1 status, which does NOT include secondary suites. Increasing the density with secondary suites in this area is counter to our values and the zoning rating that was stated when we purchased our property. (Morrison, 2014, p. 2).

Contemporary covenants are formal agreements typically reserved for self-taxing residents or homeowner associations that seek to control the built form, conditions for acceptable social behaviour, and accessibility of private communities, e.g. gated retirement communities (Townshend, 2006). The purpose of these covenants is to maintain residents' chosen "lifestyles" and protect the neighbourhood from social and physical change (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Lang & Danielsen, 1997). The notion of an R1 covenant entails prohibition of secondary suites on the

grounds they are an intrusion to existing residents' ways of life and a violation of the terms on which residents settled in their neighbourhoods. Many opponents, including one councillor, argued the single-detached zoning district attracts those with shared values and a social preference for low density arrangements:

What people are upset about is they bought zoning because that was an attempt to control what was next to them. That's what zoning started out to be, because it aligned with the values of what they wanted. And so why do you want to buy into a family neighbourhood? Because you have a family, you want other kids around. You buy in line with what your values are, and I can get that in an R1 neighbourhood better than I can in any other neighbourhood. (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

I think a lot of people if they've got the money to be able to buy a nice single family home, then they would like to buy that single family home in an area that is got other single family homes in it. That's the type of community they want to buy into. (Councillor Stevenson, personal communication, July 21st, 2016, see Appendix N)

The rules for R-1 allowed for single family dwellings only. That meant less overall traffic, fewer resident vehicles, more peaceful enjoyment and enhanced and sustainable property value. (Porteous & Porteous, 2014, p. 1).

Conversely, opponents often justify their rejection of secondary suites on the grounds that renters are incompatible with the qualities of homeowners next door:

Down there we have eight-plex apartments. So we have a great diversity to the housing stock and we have a lot of renters. It's more a renter, for instance, next door. That's the sort of thing I'm talking about, in a single dwelling it creates more of an opportunity for tension. (an anonymous community leader for North Haven Community Association, personal communication, August 15th, 2016, see Appendix K)

We have nothing against rental properties as we ourselves have a revenue property. We strongly believe that tenants chosen should be comparable to the surrounding neighbours and community lifestyle. (Gregory & Gregory, 2015, p. 1).

In this way, the conception of an "R1 neighbourhood" caters to what Harvey (1974) refers to as a particular "consumption class" or "distributive grouping." Land developers and realtors promote the notion of particular consumption activities and an associated sense of place in the interest of realizing increased land rents (typically understood as property value). Secondary suite

opponents believe the single-detached district caters to homeowner (a particular tenure form) families (a particular group of people), neither of which has a legal basis in zoning.

Secondary suite opponents often argue renters are best served in other areas. For example,

Historically, Canyon Meadows was developed with the plan of single family dwellings in the centre or main area and the circular outside area for townhouses, and condominiums. This plan was considered and accepted by city planners. This was the reason I chose Canyon Meadows in 1976. I had returned to Calgary from Edmonton, where secondary suites were allowed; and I was very specific that I did not want a home in a community with secondary suites. (Burland, 2014, p. 1)

There are some communities that are clearly adamantly opposed to secondary suites because they want to preserve the feeling and the context of the single family residential neighbourhood that they grew up in. And they want to be able to preserve that. Not just for themselves but for their children. (Councillor Chabot, personal communication, September 8th, 2016, see Appendix O)

The application, if approved, will change the character of our block in meaningful ways. We bought a home purposefully in a single family neighbourhood to live and raise our children; not a rental district with a transient population. (Kimball & Ryan, 2015, p. 2)

I think you will find that most houses in our neighbourhood were purchased on the understanding that it was an RC-1 neighbourhood, not a property-rental, multi-housing neighbourhood. (the Gell family, 2015, p. 1)

Many homeowners who have invested in these neighbourhoods are concerned with land use controls that signal *who* the neighbourhood is for; they perceive zoning as a spatial contract that preserves the social homogeneity and market value of the neighbourhood. An R1 “covenant” is for them, in essence, a monopoly over a certain territory. These residents believe the purchase of a home guarantees access to a family-oriented, quiet neighbourhood with appreciating property values, and that other resident homeowners must respect this “covenant” or be excluded. Insofar as R1 zoning controls effectively bar secondary suite renters and landlords from these areas, the R1 covenant provides the basis of a class monopoly rent.

The purchase of a home nurtures attachments to place that are not only rooted in consumption preferences and social values but also claims to land rent. As one resident in Silver Springs eloquently put it,

Purchasing one's home is the largest investment most people make in their lives - not just financial, but also emotional. (Hopkin, 2015, p. 1).

Homeowners often associate their property values with certain qualities of the neighbourhood:

Southwood has been voted one of the top communities in Calgary, and I believe the rezoning will ultimately eliminate that distinction, as well as lowering our house values. (Cardwell, 2016, p. 1)

Increased density, particularly right next door, will reduce that value and desirability of our property. We bought our property on the basis of a single family neighbourhood and want to maintain the single family character of the neighbourhood. (Kimball & Ryan, 2015, p. 1)

In these statements, opponents argue the entrance of rental properties will damage qualities that make the neighbourhood desirable, which will consequently impact the value of individual properties in the neighbourhood. There is also a sense that the predominance of owner-occupiers as well as high quality single-detached dwellings is important for this neighbourhood's property values. In other words, these are neighbourhoods of relative affluence, and the presence of low quality rental dwelling units threatens existing homeowners' position in the hierarchy of housing submarkets. The resale value of a home is largely based on the purchasing power of a typical buyer in that housing submarket. Opponents believe land use change permitting secondary suites would diminish the prosperity of future homeowners. For example,

While the ability to create basement suites may be attractive to those interested in the community as a rental investment opportunity, it will diminish the inherent value of the property to those who desire to own and occupy these houses as their homes. As a result we believe that approval of this application will ultimately lead to a reduction in the market value of our home. (Diggon & Diggon, 2014, p. 2).

There is a sort of snowball effect that oppositional homeowners fear: the idea is that absentee landlords will purchase lower quality housing next door to generate rental income, maintain lower property values to avoid capital gains taxes²⁰ upon sale, and that these practices will lower

²⁰ Capital gains tax is due when an asset is sold for a higher value than what was initially purchased. In the case of rental housing in Canada, rented properties unoccupied by the property owner are fully eligible for the capital gains tax should property values appreciate beyond the initial price (Canada Revenue Agency, 2005).

the general price of housing in the neighbourhood. In other words, this kind of neighbourhood change will diminish property values and the profits to be gained through the sale of housing.

Notably, homeowners also describe close proximity to schools, green spaces and services when opposing land use change for secondary suites. For example,

Canyon Meadows is a beautiful South West Community with all amenities that families would want. The community is bordered by Fish Creek, the Canyon Meadows Golf Course, Anderson Road, and Macleod Trail. There are four schools, four large green spaces for sports activities, several large playgrounds, three outdoor skating rinks, a swimming pool, Doctor's and Dentist's offices, a legal office, excellent public transportation, shopping, restaurants and last but not least, Babbling Brook Green space and a park. We appear to have a low crime rate. (Burland, 2014, p. 1)

everyone who bought into ... it with the perception of we're buying into a safe, clean, well-kept, predominantly owner-occupied single family residential community and we love that about it. We love the fact it's safe and it has all these amenities, it has shopping in close proximity, doctors, education, schools, etc. You know, we can stay within our community and essentially you know be separated from the rest of Calgary. So when this whole secondary suites started coming around and some suites started developing, they said that's not what I bought into. (Councillor Chabot, personal communication, September 8th, 2016, see Appendix O)

People move to our neighbourhood because, young families in particular, enjoy and seek the level of density, greenspace and access to the river, bike paths and parks that presently exist. If this rezoning is permitted, it will begin a pronounced alteration of the community, into which the majority of existing residents have invested so much of their time, talents and earnings. (Beckett, 2014, p. 2)

In other words, these homeowners are territorial about access to positive externality effects. For Harvey (1973, p. 60), the location of these "spatial fields of externality effects... has a very powerful effect upon the real income of the individual." These are location-specific resources that help residents access health, education, social capital, and consumption goods without having to incur substantial transportation costs. The statements suggest oppositional homeowners fear they will no longer be able to monopolize on these positive externalities should families, and their investment, move elsewhere. Moreover, oppositional homeowners hold a very explicit belief that they have a right to unchanging land use based on the premium they paid to live in these neighbourhoods:

This is an "estate" neighbourhood. We pay higher taxes to live here and we paid more to live here. When we built this house over 30 years ago we did so knowing it was zoned RC-1 and would not have to contend with neighbours with a rental suite. This would most definitely devalue our neighbourhood. This is not a rental area. (Wong, 2015, p. 1)

I paid a premium for a single family home in a neighborhood zoned for single family dwellings. It would not be fair to change the rules after the fact. (Hopkin, 2015, p. 1).

I chose to live in an R1 neighbourhood and pay the higher taxes for this privilege. (Fitzpatrick, 2015, p. 1).

The notion of a premium not only denotes that homeowners were willing to pay a higher price for properties in these areas but also suggests an assurance that future land use change would not jeopardize property values. One councillor, speaking anonymously, also pointed out that many of his/her oppositional constituents felt the property taxes they paid on their expensive homes entitled them to exclusively owner-occupied, low-density neighbourhoods. In other words, there is a sense that the local state is obligated to preserve the value of single-detached areas through land use controls, because it too has received a portion of these rents. Oppositional homeowners believe the premium they have paid secures their right to class monopoly rents.

These politics are explicit in the online content of the Not4RZ group. In one online brochure (Figure 15), the group informs homeowners about the significance of zoning and the potential impact of land use change on their property values. In another brochure, a member shares images of what is presumably a secondary suite property with un-kempt grass and a fallen garbage bin under the heading of "Concerns" (Figure 16). These opponents perceive arguably innocuous infractions as a greater threat: put together, these encounters generate a sense of "uncertainty" about property management next door, which carries the risk of diminishing property values for existing homeowners.

Based on these perceived rights, oppositional homeowners see land use change for secondary suites as a broken contract with policymakers. Others on council make note of the

political privileges afforded to homeowners in single-detached areas. As Councillor Farrell explains,

A member of the public once said there's a R1 covenant. Really, there is no R1 covenant, but we do treat residents who live in R1 areas differently than we do any other property owner. It's almost like they are that pinnacle of success and that everyone aspires to that lifestyle, therefore it's worthy of protection. We don't protect any other land use as we do R1. And members of Council have recognized the R1 covenant as well... I think they are seen by some as the more stable, the most law-abiding, the most property tax-paying citizens. (Councillor Farrell, personal communication, July 27th, 2016, see Appendix R).

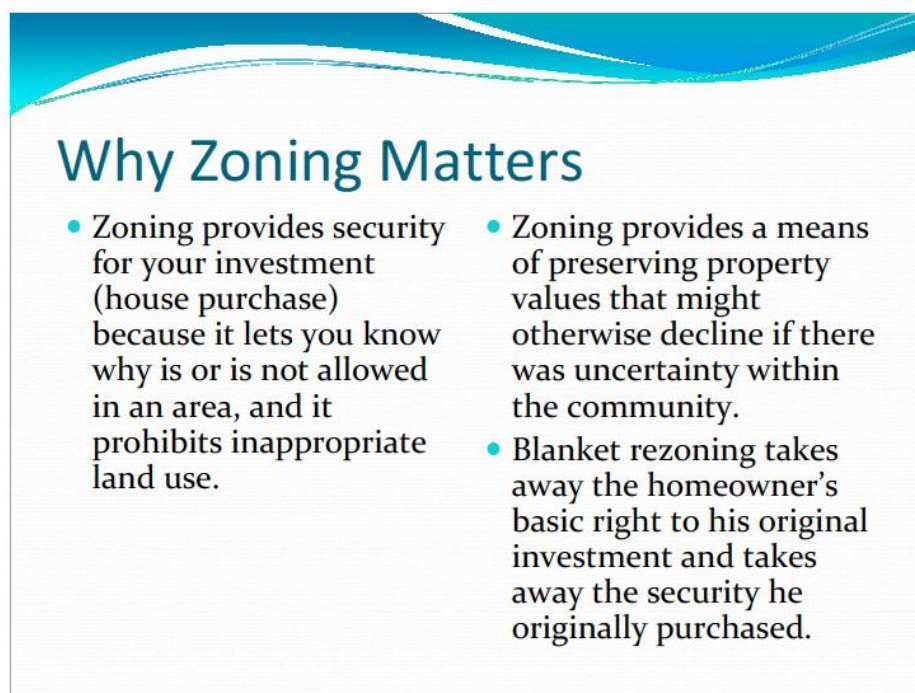


Figure 15. Not4Rz: Why Zoning Matters. Source: Not4Rz n.d.a

Indeed, a number of suburban councillors are hesitant to question these privileges. One councillor, speaking anonymously, considered whether opponents' expectations were in fact a class issue. More specifically, s/he described constituents who believed they earned the right to exclude lower-income residents and

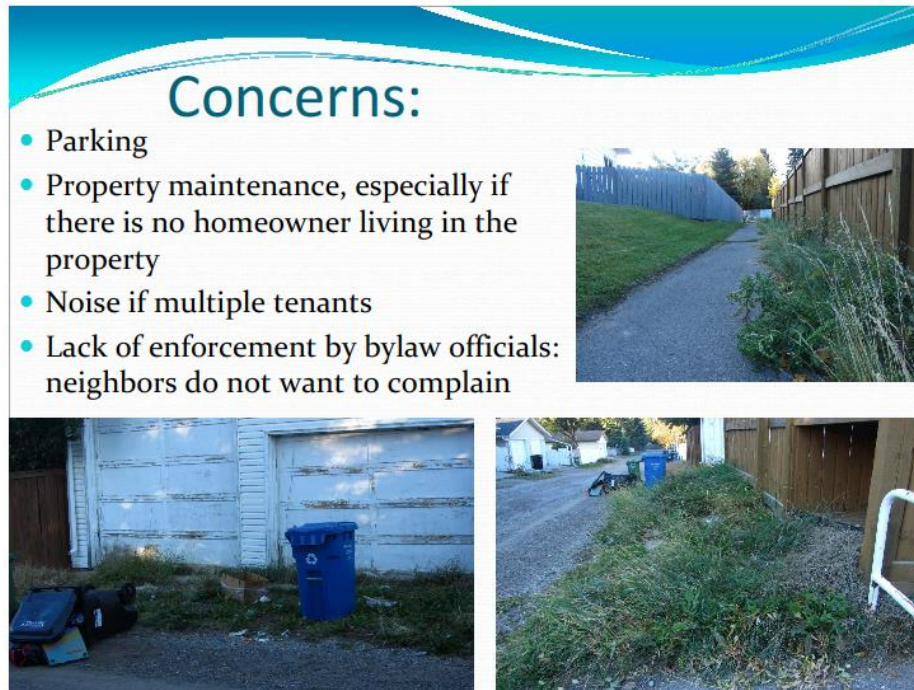


Figure 16. Not4Rz: Concerns. Source: Not4Rz, n.d.b

resist densification because of the high property taxes they paid on their valuable real estate. This councillor felt obligated to oppose land use relaxations for secondary suites based on an election campaign that sought to satisfy a large number of voters who remain adamantly opposed to secondary suites. Two other councillors consistently opposed land use change for secondary suites on the basis that such action was a kind of "spot re-zoning" which unfairly compromised existing homeowners:

It's my concern too, is if we do a blanket re-zoning of a community without any consultation of that community and consultation to the R1 land owners, then I don't think we have the right to do that. I guess we have the right to do it, but I don't think it's right for us to do it, right?" (Councillor Stevenson, personal communication, July 21st, 2016, see Appendix N)

I think it becomes a struggle of whose rights it is...If a person searched an area that this is what the area is and someone comes in well no this is all changed, I don't think that's fair. (Councillor Sutherland, personal communication, October 19th, 2016, see Appendix Q)

While the law does not recognize a property owners' right to unchanging land use (e.g. see Medeiros, 2011), some on council concede this class power. As Councillor Farrell points out, socioeconomic status and assumptions about moral character appear to play a role in these politics. There is also the notion that single-detached areas warrant preservation in order to maintain residential choice for these homeowners now and in the future:

my mission is to try and protect our R1 areas. I think that we need to have some areas of the city that are R1. When people are moving to Calgary, head offices or whatever, a lot executives and people that are looking to buy homes here as business people, they would like to buy in an R1 area, you know, so at least have that choice. So I disagree with the idea of all the spot zoning. (Councillor Stevenson, personal communication, July 21st, 2016, see Appendix N)

My concern about a blanket approval of secondary suites is that we will essentially taking away one of those land uses away, one of those housing choices away, completely, which is a single family residential. (Councillor Chabot, personal communication, September 8th, 2016, see Appendix O)

you have to remember that the City re-zoned and allowed secondary suites in well over 100, 000 properties. So the City is offering that choice. The difficulty is should you as a person who wants to live in a secondary suite or you want to have a secondary suite have the right to do it anywhere you so choose? That's the difficulty. Can we put in high rise towers anywhere in the city? Should we be able to put secondary suites anywhere in the city? The City has made allowances." (Councillor Keating, personal communication, October 13th, 2016, see Appendix P)

These statements suggest single-detached districts cater to white collar professionals that would be otherwise unsatisfied without homogenous neighbourhoods. Some councillors believe single-detached areas cater to a particular consumption class. Councillor Keating also suggests there are many other properties that allow for secondary suites, and yet suites may be inappropriate in certain areas. The contradiction here, of course, is that residential *choice* for homeowners who desire single-detached neighbourhoods, absent multi-family and rental dwellings, is predicated on *restrictions* for renters and landlords who might also desire property in these neighbourhoods. In these cases, arguments couched in terms of residential choice are in fact a justification of

segregation, and councillors facilitate this practice through the informal recognition of an "R1 covenant" and rejection of land use relaxations for secondary suites.

The rejection of land use relaxations for secondary suites in single-detached districts is an exercise of homeowners' class power. In section 4.2. I explained how participation in community association activities, owner-occupation, and a shared commitment in neighbourhood aesthetics shapes inclusion in the homeowner community. Exclusion of absentee landlords and renters from neighbourhoods enable the collection of class monopoly rents. In this section, I have emphasized homeowners' perceived right to deny land use change that may ultimately lower the value of their homes and impede their ability to extract value from positive externality effects. Opponents justify this "right" based on the premium they believe they paid to insure land value over the long term. Here, then, ability to pay, as well as property ownership more generally, is the foundation of homeowners' class power over neighbourhood change. A number of councillors are not only sympathetic to these perceived rights but also express interest in preserving the homogeneity of single-detached neighbourhoods for future homeowners. There is a coalition among these policymakers and the oppositional homeowners they represent.

4.5 Neighbourhood Governance

In May 2015, Council deliberated a bylaw amendment that would see secondary suites as a permitted use in all low density land use districts in inner-city Wards 7, 8, 9 and 11. Community leaders who submitted letters and/or presented at the public hearing for this proposal focused on policy reform and the engagement process. During these deliberations, leaders often asserted they would concede to land use relaxations if policymakers guaranteed certain conditions including a commitment to fines and penalties for illegal suites, mandatory business licensing

specifically for secondary suites, and an owner-occupation requirement. Members of the Not4Rz group, a group of homeowners and community association leaders, contested land use relaxations using what they referred to as a "fix it first" approach to secondary suites. While opponents often framed these demands as a compromise, deeper analysis reveals an effort to entrench existing informal controls.

Bylaw enforcement was a point of contention with opponents, many of whom expressed dissatisfaction with existing regulatory mechanisms. Interviews with oppositional councillors and community leaders reveal a perception that bylaw officers take a relaxed approach to disciplining illegal suites, preferring to educate landlords about legalization requirements and as well as providing them with ample time to bring suites into compliance before imposing fines.

As Cheryl explained,

The CPC meeting we were at, the planning one, they were talking about things like fines and fees and there is a lot of councillors who don't want to see any of that, Councillor Keating asks what if somebody reports an illegal suite? They said we get somebody from bylaw to look at it. Okay what if you find an illegal suite? Well we try and educate the homeowner. We tell them hey you need to get a permit, educate them. And then what? Well, yeah, that's what we try and do. And Keating was persistent. What happens then? You make them to remove the stove. Yeah we do. Do you go back to remove the stove? We wait for another complaint. Then what? We tell them they need to get a permit, how to legalize their suite, whatever. He says then what happens? They say well hopefully they work towards compliance. He asked – do you ever fine them or do anything? He said well technically we have the ability to fine them, I think it's significant, two or three thousand dollars for a repeat offence, and Keating said how often do you do this. They said very seldom, we try and encourage them, educate them. (personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

A number of community leaders and sympathetic councillors took issue with these lenient practices. Evidence suggests, however, that this frustration is less about suite safety and more about neighbours' ability to control nuisance impacts. Those who were critical of bylaw enforcement practices supported a licensing system that would condition the permission of secondary suites on certain community standards requirements. For example,

in the event that the property in question is being developed as an income producing property, it is our hope that the City of Calgary bring in and introduce a system of licensing such that if problems do occur, the community has the tools it needs to deal with problem situations...Under the way that things work now, once a change is made to the designation, regardless of any problems, there is nothing that the community can do to deal with the situation. (Ratke, President of the Riverbend Community Association, 2015, p. 1)

"the biggest advantage that I see that licensing would do would be to address that so that your neighbour applies for his permit, he has his Mom in there, great, he renews the license every year or two, great, we're all good. She moves out, she dies, whatever happens, he gets somebody in there, he gets a license for a year, we see how it works. If he's responsible and he's got a good tenant in there, after a year I have no problem with it. If he now is the absentee landlord with the tenant from hell in there, then after a year I have a chance to comment on that application in the same way we do for a home based business. And I can say you know what that just didn't work out very well, so you either get tenants who start mowing the land and having less parties and whatever the problem was, and maybe you can go again...If you have a suite from hell there is an option through licensing to not do it again. Right now you have that suite, good luck trying to get rid of it." (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

In statements like these, opponents argue a mandatory licensing system akin to the home business model would provide neighbours with the opportunity to contest "problem" properties, including irresponsible landlords, unruly tenants, and parking issues. Councillor Keating was largely sympathetic toward these concerns following extensive consultation with Not4Rz. Consequently, he proposed a licensing system to garner buy-in for land use relaxations from secondary suite opponents. He explains,

if you have a landlord who doesn't look at community standards and doesn't maintain the house problem and doesn't look after problem tenants then we have issues within the community. (Councillor Keating, personal communication, October 13th, 2016, see Appendix P)

The belief that a business license requirement will empower neighbours to contest disorderly tenants and properties is largely a myth. Apartment building operators who lease three or more units require a municipal business license in Calgary (City of Calgary, n.d.c), but the city cannot revoke these licenses based on the activities of tenants. A number of other bylaws and urban departments discipline criminal activities, property neglect, and parking infractions. Moreover, the law treats renters and homeowners equally. Evidence suggests this ethic of equal treatment is

not present in secondary suite licensing demands. In fact, opponents believe *renters in single-detached areas* require additional measures of oversight and control. George Reti, an executive member of the Lakeview Community Association and core member of the Not4Rz group, was explicit about this argument during a public hearing for the four wards proposal in May 2015:

Reti: I don't think that people should have to have a license to rent their house, but if you are renting a house in an R1 area and all of a sudden someone wants to put a suite in there that changes the picture completely. That suite should require a license.

Councillor Pincott: what in your mind is different about somebody who would rent a house versus somebody who would rent a suite?

Reti: What happens is the nature of the person or family that rents a house without anybody in the basement vis-a-vis one that rents the basement, with someone in the basement, circumstances are night and day. The quality of the tenant that you would get for a single house is a totally different grade than what you would get for a tenant that lives upstairs combined with a tenant that lives downstairs. There's no comparison. (Pincott & Reti, 2015, 19:30)

As these statements suggest, there is an element of social stereotyping and, consequently, discrimination in opponents' demands for a business licensing system. Put simply, opponents believe licensing will provide them with measures to govern the occupation of 'lower' quality renters in single-detached neighbourhoods. Opponents who demand an owner-occupancy requirement in secondary suites hold a similar belief that renters warrant additional oversight in single-detached neighbourhoods:

"most people think that if the owner lives there that they will be a responsible landlord because they won't put up with problems from the tenant and that the yard and everything would be maintained *and you wouldn't know if that was a rental property at all*. (Councillor Sutherland, personal communication, October 19th, 2016, see Appendix Q)

Many opponents were particularly critical of the fact that Mayor Nenshi withdrew a campaign promise of an owner-occupancy requirement for secondary suites. In fact, owner-occupancy is

not only difficult to track and enforce but runs contrary to prevailing planning legislation.²¹

Policy demands around owner-occupancy are essentially a preference for resident landlords who are sensitive to tenants' behaviours and provide property maintenance that satisfies the neighbours. As Sutherland's statement also suggests, opponents believe owner-occupation has the effect of hiding rental properties in the neighbourhood.

In the absence of these mechanisms, many opponents prefer secondary suites remain unauthorized by land use; they believe they have the ability to evict unpleasant tenants and control unruly properties when the secondary suite remains illegal. Many community leaders are aware of illegal suites in their neighbourhoods but tolerate them based on "model" tenant behaviour:

One of the community association presidents talked to me about these agreements, neighbourhood agreements to keep illegal suites in a neighbourhood. I thought it was really interesting. It was an unspoken agreement to allow illegal suite to stay in a neighbourhood. And he said in his neighbourhood there is one guy that has an illegal suite and it's illegal because of whatever variety of reasons it's a decent suite but it's illegal, he doesn't want to legalize it, he probably pockets the money, but he went to his neighbours and said you all know it's an illegal suite, but I'm going to have model tenants in there. And he introduced his tenant, and he said he's going to be just wonderful, and if he's not you can report me. The neighbours love Bob, he shovels the walks, he's the model tenant. And so they let that one go. And I thought that was interesting actually because they all know it's there and they know it's illegal, but the owner is in the suite, that's the difference. (Cheryl, personal communication, July 19th, 2016, see Appendix J)

We haven't had any complaints that I'm aware of. The two illegal suites by my house don't bother me because I know them and I can see they are taking care of things. They have room on their driveway for the additional car or whatever. One of them have their mother living there and the other one rents to students. So honestly – I don't mind it. But if I knew of one and people were

²¹ These protections are in fact a result of a contentious court case involving a secondary suite. In 1980, the Supreme Court of Canada emphasized the limitation of zoning to the use of land rather than its users. In 1979, Douglas Bell was convicted of violating the land use bylaw of North York, Ontario because he lived with individuals who were not related to him by blood in a single-family land use zone (Leisk 2012). These tenants paid rent for "what was and what remained a self-contained residential unit" (Supreme Court of Canada 1979, 213). In considering the provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the courts emphasized the fact that a land use bylaw could not go so far as to prescribe the relationship of occupants, only the use of the building. Thus land use bylaws in Canada could only frame restrictions in terms of built form, including unit size, number of rooms per unit, lot size, and frontage. It is for this reason that land use bylaws in Calgary no longer use terms such as "single-family" but "single-detached."

belligerent, I would probably report it. (an anonymous community association executive from the Tuscany Community Association, personal communication, August 17, 2016, see Appendix S)

We're aware of unreported illegal suites, but there's really no appetite to do anything about it. I think it is what it is. ... if it's an illegal suite there seems to be a little bit more caution taken to be respectful of your neighbours and you know unless somebody gets totally irritated, the noise level is too much, and the parking issue is so bad, that they report it. That's only happened once in the last five years. I think we're more, it's better to just sort of look the other way. But if you're going to go for a development permit, then that's a different matter. (an anonymous community leader for North Haven Community Association, personal communication, August 15th, 2016, see Appendix K)

people were saying we don't want secondary suites in my neighbourhood. I said you know what, I don't know you have secondary suites here, but I know you have secondary suites here. Well why aren't you shutting them down? I said we're doing a thousand complaints a year. We do shut them down. And I don't even need to look at the data to know we've been in your neighbourhood looking for secondary suites. And then somebody made a comment that, well, when they're illegal, there is this unwritten contract that if they stay quiet we won't complain about them. They're actually encouraging illegal suites. And they're okay with it..If it's legal, well now you can't get things shut down. And so, if I complain and you're illegal, you'll get shut down. So for the resident, they feel like, no there's too much danger for my wellbeing, my peace and quiet, if you have a legal, safe suite, I can't shut you down. (de Jong, personal communication, June 24, 2016, see Appendix E)

These informal neighborhood agreements are also significant in the sense that neighbours rely on land use restrictions to locate and discipline transgression. As Councillor Keating explains, opponents are concerned that comprehensive land use relaxations will make it difficult to identify illegal secondary suites and instruct bylaw enforcement accordingly:

people would have no idea which ones are legal and which are illegal. So how do you formalize a complaint? Because you don't know. If it was permitted anywhere, anyone could throw a suite in their basement and advertise it because suites are legal. (Councillor Keating, personal communication, October 13th, 2016, see Appendix P)

As the prevalence of this conditional tolerance suggests, opponents' concern with illegality is selective. Clearly, lenient bylaw enforcement practices do not work in favour of those who rely on the illegal status to discipline landlords and tenants. Moreover, this practice merits attention given the provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Put simply, municipal bylaws cannot prohibit occupants' use of land based on housing tenure, and yet neighbours' use land use

bylaw infractions as an informal mode of social regulation that would be controversially applied, if not in outright violation of the law, through formal regulation.

I argue policy demands around licensing, owner-occupancy and stringent bylaw enforcement are indicative of a territorial class politics; homeowners try to institutionalize practices of neighbourhood governance to minimize disorder and, ultimately, risks to property value. Not coincidentally, these policy demands were top of mind for core members of the Not4Rz group. Other community leaders clearly tolerate illegal secondary suites based on a conception of model tenant behaviour and commitment to property upkeep. These practices mitigate certain risks through the maintenance of neighbourhood conformity. For the "watchdogs" of the neighbourhood, zoning controls and bylaw enforcement are effective tools for evicting unruly renters and disciplining unkempt properties. Evidently, controversial measures to regulate landlords and renters in single-detached areas would have satisfied many oppositional homeowners.. Land use relaxations and legalization efforts, on the other hand, would significantly reduce homeowners' ability to control who lives next door. Surprisingly, landlords are not the only actors keeping the secondary suite housing market underground.

4.6 Community Associations

The public hearing over secondary suite relaxations in the city's four inner-city wards instigated significant opposition from some community association leaders. In a number of identical submissions, these leaders argue land use relaxations for secondary suites will encourage an increased presence of renters in their neighbourhoods, and that pride of ownership will suffer as a result. For example, one consistent passage in these submissions claims

Community demographics and pride of ownership will also change with these amendments and not for the better. Communities go through natural age cycles but the commonality within established communities is pride of ownership and commitment to the community from a longer term perspective. Increased development of rental properties will erode both of these aspects of community. Landlord investment decisions are market driven compared to an owner's investment intended to build long term value in their property. In many rental situations, residents meticulously maintain their accommodations and are active in the community but the reality of renting is that leasing arrangements are not in the resident's control and produce higher turnover in the community than home ownership. (Birdsell, President of the Wildwood Community Association, 2015, p. 2).

These leaders are open about their desire to exclude renters from single-detached districts and their oppositions to land use change that benefits landlords. For these opponents, high turnover of residents and landlords' interest in low-quality rental housing means reduced commitment to stable property values in the neighbourhood. A number of community associations clearly take up the argument that land use change for secondary suites impinges on homeowners' ability to realize the property values of an exclusive neighbourhood, i.e., class monopoly rents. Others are also explicit about their reliance on single-detached zoning to exclude secondary suite development and protect property values. For example,

secondary suites were disallowed in this community more than 30 years ago, which is a lifetime in terms of ownership. Current resident owners have reasonably relied on the neighbourhood's R1/RC1 zoning because of the character and standards that are protected by the R1/RC1 designation. None of those owners ever thought they would be able to install stranger-occupied secondary suites, and all of those owners have relied on the R1/RC1 designation to protect their property values. (the Community of Rosedale Executive Committee, 2015, p. 2).

For these leaders, the community association is an appropriate institutional vehicle for defending homeowners' monopoly rights, and they clearly rely on single-detached zoning for the prohibition of renters. Moreover, their monopolization of this territory has occurred over a long period of time; the legacy of historical restrictions discussed in Chapter 3.1. conditions long term interests in land. The statement also indicates opponents' categorize renters as community outsiders based on a sense of shared commitment to property values. For some, this suggests

renters are not only to be excluded from single-detached neighbourhoods, but also the community association boards that defend such territories. In fact, one community association leader interviewed in this study initially assumed homeownership was a prerequisite for nomination to the community association board.

Many of these leaders defend the maintenance of land use restrictions based on neighbours' "democratic right" to accept or reject a secondary suite in the neighbourhood, i.e., a perceived democratic right to exclude. For example,

Before the City of Calgary unilaterally decides that a residence in a community can be classified as R-C1s, individual communities should have the democratic opportunity to vote on whether or not this rezoning be allowed in their neighbourhood. Therefore it should be the wishes of the community that determines what happens and not just city council. (Staveley & Staveley, 2014, p. 2).

In this case, opponents want to retain the land re-designation process for secondary suites because they see it as an opportunity to influence Council to reject secondary suites in certain areas. Several community association leaders are sympathetic to these views. For example,

By identifying Secondary Suites as a Permitted Use and Backyard Suites as Discretionary, immediate neighbours will have no chance to comment on the appropriateness of a Secondary Suite. Also, neighbours would have limited opportunity to influence the outcome of Development Permit "negotiations" between the Development Authority and the applicant for a Backyard Suite. (Birdsell, President of the Wildwood Community Association, 2015, p. 2).

The question of who should make secondary suite approval decisions is a significant point of contention for opponents. As a permitted use, secondary suite applications would no longer require a public hearing at Council. The planning department would assess the merits of the application, and approve permits that meet certain requirements and support policy objectives. As a discretionary use, an impartial, citizen-appointed Subdivision Development and Appeal Board (SDAB) administers neighbours' appeal of approvals. Officially, this decision is largely confined to the impacts of certain bylaw relaxations for the built form, e.g. structural footprint,

parking requirements, and building height. Put simply, administrative evaluations are limited to the use of land rather than its occupants.

Land use relaxations for secondary suites effectively devolve the approval of secondary suites from Council to administrators; many opponents do not believe the latter are as sympathetic to their concerns, but rather the public hearing provides them influence over the land use change process and direct access to Council's decision-making power. A number of councillors who have voted down city-wide relaxations believe neighbours should have input, if not a final say, on land use change for secondary suites in their neighbourhoods:

My voting pattern. If the opposing residents around it don't want it, then I always vote no, every time. They're the ones that have to live with it. They have to live with the outcome, so they should have the right to vote. (Councillor Sutherland, personal communication, October 19th, 2016, see Appendix Q)

It's my concern too, is if we do a blanket re-zoning of a community without any consultation of that community and consultation to the R1 land owners, then I don't think we have the right to do that. (Councillor Stevenson, personal communication, July 21st, 2016, see Appendix N)

And I've said that each secondary suite should have a map and a sheet and they should go to the ten neighbours on the other side of them and the five neighbours on either side of them and that would say be 20 households that should have some input with secondary suites. (Shane Keating, a Councillor for Ward 12, October 13, 2016, see Appendix P).

In effect, it appears as though some councillors support homeowners' perceived monopoly rights by retaining the public hearing process and voting against contentious secondary suite applications. Moreover, these councillors' rejection of city-wide relaxations allows opponents to operate illegal secondary suites, thereby empowering neighbours to evict tenants from the neighbourhood.

Notably, homeowners' class interests not only drive opposition to secondary suites, they also frame interpretations of democratic participation. Oppositional community leaders have

consistently criticized public engagement around the four wards proposal as un-democratic and emphasized property owners' privileges in the decision-making process:

We are asking that a City-wide plebiscite be conducted to offer all property owners the opportunity to vote and decide on the future face of their neighbourhood. (Guillemaud, President of Westgate Community Association, 2015, p. 1).

Many were dissatisfied with policymakers' and administration's treatment of taxpaying homeowners in single-detached areas. For example,

Upon review of the material, as previously indicated, we found the City's answers and position on these issues less sophisticated, detailed and lacking in actual comprehensive review that would normally be expected for major change in effective zoning for a large portion of the Calgary homeowner and taxpaying population. (Connolly, President of Cambrian Heights Community Association, 2015, p. 1).

As a community association we have voiced our concern and have appealed many applications, yet there has been no transparency through various city departments that have forced through these developments with little or no consultation with the community. This bylaw will be detrimental to the community, taking away any chance we may have to determine our growth. It is an issue, when our elected representatives and Departments within the City do not listen to the voices of the Taxpayers. (Morrisette, President of the North Glenmore Park Community Association, 2015, p. 1-2).

Other leaders argued financial investment in the neighbourhood confers democratic rights over land use change. For example, when I asked a community leader for Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill if he believed the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use, he responded,

I think the general feeling among the community association is that it is not going to guarantee it forever, but it does provide some level of certainty which if that is going to change there needs to be substantive notice and consultation, because it's a large investment, especially in this neighbourhood with these estate homes. (Marsh, personal communication, June 30, 2016, see Appendix M)

Other leaders explain,

We wouldn't have gone for permitted use. We want to see each land use amendment one at a time because people bought into an R1 neighbourhood so people want to retain that sense of control...Control over neighbours. Control over what they see next door to them. Control over their sense of value over their property. (an anonymous community association executive for Montgomery Community Association, personal communication, August 19, 2016, see Appendix T)

When reviewing the City proposal we were struck by two main issues. The first of course was the impact in R-1 zoning areas (Cambrian Heights has considerable R-1 zoned areas) where residents generally have invested the majority of their wealth and paid a premium to reside in an R-1 development. (Connolly, President of Cambrian Heights Community Association, 2015, p. 1).

Put together, these statements indicate oppositional community leaders believe property-taxpaying homeowners who have invested in the neighbourhood have the "democratic" right to exclude others who they fear threaten land value. These politics raise important questions about what constitutes socially just, democratic urban planning. There is in fact an ongoing discussion about this topic (e.g. Purcell, 2008; Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Fainstein, 2010). In the interest of space, I will point out just a few things. Opponents' demands around the right to secure land value is a narrow and market-driven interest. In this case, local residents champion a one-off campaign that is less about mutual obligations to one another than consumers' individual interests (Miller, 2007). These politics also make it seem as though there are homogenous interests among community members, a perception that becomes closer to reality the more homogeneity is enforced. In effect, differences of opinion are obscured while demarcating who is included in, and who is excluded from, the community. Opposition to secondary suites thus reveals a significant weakness of neighbourhood scale populism. As Hillier (2010, p. 161) explains,

the notion of ... 'the community' lacks precise meaning. There is rarely, if ever, a single 'people' or a single 'community' amongst the groups and individuals who live in particular area... the 'people' who generally claim voice in planning decisions tend to be a property-owning, articulate minority.

Community associations are in a challenging position. Like other non-governmental agencies, they contend with devolved state functions bereft of commensurate resources, tokenism in democratic debate, and real estate development pressures (Purcell, 2008). Yet, they are the official voice of the community in planning procedures and may exert political influence over

urban outcomes (Conger et al., 2016). There is a degree of democratic resistance in these opponents' critiques of landlord profiteering and the spread of low quality rental housing, but their politics is limited to the concerns of neighbouring homeowners. Articulating diverse perspectives through effective outreach and participation could arguably be an important part of these politics, and yet it seems exchange value interests have become dominant.

The community district is an important geographical unit in these politics. Homeowners opposing secondary suites seek to defend this territory from threats to property value and often do so by turning to the institutional and political power of community associations. At every turn, these organizations are the key institutional actors successfully opposing secondary suites, and they base their contention on the land market concerns of homeowners. To some extent, opponents' influence through community associations appears to confer control over the neighbourhood, including who is in, and who is out. Community associations are a site of territorial power, and their opposition to secondary suites works to secure homeowners' class interest in the monopoly rents that come with exclusivity.

4.7 Conclusion

Suburban homeowners' anxiety around rental properties and belief in their own right to exclude have a strong presence in neighbourhood governance and community association politics. At the heart of opposition to secondary suites is homeowners' belief that the purchase of a home confers certain rights and privileges over land use change in the neighbourhood. Significantly, the Municipal Government Act provides no legal recognition of this claim, yet community association leaders as well as some councillors defend this notion. These politics have played out in specific ways in Calgary's secondary suite controversy.

Oppositional homeowners associate renters with certain risks to the neighbourhood. Many believe renters are impermanent residents who lack commitment to property upkeep, familiarity with the neighbours, and community participation. For these homeowners, the disorder they associate with rental properties generates anxiety and uncertainty about the future qualities of the neighbourhood. Many of these homeowners believe their property values will suffer as a result of the presence of renters. Notably, these residents base their notion of community around homeownership, which by definition excludes renters. The ‘community’ narrative obscures what is in fact a class interest – homeowners exclude renters to reap rents associated with exclusivity.

The presence of absentee landlords who are not as sensitive to homeowners’ sense of transgression amplifies this anxiety. On the one hand, many homeowners are tolerant of resident landlords who they presume are committed to the qualities of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, opponents believe secondary suites operated by absentee landlords are in fact duplexes in a neighbourhood that was ostensibly planned to exclude such development. Ethnicity minority and immigrant status are also grounds for excluding landlords outright. In many cases, opponents criticize what they refer to as ‘slum lords’ for hiding rental income and avoiding legalization in the interest of maximizing profits. Housing data suggests many landlords do in fact avoid the permit process despite land use permissions, and oppositional councillors take issue with this practice. For oppositional homeowners, however, the problem is more about property value impacts than renters’ safety. They believe permissive land use will encourage landlords’ private investment practices in the neighbourhood, which will diminish their property values.

Opponents believe they have the right to prevent disadvantageous neighbourhood change based on perceived zoning rights. The planning department does not recognize an “R1 covenant” because they are not legally responsible for maintaining social homogeneity in the

neighbourhood, and yet this is precisely what opponents seek to control through land use consultation. For these homeowners, the premium paid for housing in suburban R1 neighbourhoods guarantees the exclusion of rental properties that might jeopardize property values. The notion of an “R1 covenant,” has become a principle mechanism for the maintenance of class monopoly rents, and homeowners try to maintain their monopoly “rights” so they can continue to attract homeowner families who are also willing to pay a premium for housing in these neighbourhoods. Without a constitutional basis, homeowners depend on sympathetic councillors to protect their class interests by maintaining land use restrictions for secondary suites.

Community leaders’ interest in secondary suite policy reform reveals how class power over space works through practices of neighbourhood governance. Neighbourhood watchdogs depend on land use restrictions to identify and discipline the perceived offense of un-kempt properties, evicting “low quality” tenants who do not follow the unsaid rules of the neighbourhood. Land use relaxations that encourage legal suites impair this practice; in response, homeowners try to institutionalize their informal power over the neighbourhood through policy demands for bylaw enforcement, licensing and owner-occupation. Sympathetic councillors have appeased these homeowners by conditioning their acceptance of land use relaxations on additional measures of regulation and oversight. In fact, this is precisely why Council found itself in a stalemate during deliberation of the four wards proposal; proponent councillors wanted to make it easier for landowners to accommodate a secondary suite but opponent councillors would not concede to land use relaxations without additional measures of oversight and control.

Some community association leaders have provided a political platform for homeowners’ perceived right to exclude. Exclusion of renters is rationalized based on potential “erosion” of

community, and ultimately, concern over property values in the neighbourhood. For these leaders, democratic engagement around land use relaxation for secondary suites should be limited to impacted property owners since other citizens do not represent the “community” interest. Sympathetic councillors want to retain the public hearing process for homeowners seeking land use relaxation, despite voting in favour of most secondary suite applications. Homeowners’ class power over land use change may thus appear illusory, and yet land use restrictions not only discourage landlords from legalizing secondary suites but, as many community leaders are aware, empower informal and extra-legal disciplining of perceived neighbourhood offenders. Informal practices of neighbourhood governance are, in many neighbourhoods, an important component of community association politics; they are an expression of the exercise of territorial class power in the interest of class monopoly rents.

Chapter Five: Inter-Community Coalitions in the Geography of Secondary Suite Politics

5.1 Introduction

We have to admit that there probably is a different mentality depending on where you live. (Councillor Keating, personal communication, October 13th, 2016, see Appendix P)

Councillors acknowledge community differences when it comes to support for or opposition to secondary suites. According to Councillor Keating, where one lives often mediates these differences, and residents in single-detached districts have a shared "mentality" against secondary suites. Overall, councillors have often inferred that community opposition or support for secondary suites is a product residential choice. Proponents tend to support secondary suites because they select neighbourhoods with duplexes and social diversity, while opponents prefer areas that are predominantly owner-occupied and single family with detached housing. This rather simplistic explanation reduces the geography of secondary suite opposition to an expression of consumer preferences. In this chapter, I explore where opposition to secondary suites is strongest, where it is weakest, and explore those patterns. Surprisingly, neighbourhood attributes such as housing tenure and property value are significant but other social factors such as community leadership and coalition building are also at work in these politics.

The historical outcomes of policymakers' attempts to relax land use restrictions for secondary suites suggests important power relations among homeowners, community association leaders, and suburban councillors. We now know that opposition to secondary suites is primarily driven by homeowners' efforts to preserve class monopoly rents. These are what Cox (2018) describes as 'territorialized class politics': the exclusionary and inclusionary tactics of various interest groups to ensure value continues to flow through particular areas and neighbourhoods. Certain institutional arrangements are necessary to realize these interests and ultimately, resolve

an inherent crisis between capital in its fixed and mobile forms (Harvey, 1974; 1982). Cox (1998) describes the emergence of a 'politics of space' in these terms: local interests shape institutional arrangements, that span space and different scales, to secure profits/wages/rents. I begin the chapter by exploring the social and spatial differences among communities that oppose, support or remain neutral to secondary suites. Then, I explore the different scales and networks through which these politics unfold to explain *how* opponents secure their interests.

The most vocal and organized opposition to secondary suites comes from some of Calgary's most affluent neighbourhoods. In section 5.2, I explore the political territories that make up this homeowner 'citadel'. The mixed politics of lower-priced but primarily homeowner-oriented neighbourhoods is the focus in section 5.3. In 5.4, I discuss membership policies, leadership, and outreach capacity among proponent community associations working in renter-oriented neighbourhoods. Finally, I explore the overarching role of place-based coalitions and scalar strategies in the geography of Calgary's secondary suite politics.

5.2 The Homeowner Citadel

The matrix in Figure 17 demonstrates opposition among community leaders is prevalent in *neighbourhoods characterized by a mid- to high proportion of homeowners and high property values*. From 2014 to 2016, there were very few secondary suite applications in these neighbourhoods; Table 2 shows residents and community association leaders contested over half. According to the housing and neighbourhood data collected in this study (Table 3), most of these neighbourhoods have well below average numbers of secondary suites. Put together, the data suggests oppositional homeowners and community association leaders rely on land use restrictions to discourage landlords from pursuing secondary suites in

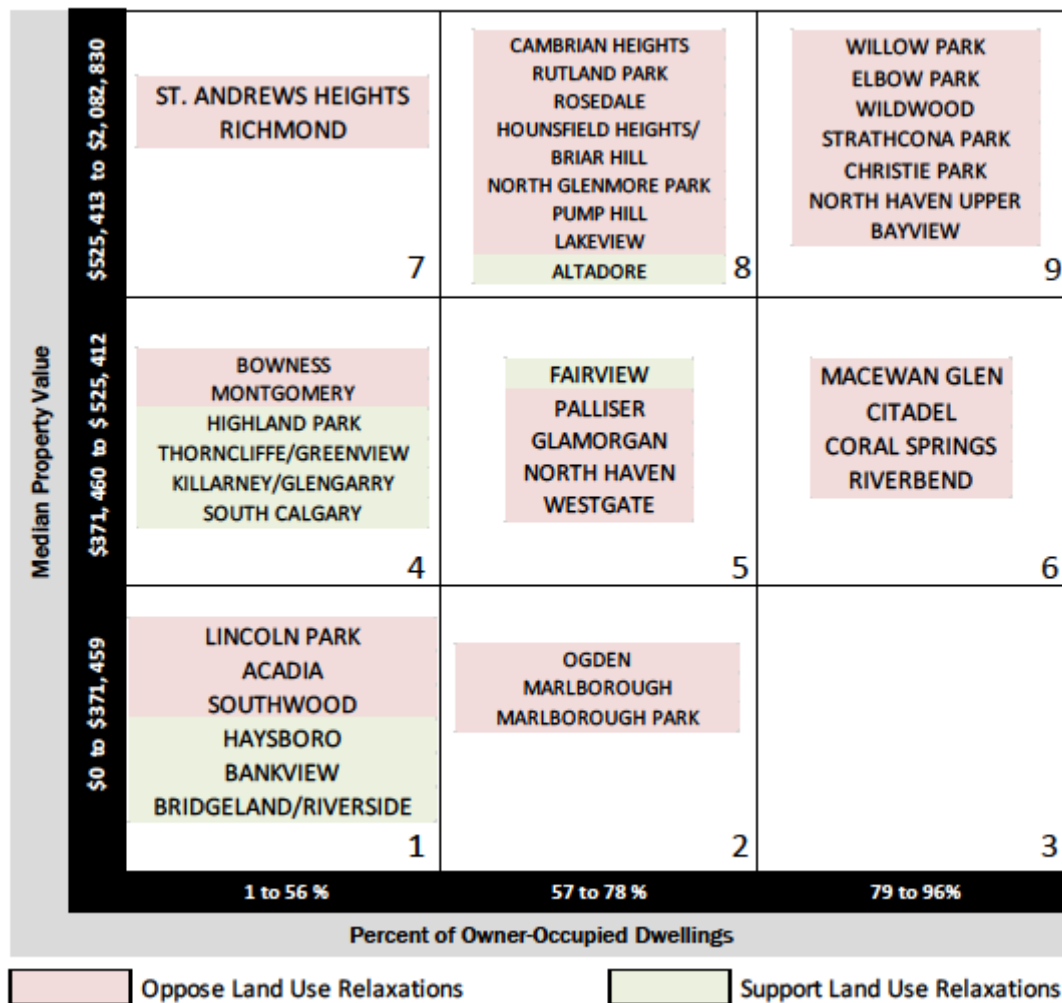


Figure 17. Matrix of Community Politics

Table 2. Secondary Suite Applications

Matrix	Description	Applications	Citizens Contested		Community Association Contested	
			Count	Percent	Count	Percent
1	Lower Property Value, Few Homeowners	21	4	19%	2	10%
2	Lower Property Value, Mid-Range of Homeowners	18	1	6%	0	0%
3	Lower Property Value, Many Homeowners	<i>no applications</i>				
4	Mid-Range Property Value, Few Homeowners	11	2	18%	4	36%
5	Mid-Range Property Value, Mid-Range of Homeowners	10	3	30%	4	40%
6	Mid-Range Property Value, Many Homeowners	21	5	24%	6	29%
7	High Property Value, Few Homeowners	1	0	0%	0	0%
8	High Property Value, Mid-Range of Homeowners	2	1	50%	0	0%
9	High Property Value, Many Homeowners	7	4	57%	2	29%
Total		91	20	22%	18	20%

Table 3. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 8 and 9

Community	Age	Code	Matrix Part	Stance on Suites	Median Household Income	Ownership Rate	Median Property Value	Density	Suited Parcels	Owner-Occupied Suites
RUTLAND PARK	1950s	RUT	8	Opposed	\$55,742	65.1%	\$527,112	15.0	7.9%	41.4%
ALTADORE	INNER CITY	ALT	8	Support	\$65,391	63.1%	\$722,821	19.9	8.1%	28.6%
HOUNSFIELD HEIGHTS/BRIAR HILL	1950s	HOU	8	Opposed	\$61,207	70.9%	\$678,222	11.1	3.3%	30.4%
CAMBRIAN HEIGHTS	1950s	CAM	8	Opposed	\$68,757	58.4%	\$596,478	11.1	9.7%	41.4%
PUMP HILL	1960s/1970s	PUM	8	Opposed	\$125,582	74.2%	\$1,096,793	6.4	0.0%	0.0%
LAKEVIEW	1960s/1970s	LKV	8	Opposed	\$76,908	77.2%	\$698,626	10.9	0.6%	70.0%
NORTH GLENMORE PARK	1950s	NGM	8	Opposed	\$75,906	73.0%	\$678,364	9.9	4.9%	36.2%
ROSEDALE	INNER CITY	RDL	8	Opposed	\$128,984	69.9%	\$1,103,867	9.5	2.6%	20.0%
CHRISTIE PARK	1980s/1990s	CHR	9	Opposed	\$132,194	91.2%	\$686,313	11.0	0.0%	0.0%
WILLOW PARK	1960s/1970s	WIL	9	Opposed	\$75,137	77.8%	\$556,964	9.9	0.7%	9.1%
STRATHCONA PARK	1980s/1990s	STR	9	Opposed	\$113,696	90.3%	\$630,371	10.8	0.4%	50.0%
BAYVIEW	1960s/1970s	BYV	9	Opposed	\$141,576	95.6%	\$1,142,962	6.0	0.0%	0.0%
WILDWOOD	1950s	WLD	9	Opposed	\$94,337	85.0%	\$723,699	7.5	1.3%	28.6%
ELBOW PARK	INNER CITY	EPK	9	Opposed	\$184,189	83.0%	\$1,618,689	7.6	0.6%	20.0%
NORTH HAVEN UPPER	1960s/1970s	NHU	9	Opposed	\$90,416	93.5%	\$525,527	9.1	0.4%	0.0%

these neighbourhoods. While property values capture all three forms of urban land rent (monopoly, differential, and absolute rent), the preponderance of evidence collected in this research suggests class monopoly rents are an important component of value, influencing the politics of these neighbourhoods.

Many of these neighbourhoods are located in close proximity to the downtown core, are bordered by natural features such as rivers, large parks and reservoirs (Figure 18) and are characterized by above-average median incomes (Table 3). In other words, these are prestigious neighbourhoods for the affluent. Harvey (1973, p. 173) argues upper income groups tend to remain stationary or "filtered in" to older housing in good locations, while other intermediate income groups are "squeezed between a social pressure emanating from below and an immovable political and economic force above." Marcuse's (1997) typology of the ghetto, the enclave and the citadel is a useful classification here; a citadel is different from the involuntary concentration of marginalized groups of the ghetto and the voluntary congregation of ethnic and religious groups of the enclave. In the citadel, class difference is a defining

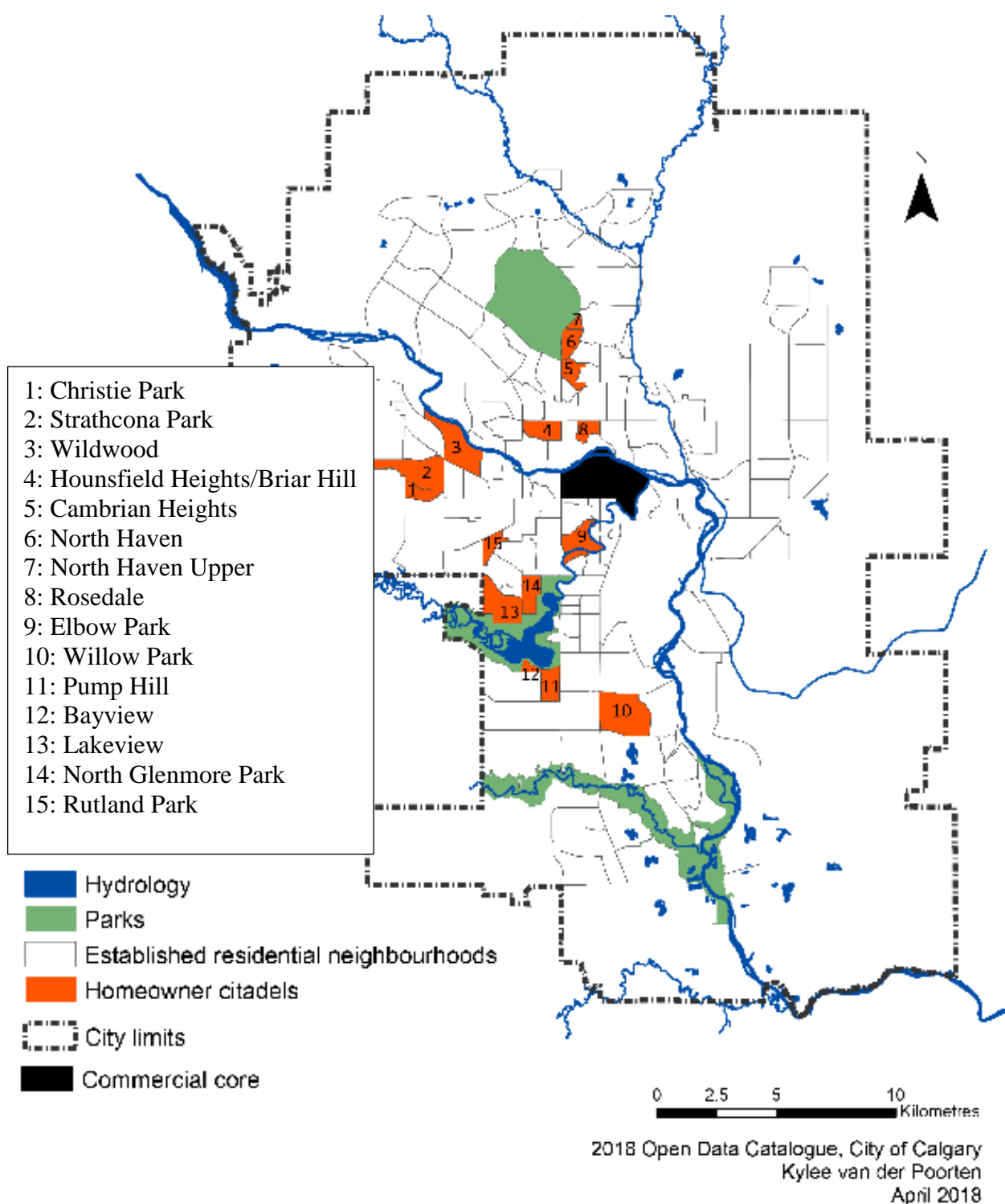


Figure 18. Homeowner Citadels in Calgary's Secondary Suite Controversy

characteristic of congregation: groups defined by a "position of superiority, in power, wealth, or status, in relation to its neighbours" come together to protect or enhance their position (p. 248). Gated communities are an oft-cited example of this geography.

In the context of this study, I define homeowner citadels as community districts with mid- to high proportion of homeowners, relatively high property values, and an oppositional community association that seeks to protect class monopoly rents by preventing legal secondary suite development. These citadels are mapped in Figure 18, and they are derived from the 8th and 9th parts of the matrix in Figure 17. These include the community districts of Christie Park, Strathcona Park, Wildwood, Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill, Cambrian Heights, North Haven, Rosedale, Elbow Park, Willow Park, Pump Hill, Bayview, Lakeview, North Glenmore Park, and Rutland Park.

Leaders of these citadels influence public institutions and institutional arrangements to exclude those they perceive as second-class citizens from their territories, protect class monopoly rents, and ultimately maintain their property wealth and superior social status. Unlike in gated communities, however, these leaders cannot establish formal covenants, physical barriers, and security guards to defend and maintain this territory. In this study, barriers to entry are arranged through zoning controls and disciplinary measures of neighbourhood governance. Community associations are an important site of power for these interests: they provide leaders with an institutional position in the planning process and an ability to influence Councillors' decision-making. Ultimately, these leaders use this power to maintain zoning controls that effectively discourage rental housing development in their neighbourhoods.

5.3 Contrasting Politics Among Less Affluent Neighbourhoods

Table 4. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 2, 5 and 6

Community	Age	Code	Matrix Part	Stance on Suites	Median Household Income	Ownership Rate	Median Property Value	Density	Suited Parcels	Owner-Occupied Suites
OGDEN	1950s	OGD	2	Opposed	\$53,446	56.3%	\$324,798	12.5	10.5%	35.5%
MARLBOROUGH	1960s/1970s	MRL	2	Opposed	\$58,483	59.4%	\$341,092	13.6	10.0%	40.7%
MARLBOROUGH PARK	1960s/1970s	MPK	2	Opposed	\$60,825	70.2%	\$306,788	13.1	12.1%	48.5%
PALLISER	1960s/1970s	PAL	3	Opposed	\$59,127	56.4%	\$394,372	18.6	0.6%	66.7%
GLAMORGAN	1950s	GLA	3	Opposed	\$59,369	59.9%	\$401,795	16.0	1.4%	29.4%
NORTH HAVEN	1960s/1970s	NHV	3	Opposed	\$75,777	65.8%	\$468,869	12.7	4.1%	12.5%
WESTGATE	1950s	WGT	3	Opposed	\$59,218	70.6%	\$492,151	12.3	3.5%	44.1%
MACEWAN GLEN	1980s/1990s	MAC	6	Opposed	\$87,943	85.9%	\$423,556	13.9	0.8%	23.1%
CITADEL	1980s/1990s	CIT	6	Opposed	\$84,364	87.8%	\$418,863	15.7	0.3%	33.3%
CORAL SPRINGS	2000s	COR	6	Opposed	\$86,387	88.2%	\$489,256	12.8	4.7%	80.9%
RIVERBEND	1980s/1990s	RIV	6	Opposed	\$88,662	89.9%	\$425,398	12.3	0.7%	45.5%

A number of community associations in neighbourhoods characterized by mid- and low property values with mid- and high homeownership rates oppose city-wide and ward-based secondary suite relaxations (Figure 17). There are, however, some interesting differences among them. Overall, neighbourhoods in the 2nd part of the matrix tend to have *below-average median incomes, mixed tenure, higher densities, and higher numbers of secondary suites, many of which are owner-occupied* (Table 4). Community associations in this category did not contest secondary suite applications, and the neighbours rarely did either (Table 2). This suggests many homeowners in these neighbourhoods use rental income to offset their own housing costs, and neighbours are largely tolerant of this practice. Upon deeper investigation, a very different kind of politics is occurring in these neighbourhoods.

Evidence suggests absentee landlords are actively involved in these communities. When I spoke with John Arnold, the President of the Whitehorn Community Association, he informed me that one of their board executives was a landlord who owns and leases six homes in the area. Similarly, a number of landlords referred to as the Responsible Landlord Planning Committee

work in the Greater Forest Lawn area²². These seven neighbourhoods fall exclusively into the 1st and 2nd part of the comparative matrix in Appendix D. After interviewing one of these landlords, I found out a number of members were not only active volunteers in their community associations but also assisted the settlement of Syrian refugees. With the assistance of a city social worker, the committee organized a Landlord and Stakeholder Conference at the Forest Lawn Community Association in November of 2014. One of these organizers, Selim, explains,

Landlords are naturally invested in the community and can be instrumental in creating a place where properties are attractive and well-maintained. They not only support the neighbourhood aesthetically, but in return help to attract tenants who wish to stay in the neighbourhood, who want to become more involved, and eventually contribute to making the community become vibrant and prosper. (Selim, 2014, p. 1)

The purpose of the conference was to inform landlords how to improve their properties and promote the neighbourhood's resources, services and benefits. Organizers also provided tenants with information about their rights and responsibilities in rental properties, in multiple languages. These communities appear to be more accepting of renters and landlords, and leaders are working together to mitigate stigma, build individual and community capacity, and welcome residents from different walks of life. Concern for property aesthetics is not altogether absent; however, these landlords appear to be more interested in retaining tenants than property value.

These initiatives are a stark contrast to the exclusionary politics of homeowners who rally against secondary suites. While the latter justify the exclusion of rental properties as being in the 'community' interest, community leaders and property owners working in neighbourhoods of low median property value and mixed tenure are more welcoming of tenants and seek to address landlord-tenant relations. Of course, this does not negate landlords' interest in rent, but clearly

²² The neighbourhoods that make up this network are Dover, Forest Lawn, Erin Woods, Albert Park/Radisson Heights, Forest Heights, Southview, and Penbrook Meadows.

there are factors besides profit that motivate these landlords' activities. Moreover, evidence suggests their goals are not always necessarily antagonistic to those of the broader community.

Interestingly, these comparatively progressive initiatives are not limited to community associations. Moreover, very few community associations from the 2nd part of the matrix take a stance on the secondary suites issue (e.g. some community board executives in Whitehorn do not support secondary suites, but the community association does not take a definitive stance). However, three exceptions in this part of the matrix are notable: Ogden, Marlborough, and Marlborough Park (Figure 17). The Millican-Ogden Community Association was part of a broader alliance of community associations opposed to the four wards proposal (see Chapter Three, section six) for secondary suites, while community leaders from the Marlborough Community Association were actively opposed to city-wide relaxations during the 2005 land use bylaw review. When I interviewed community leaders from these neighbourhoods, however, property values and monopoly rights never came up. Laura Glen, an executive with the Marlborough Community Association, associated renters with disorderly and irresponsible behaviour, but she was more concerned with impacts to quality of life in the neighbourhood than property values. In the two instances where the planning department engaged the Millican-Ogden Community Association about a secondary suite application, they expressed no objection (Table 2). Community leaders representing neighbourhoods in the 2nd part of the matrix, therefore, appear less motivated by an interest in land rents.

Community associations representing neighbourhoods in the 5th and 6th parts of the matrix in Figure 17, with *mid-range property values and mid- to high proportions of homeowners*, were more actively opposed to secondary suites. The data in Table 4 shows there are few very parcels with secondary suites in these districts, while those that do exist tend to be owner-occupied.

Table 2 shows that, for a significant number of contested applications, community associations aligned themselves with oppositional residents concerned with property values and a perceived right to exclusionary zoning. Among community associations opposed to the four wards proposal, arguments against land use relaxations for secondary suites were also very similar. In fact, community associations representing Palliser, Riverbend and Westgate were part of a broader coalition of community leaders and Not4Rz members who opposed land use relaxations proposed in the four wards proposal. These politics suggest a homeowner alliance against secondary suites in neighbourhoods characterized by mid- to high median property value.

5.4 Inclusionary Leadership Among Renter-Oriented Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods with *a high proportion of renters* is a mixed scenario. On the one hand, a number of community associations exclude rental properties (Figure 17) despite the prevalence of renters in their neighbourhoods (Table 5).

Table 5. Neighbourhood and Housing Attributes for Matrix Sections 1, 4 and 7

Community	Age	Code	Matrix Part	Stance on Suites	Median Household Income	Ownership Rate	Median Property Value	Density	Suited Parcels	Owner-Occupied Suites
LINCOLN PARK	1930s	LPK	1	Opposed	\$39,986	31.3%	\$39,986	33.2	0.0%	0.0%
ACADIA	1960s/1970s	ACA	1	Opposed	\$30,778	33.5%	\$30,778	15.2	4.1%	30.4%
SOUTHWOOD	1960s/1970s	SOW	1	Opposed	\$32,933	36.3%	\$32,933	12.9	5.0%	13.9%
BANKVIEW	INNER CITY	BNK	1	Support	\$42,943	25.6%	\$42,943	31.4	19.7%	23.0%
BOWNESS	1930s	BOW	4	Opposed	\$43,790	47.7%	\$43,790	11.9	11.7%	26.1%
MONTGOMERY	1930s	MON	4	Opposed	\$49,041	30.5%	\$49,041	10.8	12.2%	23.6%
HIGHLAND PARK	1930s	HPK	4	Support	\$37,113	26.9%	\$37,113	19.2	34.5%	20.3%
THORNCLIFFE/GREENVIEW	1930s	THO	4	Support	\$38,638	36.1%	\$38,638	11.9	12.2%	44.5%
KILLARNEY/GLENGARRY	1930s	KIL	4	Support	\$33,799	30.3%	\$33,799	20.5	19.0%	26.4%
SOUTH CALGARY	INNER CITY	SOC	4	Support	\$30,394	43.1%	\$30,394	26.5	8.5%	31.3%
ST. ANDREWS HEIGHTS	1930s	STA	7	Opposed	\$67,333	33.5%	\$67,333	8.2	0.0%	0.0%
RICHMOND	1930s	RIC	7	Opposed	\$36,811	36.1%	\$36,811	13.3	10.2%	27.7%

This suggests the stance of these community associations may be at odds with the views of their residents. On the other hand, a substantial number of community associations from these

neighbourhoods have come out in support of secondary suites (Figure 17). Elise Bieche, President of the Highland Park Community Association, supports secondary suites because she believes affordable housing will attract new families to the neighbourhood:

I would think that there are probably a couple of considerations. One, is that going to make it more affordable for a family to live in my neighbourhood if they had a secondary suite? And if that's the case, then chances are I would endorse or encourage families to put secondary suites in their infills because I want a families who are going to come and move into Highland Park, and their kids are going to go to school in our neighbourhood schools, I see the long term benefits of that. (Bieche, personal communication, September 11, 2016, see Appendix U)

Marvin Quashnick, President of the Thorncliffe Greenview Community Association, was similarly concerned with housing affordability in the neighbourhood and preserving its "working class character":

This is another major reason we decided to support and advocate for suites is that we didn't want to see the quote on quote working class nature of the community change and this was when house prices were rising, you know, in 2010, in that time, so you create the ability to retain affordability in the neighbourhood and encouraging those younger people the ability to buy homes and live in the neighbourhood and not be, you know, super high income earners so again it goes back to that fear of gentrification and how do we stall that, how do we mitigate it? (Quashnick, personal communication, July 26, 2016, see Appendix V)

When I asked Quashnick about the board's support for secondary suites, he explained they believed allowing for secondary suites would help mitigate gentrification and extend the life of older housing stock:

most of the houses in this community were you know of an age and of a quality that you could do lesser things to increase the density and prolong the life of that housing stock. So that's where it kind of got started was sort of twofold. One the fear of and not wanting to have a sudden rush of infills and what would be a better way to have more density and that would be secondary suites in existing housing stock and the other slightly different perspective was you know seeing the waste in destroying a bunch of houses that still may have had a generational life in them. So it was kind of two fold there. It's both the pragmatic and utilitarian aspect of saving or utilizing something that is already there. (Quashnick, personal communication, July 26, 2016, see Appendix V)

For a number of community leaders working in renter-oriented neighbourhoods, it was a desire to extend the utility of housing and its accessibility to lower income groups that motivated

support for secondary suites. In other words, these community leaders are primarily concerned with the use value rather than the exchange value of housing in the neighbourhood.

Evidence also suggests renters and landlords are actively involved in leadership positions within these community associations. The Highland Park Community Association provides a unique membership where non-residents can sit on the board, and a number of individuals who lease properties in the neighbourhood are considered invested stakeholders. In Bankview, renters occupy executive positions on the board. However, these inclusions are not always guaranteed. As Quashnick explains, the Thorncliffe Greenview Community Association once discriminated against renters:

People have a bias and a prejudice against renters, full stop. That, I'm pleased to say, has been fading since I first volunteered here and fading significantly but it's still, there is still a vestige of that old bias. I can speak fairly strongly because this community association had that horrible prejudice when I started, that if you were a renter, we don't want to deal with you, you're not going to be here, you're not invested in the neighbourhood. (Quashnick, personal communication, July 26, 2016, see Appendix V)

Over time, Quashnick explains, people who joined the community association as well as the board became less prejudiced against renters. Overall, he describes Thorncliffe and Greenview as communities in demographic transition; more specifically, he believes many new residents have, at some point or another, been renters themselves. Bieche talks about a similar scenario in Highland Park, where a significant low-income population preceded development pressures. She explains,

Highland Park, is what I would consider a community in transition, very much. We are in a period of high, high growth, high change. Experiencing densification. We have an aging housing stock and primarily our neighbourhood is zoned R2 and higher.... We were deemed a neighbourhood of promise about six years ago because we were on the tipping point of poverty. We were on kind of that, yeah the pendulum could have swung either way for Highland Park. City of Calgary has provided social workers and additional funding for our community association, we received extra attention to make sure that we can avoid going the wrong way on the poverty scale. (Bieche, personal communication, September 11, 2016, see Appendix U)

In 2008, the City of Calgary designated Highland Park a "Neighbourhood of Promise" as part of a larger Strong Neighbourhood Initiative. They describe the initiative as

a collaborative effort involving a wide range of people and organizations including The City of Calgary, the Highland Park Community Association, local schools, agencies, churches and residents. These stakeholders come together four times each year as part of the "Strong Neighbourhood Collaborative" to discuss opportunities to achieve the qualities of a "strong neighbourhood. (Highland Park Community Association, n.d., p. 1).

Within years of program implementation, the community association had formed a development committee, hosted a number of high turnout events, and put together a statement of significance following community outreach. For Thorncliffe Greenview, Quashnick explains, a large recreational facility brings in enough revenue that the board recently hired an independent survey company to engage residents who are not necessarily involved in the community association and assess how the organization can meet their needs. Moreover, while voting privileges are limited to local residents, non-resident memberships encourage a broad range of stakeholder interests in the facility and the organization.

In these cases, demographic change in the neighbourhood has transformed the community association. These organizations have inclusive policies for non-residents and renters and they share the benefits of their facilities with these groups. For Highland Park Community Association, city resources helped them engage the community and build capacity to manage development pressures. The data shows a significant difference between community associations that support secondary suites and those that oppose them. In this study, opposition to secondary suites was prevalent among community associations that struggled with community outreach and engagement, while those who generally support secondary suites tended to have inclusive memberships, broad stakeholder engagement with the board, and outreach capacity.

Evidence suggests these inclusionary politics are somewhat contingent. In neighbourhoods characterized by a high and mid-range number of renter-occupied dwellings, a number of community associations have come out in opposition to secondary suites (Figure 17). Notably, these leaders often describe difficulties getting people to attend board meetings, help out with programming, or buy memberships. For example,

Regular meetings of the board, the board meetings are public, and it's been a long time since a [non-board] member showed up. Land use meetings are public. They are publicized on our website, but we're lucky we even manage to elect people at our AGM. Our AGM we offer free food and drink and we might get ten people come out. And that's because I've asked them – please come...But we don't have mechanisms, we have membership problems. (Marsh, personal communication, June 30, 2016, see Appendix M)

We have monthly board meetings and we do get people coming and saying you know I have a problem with this particular thing, can you help us with it? We do really well in terms of trying to outreach. We could do better, but you know trying to get people engaged is a very, that's a very difficult thing to do. For so many different reasons. If you've got some thoughts on how we can do better, give it to us. (an anonymous community leader for North Haven Community Association, personal communication, August 15th, 2016, see Appendix K)

There's not a lot of engagement, people tend to gripe. They bitch about it but they don't do anything. In our community, I can't remember how many, a community of 8000 homes or something. Out of that 8000 we've only got 150 members of our community, who buy memberships. ...People were more involved in the community when we had a soccer program. When they had children. We gave up our soccer program a couple years ago. We joined with other communities so now we run Eastside, they still practice at our hall and we have a soccer field, but now that there isn't a lot of kids in soccer why buy a membership? I don't need one. (Greenwood, personal communication, May 10, 2017, see Appendix W)

In these neighbourhoods, renters comprise approximately 30 to 40 per cent of the residents, and yet renters do not sit on any of these community association boards. Insofar as community leaders assume resident homeownership is a prerequisite for participation, they may discourage renters from getting involved in the community association. Paradoxically, these organizations may in fact struggle with membership and leadership capacity due to their exclusionary politics. More specifically, the experience among proponent community associations like Highland Park and Thorncliffe/Greenview suggests oppositional community leaders struggle to engage renters

and democratic participation suffers as a result. In this context, narrow interests among those who are willing and able to participate can easily skew the politics and influence of these organizations.

5.5 Creating a Space of Engagement for Class Monopoly Rents

Coalitions play an important role in the geography of Calgary's secondary suite politics. In Figure 19, I have illustrated some of these findings in the original matrix. In the Greater Forest

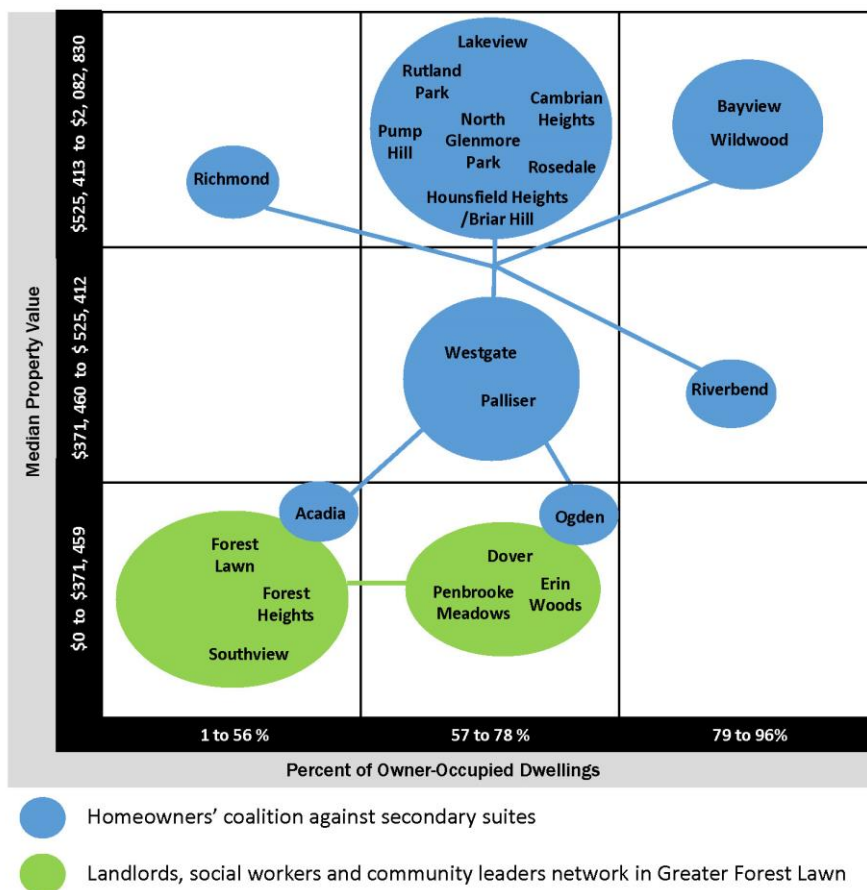


Figure 19. Matrix of Community Coalitions

Lawn area, a broad network of landlords, social workers, and community leaders are working together to address tenure relations and neighbourhood stigma. Diversity within these coalitions appears to shape a supportive or at least neutral stance toward secondary suites. Those who do opposes secondary suites tend to be homeowners²³. Oppositional community leaders working in neighbourhoods characterized by mid- to high median property value and a large homeowner base formed an inter-community alliance during deliberation of the four wards proposal. By engaging in the land use consultation process with a unified voice, a coalition spanning many community districts coordinated and amplified what began as individuals' interest in their own land value, creating the impression of a strong political consensus despite a number of polls that demonstrate broad public support for secondary suite legalization (e.g. see Ipsos, 2015; Zinc Research, 2014). Sympathetic councillors come to regard homeowners' expressions of class-territorial interest as the local 'community' interest, rendering other positions less significant or even invisible.

A locally shared interest in land value is the basis of this politics. Capital is always in flux; its mobility threatens to devalue capital in its fixed forms, such as housing (Harvey, 1982; Cox, 1998). The immobility of housing and the inhibiting cost of selling a home and moving elsewhere binds homeowners together in an effort to secure positive conditions for land rent from these capital flows (Cox, 1982). For the homeowner, therefore, the block, or even the entire community district, is a multi-scalar "space of dependence". As Cox (1998, p. 6) explains,

for a particular agent there can be several spaces of dependence. This corresponds to different moments in the (spatial) circulation of capital. For a homeowner looking to the appreciation of

²³ Surprisingly, one oppositional community leader from Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill had actually been a landlord before moving into the neighbourhood. On his current property, he had once leased an old bungalow to a number of students. Once he decided to develop the lot for his family's estate home, however, he took issue with land use relaxations for secondary suites in the neighbourhood.

home value the circulation of value through the local housing market as a result of, say, enhanced inward investment or the location of a major employment-creating public facility is important. But there is also a smaller space of dependence defined by the immediate neighborhood since it is this which helps determine the micro-geography of value flows: whether, that is, the particular land use juxtapositions with respect to which a neighbourhood is situated will facilitate the flow of value through housing in that area.

In other words, homeowners are very attuned to the externality effects of both micro and broad-level land use changes that impact their land rents. A space of dependence compels homeowners to control these outcomes. Since they are not in direct control of land use change on other properties, however, they must find indirect ways to facilitate positive spatial outcomes. As Cox (1998, p. 7) points out, the ability to realize positive outcomes depends on the exercise of territorial power, the ability "to control the actions and interactions of others both within and between respective spaces of dependence." State agencies are important candidates here; when their own territorial power encompasses homeowners' space of dependence, the latter may seek to incorporate these agencies directly, or incorporate them through "networks of association." Cox (1998) describes this organization as a "space of engagement," and it is fundamental to the way in which Calgary's secondary suite politics have played out.

In a very literal sense, opposition to secondary suites is marked by a network of associations: community associations. In neighbourhoods of high property value and a strong presence of homeowners, a localized interest in class monopoly rents has been 'upscaled' into community association politics. By engaging this broader territory, homeowners seek to control land use changes that might jeopardize local land rents in proximity to their own properties. . This territory becomes broader still when a number of community associations band together to lobby councillors against city-wide relaxations. The leadership of the Not4Rz group, in building such an alliance, demonstrated how informal networks can bring non-governmental organizations together. Through an email listserv and the provision of informational brochures,

their members effectively mobilized opposing homeowners across a number of different neighbourhoods. They also lobbied community associations and ensured a uniform, consistent message among those who opposed permissive land use change for secondary suites. In this way, homeowners' interest in class monopoly rents effectively moved to the main stage of deliberation around land use change: the public hearing. To put things in perspective, there are 74 community districts within wards 7, 8, 9, and 11. Community associations representing 18 of these districts came out in opposition to land use relaxations for secondary suites. Opposing community associations were in the minority, and yet they effectively posited homeowners' class interests as the 'voice of the community'.

Community associations provide a vital mechanism for opponents' politics. Figure 19 suggests coalition politics among landlords are active in renter-oriented and lower-valued neighbourhoods, and yet their efforts did not materialize into secondary suite advocacy or broad policy changes. The findings of this study suggest secondary suite opponents developed a much stronger coalition using a pre-existing organizational framework: the governance structure of the community association. In other words, opponents took advantage of a pre-existing institution for voting in board members, allocating tasks, and coordinating efforts toward the goal of the community association (in this case, opposition to land use relaxations). They also enjoy a formal position in the land use consultation process and regular contact with Council. Landlords in the Greater Forest Lawn Area, however, do not engage with a pre-existing institution in this way but remain a rather informal group. The findings suggest pre-existing institutions are an important resource for successful coalition politics.

Calgary's ward-based electoral system is also significant here. With fourteen councillors and one mayor, policy advocates must secure at least eight votes to be successful. The outcome

of Council's vote on the four wards proposal suggests opponents expanded their space of engagement beyond their own wards. Opposing community associations in the four wards were outnumbered, and they knew their own councillors would not support their position. Instead, opponents focused their efforts on suburban councillors who they believed would be more sympathetic to their concerns. Members of the Not4Rz group, for example, regularly met with Councillor Keating, Councillor Sutherland, Councillor Demong, and Councillor Stevenson, all of whom voted against the bylaw amendments.

Gathering a majority vote from suburban councillors was crucial to opponents' success. As these councillors are clearly not dependent on opponents' votes, the basis of this coalition initially appeared ambiguous. Cox (1998) points out the relation between spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement is contingent; alliance members outside the space of dependence may not have the same local interests, but they may identify with the goals of other organizations. Councillors who voted against land use relaxations for secondary suites tend to share the view (ironically) that zoning restrictions maintain residential choice (for those who can afford it), that 'certain' kinds of people live in 'certain' areas, and that neighbours should have the final say about who lives next door. These councillors share opponents' views about state intervention (in a double irony, conservative councillors supporting state intervention), socio-spatial inequity and segregation, and local autonomy and a right to exclude. In other words, a certain ideology about how urban spaces should be governed is the basis of this political coalition.

5.6 Conclusion

Prestigious neighbourhoods with high median property value and a pronounced homeowner presence are significant bastions of secondary suite opposition. Using Marcuse's

(1997) typology, I describe these communities as 'homeowner citadels,' a congregation of affluent homeowners who seek to defend their superior class position and class monopoly rents through the exclusion of renters and landlords. Territory is a fundamental component of this class position; homeowners do not want to lose the prestige and high property values embedded in their territories. Community associations perform quasi-governmental functions, and those that represent relatively affluent neighbourhoods have worked together with secondary suite opponents to dominate the land use consultation processes and lobby sympathetic councillors to maintain prohibitive zoning controls. These politics also play out in neighbourhoods characterized by mid-range property values. In these areas, community leaders are not only actively contesting individual applications, but also align themselves with other homeowner communities under “threat” of land use change.

In renter-oriented and mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, community association leaders who support land use relaxations for secondary suites seek to preserve the long-term utility of existing housing stock, attract and retain new residents, and manage the pressures of neighbourhood change. Leadership among landlords and renters as well as a broad inclusive membership base also seems to mitigate opposition to secondary suites. By contrast, community leaders who oppose secondary suites, but represent neighbourhoods with significant renter populations, are struggling to revitalize their organizations. Put together, these outcomes are an important lesson for community associations that struggle with participation. Proponent communities are more receptive to diverse interests in housing and foster renters' and landlords' involvement with community associations, often in leadership roles. Not coincidentally, the inclusion of these groups appears to contribute to the overall revitalization and/or strength of these communities.

To secure control over land use change, opposing homeowners assemble coalitions across different neighbourhoods and among scales of governance. For these homeowners, community associations are an important institutional vehicle for 'upscaling' interests in class monopoly rents. In effect, homeowners' class interest is represented as community class interest, as community associations purport to represent the views of residents within their community district. The support of councillors who identify with homeowners' interests produces an even broader space of engagement, and one that effectively connects oppositional homeowners to decision-making power over land use change, not only in their neighbourhoods, but across the city. In the case of the four wards proposal, this space of engagement resulted in the maintenance of land use controls benefitting homeowners' class-territorial interests. The history of this controversy suggests this is one of many expressions of homeowners' class power over secondary suite policy.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1 Summary of Findings

Homeowners' search for class monopoly rents motivates an exclusionary politics against secondary suites. These actors believe their shared commitment to community association participation, neighbourhood aesthetics, and familiarity with the neighbours indicates social and economic stability in the neighbourhood. A class interest in land conditions their social construction of renters and landlords. At times, this class conflict is expressed through other social distinctions, such as opponents' exclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrants. Oppositional homeowners project renters and immigrant landlords as community outsiders who do not share their neighbourhood commitments and they accuse absentee landlords of denigrating the neighbourhood's reputation by encouraging the entrance of second-class citizens and derelict properties for their own profits. Overall, oppositional homeowners argue the presence of rental tenure induces uncertainty about the neighbourhood's trajectory, thereby deterring future homebuyers. They believe the purchase of a home gives them the right to manage this risk to their property value and reject secondary suites from their neighbourhoods. The perception of monopoly rights is important here: opponents argue they paid a 'premium' for zoning restrictions that secure neighbourhood value over the long term, and they believe the city is beholden to them to protect that asset.

Segregation is the basis of a class monopoly rent. In a class monopoly rent framework, housing actors defend island-like territories by excluding other factions of capital (e.g. landlords) and/or other consumption groups (e.g. renters) to extract a class monopoly rent. Insofar as these actors coordinate their efforts and successfully implement these exclusions, they exercise their class power to induce artificial scarcity until they are ready to sell their properties and entice the

‘right’ buyer to pay the monopoly price. The territory homeowners seek to defend is the single-family neighbourhood, a housing community with abundant parking spots, well-kept streetscapes, and a strong presence of relatively affluent families. The value of ‘whiteness’ and citizenship status are also implied. Homeowners believe land use relaxations that permit renters and landlords threatens those qualities and, ultimately, their individual property values upon the re-sale of a home.

The exercise of this class power over territory relies on certain institutional arrangements. In this study, I have discussed micro-level practices of neighbourhood governance as well as broad-level coalition building. Zoning restrictions empower neighbourhood watchdogs who seek to evict what they perceive as disorderly tenants and properties through bylaw enforcement. Opponents’ policy demands for strict fines, special licensing, and an owner-occupancy requirement are largely focused on institutionalizing controls that ensure social conformity and property value in the neighbourhood. More specifically, oppositional homeowners will not support a secondary suite legalization program until the city provides mechanisms that ensure only the ‘right’ citizens can live in their neighbourhoods. Suburban councillors who take issue with landlords’ subversive practices and defend homeowners’ consumption choices are largely sympathetic with these concerns and tend to vote in favour of citywide zoning restrictions. While Council approves the vast majority of secondary suite applications, the maintenance of these citywide restrictions grant homeowners the ability to expel perceived transgression and threats to property value.

To secure this level of control over the neighbourhood, opponents pursue their individual interests in land through a politics of scale (Cox, 1998). Evidence suggests a relatively small group share these interests, as several studies and polls demonstrate broad support for secondary

suites. During the four wards proposal in May 2015, opponents had to secure their minority interests through a favorable vote among suburban councillors from outside the inner city wards slated for land use relaxation. In other words, they had to construct a broad space of engagement to secure a space of dependence based on class monopoly rents (Cox, 1998). Community associations were a key institutional platform for these minority interests, as they claim to represent residents' views in the land use planning process and lobby councillors to vote in favour of the local community interest. Moreover, the geography of these politics shows it is primarily community leaders working in relatively affluent neighbourhoods with a strong homeowner presence that levy opposition to secondary suites. In other words, a relatively small group with specific interest in prestigious territories use the institutional leverage of the community association to try and thwart ward and/or citywide relaxations for secondary suites.

Coalition-building is critical strategy for these minority interests. Working through an informal but rather impersonal network of homeowners, the Not4Rz group spread misinformation about the role of zoning protections, advocated for additional measures of oversight and control, and kept opponents up-to-date about policy proposals and important public hearing dates. In addition to these organizing efforts, they established a network of oppositional community leaders across different parts of the affected wards and coordinated a consistent message to Council. By using terms such as community, residents, and (taxpaying) citizens to refer to themselves, oppositional homeowners effectively exaggerate the unanimity of their class interests while also obscuring the socio-spatial limits of those interests. By working through a network of community leaders and ultimately suburban councillors sympathetic with their ideology, opponents' politics effectively jumped scales (Cox, 1998). Ultimately, suburban

councillors have maintained zoning restrictions that render secondary suites illegal in postwar suburban neighbourhoods and empowered controversial practices of neighbourhood governance.

6.2 Theoretical Contribution and Policy Implications

Council's inability to concede to opponents' policy demands based on constitutional limits exposes a dark underside of Calgary's regulatory approach to secondary suites. In the absence of local laws that empower residents to banish unwanted rental housing units and the people therein, opponents rely on land use restrictions and the illegal status of secondary suites to perform these questionable practices of neighbourhood governance. Opponents' justification of this practice is controversial in the sense that *perceived* infraction is grounds for exclusion: unkept yards, street parking, outdoor socializing among tenants, austere housing, and possibly the presence of ethnic minorities prompts a call to the bylaw office, fines, and potential eviction. Curiously, lenient enforcement practices among bylaw officers may be a form of resistance to these disputes. Those own property in the neighbourhood enjoy the privilege of uncontested residency. While suburban councillors justify the maintenance of land use restrictions based on landlords' unwillingness to legalize secondary suites, the privilege of neighbourhood watchdogs goes largely unchecked. Opponents subvert the constitutional limits of land use regulation through informal practices of neighbourhood governance, and leaders empower these practices through the maintenance of formal yet outdated zoning controls.

While Harvey (1974, p. 249) emphasizes the role of state and financial institutions in defining class monopoly territories, he also argues "it is primarily through the informally structured absolute spaces of sub-markets that such rents are realized." Traditionally, redlining, steering and blockbusting are key examples (e.g. see Harvey, 1973). In the case of secondary

suites controversy in Calgary, practices of neighbourhood governance play a comparable role. In the absence of comprehensive legalization of secondary suites, practices of neighbourhood governance work in tandem with zoning controls to shape where suites are tolerated, and where they are not. By directing renters and landlords away from their discernibly prestigious neighbourhoods, opponents search for a class monopoly rent. In fact, secondary suites are largely absent in neighbourhoods with a strong homeowner presence and high property value.

In this study, the politics of secondary suites has been primarily described in terms of class: inter-class conflict between those who own property versus those who do not, and intra-class conflict between different absentee landlords and homeowners. However, there is strong evidence that ethnicity and citizenship status are other important considerations for both the geography of secondary suites and opponents' politics. In fact, one case of secondary suite opposition presented in this study suggests ethnic differentiation characterizes intra-class conflict between (immigrant) landlords and oppositional homeowners. More broadly, opponents exclude renters through practices of neighbourhood governance, and in some cases, make landlords unwelcome through xenophobic discourse. Drawing from Hall (1980), I suggest social formations beyond class are sutured in these politics. The findings of this study suggest xenophobia is an ideological representation through which secondary suite opponents may experience their class relation to absentee landlords and renters. Significantly, there is also a spatial articulation of these relations. Unauthorized secondary suites are least tolerated in relatively affluent, primarily 'white' parts of the city, and highly concentrated in Calgary's immigrant-oriented North East quadrant (see Townshend et al., 2018). This suggests the spatial effect of this conflict is an articulation of both class *and* ethnic relations.

In the absence of physical and legal barriers for entry, the neighbourhood territory is homeowners' imagined space. Land use bylaws administer the built environment with terms such as single-detached rather than single-family to denote the limitations of governing users of land (e.g. see Leisk, 2012), and yet oppositional homeowners marshal their nostalgia for the social ideal of the Neighbourhood Unit to exclude renters and landlords. Harvey (2002) argues collective symbolic capital, markers of social distinction, and cultural commodification are increasingly important for class monopoly rents in the neoliberal era. The notion of a 'single-family' neighbourhood is a cultural artefact imbued with the social values of family-orientation, homeownership, and private domain. In the case of Calgary's secondary suites controversy, homeowners' discursive strategy has been largely successful in maintaining a degree of territorial control. Class relations are relevant here, as oppositional homeowners are aware of how these values appeal to those who are willing and able to pay a monopoly price. Land use bylaws do not officially guarantee the economic and social value of housing in postwar neighbourhoods, and yet this is precisely what opponents have tried to achieve through cultural and ideological narratives that appeal to suburban Councillors.

The politics and policies of secondary suites demonstrates community associations are an important site of networked power. United around a class interest, oppositional community leaders effectively galvanized oppositional residents and lobbied Councillors to vote against land use relaxations for secondary suites. However, community association politics are not always exclusionary. In a number of renter-oriented neighbourhoods, community leaders sought to preserve affordable housing stock and mitigate the dislocation effects of gentrification. In the Greater Forest Lawn area, a number of community leaders and landlords work together to mitigate neighbourhood stigma and encourage long-term residency among tenants. These diverse

outcomes demonstrate how the nature of community association politics is contingent upon the members and leaders of their network(s). Proponent organizations demonstrate an important lesson for community associations: an inclusive approach to membership and leadership helps revitalize the organization and encourages diverse perspectives on the role of secondary suites in established neighbourhoods.

Given secondary suite opposition from community leaders working in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, these politics raise important questions about who is part of the community, and who is part of the neighbourhood. In the case of opposition to secondary suites in Calgary, a small but highly organized group of homeowners effectively commanded local institutions that purport to represent the views of neighbourhood residents. In fact, many community leaders lament their membership base is but a small sliver of all residents in the district. Moreover, oppositional homeowners' contention with renters and community association participation suggests those who are not part of the community association are not considered part of the community. In the case of secondary suites, this *social* exclusion is grounds for *spatial* exclusion from the neighbourhood. Community associations are citizen-based, volunteer-run organizations. Councillors and city planners expect that these organizations perform adequate outreach and participation, and yet many find it difficult to perform these responsibilities. Without adequate resources to perform effective leadership and engagement, these organizations may easily succumb to narrow interests among those who are willing and able to participate. Investing in the financial, civic and physical infrastructure of these organizations is an opportunity for a more inclusive and democratic urban planning process.

Finally but importantly, homeowners' search for class monopoly rents through exclusionary politics is contingent. Class monopoly rent politics hinge upon certain conditions,

including but not limited to the maturation of fixed capital, the political agency of various housing factions, and institutional arrangements. In the case of secondary suites controversy in Calgary, aging housing stock has enticed investors who are in the business of providing relatively low-cost rental housing in postwar suburban neighbourhoods. In this episode of class conflict, opponents have successfully directed some, but not all, community associations to thwart landlords' interests and exclude renters in the interest of class monopoly rents.

Homeowners' class power depends on certain institutional arrangements, including but limited to Council's admission of their perceived zoning rights, the territorial organization of community districts and the position of the community association in the land use planning process, and electoral delineations between suburban and inner city wards. Political leadership among policymakers and community representative also plays a role. Transforming these political machines can mitigate opposition and enhance the supply of affordable housing.

6.3 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study was limited in the sense that in-depth qualitative information about territorial class struggle revolves around one event in a longer narrative of neighbourhood change in Calgary. In the case of secondary suites, a decades-long, citywide saga precedes the events of the four wards proposal in May 2015. The findings in Chapter 3 suggest an alliance between suburban councillors and secondary suite opponents has developed over time, and inner city opponents were able to take advantage of this alliance. There is an opportunity to explore the operation of these networks across various events over time. More specifically, the observation that community association boards provide a starting ground for many city councillors merits further investigation.

The politics and community work occurring in renter-oriented neighbourhoods was a surprise finding in this study. These practices were not the focus of this study, so the findings likely only scratch the surface of what is occurring in these areas. More specifically, the participation of landlords and renters in community leadership is an as-yet understudied subject. Goodbrand's (2016) study of the renter's perspective describe secondary suite tenants in transition from rental tenure to homeownership, while Tanasescu et al. (2010, p. 482) claim renters do not display a "collective consciousness regarding their shared concern with state treatment of illegal suites, or safety and security issues." Landlords often face a different stigmatization of the 'slumlord' variant; the immigrant status compounds their experience of discrimination (e.g. see Kaufman, 2016). However, we do not know the nature of renters' and landlords' participation in urban politics. In this study, evidence suggests leaders' personal experience with rental tenure conditions their stance on the secondary suites issue. Social service organizations, poverty reduction agencies, and the real estate sector were very active in supporting citywide land use relaxations for secondary suites, but we know little about the leaders in these groups. Moreover, we do not know why their own coalition politics were successful in terms of influencing Council. Further research should explore these politics.

In this study, I have described a broad view of neighbourhood politics to explain Calgary's approach to secondary suites. What is missing in this account is a micro-view of community association boards. More specifically, we know little about organizational structure of these boards but evidence suggests it varies from one association to the next. For example, some community associations have an urban planning committee to consider development applications, while others do not. There is little research on the day-to-day activities of these organizations, including the content of their meetings, outreach strategies, and the social

composition of their boards. Collaborating with these organizations to generate knowledge about best practices, democratic engagement with planning processes, and effective political strategies is an important opportunity to address affordable housing need and better understand local agency in urban development conflicts.

References

- Aalbers, M. (2012). *Subprime Cities: The Political Economy of Mortgage Markets*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Alexander, D., & Tomalty, R. (2002). Smart Growth and Sustainable Development: Challenges, solutions and policy directions. *Local Environment*, 7(4), 397–409.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1354983022000027578>
- Anderson, D., & Anderson, T. (2014, June 20). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Anderson, M. B. (2014). Class Monopoly Rent and the Contemporary Neoliberal City. *Geography Compass*, 8(1), 13–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12107>
- Andrews, J. (2005). Not Your Grandmother's granny Flat. *Planning*, 8–9.
- Babin, T. (2016, March 2). Babin: This map shows why Calgary's older suburbs may be headed for some big problems. *Calgary Herald*. Retrieved from <http://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/one-map-that-shows-calgarys-doughnut-of-decline-neighbourhoods-may-be-facing-trouble-ahead>
- Bacher, J. C. (1993). *Keeping to the Marketplace : The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy*. Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP. Retrieved from <http://deslibris.ca.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/ID/400602>
- Bassett, K., & Short, J. R. (1980). *Housing and residential structure*. London, UK: Routledge.

- Baxter, J. (2010). Case Studies in Qualitative Research. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (3rd ed., pp. 81–98). Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Beckett, A. (2014, May 28). Public Submission to LOC2014-0018. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Bélec, J. (2015). Underwriting suburbanization: The National Housing Act and the Canadian city. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 59(3), 341–353.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12175>
- Berry, M. (1986). Housing provision and class relations under capitalism: Some implications of recent Marxist class analysis. *Housing Studies*, 1(2), 109–121.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02673038608720568>
- Birdsell, R. (2015, April 20). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Blair, E. (2015). A reflexive exploration of two qualitative data coding techniques. *Journal of Methods and Measurement in the Social Sciences*, 6(1), 14–29.
- Boland, K. (2015, August 27). Petition Against LOC2015-0039. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Bond, K., & Bond, J. (2016, January 7). Public Submission to LOC2015-0128. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the geographies of “actually existing neoliberalism.”

In *Spaces of neoliberalism: Urban restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (pp. 2–32). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Brown, J. (2011, May 21). Are students the target of new rental bylaw? Retrieved May 19, 2017, from

<http://www.landlordrelief.ca/2011/05/21/landlord-licensing-waterloo/>

Bunting, T., Walks, A. R., & Filion, P. (2004). The Uneven Geography of Housing Affordability

Atress in Canadian Metropolitan Areas. *Housing Studies*, 19(3), 361–393.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0267303042000204287>

Burland, Y. (2014, August 27). Public Submission to LOC2014-0085. Received by the City of

Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from [http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

[clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

Campbell, J. L., Quincy, C., Osserman, J., & Pedersen, O. K. (2013). Coding In-depth Semistructured

Interviews: Problems of Unitization and Intercoder Reliability and Agreement. *Sociological*

Methods & Research, 42(3), 294–320. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124113500475>

Canadian Housing and Renewal Association. (2014). *Housing for All: Sustaining and Renewing*

Social Housing for Low-Income Households (pp. 1–25).

Cardwell, P. (2016, February 24). Public Submission to LOC2015-0173. Received by the City of

Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from [http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

[clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

Carmon, N. (1999). Three generations of urban renewal policies: analysis and policy implications.

Geoforum, 30(2), 145–158. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(99\)00012-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00012-3)

Carra, G.-C. (2018, March 27). Secondary Suites Have Been Reformed. Here's What's Next.

Retrieved April 25, 2018, from <https://www.gccarra.ca/ward-9-newsroom/2018/3/secondary-suites-have-been-reformed-heres-whats-next>

Carruthers, J. I., & Úlfarsson, G. F. (2008). Does 'Smart Growth' Matter to Public Finance? *Urban Studies*, 45(9), 1791–1823. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008093379>

Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosius, D., DiCenso, A., Blythe, J., & Neville, A. J. (2014). The use of triangulation in qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, 41(5), 545–547. <https://doi.org/10.1188/14.ONF.545-547>

Carter, T. (1991). Neighborhood improvement: the Canadian experience. In R. Alterman & C. Göran (Eds.), *Neighbourhood Regeneration: An International Perspective* (pp. 9–27). London, UK: Mansell.

Carter, T. (1997). Current practices for procuring affordable housing: The Canadian context. *Housing Policy Debate*, 8(3), 593–631. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.1997.9521268>

Castree, N. (2007). David Harvey: Marxism, Capitalism and the Geographical Imagination. *New Political Economy*, 12(1), 97–115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563460601068859>

CBC News. (2009, November 20). Landlords fined \$89k for fatal basement fire. *CBC News*.

CBC News. (2015, May 15). Owners of illegal suites charged for fire violations. *CBC News*.

Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/illegal-secondary-suite-owners-charged-by-calgary-fire-department-1.3076864>

CBC News. (2017, May 4). Calgary secondary suites approved 83% of the time: analysis | CBC News. *CBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/city-council-secondary-suites-analysis-approval-rate-1.4098638>

- Chapdelaine, C. (2014, August 20). Public Submission to LOC2014-0085. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Chapman, N. J., & Howe, D. A. (2001). Accessory Apartments: Are They a Realistic Alternative for Ageing in Place? *Housing Studies*, 16(5), 637–650. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030120080099>
- Chapple, K., Wegmann, J., Nemirow, A., & Dentel-Post, C. (2012). *Yes in My Backyard: Mobilizing the Market for Secondary Units*. Berkeley, California: The Center for Community Innovation, Institute for Urban & Regional Development, University of California.
- Checkoway, B. (1985). Neighborhood Planning Organizations: Perspectives and Choices. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 21(4), 471–486. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002188638502100410>
- Cheshire, L. A., Rosenblatt, T., Lawrence, G., & Walters, P. (2009). The Governmentality of Master Planning: Housing Consumption, Aesthetics and Community on a New Estate. *Housing Studies*, 24(5), 653–667. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030903082302>
- Cheung, C. (2014). *Deconstructing Canada's Housing Markets: Finance, Affordability and Urban Sprawl* (pp. 0_1,3,6-45). Paris, France: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/docview/1550174841/abstract>
- City of Calgary. (2015a). Ward boundary changes. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Ward-Boundary-Commission/Ward-Boundary-Commission.aspx>
- City of Calgary. (2017c). *2017 Civic Census Results*. Calgary, AB: City Clerk's Office.

City of Calgary. (n.d.c). Accommodation and Lodging. Retrieved from

<http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/pd/Pages/Business-licenses/Accommodation-and-Lodging.aspx>

City of Calgary. (2011a). *City of Calgary Communities and Industrial Locations* (pp. 1–3). Calgary,

AB: Geospatial Business Solutions Division. Retrieved from

http://www.calgary.ca/_layouts/cocis/DirectDownload.aspx?target=http%3a%2f%2fwww.calgary.ca%2fCS%2fIIS%2fDocuments%2femaps%2fcommunity_map.pdf&noredirect=1&sf=1

City of Calgary. (July 2002a). *Corporate Affordable Housing Strategy* (pp. 1–31). Calgary, AB.

Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (2017b). Council and Committee Agendas, Minutes and Video. Retrieved April 20,

2018, from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

City of Calgary. (2015c). *Give 2nd and 3rd Reading for Amendments to the Land Use Bylaw for*

Secondary Suites and Backyard Suites in Wards 7, 8, 9 and 11 (Planning, Development &

Assessment Report to Regular Meeting of Council No. C2015- 0573). Calgary, AB. Retrieved

from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (2017a). *Housing in Calgary: An Inventory of Housing Supply, 2015/2016* (pp. 1–

90). Calgary, AB: City of Calgary, Affordable Housing Division.

City of Calgary. (June 6, 2005b). *Letters from Stakeholders* (Planning, Development & Assessment

Report to the S.P.C. on Land Use, Planning & Transportation No. LPT2005- 45 Attachment 5).

Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (March 7, 2011b). *Minutes of the Combined Meeting of Council*. Calgary, AB.

Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (March 19, 2018a). *Minutes of the Combined Meeting of Council*. Calgary, AB.

Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

City of Calgary. (July 22, 2002b). *Minutes of the Regular Meeting of Council* (No. 2002 July 22) (pp. 1–54). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (July 25, 2005a). *Minutes of the Regular Meeting of Council* (No. 2005 July 25). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (September 22, 2014a). *Minutes of the Regular Meeting of Council* (No. 2014 September 22). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (n.d.b.). Open Data Catalogue. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <http://www.calgary.ca/CS/IIS/Pages/Licensing-city-data/Open-Data-Catalogue.aspx>

City of Calgary. (n.d.a). Registered Secondary Suites. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <https://secondariesuites.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (June 6, 2005c). *Secondary Suites Background Information* (Planning, Development & Assessment Report to the S.P.C. on Land Use, Planning & Transportation No. LPT2005- 45 Attachment 6). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (May 11, 2010a). *Secondary Suites Grant Pilot Program Update* (Corporate Services Report to the Land and Asset Strategy Committee No. LAS2010-33). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

City of Calgary. (November 22, 2002c). *Secondary Suites Policy Study* (Executive Report to the S.P.C. on Operations and the Environment No. OE2002-60). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>

- City of Calgary. (2012a). *Ward Boundary and Determination Review*. Calgary, AB: City Clerk's Office.
- City of Calgary. (1970). *Land Use Bylaw 7839*. Calgary, AB.
- City of Calgary. (1972). *Land Use Bylaw 8600*. Calgary, AB.
- City of Waterloo. (2016, December 22). Residential Rental Licences. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from <http://www.waterloo.ca/en/government/residentialrentallicences.asp>
- City Spaces Ltd. (June 2007a). *Calgary Secondary Suites Study* (pp. 1–48). City of Calgary.
- City Spaces Ltd. (2011). *Secondary Suite Workshops - Summary Report* (Planning, Development & Assessment and Corporate Services Report to Land Use, Planning and Transportation No. LPT2011- 11 Attachment 6). Calgary, AB. Retrieved from <http://agendaminutes.calgary.ca/>
- Clarke, L. (2014, June 16). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Clifford, B. K. (2011). *Mortgaging the Future: the Financialization of Affordable Housing in Canada, 1984-2008* (Master's Thesis). Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC. Retrieved from <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/14785>
- Clingermayer, J. C. (1994). Electoral Representation, Zoning Politics, and the Exclusion of Group Homes. *Political Research Quarterly*, 47(4), 969–984.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299404700412>
- Clingermayer, J. C. (2004). Heresthetics and Happenstance: Intentional and Unintentional Exclusionary Impacts of the Zoning Decision-making Process. *Urban Studies*, 41(2), 377–388.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000165307>

- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2016a). *2011 Census/National Household Survey Housing Series: Issue II - The Secondary Rental Market in Canada: Estimated Size and Composition* (Research Highlight) (pp. 1–11). Ottawa, ON.
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2016b). *A Profile of Purpose-Built Rental Housing in Canada* (Research Report). Ottawa, ON.
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (n.d.b). How the Strategy Works — Permitting Secondary Suites. Retrieved April 10, 2017, from http://www.cmhc.ca/en/inpr/afhoce/afhoce/afhostcast/afhoid/pore/pesesu/pesesu_001.cfm
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (n.d.a). Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH). Retrieved April 16, 2017, from <http://www.cmhc.ca/en/inpr/afhoce/fuafho/index.cfm>
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2011b). *Social Housing Redevelopment and Regeneration in Canada: Eight Case Studies* (Research Highlight No. 11–006). Ottawa, ON.
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2011a). The Evolution of Social Housing in Canada. In *Canadian Housing Observer 2011* (pp. 127–142). Canada.
- (CMHC) Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2017). Housing Market Information Portal [[Open Data Portal]]. Retrieved April 11, 2017, from <https://www03.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/hmiportal/en/#Profile/1/1/Canada>
- Conger, B., Goodbrand, P., & Gondek, J. (2016). *On the Role and Future of Calgary's Community Associations* (SPP Briefing Paper No. ID 2871544). Calgary, AB: The School of Public Policy. Retrieved from <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2871544>
- Connolly, D. (2015, April 17). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

- Cowan, D., & Marsh, A. (2004). Community, Neighbourhood, Responsibility: Contemporary Currents in Housing Studies. *Housing Studies*, 19(6), 845–853.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0267303042000293964>
- Cox, K. R. (1982). Housing Tenure and Neighborhood Activism. *Urban Affairs Review*, 18(1), 107–129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004208168201800109>
- Cox, K. R. (1984). Social Change, Turf Politics, and Concepts of Turf Politics. In A. Kirby, P. Knox, & S. Pinch (Eds.), *Public Provision and Urban Development*. London, UK: 283-315.
- Cox, K. R. (2018). Class, Territory and Politics in the American City. In K. Ward, A. E. G. Jonas, B. Miller, & D. Wilson (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Spaces of Urban Politics* (pp. 479–491). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. SAGE.
- Crook, T. (1998). The Supply of Private Rented Housing in Canada. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 13(3), 327–352. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02496782>
- Dalton, T. (2009). Housing Policy Retrenchment: Australia and Canada Compared. *Urban Studies*, 46(1), 63–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008098637>
- Dansereau, F. (1993). Neighbourhood Differentiation and Social Change. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (pp. 289–307). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.
- Davies, J. S. (2011). *Challenging Governance Theory: From Networks to Hegemony*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

- Davies, W. K. D., & Townshend, I. J. (1994). How Do Community Associations Vary? The Structure of Community Associations in Calgary, Alberta. *Urban Studies*, 31(10), 1739–1761.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989420081611>
- Dear, M. (1992). Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 58(3), 288–300. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369208975808>
- Defilippis, J., Fisher, R., & Shragge, E. (2006). Neither Romance Nor Regulation: Re-evaluating Community. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(3), 673–689.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00680.x>
- Desmond, P. (2014, August 21). Waterloo should license all rentals, landlord says. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from <https://www.therecord.com/news-story/4768638-waterloo-should-license-all-rentals-landlord-says/>
- Deutsche, R. (1991). Boys Town. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9(1), 5–30.
<https://doi.org/10.1068/d090005>
- Devine-Wright, P. (2009). Rethinking NIMBYism: The Role of Place Attachment and Place Identity in Explaining Place-protective Action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 19(6), 426–441. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.1004>
- Dickens, P., Duncan, S., Goodwin, M., & Gray, F. (1985). *Housing, States and Localities*. London, UK: Methuen.
- Diggon, C., & Diggon, S. (2014, August 18). Public Submission to LOC2014-0071. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Dilger, R. (1992). *Neighborhood Politics: Residential Community Associations in American Governance*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

- Donovan, D., & Donovan, D. (2015, May 24). Public Submission to LOC2015-0007. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Downs, A. (2004). *Growth Management and Affordable Housing: Do They Conflict?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Eberle, M. P. (2001). *Homelessness - Causes & Effects. Background Report: a profile and policy review of homelessness in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec and Alberta* (No. Volume 4). British Columbia: British Columbia Ministry of Social Development and Economic Security. BC Housing Management Commission. Retrieved from http://www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/pdfs/researchassociates/4_vol_report/Vol4.pdf
- Eisner, E. W. (2017). *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice*. Teachers College Press.
- Elwood, S. (2002). Neighborhood revitalization through 'collaboration': Assessing the implications of neoliberal urban policy at the grassroots. *GeoJournal*, 58(2–3), 121–130.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000010831.73363.e3>
- England, K. V. L. (1993). Changing Suburbs, Changing Women: Geographic Perspectives on Suburban Women and Suburbanization. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 14(1), 24–43.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3346556>
- Falvo, N. (2017, February 21). Public Policy and Homelessness: The Case of Calgary. Retrieved March 29, 2017, from <http://calgaryhomeless.com/info/research-blog/public-policy-homelessness-case-calgary/>
- Farkas, J. A. (2014). *Calgary City Council: 2014 Performance Report* (pp. 1–26). Calgary, AB: Manning Foundation for Democratic Education.

- Firey, W. (1945). Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables. *American Sociological Review*, 10(2), 140–148. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2085629>
- Fischler, R. (1998). Health, Safety, and the General Welfare: Markets, Politics, and Social Science in Early Land-Use Regulation and Community Design. *Journal of Urban History*, 24(6), 675–719. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009614429802400601>
- Fishman, R. (1989). *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise And Fall Of Suburbia* (3.1.1989 edition). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Fitzpatrick, M. (2015, June 2). Public Submission to LOC2014-0159. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Fletcher, R. (2016, March 3). Racist secondary-suite opposition distasteful but allowable, for now, council decides | CBC News. Retrieved June 27, 2018, from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/calgary-racist-secondary-suite-letters-allowed-1.3479499>
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219–245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>
- Foran, M. (2009). *Expansive Discourses: Urban Sprawl in Calgary, 1945-1978*. Athabasca, AB: Athabasca University Press.
- Forrest, R., & Kearns, A. (2001). Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 38(12), 2125–2143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980120087081>
- Fraser, J., Bazuin, J. T., & Hornberger, G. (2016). The privatization of neighborhood governance and the production of urban space. *Environment and Planning A*, 48(5), 844–870. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X15621656>

- Friedman, A. (2002). *Planning in the new suburbia: Flexibility by design*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Gaetz, S., Gulliver, T., & Richter, T. (2014). *The State of Homelessness in Canada 2014* (No. 5) (pp. 1–72). Toronto, ON: The Homeless Hub.
- Galster, G. C. (1983). Empirical Evidence on Cross-Tenure Differences in Home Maintenance and Conditions. *Land Economics*, 59(1), 107–113. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3145880>
- Gans, H. J. (1962). *Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Gellen, M. (1985). *Accessory Apartments in Single-Family Housing*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Gilbert, M. R. (1999). Place, Politics, and the Production of Urban Space. In A. E. G. Jonas & D. Wilson (Eds.), *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives, Two Decades Later* (pp. 95–108). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Goodbrand, P. (2016, January). *Unauthorized Secondary Suites: An Analysis of the Renter's Perspective* (Master's Thesis). University of Calgary, Calgary, AB.
- Goodbrand, P., Humphrey, T., & Gondek, J. (2017). Relatives or rentals? Secondary suites through a multigenerational family lens. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 61(4), 525–539. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12399>
- Government of Canada. (2016). *What We Heard: Shaping Canada's National Housing Strategy* (Let's Talk Housing). Canada. Retrieved from <https://www.letstalkhousing.ca/index.cfm>
- Grabher, G., & Ibert, O. (2014). Distance as asset? Knowledge collaboration in hybrid virtual communities. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 14(1), 97–123. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbt014>

- Gratton, M. C. (2011, September 12). *An Analysis of Secondary Suites as a Policy Instrument in the City of Edmonton* (Master's Thesis). University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Retrieved from <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/4891>
- Gregory, K., & Gregory, J. (2015, April 29). Public Submission to LOC2014-0184. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Guillemaud, P. (2015, May 6). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Gunn, A., Carter, T., & Osborne, J. (2009). *The Secondary Rental Market: A Literature Review and Case Study*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Winnipeg. Retrieved from <http://geography.uwinnipeg.ca/Carter/Publications/Journals/Secondary-Rental-Market.pdf>
- Hall, S. (1980). Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance. In M. Jones Patrick (Ed.), *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (pp. 305–345). Paris, France: Unesco.
- Hahn, C. (2008). *Doing Qualitative Research Using Your Computer*. SAGE Publications. Retrieved from <http://methods.sagepub.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/book/doing-qualitative-research-using-your-computer>
- Haila, A. (1990). The Theory of Land Rent at the Crossroads. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 8(3), 275–296. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d080275>
- Halliday, A. (2015, November 25). Public Submission to LOC2015-0093. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

- Hannley, L. (1993). Substandard Housing. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (pp. 203–219). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.
- Hare, P. H. (1993). How much can accessory housing units help? *Urban Land*, 52(2), 48.
- Harris, R. (2004). *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Harris, R., & Forrester, D. (2003). The Suburban Origins of Redlining: A Canadian Case Study, 1935-54. *Urban Studies*, 40(13), 2661–2686. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000146830>
- Harris, R., & Kinsella, K. (2017). Secondary suites: A survey of evidence and municipal policy. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 61(4), 493–509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12424>
- Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the City*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Harvey, D. (1974). Class-monopoly rent, finance capital and the urban revolution. *Regional Studies*, 8(3–4), 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09595237400185251>
- Harvey, D. (1982). *Limits to Capital*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (1985). Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies. In *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2002). The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture. *Socialist Register*, 38, 93–110.
- Harvey, D., & Chatterjee, L. (1974). Absolute Rent and the Structuring of Space By Governmental and Financial Institutions. *Antipode*, 6(1), 22–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1974.tb00580.x>

Heffernan, T., Faraday, F., & Rosenthal, P. (2015). Fighting for the Right to Housing in Canada.

Journal of Law and Social Policy, 24, [i].

Herbert, S. (2005). The Trapdoor of Community. *Annals of the Association of American*

Geographers, 95(4), 850–865.

Highland Park Community Association. (n.d.). Neighbourhood of Promise. Retrieved April 25, 2018,

from <http://www.highlandparkcommunity.ca/neighbourhood-of-promise/>

Hillier, J. (2003). Commentary: Puppets of Populism? *International Planning Studies*, 8(2), 157–166.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563470305155>

Hoffer, J. (2014, September). “A Tale of Two Cities”: Landlord Licensing in Waterloo v. Guelph,

Update – Cohen Highley LLP Lawyers [Cohen Highley Lawyers]. Retrieved May 19, 2017,

from [http://cohenhighley.com/articles/rent-control-bulletins/a-tale-of-two-cities-landlord-](http://cohenhighley.com/articles/rent-control-bulletins/a-tale-of-two-cities-landlord-licensing-in-waterloo-v-guelph-update/)

[licensing-in-waterloo-v-guelph-update/](http://cohenhighley.com/articles/rent-control-bulletins/a-tale-of-two-cities-landlord-licensing-in-waterloo-v-guelph-update/)

Hopkin, S. (2015, July 19). Public Submission to LOC2015-0019. Received by the City of Calgary

Planning Department. Retrieved from [http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

[services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

Horkan, M. (2014, December 8). Summary of Public Submissions to LOC2014-0120. Received by

the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from [http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

[clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx](http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx)

Hulchanski, D. J. (1993). New Forms of Owning and Renting. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home,*

and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986 (pp. 64–75). Montreal, Quebec:

McGill-Queen’s Press - MQUP.

Hulchanski, D. J. (2005). Rethinking Canada’s Housing Affordability Challenge. Prepared for the

Government of Canada’s Canadian Housing Framework Initiative. Retrieved from

<http://chs.ubc.ca/archives/files/pdf/Rethinking%20Canada's%20Housing%20Affordability%20Challenge.pdf>

Hulchanski, D. J. (2007). *Canada's Dual Housing Policy: Assisting Owners, Neglecting Renters* (Research Bulletin No. 38) (pp. 1–8). Toronto, ON: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto.

Hulchanski, D. J. (2009, February). *Homelessness in Canada: Past, Present, Future*. Conference Keynote Address, University of Calgary, Alberta. Retrieved from http://www.cprn.org/documents/51110_EN.pdf

Hulchanski, D., Murdie, R., & Bourne, L. (2013, October 4). Canada's voluntary census is worthless. Here's why - The Globe and Mail. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/canadas-voluntary-census-is-worthless-heres-why/article14674558/>

Jäger, J. (2003). Urban Land Rent Theory: A Regulationist Perspective. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(2), 233–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00445>

Jessop, B. (2000). The Crisis of the National Spatio-Temporal Fix and the Tendential Ecological Dominance of Globalizing Capitalism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(2), 323–360. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00251>

Jonas, A. E. G., & Wilson, D. (1999). *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives, Two Decades Later*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Jun, K.-N., & Musso, J. (2013). Participatory Governance and the Spatial Representation of Neighborhood Issues. *Urban Affairs Review*, 49(1), 71–110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087412453704>

- Kaufman, A. (2014, December 8). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Kaufmann, B. (2016, March 7). Calgary council receives “racist” letters to block a secondary suite application in Southwood. *Calgary Sun*. Retrieved from [http://www.calgarysun.com/2016/03/07/calgary-council-receives-racist-letters-to-block-a-secondary-suite-application-in-southwood?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=recommend-button&utm_campaign=Calgary council receives “racist” letters to block a secondary suite application in Southwood](http://www.calgarysun.com/2016/03/07/calgary-council-receives-racist-letters-to-block-a-secondary-suite-application-in-southwood?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=recommend-button&utm_campaign=Calgary+council+receives+“racist”+letters+to+block+a+secondary+suite+application+in+Southwood)
- Kearns, A., & Mason, P. (2007). Mixed Tenure Communities and Neighbourhood Quality. *Housing Studies*, 22(5), 661–691. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030701474628>
- Kimball, V., & Ryan, W. M. (2015, May 31). Public Submission to LOC2014-0159. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- King, R. J. (1989). Capital Switching and the Role of Ground Rent: 3 Switching between Circuits, Switching between Submarkets, and Social Change. *Environment and Planning A*, 21(7), 853–880. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a210853>
- Lake, R. W. (1993). Planners’ Alchemy Transforming NIMBY to YIMBY: Rethinking NIMBY. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 59(1), 87–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369308975847>
- Larner, W. (2000). Neoliberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63(1), 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2000.11675231>

- Lauria, M. (1984). The Implications of Marxian Rent Theory For Community-Controlled Redevelopment Strategies. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 4(1), 16–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X8400400104>
- Leech, H. (2015, September 14). Public Submission to LOC2015-0054. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Lehodey, M., & Lehodey, D. (2016, January 5). Public Submission to LOC2015-0158. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Leonard, E. (2014, June 18). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Logan, J. R., & Molotch, H. (1987). *Urban Fortunes*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Logan, J. R., & Rabrenovic, G. (1990). Neighborhood Associations: Their Issues, their Allies, and their Opponents. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 26(1), 68–94.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/004208169002600104>
- Londerville, J., & Steele, M. (2014). *Housing Policy Targeting Homelessness* (Prepared for the Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness). Toronto, ON: The Homeless Hub.
- Lowndes, V., & Sullivan, H. (2008). How Low Can You Go? Rationales and Challenges for Neighbourhood Governance. *Public Administration*, 86(1), 53–74.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00696.x>

- Lynch, M. (2000). Against Reflexivity as an Academic Virtue and Source of Privileged Knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 17(3), 26–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02632760022051202>
- Maccio, E. M., & Ferguson, K. M. (2016). Services to LGBTQ runaway and homeless youth: Gaps and recommendations. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 63, 47–57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.02.008>
- MacPhail, C., Khoza, N., Abler, L., & Ranganathan, M. (2016). Process guidelines for establishing Inter-coder Reliability in qualitative studies. *Qualitative Research*, 16(2), 198–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794115577012>
- Marcuse, P. (1987). The Other Side of Housing: Oppression and Liberation. *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 4(sup1), 232–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02815737.1987.10801434>
- Martin, D. G. (2003). “Place-Framing” as Place-Making: Constituting a Neighborhood for Organizing and Activism. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(3), 730–750. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.9303011>
- Mathieson, G., & Mathieson, B. (2014, June 23). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- McClain, J. (1993). Housing as a Human Service: Accommodating Special Needs. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (pp. 220–238). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s Press - MQUP.
- McClymont, K., & O’Hare, P. (2008). “We’re not NIMBYs!” Contrasting local protest groups with idealised conceptions of sustainable communities. *Local Environment*, 13(4), 321–335. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830701803273>

- McDowell, L. (1983). Towards an Understanding of the Gender Division of Urban Space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1(1), 59–72. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d010059>
- Mendez, P. (2011, December). *Ambiguity At Home: Unauthorized Geographies of Housing in Vancouver* (Phd Diss). University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia.
- Mendez, P., & Quastel, N. (2016). Subterranean Commodification: Informal Housing and the Legalization of Basement Suites in Vancouver from 1928 to 2009. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, n/a-n/a. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12337>
- Metro Kitchener. (2013, May 28). Rental licensing bylaw challenged | Metro Kitchener. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from <http://www.metronews.ca/news/kitchener/2013/05/28/rental-licensing-bylaw-challenged.html>
- Miller, B. (1995). *The Power of Place, the Significance of Scale: the Geographic Structuring of Collective Action in the Boston Area Peace Movement* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
- Miller, B. (2007). Modes of Governance, Modes of Resistance: Contesting Neoliberalism in Calgary. In H. Leitner, J. Peck, & E. S. Sheppard (Eds.), *Contesting Neoliberalism, Urban Frontiers* (pp. 223–249). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Miller, B., & Smart, A. (2011). “Heart of the New West?” Oil and Gas, Rapid Growth, and Consequences in Calgary. In L. S. Bourne, T. Hutton, R. G. Shearmur, & J. Simmons (Eds.), *Trajectories of Change in Canadian City-Regions: Processes, Consequences, and New Policy Directions* (pp. 269–290). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Miron, J. R. (1993). Demographic and Economic Factors in Housing Demand. In *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians 1945-1986* (pp. 22–40). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s Press - MQUP.

- Miron, J. R. (1995). Private Rental Housing: The Canadian Experience. *Urban Studies*, 32(3), 579–604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989550012988>
- Moffatt, T., & Moffatt, N. (2015, May 25). Public Submission to LOC2015-0007. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Moriarity, L., & Moriarity, L. (2014, October 20). Public Submission to LOC2014-0108. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Morris, M. (1992). The Man in the Mirror: David Harvey's 'Condition' of Postmodernity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 9(1), 253–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327692009001013>
- Morrison, Y. (2014, August 26). Public Submission to LOC2014-0085. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Morrisette, B. (2015, May 7). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Morrow, G. (2013). *The Homeowner Revolution: Democracy, Land Use and the Los Angeles Slow-Growth Movement, 1965-1992* (Phd Diss). University of California, Los Angeles, California.
- Mukhija, V., & Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2015). Reading the Informal City: Why and How to Deepen Planners' Understanding of Informality. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 35(4), 444–454. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X15591586>
- Municipal Research & Services Center of Washington. (1995). *Accessory Dwelling Units: Issues & Options* (No. 33) (pp. 1–76). Seattle, WA: Municipal Research & Services Center of

- Washington. Retrieved from <http://mrsc.org/getmedia/54c058a5-4d57-4192-a214-15f2fa5ac123/Accessory-Dwelling-Units.pdf.aspx?ext=.pdf>
- Murdie, R. (1991). Local Strategies in Resale Home Financing in the Toronto Housing Market. *Urban Studies*, 28(3), 465–483. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989120080451>
- Murray, L. (2005, May 22). Public Submission to LPT2005-45. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Nenshi, N. (2011, March 4). Media Release: Recent Secondary Suites Polls Shows Strong Support for Legalization and Poor Representation of Citizens. Retrieved April 25, 2018, from <http://calgarymayor.ca/stories/media-release-recent-secondary-suites-poll-shows-strong-support-for-legalization-and-poor-representa>
- (NHC) National Housing Collaborative. (2016). *A new housing affordability agenda for Canada*. Toronto, ON.
- (NHC) National Housing Collaborative. (2017, March 22). National Housing Collaborative welcomes federal Budget 2017. Retrieved April 16, 2017, from <http://nhc-cpl.ca/en/news-and-views/>
- Noble, C., & Selinger, C. (2012). *Calgary Housing Needs Assessment* (p. 61). City of Calgary, Office of Land Supply and Housing. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CS/OLSH/Documents/Affordable-housing/Housing%20Needs%20Assessment%20June%202012.pdf?noredirect=1>
- Not4Rz. (n.d.b). Concerns. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <http://not4rz.ca/files/Concerns.pdf>
- NOT4RZ. (n.d.a). What is NOT4RZ? Retrieved April 25, 2018, from <http://not4rz.ca/index.html>
- Not4Rz. (n.d.a). Why Zoning Matters. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <http://not4rz.ca/files/Why%20Zoning%20Matters.pdf>

- Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2013). *Report on the inquiry into Rental housing licensing in the City of Waterloo*. Toronto, ON.
- Park, J. (2014). Land Rent Theory Revisited. *Science & Society*, 78(1), 88–109.
<https://doi.org/10.1521/iso.2014.78.1.88>
- Patterson, A., & Harris, R. (2017). Landlords, tenants, and the legal status of secondary suites in Hamilton, Ontario. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 61(4), 540–549.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12421>
- Patterson, J. (1993). Housing and Community Development Policies. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (pp. 320–338). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.
- Pauls, P., & Pauls, E. (2014, June 13). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (1994). Searching for a New Institutional Fix: The After-Fordist Crisis and the Global-Local Disorder. In A. Amin (Ed.), *Post-Fordism: A Reader* (pp. 280–315). Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Retrieved from
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470712726.ch9/summary>
- Pendall, R., Theodos, B., & Franks, K. (2012). Vulnerable people, precarious housing, and regional resilience: an exploratory analysis. *Housing Policy Debate*, 22(2), 271–296.
- Peterson, K. D. (2013, July). *Gentrification through Public Participation? Acceptance and Resistance in Calgary's Inner Suburbs* (Phd Diss). University of Calgary, Calgary, AB.
- Pickvance, C. G. (2001). Four varieties of comparative analysis. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 16(1), 7–28. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011533211521>

- Pincott, B., & Reti, G. (2015, May 11). Public Hearing for Bylaw 14P2015. Combined Meeting of Council. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Pitkin, B. (2001). *Theories of Neighbourhood Change: Implications for Community Development Policy and Practice*. Los Angeles, California: UCLA Advanced Policy Institute.
- Pomeroy, S. (2011). *The Contribution and Potential of the Private Residential Rental Market: Canada Case Study* (Prepared for the Centre for Housing Research). Aotearoa, New Zealand: Focus Consulting.
- Pomeroy, S., & Falvo, N. (2013). *Housing Policy in Canada Under the Harper Regime. In Overcoming the Crisis: Integrating the urban environment*. Tarragona, Spain.
- Porteous, W. R., & Porteous, M. E. (2014, September 23). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Poulton, M. (1995). Affordable homes at an affordable (social) price. In G. Fallis, M. Poulton, L. B. Smith, M. Y. Seelig, J. H. Seeling, & M. Poulton (Eds.), *Home Remedies: Rethinking Canadian Housing Policy* (pp. 50–122). Toronto, ON: Howe Institute.
- Purcell, M. (2001). Neighborhood Activism among Homeowners as a Politics of Space. *The Professional Geographer*, 53(2), 178–194. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00278>
- Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ratke, D. (2015, September 16). Public Submission to LOC2015-0122. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

- Ritzdorf, M. (1987). Planning and the Intergenerational Community: Balancing the Needs of the Young and the Old in American Communities. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 9(1), 79–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.1987.tb00465.x>
- Rockefeller, N. (2015, June 29). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Rollwagen, H. (2015). Constructing Renters as a Threat to Neighbourhood Safety. *Housing Studies*, 30(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2014.925099>
- Rosol, M. (2010). Public Participation in Post-Fordist Urban Green Space Governance: The Case of Community Gardens in Berlin. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(3), 548–563. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00968.x>
- Roy, A. (2005). Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2), 147–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689>
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/record/2009-06064-000>
- Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and social science*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Sayers, A. M., & Stewart, D. K. (2011). Is This the End of the Tory Dynasty? The Wildrose Alliance in Alberta Politics. *SPP Research Papers*, 4(6), 1–28.
- Scally, C. P., & Koenig, R. (2012). Beyond NIMBY and poverty deconcentration: reframing the outcomes of affordable rental housing development. *Housing Policy Debate*, 22(3), 435–461.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2012.680477>

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

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2015.1013093>

Schively, C. (2007). Understanding the NIMBY and LULU Phenomena: Reassessing Our Knowledge Base and Informing Future Research. *CPL Bibliography*, 21(3), 255–266.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412206295845>

Schulenburg, H., & Schulenburg, S. (2015, November 23). Public Submission to LOC2015-0094.

Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from

<http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Selim, M. (2014, October 20). Forest Lawn: Landlord and Stakeholder Conference [Public Forum].

Retrieved April 25, 2018, from <http://myreinspace.com/threads/forest-lawn-landlord-and-stakeholder-conference.32285/>

Shapcott, M. (2008). *National Housing Report Card*. Toronto, ON: Wellesley Institute.

Shapcott, M. (2010). *Precarious Housing in Canada: Part 1* (pp. 1–57). Toronto, ON: Wellesley

Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/publications/new-report-precarious-housing-in-canada-2010/>

Shapcott, M. (2011). *Affordable Housing in Canada: A Year in Review* (pp. 1–3). Toronto, ON:

Wellesley Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/publications/affordable-housing-in-canada-a-look-back-at-2010-and-a-look-ahead-to-2011/>

Sim Yin, Y., Hoi Ling, Y., Znen, S., Hoi Mui, Y., & Sang Yu, S. (2015, April 25). Public Submission to LOC2014-0180. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from

<http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Skaburskis, A. (1993). Net changes in Canada's postwar housing stock. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-86* (pp. 155–172). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.

Somerville, P., Beckhoven, E. V., & Kempen, R. V. (2009). The Decline and Rise of Neighbourhoods: The Importance of Neighbourhood Governance. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 9(1), 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616710802693557>

Stacey-Watson, K. (2015, May 25). Public Submission to LOC2015-0007. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Stamp, R. M. (2004). *Read - Suburban Modern : Postwar Dreams in Calgary*. Calgary, AB: Touchwood Editions. Retrieved from <http://deslibris.ca.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/ID/419982>

Starchuk, R. W. (2015, May 22). Public Submission to LOC2015-0005. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Staveley, M., & Staveley, S. (2014, September 15). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Steele, C. (2005, May 20). Public Submission to LPT2005-45. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Steele, M. (1993b). Conversions, Condominiums and Capital Gains: The Transformation of the Ontario Rental Housing Market. *Urban Studies*, 30(1), 103–126.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989320080071>

- Steele, M. (1993a). Incomes, Prices, and Tenure Choice. In J. R. Miron (Ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (pp. 41–63). Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.
- Stocki, D. (2014, September 24). Public Submission to LOC2014-0086. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Suttles, G. (1973). *The Social Construction of Communities*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Swailles, M. (2015, May 11). Public Hearing for Bylaw 14P2015. Combined Meeting of Council. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Swanstrom, T. (1993). Beyond Economism: Urban Political Economy and the Postmodern Challenge. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 15(1), 55–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.1993.tb00302.x>
- Talen, E. (2006). Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal. *CPL Bibliography*, 20(3), 233–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412205283104>
- Tanasescu, A., Wing-tak, E. C., & Smart, A. (2010). Tops and bottoms: State tolerance of illegal housing in Hong Kong and Calgary. *Habitat International*, 34(4), 478–484. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2010.02.004>
- Tanasescu, Alina, & Smart, A. (2010). The Limits of Social Capital: An Examination of Immigrants' Housing Challenges in Calgary. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 37, 97.
- Taylor, O. (2014, June 18). Public Submission to LOC2014-0088. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Teixeira, C. (2014). Living on the “edge of the suburbs” of Vancouver: A case study of the housing experiences and coping strategies of recent immigrants in Surrey and Richmond La vie à « la limite de la banlieue » de Vancouver : Une étude de... *Canadian Geographer*, 58(2), 168–187.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2013.12055.x>

the Community of Rosedale Executive Committee. (2015, May 11). Public Submission to CPC2015-070. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from

<http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

the Gell Family. (2015, July 8). Public Submission to LOC2015-0019. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Tissot, S. (2015). *Good Neighbors: Gentrifying Diversity in Boston's South End*. London, UK: Verso.

Touati, A. (2013, June 5). “Soft densification” in Canada. Retrieved March 29, 2017, from

<http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Soft-densification-in-Canada.html>

Townshend, I. J. (2006). From public neighborhoods to multi-tier private neighborhoods: The evolving ecology of neighborhood privatization in Calgary. *GeoJournal*, 66(1), 103–120.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-006-9010-7>

Townshend, I., Miller, B., & Evans, L. (2018). *Socio-Spatial Polarization in an Age of Income Inequality: An Exploration of Neighbourhood Change in Calgary's “Three Cities”* (Research Paper No. 241) (pp. 1–35). Toronto, ON. Retrieved from

<http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2018/04/socio-spatial-polarization-in-calgary.pdf>

Triwood Community Association. (2015, May 11). Public Submission to LOC2014-0184. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

<http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

- Valverde, M. (2012). *Everyday Law on the Street: City Governance in an Age of Diversity*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Walker, R. A. (1974). Urban Ground Rent: Building a New Conceptual Framework. *Antipode*, 6(1), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1974.tb00584.x>
- Walker, R. A. (1975). Contentious Issues in Marxian Value and Rent Theory: A Second and Longer Look. *Antipode*, 7(1), 31–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1975.tb00677.x>
- Walks, R. A. (2006). The Causes of City-Suburban Political Polarization? A Canadian Case Study. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 96(2), 390–414.
- Ward, C., & Aalbers, M. B. (2016). Virtual special issue editorial essay: ‘The shitty rent business’: What’s the point of land rent theory? *Urban Studies*, 53(9), 1760–1783. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016638975>
- Ward, K. (2010). Towards a relational comparative approach to the study of cities. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(4), 471–487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509350239>
- Waterloo Chronicle. (2011, April 12). Rental bylaw changes draw fire. *WaterlooChronicle.Ca*. Retrieved from <https://www.waterloochronicle.ca/news-story/5888542-rental-bylaw-changes-draw-fire/>
- West, D. (2015, October 27). Public Submission to LOC2015-0108. Received by the City of Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>
- Wheeler, S., & Beatley, T. (2004). *The Sustainable Urban Reader*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Williams, J. (1998, May 25). Corporate sector urged to fight housing crunch. *Calgary Herald*.

Wong, L. (2015, December 7). Public Submission to LOC2015-0120. Received by the City of

Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Wood, K., & Wood, K. (2015, June 2). Public Submission to LOC2014-0159. Received by the City of

Calgary Planning Department. Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Legislative-services/Agenda-Minutes.aspx>

Wright, M. (2006). Differences that Matter. In N. Castree & D. Gregory (Eds.), *David Harvey* (pp.

80–101). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470773581.ch5>

Wyly, E., Moos, M., & Hammel, D. J. (2012). Race, class, and rent in America's subprime cities. In

M. Aalbers (Ed.), *Subprime Cities: The Political Economy of Mortgage Markets* (pp. 242–290).

Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wyly, E., Moos, M., Hammel, D., & Kabahizi, E. (2009). Cartographies of Race and Class: Mapping

the Class-Monopoly Rents of American Subprime Mortgage Capital. *International Journal of*

Urban and Regional Research, 33(2), 332–354. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00870.x)

[2427.2009.00870.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00870.x)

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Questions for City Administrators:

- What motivated the transition from the previous 1980 bylaw to 1P2007?
- What does each bylaw generally say about secondary suites?
- At what point did secondary suites become contentious, and why?
- Tell me about ‘legal non-conforming (illegal) suites’. What kind of difficulties do landlords of legal non-conforming suites face compared to other types of secondary suites?
- What kind of recommendations has administration made to Council regarding secondary suites since 1980? What has Council’s response been to these recommendations?
- Tell me about the history of public engagement and secondary suites in Calgary. What kind of strategies, if any, has the City used?
- In your experience, who are the key institutional actors mobilizing against land use relaxations for secondary suites? What do you understand about their rationale?
- Do you feel there are any gaps in knowledge among the public regarding land use relaxations for secondary suites?
- Do you feel there are any misconceptions among Council regarding land use relaxations for secondary suites?
- Is there anything else you would like to share that is pertinent to this interview?

Questions for Community Leaders:

- What has been your experience of the neighbourhood over time? How has it changed or stayed the same?
- For whom does your association speak for? Who do you represent?
- Does your community association deal with planning issues? If yes, how do you engage with your members regarding planning-related processes?
- What are your association’s general thoughts about secondary suites, if they have any to share?

- Does your association support the presence of legal secondary suites in **your** neighbourhood? Why or why not?
- Does your association support the presence of legal secondary suites in **other** neighbourhoods? Why or why not?
- As a representative, what do you think should be the conditions, if any, in which Council approves or rejects land use change for a secondary suite?
- Are there any thoughts about secondary suite renters and landlords that your board members have shared?
- How involved do you think community associations and neighbours should be in the land use re-designation process, and why?
- How does your association communicate with your city councillor regarding secondary suite policy? What actions, procedures, or mechanisms are used to communicate your support or opposition?
- Does the majority of your community association board and/or members believe that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging neighbourhood land use and zoning designations? Why or why not?
- Is there anything else you would like to share that is pertinent to this interview?

Questions for Councillors:

- What are your perceptions about the secondary suites ‘issue’? What are Council’s concerns about secondary suites?
- Do you support the legalization of existing unreported suites? Why or why not?
- Do you support secondary suites as a permitted use in all single detached districts? Why or why not?
- What can you tell me about the challenges involved in legal non-conforming secondary suites? Are the challenges the same or different from new suites?
- During the public hearing process, what do you take into consideration when assessing a secondary suite land use re-designation?
- How do you engage with or assess your constituents’ perceptions of secondary suites?

- Reflecting on your engagement, who are the key actors and institutions who oppose land use relaxations for secondary suites?
- Could you describe the concerns of those opposed to land use relaxations for secondary suites, if there are any?
- What role do community associations play in your decision-making about secondary suite policy?
- Regarding the secondary suite issue, what are your thoughts about secondary suite renters and landlords?
- Do you feel there are any gaps in knowledge among the public regarding land use relaxations for secondary suites?
- Do you feel there are any misconceptions among Council regarding land use relaxations for secondary suites?
- Do you believe that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging neighbourhood land use and zoning designations? Why or why not?

Appendix B: Consent Form

Name of Researchers, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Dr. Byron Miller (Principal Investigator), Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography
403-220-7321 byron.miller@ucalgary.ca

Kylee van der Poorten (lead Research Assistant), Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography
403-210-8770 kavander@ucalgary.ca

Title of Project:

The Politics and Policies of Secondary Suites in Calgary

Sponsor:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and pose any questions you wish.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

This study investigates the policies, policy-making processes, and social and political concerns that have led to Calgary's current approach to regulating secondary suites. In this study we are asking a wide range of people, from City officials to community residents, to share their insights into the processes that produced the current approach to secondary suites regulation in Calgary.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

You are invited to participate in an interview that will draw on your knowledge and expertise as it pertains to Calgary's secondary suites regulatory framework and the processes that produced it.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may choose to answer all questions posed, may decline to answer specific questions, or may decline to participate altogether. If you agree to be interviewed, you may end the interview at any time. It is anticipated that interviews will last approximately one hour.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

With your permission, interviews will be audio recorded to insure accuracy. Written notes may be taken. All audio recordings will be kept as password-protected digital files. Audio recordings and written notes will be stored in a secure filing cabinet in a Department of Geography office at University of Calgary. Only the principal investigator (Dr. Byron Miller) and lead research assistant (Kylee van der Poorten) will have access to audio recordings and notes.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some, or none of them. Please review each of these options and choose Yes or No.

I grant permission to be audio recorded: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

I grant permission to use my name: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

I grant permission to use the name of my organisation: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

I wish to remain anonymous: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

The pseudonym I choose for myself is:

You may quote me: Yes: ☐ No: ☐

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

No risk has been identified. However, if you perceive any risk, please do not hesitate to inform us.

What Happens to the Information I Provide

The information you provide will be used by the research team to better understand the policies, policy-making processes, and social and political concerns that have led to Calgary's current approach to the regulation of secondary suites, and to help the research team interpret and analyze those regulations. We intend to publish this analysis as both an academic journal article and as a public policy-focused working paper.

If you have chosen to remain anonymous, neither your name nor the name of the organisation with which you are associated will appear in print or otherwise be made public. Only the principal investigator (Dr. Byron Miller) and lead research assistant (Kylee van der Poorten) will have access to recordings and notes. All audio recordings will be kept as password-protected digital files. Audio recordings and written notes will be stored in a secure filing cabinet in a Department of Geography office at University of Calgary.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights or release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to decline to answer specific questions or to withdraw from this interview at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or additional information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Dr. Byron Miller (Principal Investigator), Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography
403-220-7321 byron.miller@ucalgary.ca

or

Kylee van der Poorten (lead Research Assistant), Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography
403-210-8770 kavander@ucalgary.ca

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact an Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 210-9863; email cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix C: Land Use Re-Designation Files for Secondary Suites

LOC File	Public Hearing Date	Community District	Matrix Assignment	Stance of the Community Association	Number of Resident Letters	Considered Citizen Contested
LOC2015-0059	9/14/2015	Evergreen	#N/A	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0004	6/9/2014	Canyon Meadows	6	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0139	2/8/2016	Haysboro	1	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0038	6/9/2014	Southwood	1	Contested	1	No
LOC2015-0162	3/7/2016	Southview	1	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0177	3/7/2016	Ogden	2	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0178	3/7/2016	Ogden	2	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0054	9/14/2015	Fairview	5	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0034	9/14/2015	Kingsland	1	Contested	2	No
LOC2015-0083	12/7/2015	Brentwood	4	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0002	6/9/2014	Vista Heights	1	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0009	6/9/2014	Vista Heights	1	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0092	10/6/2014	Pineridge	2	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0121	12/8/2014	Whitehorn	2	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0213	5/11/2015	Walden	#N/A	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0125	12/8/2014	Coventry Hills	6	No Submission	1	No
LOC2015-0041	9/14/2015	Citadel	6	No Submission	1	No
LOC2014-0018	6/9/2014	Bowness	4	Contested	1	No
LOC2015-0097	11/9/2015	Fairview	5	Support	2	No
LOC2015-0107	1/11/2016	Bowness	4	Contested	3	No
LOC2015-0082	12/7/2015	Dalhousie	5	No Submission	2	No
LOC2015-0108	11/9/2015	Whitehorn	2	No Submission	2	No
LOC2015-0165	3/7/2016	Scenic Acres	9	No Submission	2	No

LOC2015-0015	6/15/2015	Bowness	4	Contested	4	No
LOC2015-0081	9/14/2015	Glenbrook	4	Contested	8	Yes
LOC2014-0099	11/3/2014	Glamorgan	5	Contested	3	No
LOC2015-0039	9/14/2015	Acadia	1	No Submission	3	No
LOC2015-0013	6/15/2015	Westgate	5	Contested	4	No
LOC2014-0114	12/8/2014	Beddington Heights	2	No Submission	3	No
LOC2014-0126	12/8/2014	Hawkwood	6	No Submission	3	No
LOC2015-0094	12/7/2015	Silver Springs	6	No Submission	3	No
LOC2015-0032	7/20/2015	Westgate	5	Contested	9	Yes
LOC2014-0037	6/9/2014	Evergreen	#N/A	No Submission	3	No
LOC2014-0093	10/6/2014	Rundle	2	No Submission	3	No
LOC2014-0180	5/11/2015	Sandstone Valley	6	No Submission	3	No
LOC2015-0105	11/9/2015	McKenzie Towne	#N/A	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0173	3/7/2016	Southwood	1	No Submission	4	No
LOC2014-0108	11/3/2014	Cedarbrae	2	No Submission	4	No
LOC2014-0088	10/6/2014	North Haven	5	Contested	23	Yes
LOC2014-0129	5/11/2015	Citadel	6	Contested	2	No
LOC2014-0053	9/8/2014	Kincora	#N/A	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0056	9/14/2015	Coral Springs	6	Contested	2	No
LOC2014-0120	12/8/2014	Canyon Meadows	6	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0158	2/8/2016	Elboya	7	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0159	2/8/2016	Southwood	1	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0028	7/20/2015	Signal Hill	6	No Submission	4	No
LOC2015-0186	6/15/2015	Rocky Ridge	#N/A	No Submission	4	No
LOC2014-0184	5/11/2015	Charleswood	8	Support	5	Yes
LOC2015-0088	11/9/2015	Royal Oak	6	No Submission	5	Yes

LOC2015-0128	2/8/2016	Montgomery	4	No Submission	5	Yes
LOC2015-0198	6/15/2015	Thornccliffe	#N/A	Support	6	Yes
LOC2014-0166	9/14/2015	Haysboro	1	Support	6	Yes
LOC2015-0122	12/7/2015	Riverbend	6	Contested	3	No
LOC2015-0093	12/7/2015	Ranchlands	2	No Submission	7	Yes
LOC2015-0120	12/7/2015	Edgemont	9	No Submission	8	Yes
LOC2014-0187	5/11/2015	Silver Springs	6	Contested	4	No
LOC2015-0005	6/15/2015	Strathcona Park	9	No Submission	8	Yes
LOC2014-0111	11/3/2014	Sundance	6	No Submission	9	Yes
LOC2015-0020	7/20/2015	MacEwan Glen	6	Contested	34	Yes
LOC2015-0007	6/15/2015	Southwood	1	No Submission	12	Yes
LOC2015-0172	3/7/2016	Southwood	1	No Submission	12	Yes
LOC2014-0174	5/11/2015	Coral Springs	6	Contested	0	No
LOC2015-0040	7/20/2015	Haysboro	1	No Submission	17	Yes
LOC2015-0019	7/20/2015	Silver Springs	6	No Submission	23	Yes
LOC2014-0056	9/8/2014	Elbow Park	9	Contested	6	Yes
LOC2014-0085	9/8/2014	Canyon Meadows	6	No Submission	26	Yes
LOC2014-0159	6/15/2015	Elbow Park	9	Contested	16	Yes
LOC2014-0071	9/8/2014	Woodlands	5	No Submission	47	Yes
LOC2015-0051	9/14/2015	Midnapore	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0188	6/15/2015	New Brighton	#N/A	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0138	2/8/2016	Haysboro	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0096	10/5/2015	Rutland Park	8	Support	0	No
LOC2015-0027	9/14/2015	Cedarbrae	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0014	6/15/2015	Palliser	5	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0167	3/7/2016	Marlborough Park	2	No Submission	0	No

LOC2015-0152	2/8/2016	Forest Lawn	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0061	9/14/2015	Southview	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0082	9/8/2014	Penbrooke Meadows	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0031	7/20/2015	Acadia	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0216	5/11/2015	Acadia	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0069	9/8/2014	Fairview	5	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0091	9/8/2014	Acadia	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0127	2/8/2016	Brentwood	4	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0109	1/11/2016	Brentwood	4	Support	0	No
LOC2015-0033	7/20/2015	Glenbrook	4	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0098	11/3/2014	Glenbrook	4	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0179	5/11/2015	Falconridge	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0011	6/9/2014	Pineridge	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0090	10/6/2014	Rundle	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0154	3/7/2016	Huntington Hills	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0099	1/11/2016	Beddington Heights	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0052	9/14/2015	Huntington Hills	2	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0206	5/11/2015	Thorncliffe	#N/A	Support	0	No
LOC2014-0022	6/9/2014	Hidden Valley	6	Support	0	No
LOC2014-0189	5/11/2015	Coventry Hills	6	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0004	10/5/2015	Crestmont	9	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0204	5/11/2015	Scenic Acres	9	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0003	6/9/2014	Montgomery	4	No Submission	0	No
LOC2015-0072	9/14/2015	Forest Heights	1	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0027	6/9/2014	Arbour Lake	6	No Submission	0	No
LOC2014-0086	10/6/2014	Thorncliffe	#N/A	Contested	1	No

Appendix D: Matrix Assignments

Community	Median Household Income	Ownership Rate	Median Property Value	Density (units per hectare)	Suited Parcels	Owner Occupied Suites	Matrix Assignment
ALBERT PARK/RADISSON HEIGHTS	\$41,971	30.0%	\$281,233.18	18.3	28.7%	24.2%	1
BANFF TRAIL	\$53,385	34.2%	\$635,954.87	15.2	38.0%	21.8%	7
LINCOLN PARK	\$39,986	31.3%	\$173,173.91	35.2	0.0%	0.0%	1
RUTLAND PARK	\$55,742	65.1%	\$527,112.47	15.0	7.9%	41.4%	8
BOWNESS	\$45,790	47.7%	\$414,010.17	11.9	11.7%	26.1%	4
CAPITOL HILL	\$47,744	36.5%	\$556,877.45	18.8	25.7%	23.5%	7
RIDEAU PARK	\$114,250	62.0%	\$843,074.80	14.8	0.7%	0.0%	8
ALTADORE	\$65,391	63.1%	\$722,821.23	19.9	8.1%	28.6%	8
HOUNSFIELD HEIGHTS/BRIAR HILL	\$61,207	70.9%	\$678,222.05	11.1	3.3%	30.4%	8
ELBOYA	\$56,826	53.6%	\$846,633.30	10.7	2.9%	33.3%	7
FAIRVIEW	\$53,167	64.2%	\$410,390.53	12.5	3.5%	28.9%	5
FOREST LAWN	\$44,108	28.8%	\$298,826.03	16.2	34.5%	26.2%	1
MONTGOMERY	\$49,041	50.5%	\$443,244.95	10.8	12.2%	25.6%	4
GLENBROOK	\$52,263	49.0%	\$412,069.68	18.4	12.5%	22.2%	4
CHRISTIE PARK	\$132,194	91.2%	\$686,312.67	11.0	0.0%	0.0%	9
HAYSBORO	\$58,904	56.0%	\$367,345.10	17.1	2.3%	33.3%	1
ACADIA	\$50,778	53.5%	\$343,611.66	15.2	4.1%	30.4%	1
HIGHWOOD	\$65,692	58.1%	\$477,817.35	11.0	18.2%	32.0%	5
ST. ANDREWS HEIGHTS	\$67,355	55.5%	\$831,887.34	8.2	0.0%	0.0%	7
RICHMOND	\$56,811	56.1%	\$635,191.33	15.5	10.2%	27.7%	7
KINGSLAND	\$43,680	33.1%	\$354,996.74	19.9	8.1%	22.9%	1
SOUTHWOOD	\$52,935	56.3%	\$366,856.10	12.9	5.0%	13.9%	1
CAMBRIAN HEIGHTS	\$68,757	58.4%	\$596,478.14	11.1	9.7%	41.4%	8
OGDEN	\$53,446	56.3%	\$324,798.25	12.5	10.5%	35.9%	2
PALLISER	\$59,127	56.4%	\$394,371.58	18.6	0.6%	66.7%	5
PUMP HILL	\$125,582	74.2%	\$1,096,792.91	6.4	0.0%	0.0%	8
PENBROOKE MEADOWS	\$50,642	57.3%	\$266,853.79	16.4	21.6%	41.8%	2
PARKDALE	\$59,323	52.0%	\$595,476.02	13.9	16.5%	22.8%	7
PARKHILL	\$59,600	48.7%	\$698,935.60	17.2	4.6%	38.1%	7
QUEENS PARK VILLAGE	\$56,878	0.5%	\$0.00	21.5	0.0%	0.0%	1
GLAMORGAN	\$59,369	59.9%	\$401,795.18	16.0	1.4%	29.4%	5
ROSEMONT	\$58,740	56.2%	\$667,036.70	12.7	12.1%	17.2%	7
ROSSCARROCK	\$43,820	28.2%	\$544,269.95	19.1	29.0%	34.6%	7
HIGHLAND PARK	\$37,115	26.9%	\$486,279.90	19.2	34.5%	20.3%	4

WILLOW PARK	\$75,137	77.8%	\$556,964.09	9.9	0.7%	9.1%	9
SHAGANAPPI	\$44,905	39.3%	\$541,948.52	12.8	16.3%	30.7%	7
SOUTHVIEW	\$44,670	52.3%	\$371,459.00	9.3	16.5%	45.5%	1
SPRUCE CLIFF	\$49,617	42.3%	\$263,226.27	26.8	18.7%	29.1%	1
RUNDLE	\$58,074	57.9%	\$332,653.10	15.3	13.1%	43.5%	2
LAKEVIEW	\$76,908	77.2%	\$698,626.32	10.9	0.6%	70.0%	8
UPPER MOUNT ROYAL	\$133,288	69.7%	\$1,777,188.58	8.3	1.2%	50.0%	8
NORTH HAVEN	\$75,777	65.8%	\$468,869.38	12.7	4.1%	12.5%	5
WINDSOR PARK	\$43,828	36.5%	\$390,821.97	32.6	11.5%	19.7%	4
WINSTON HEIGHTS/MOUNTVIEW	\$54,942	54.1%	\$494,536.76	14.3	19.8%	35.6%	4
CANYON MEADOWS	\$77,193	78.8%	\$452,145.91	12.0	1.9%	42.5%	6
COLLINGWOOD	\$81,101	69.2%	\$635,886.90	9.6	3.4%	14.3%	8
SILVER SPRINGS	\$77,915	82.3%	\$460,067.42	8.7	0.5%	37.5%	6
STRATHCONA PARK	\$113,696	90.3%	\$630,371.22	10.8	0.4%	50.0%	9
BONAVISTA DOWNS	\$81,761	84.5%	\$424,551.63	7.2	1.6%	33.3%	6
HUNTINGTON HILLS	\$56,505	58.3%	\$345,602.28	12.9	5.5%	29.2%	2
BRENTWOOD	\$65,768	52.7%	\$397,220.52	14.8	3.7%	28.4%	4
DOVER	\$47,952	58.5%	\$262,190.80	15.1	10.5%	29.2%	2
PINERIDGE	\$54,186	58.9%	\$289,474.94	15.5	5.8%	35.8%	2
MARLBOROUGH	\$58,483	59.4%	\$341,092.23	13.6	10.0%	40.7%	2
OAKRIDGE	\$83,013	86.9%	\$495,701.91	9.4	0.2%	33.3%	6
WESTGATE	\$59,218	70.6%	\$492,151.34	12.3	3.5%	44.1%	5
WHITEHORN	\$63,783	61.1%	\$342,956.71	15.5	16.4%	41.1%	2
GREENWOOD/GREENBRIAR	\$43,539	87.7%	\$81,888.17	0.0	0.0%	0.0%	3
MAYLAND HEIGHTS	\$51,961	49.4%	\$380,048.30	15.2	13.4%	32.9%	4
KELVIN GROVE	\$99,740	49.6%	\$642,944.92	15.1	0.0%	0.0%	7
LAKE BONAVISTA	\$101,025	87.0%	\$517,929.84	8.5	0.0%	0.0%	6
NORTH GLENMORE PARK	\$75,906	73.0%	\$678,363.64	9.9	4.9%	36.2%	8
MAPLE RIDGE	\$83,548	91.2%	\$525,412.75	8.5	1.2%	40.0%	6
EDGEMONT	\$102,950	86.1%	\$566,831.72	10.3	0.4%	29.4%	9
MIDNAPORE	\$68,492	63.2%	\$371,407.02	12.9	1.2%	38.9%	2
BRITANNIA	\$114,539	73.6%	\$1,819,726.80	6.2	0.0%	0.0%	8
RANCLANDS	\$63,802	63.8%	\$349,992.94	14.5	4.0%	31.4%	2
CHINOOK PARK	\$88,785	80.8%	\$685,005.70	10.4	0.4%	50.0%	9
HAMPTONS	\$125,042	94.5%	\$690,085.32	10.9	0.0%	0.0%	9
BAYVIEW	\$141,576	95.6%	\$1,142,961.69	6.0	0.0%	0.0%	9
GLENDALE	\$70,238	75.9%	\$601,981.67	9.4	2.0%	38.1%	8
COUGAR RIDGE	\$100,908	90.5%	\$568,287.58	12.9	0.2%	100.0%	9
MACEWAN GLEN	\$87,943	85.9%	\$423,555.52	13.9	0.8%	23.1%	6

DALHOUSIE	\$61,401	62.2%	\$396,555.63	13.0	2.9%	32.8%	5
POINT MCKAY	\$68,185	73.2%	\$414,302.48	32.4	0.0%	0.0%	5
BEDDINGTON HEIGHTS	\$63,529	69.6%	\$350,962.08	14.3	4.7%	32.1%	2
FOREST HEIGHTS	\$51,221	55.0%	\$282,558.65	15.1	13.9%	35.0%	1
TEMPLE	\$67,527	69.8%	\$331,236.97	14.6	7.0%	43.6%	2
MARLBOROUGH PARK	\$60,825	70.2%	\$306,787.61	13.1	12.1%	48.5%	2
CEDARBRAE	\$62,791	72.4%	\$362,616.54	15.0	1.6%	30.0%	2
QUEENSLAND	\$67,563	75.3%	\$334,687.67	12.6	4.3%	27.7%	2
BRAESIDE	\$64,691	75.6%	\$356,716.31	13.9	0.9%	46.2%	2
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS	\$42,848	28.8%	\$764,655.88	18.9	2.3%	7.1%	7
VARSITY	\$65,229	57.5%	\$469,476.33	12.5	2.4%	22.7%	5
VISTA HEIGHTS	\$50,085	46.2%	\$323,785.38	9.7	8.8%	36.1%	1
CITADEL	\$84,364	87.8%	\$418,862.67	15.7	0.3%	33.3%	6
CORAL SPRINGS	\$86,387	88.2%	\$489,255.75	12.8	4.7%	80.9%	6
CASTLERIDGE	\$61,388	59.8%	\$332,932.92	16.4	10.6%	39.1%	2
RIVERBEND	\$88,662	89.9%	\$425,398.33	12.3	0.7%	45.5%	6
THORNCLIFFE/GREENVIEW	\$58,638	56.1%	\$388,400.92	11.9	12.2%	44.5%	4
COACH HILL	\$82,484	80.6%	\$448,770.60	15.3	0.0%	0.0%	6
COUNTRY HILLS	\$76,937	82.3%	\$367,543.31	13.4	0.5%	20.0%	3
ERIN WOODS	\$65,605	69.9%	\$282,008.22	17.2	4.3%	53.1%	2
DEER RUN	\$79,757	77.0%	\$387,187.53	13.8	0.7%	50.0%	5
CHARLESWOOD	\$74,322	75.0%	\$608,483.35	9.9	2.6%	22.9%	8
DOUGLASDALE/GLEN	\$105,920	88.6%	\$466,651.33	11.8	0.3%	81.8%	6
EAGLE RIDGE	\$271,710	88.2%	\$1,927,175.93	5.4	0.0%	0.0%	9
SHAWNEE SLOPES	\$106,379	70.0%	\$351,840.38		0.0%	0.0%	2
FALCONRIDGE	\$54,684	52.1%	\$291,864.21	18.1	12.2%	41.0%	1
HARVEST HILLS	\$87,200	84.9%	\$407,444.36	13.5	1.1%	29.2%	6
HAWKWOOD	\$96,806	92.9%	\$480,475.89	11.2	0.2%	83.3%	6
HIDDEN VALLEY	\$89,721	89.1%	\$440,598.47	13.9	0.6%	52.4%	6
BANKVIEW	\$42,943	25.6%	\$328,227.29	51.4	19.7%	25.0%	1
MARTINDALE	\$65,185	72.5%	\$360,777.38	16.7	10.8%	57.8%	2
ROSEDALE	\$128,984	69.9%	\$1,103,866.83	9.5	2.6%	20.0%	8
MILLRISE	\$68,820	78.8%	\$297,963.78	15.8	1.3%	26.1%	3
PATTERSON	\$80,938	74.3%	\$473,022.54	14.7	0.0%	0.0%	5
MCKENZIE LAKE	\$104,231	89.6%	\$534,023.11	11.6	0.4%	46.7%	9
SANDSTONE VALLEY	\$79,691	85.8%	\$415,861.16	12.7	0.8%	71.4%	6
DEER RIDGE	\$68,977	76.1%	\$354,204.02	12.3	1.7%	53.8%	2
SHAWNESSY	\$76,067	82.4%	\$353,929.92	12.5	1.7%	35.4%	3
SIGNAL HILL	\$100,844	88.0%	\$490,536.84	11.3	0.1%	66.7%	6
SOMERSET	\$76,765	77.6%	\$354,213.90	17.8	0.5%	40.0%	2

SCENIC ACRES	\$111,781	94.7%	\$553,932.73	10.2	0.3%	42.9%	9
SUNDANCE	\$105,718	89.1%	\$506,265.50	10.6	0.6%	26.3%	6
WOODBINE	\$99,816	89.1%	\$474,378.97	11.9	0.6%	52.9%	6
WOODLANDS	\$75,480	71.2%	\$467,108.18	13.6	0.7%	18.2%	5
APPLEWOOD PARK	\$64,603	59.4%	\$330,425.61	20.8	5.9%	57.3%	2
ABBEYDALE	\$58,804	67.9%	\$306,818.97	15.4	6.7%	31.6%	2
ARBOUR LAKE	\$82,267	85.5%	\$419,264.81	12.9	0.9%	53.6%	6
BRIDLEWOOD	\$72,170	80.9%	\$330,634.58	18.5	1.1%	33.3%	3
TUSCANY	\$92,453	90.8%	\$493,397.68	14.8	0.2%	55.6%	6
VALLEY RIDGE	\$123,903	94.9%	\$553,278.33	12.6	0.1%	100.0%	9
TARADALE	\$71,401	68.2%	\$361,511.31	19.6	19.9%	77.2%	2
COVENTRY HILLS	\$81,450	84.6%	\$412,919.78	15.5	1.0%	45.3%	6
PARKLAND	\$108,874	94.1%	\$557,293.85	8.0	0.0%	0.0%	9
DISCOVERY RIDGE	\$143,441	82.9%	\$501,982.31	14.3	0.0%	0.0%	6
WILDWOOD	\$94,337	85.0%	\$723,699.23	7.5	1.3%	28.6%	9
MONTEREY PARK	\$70,741	81.7%	\$350,014.89	8.4	3.4%	52.9%	3
ROYAL OAK	\$93,214	85.3%	\$396,857.67	15.2	0.2%	57.1%	6
COUNTRY HILLS VILLAGE	\$50,960	68.6%	\$157,480.40	23.8	0.0%	0.0%	2
SCARBORO	\$143,513	84.1%	\$1,040,093.47	7.7	2.0%	14.3%	9
SADDLE RIDGE	\$71,101	72.5%	\$347,788.99		11.8%	82.6%	2
ELBOW PARK	\$184,189	83.0%	\$1,618,689.12	7.6	0.6%	20.0%	9
NORTH HAVEN UPPER	\$90,416	93.5%	\$525,526.53	9.1	0.4%	0.0%	9
KILLARNEY/GLENGARRY	\$53,799	50.3%	\$510,095.79	20.5	19.0%	26.4%	4
SOUTH CALGARY	\$50,394	45.1%	\$429,411.30	26.5	8.5%	31.3%	4
BRIDGELAND/RIVERSIDE	\$44,363	32.2%	\$352,564.53	27.2	19.2%	34.1%	1
CLIFF BUNGALOW	\$47,126	22.8%	\$389,655.62	43.5	18.2%	0.0%	4
CRESCENT HEIGHTS	\$49,039	39.7%	\$389,875.38	24.3	6.4%	29.0%	4
MEADOWLARK PARK	\$84,312	80.9%	\$653,895.76	7.2	0.4%	0.0%	9
ERLTON	\$88,676	65.4%	\$327,172.00	28.1	11.3%	0.0%	2
HILLHURST	\$55,434	35.8%	\$538,303.08	28.3	7.5%	32.9%	7
INGLEWOOD	\$59,822	50.7%	\$342,891.60	17.7	11.0%	38.0%	1
LOWER MOUNT ROYAL	\$45,713	31.4%	\$304,492.32	84.8	0.0%	0.0%	1
MISSION	\$45,095	27.2%	\$292,451.81	88.6	0.0%	0.0%	1
MOUNT PLEASANT	\$63,053	51.9%	\$609,211.70	16.4	15.6%	27.1%	7
RAMSAY	\$50,018	49.0%	\$520,819.33	14.7	15.0%	33.1%	4
RENFREW	\$63,247	51.5%	\$413,846.03	17.7	21.1%	32.3%	4
MAYFAIR	\$62,913	96.2%	\$1,077,048.65	6.5	0.0%	0.0%	9
DIAMOND COVE	\$128,607	95.6%	\$580,784.13	6.8	0.0%	0.0%	9
ROXBORO	\$292,974	84.3%	\$1,500,785.28	5.8	0.0%	0.0%	9
CRESTMONT	\$131,414	92.8%	\$679,555.44	9.8	0.0%	0.0%	9

BEL-AIRE	\$190,364	89.9%	\$2,082,830.19	4.7	0.0%	0.0%	9
SUNALTA	\$38,989	24.1%	\$288,584.36	46.4	0.0%	0.0%	1
SUNNYSIDE	\$47,425	28.6%	\$362,979.47	33.1	5.8%	28.6%	1
TUXEDO PARK	\$46,027	41.1%	\$462,031.83	20.6	16.3%	27.3%	4
SCARBORO/ SUNALTA WEST	\$106,366	76.4%	\$893,048.78	6.3	1.8%	0.0%	8
WEST HILLHURST	\$61,401	54.5%	\$704,288.18	16.5	9.8%	22.6%	7

**Appendix E: Interview Transcription with Cliff de Jong, Planner 2 for the City of Calgary
on June 24th, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So in your experience, at what point did secondary suites become contentious, and why?

CLIFF DE JONG: They seem to become contentious... really, it goes quite far back, like, literally 1970. It's been contentious since then. It really boggled into I guess my really consciousness in about 2007. That was as a result of the province introducing standards. Specific standards for the building and the fire code. For safety provisions for secondary suites. A recognition of how many illegal ones there were, how unsafe they were, and trying to strike the balance between minimum life safety standards and cost.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you referring to, there was a committee that came together and they released a report

CLIFF DE JONG: In the early 2000s, and they worked for three years. It was a minister's committee and they put together a full report that had a number of recommendations and the province adopted almost all of them. And so they really did look at ... the province was quite frankly a leader in those days on this issue. And were the first jurisdiction, I think the first jurisdiction, province wide to come up with specific standards for suites. And then they not only recognize that new ones needed to meet a higher standard I suppose, or the building code, but they also made provisions for older ones to come in and legalize. The whole second furnace bit was for new ones because they know going in you can make provisions for that as the homeowner. For those that were already built and existing, they were realists, and so they wanted those suites to be an opportunity essentially to comply without spending a tonne of money because the realization of the realization of how many there were but also some of the homes wouldn't be able to accommodate some of these new provisions.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know what the catalyst was or why these ministers decided to pursue this at that time?

CLIFF DE JONG: I'm not aware of a single incident, just a lot of incidences. Just a lot of collective knowledge of how unsafe these were. It's not quite to the level of the incidence in Calgary where we had three university kids

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When was that? I've been trying to find news article on that and haven't found anything.

CLIFF DE JONG: I believe it was in 2010. I can get you that actually.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That would be great.

CLIFF DE JONG: Quite honestly the names of those kids have just ... it's not that they have been forgotten, but we haven't found a way to make sure that that situation is resolved. I think that's been the frustration.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Before this all came together in this committee and the resulting building code, what was regulating secondary suites before hand?

CLIFF DE JONG: They had to be a much higher standard, so a duplex. A duplex in the land use bylaw, the terminology is an exact replica of up and down. It's quite a lot, it's a much higher standard that you have to meet. So that in effect is the only real legal secondary suites although they would have been the exact same unit up and down, totally self-contained, not reliant whatsoever on each other. So a much more expensive build.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you name any, just for me to go digging, can you name any documents I can go look at? I look at the 1980 bylaw, but I didn't see a whole lot in there.

CLIFF DE JONG: There's some STANDATAs, the province's standatas. There's a couple of standatas from 2006 I believe. And actually the provincial document, the minister's report. Do you have a copy of that?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Yeah.

CLIFF DE JONG: They would have the reasons or maybe the differences.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The standatas go back to 1990. That's as old as they get?

CLIFF DE JONG: Then we have the safety side, prior to 1970 in Calgary, now I think you know this as well where we had as well a bylaw that was thrown out. 1969.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This is what brought legal non-conforming?

CLIFF DE JONG: That's right. Which is unique to Calgary. The number of legal non-conforming suites that we have, the number would be unique to Calgary.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's interesting.

CLIFF DE JONG: Things change over time and what not so every city is going to have that legal non-conforming. That's basically the City saying we recognize your legal right to exist but we sure would prefer if you weren't there.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: To emphasize that, 'we prefer you weren't there' ... when you change, that's one of the things I'm looking at is the transition from the 1980 bylaw to 2007 as well, not just what happened in 1970, but it seems like there was another round of legal non-conformity produced.

CLIFF DE JONG: Sure, there's about six different ways you can be legal non-conforming. The most simple one is if you were pre-existing the bylaw, the 1970 bylaw, you sort of get that legal right to exist. Doesn't mean that they're safe, because the province, when they introduced the fire code provisions in 2007, that retroactively applied minimum safety standards.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And the fire code was, even if it was a legal non-conforming suite, correct me if I'm wrong, the building code was okay if the structure is built a certain way, you're not beholden to this new building code standard, but the fire code was something different. Even if it's an old structure you have to follow these standards.

CLIFF DE JONG: Yes that's right. You can have a 1950s structure, new building code comes in that's fine, but the fire code was about interconnected smoke detectors. Windows. Which you see, it mirrors into the building code, these provisions, it says that some of the ones from the building code are also in the fire code, the fire code is retroactive, you've got to have those interconnected smokes, the window to get out. You've got to have a primary exit out, right, so it's a direct exit out. And that's essentially how it's supposed to work. You get the early warning, that's your smoke detector, you go to get out and it's blocked, the primary exit is blocked, well you can squeeze out the bedroom windows.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I haven't look at what happened, I have a file, the 1980 bylaw, and 2007 bylaw, just to see what really did that transition do, but just to reiterate this, in your planning experience, for example you come in with a new bylaw and there's new rules in those districts, and there's some existing things, so when they install a new bylaw, this is something that I'm wondering is, 1970 we had a bylaw scrapped. That is a very unique situation.

CLIFF DE JONG: We had a period of six months with no bylaw.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's, to me, one kind of situation. But from the 1980 bylaw to the 2007 bylaw, were there secondary suites that were further rendered legal non-conforming.

CLIFF DE JONG: There would have been duplexes built, but we wouldn't have had a term like secondary suites. The duplex would have only needed a building permit right up to 1989. So there's a whole bunch that we don't have great records of. So yeah, you could have a duplex, but there was nothing called a secondary suite in our bylaw nor in the codes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I noticed in the 1980 bylaw they're not referred to at all.

CLIFF DE JONG: In older, older older iterations of the bylaws we had basement suites. I've seen building permits, maybe I could send you a copy of a building permit. Somebody found, like an owner, found on microfiche, a copy of their building permit for their suite. It said 'basement suite' or something like that. So there's different terms through the years, like dwelling unit, basement suite.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In 2007 we see an official definition for secondary suite. What I'm curious about is the RC neighbourhoods, the RC land district, which arguably is the most restrictive in terms of secondary suites, and they're also the older neighbourhoods. So my question is, in 1980, between 1980 and 2005 we probably had a number of basement suites in these communities. So my first question is, did the Council and administration at the time of this 2007 bylaw know about them, and b) if they did still know that did they still go forward with imposing a new kind of district, thereby, like you said, prefer if you weren't there. Do you know what I mean?

CLIFF DE JONG: I guess the question is, was their wilful blindness? We most definitely knew that there were suites that were existing. Now by defining it, and allowing it to happen, as odd as it might sound, and an opportunity for that through a specific land use redesignation, the opportunity was given to make it legal, it's just so onerous, right, that people were like I'm not paying in today's dollars, the full fee for a land use redesignation is \$5000. So people are just not lining up to do that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: One of the questions I have to that, there seems to be a financial cost incurred by a land use redesignation and there's also the risk of the public hearing. I don't know if you had a lot of work with individual applicants, which in your experience is the more onerous?

CLIFF DE JONG: Most of the experiences I have are with the investor types. We did have a pilot in 2012, 2011 we reported the results in 2012, on 'why do you have an illegal suite?' essentially, what can we do to get you to come in. We offered money. And a grand total of 0 took this up.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The pilot program?

CLIFF DE JONG: We took money from the grant pilot, sorry from the grant, and we were going to allocate it to, we had enough for four or five or six suites, essentially to legalize. And the people who did come in, they were, it was the mom and pop shops, really, right, just folks that own the house, no investor types. They are, and it is onerous, it is incredibly intimidating, the process is intimidating. We didn't even get to the point of the public hearing. They just pulled out. We only have four or five, who said alright we'll come along. And then at some point down the road they said you know what I'm just going to close it down, it's too much. For people who don't know, not every customer is the same, we've got these very distinct groups, right. The people who do this as an investor, who are vilified, they are vilified for reasons that, you know, befuddle me quite frankly. They're building low cost housing. And making money. What's wrong with that? I don't know what's wrong with that. I find it frustrating. The only ones who coming en masse, investing money in Calgary and in the housing form, are investors.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Because the demand is there, right?

CLIFF DE JONG: Right. Some how that's been translated into a bad thing. The home owners who are doing it, they're doing it for different reasons, their motivations are slightly different.

They're obviously looking for a mortgage helper, but they're not sinking money into it. They're doing it on their own, they're doing it without a lot of knowledge, they're doing it because their Dad did it, right? All these different kinds of reasons are also valid, but it's a different kind of suite. And then of course you buy the suite, it's existing, okay, now you've got an ongoing non-conforming to safety codes. And to my view, those are much more serious than non-compliant to land use bylaw. We can fix that, that's within our control. The safety side – I need you the land owner to sink some money into this. I can't let you go with an unsafe suite. On the land use file, let's get you through the process. We can do it, but people that are mom and pop shops, the individual home owners, are just, it's too complex. So the process...

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The building code

CLIFF DE JONG: They still have to build it. They still have to comply with building code. Or fire code.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Would you say that the process of bringing an illegal suite or legal non-conforming suite to legal status, that very first, never mind the public hearing, the complexity of the DP and BP is actually what deters people.

CLIFF DE JONG: Even upstream of that. The complexity of the land use. The complexity, the duration, the uncertainty. And probably, now I haven't interviewed people so this is just conjecture. But the, now we have a body of work for the last two years of the types of stories that people feel they have to tell on the floor of Council to get their suite. That's probably also a contributing factor. Of course in 2012, we had a grand total in five years, six years, we had 20. We had 20 in the last public hearing. So obviously there's a demand. People do want them, so cost is absolutely a factor. So we can't say that it isn't. But back then we were offering money. So we could mitigate that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say back then, I know of one pilot program that was launched around the time that they were having discussions, are you referring to a different one?

CLIFF DE JONG: There was a fifty suite safety pilot.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: There was one that City Spaces was involved one.

CLIFF DE JONG: Not that one. I regret doing this, but in 2014 I guess, we put an attachment in a report that had 35 other reports, and reference to them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: If you have that, that'd be great.

CLIFF DE JONG: I can send that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I've been sifting through the archives, so it would be great.

CLIFF DE JONG: There's a few things. So there's that. There was the ... oh you have the provincial, the 2003 report.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I have a pile of stuff, but I don't know if I'm getting it all, so I'm always looking to ask people who have been working with it to tell me so I can look.

CLIFF DE JONG: I haven't been keeping those 35 up to date but I certainly can send you the attachment that we used, and that was in 2014. So it would have the 2012 pilot program. And these dates and times and what not. They get confusing for me too. And then actually we just recently, City Clerks, did all of the notices of motion since last year, and in a year and a bit, 14 I think? So it's still going.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: It's a lot to process.

CLIFF DE JONG: So the pilot I'm talking about, is one of many pilots. We did a suite safety pilot on enforcement essentially of, you know, trying to get people to bring their suites up to code. And that would have been, we certainly brought the report forward in 2012, so I suppose the research was being done in 2011. And we have fifty. And by and large what we found there was people didn't even know what we were talking about when we said safety. They didn't know what an unsafe suite was. So there's a lack of knowledge, severe lack of knowledge. And then there was just a full on denial... so there was that element too. But we found was that 80% of the suites that we looked at through that pilot, none of them had permits, so they were all illegal. And 80% of them had pretty serious safety infractions. And they didn't even know. Some had bars on the windows, no windows in the bedroom, you know some didn't have smoke detectors of any sort, all that kind of stuff. And so the renters also didn't, weren't aware that they were putting themselves in that kind of danger. So it was a good eye opening for us that over the years we've been focused more on like the land use bylaw compliance, parking, you know, as opposed to people's right to live in a safe house. Pretty basic stuff. And so we weren't so much focused on that. So since that point and time we've really worked to try and change the nature of that conversation so one more focused on safety. What's the outcome that we're after? If you're asking me, from a city official kind of perspective, I want more legal and safe secondary suites. We have them, we might as well make them safe.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's a really interesting point because I've been paying a lot of attention to this whole land use, at the land use level, because, starting with this whole conversation of blanket rezoning, that really seemed to politicize the issue. But it's very different, I started to realize, the safety codes are regulating at a provincial level, not a municipal level. As someone who has worked with these applicants, if somebody works with you to bring this suite legal in terms of safety, but they don't have enabling land use, is there a different kind of enforcement?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well, I shouldn't say 'a beautiful thing', so our registry. That's entirely focused on building permit. If you have a valid building permit, and you've got all your inspections stuff, and you've included the project, you get in the registry. You can't get a building permit without the development permit. You can't get a development permit unless

you're in the right land use. So the building permit is an accumulation of all those. You've got to have the right land use, and then you get a development permit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So we take care of the land use before we take care of the actual building regulations?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah. So if every residential district allowed for secondary suites, and I'm talking contained in the house, so a basement suite, were permitted in the land use bylaw terminology you're either listed as a use and then you can be discretionary or permitted. If everything was permitted, then you can actually make the rules straight forward and understand the ... and get through that relatively quickly to get to the objective, which is a building permit. Because this is, in our view anyway, administratively, it's all about trying to get people to comply with the safety regulations.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Which is kind of interesting because I often hear this argument that, you know from people who are not a fan of blanket rezoning, they resist blanket rezoning, and the really strong argument, that blanket rezoning will not bring illegal suites into compliance. So clearly because of the way this planning process works, that's, from your experience, is wrong because it actually would enable...

CLIFF DE JONG: From the pilot that we did, and these were homeowners, I can tell you that the land use bylaw process is intimidating enough let alone the cost. The process itself is a very, we couldn't offer them enough money to make them try and do it. And here's something that if we would have given you \$25 000, you might spend \$40 000, but you get 25 back. You add a huge amount of value to your house. We do know that. We don't have necessarily have a lot of evidence to say one way or the other that a house with a secondary suite affects in any way shape or form the adjacent form. It certainly adds value to this property.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Correct me if I'm wrong, it can help with your mortgage qualification?

CLIFF DE JONG: Oh yeah, absolutely. You can use the CHMC rules, you can use 100% of your rental income towards mortgage qualification.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know roughly when ...

CLIFF DE JONG: September 26th, 2015. It coincided with the same date we launched the registry. Which we did on purpose. We wanted it to be more of a joint kind of a thing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you guys worked with CHMC?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, we just got wind of that date. And so we were trying, honesty to capitalize on some free media stuff. So we could have launched maybe a week earlier, but you know we thought okay let's line it up so that we don't get lost in the shuffle. Where we can kind of, then the media will be talking about it in a positive way. Because so much media has been on

the negative side. But I guess back to the original question, was I can tell you that the land use bylaw, like amending the land use bylaw, that process is enough to deter most, and in the case of our pilot, 100% of the people that needed the land use redesignation. Nobody went forward.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel that was well understood amount Council and the public? That fact?

CLIFF DE JONG: I suppose I would have to say no. We tried, and obviously failed at getting that message across. We certainly, it's in the reports, it was in the presentation. It's not that we had testimony from people saying why. But yeah we tried and it did not obviously take.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you reflect on why, in the 2006 committee report, a cumulation of these kind of balance between cost and safety, but one of the recommendations from what I recall also said ultimately, like yes we have made a number of changes, but ultimately it is in the hands of the municipality to regulate land use. Can you reflect on why that recommendation was put in there, or how they came to that, in other provinces it's different, right?

CLIFF DE JONG: Ontario is a really interesting example. In their legislation they did say every city is going to need to accommodate secondary suites in all the residential districts. So the immediate response there, in most municipalities, was to introduce mandatory licensing as an alternative to land use.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In, for example, for Ontario, where they made it permitted in all uses?

CLIFF DE JONG: So Waterloo, Mississauga, all those places. And the licensing is another, I don't know, barrier is the term, but it certainly does suppress people from coming forward. It's just another enforcement tool.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And they were talking about this when they were talking about, a number of reports loaded into one.

CLIFF DE JONG: Right, so we've recommended, on the licensing side, the purpose of licensing is to add on requirements, such as say, maintaining your property, or noise, things like that. You're now holding a secondary suite to a higher standard than just a rental house or a just a house. And what Ontario has found, couple of things, you really can't take a way somebody's ability to rent out their basement suite because they're noisy. You can if it's unsafe. So it's a different standard. You can't really use that kind of a stick.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Using licensing as social control.

CLIFF DE JONG: You can fine them if it's in violation until the cows come home. And that's by and large what that sort of licensing structure does. When you attach the license to that kind of performance, it raises the expectation to the community that we would be able to remove

somebody's ability to rent out the suite because they have noisy neighbours. That's not reality. That's not going to happen. There's no court that would say that's totally reasonable.

[Skip part on garden suites, McKenzie Towne, pilot program, didn't really draw distinction between basement and backyard suite 26:52 – 28:08]

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kind of recommendations, in a general sense, has administration made to Council regarding secondary suites?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well, from a land use perspective we've certainly recommended consistently that we should really just have them allowed in all low density residential districts. That they don't fundamentally change the character of the neighbourhood. They don't change the built form of the neighbourhood. They allow for, in a very moderate growth of the community, they really don't add a lot of impact on the neighbourhood. We've really tried to exemplify, I suppose, how having a secondary suite would be no different than just having a house full, and that they don't, it's still just a residential use. Whether I have my son renting, not renting, but have my son living in a room in the basement or living there with a kitchen, we're really talking about the presence of a stove, that's really the difference for the community anyway. For us it's a much different scenario, because it's self contained and that kind of thing. But all of sudden if you want to have a stove, that's where things unravel. And it's not for us very logical, it's still just a house with the provision for an extra person or two. And when you really look at the community demographics, and the growth pattern of a community, where you see the demand, of course they're in RC1 in the inner city, where you see that demand you see communities that have lost, you know, 30 per cent, 40 per cent, of their population. And even if, and we've done some calculations, if every single single detached dwelling had a basement suite you would still not, using average population numbers, you would not hit that initial peak. You would never. Through secondary suites alone. So I think calling it density, I personally, and this is a personal view, I do not believe that secondary suites are density.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I think that's kind of a general planning perspective on that. Speaking to that, when you said demand in RC1 neighbourhoods. In your experience with these pilot programs, working with applicants, is there geography to legality, is there anything in terms of distributions spatially that you notice? Legal and illegal?

CLIFF DE JONG: Actually, when I look at our registration map, they're really is no central pocket, you know, of legal ones. That's the same sort of process all over the place. We certainly do see demand for suites a lot in the Northeast, in the centre part of the city, but they really are scattered about. There's not so many in the southeast. There's huge demand in the Northeast.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Demand as in?

CLIFF DE JONG: There's a lot of illegal and legal, for sure. And in the centre city there's a lot of legal ones. We have 525 registered, right, so that's not a great sample size. Obviously the legal non-conforming suites, huge pockets in Bowness for example, right, where they predate the bylaw. So you know those ones are rather difficult to account because even though they're illegal

for land use, there is just no way they're coming in and saying yep I'm operating a suite and I'd like to bring it up to code because now all of a sudden you have to sort of prove that you're legal non conforming so they fear being shut down as per land use just to increase the size of their window to comply with fire code.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But if it does predate our existing bylaws and the current land use doesn't allow for a secondary suite the reality is they're not in danger, right?

CLIFF DE JONG: That's right, but that's not always been the interpretation. The City's interpretation.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Oh?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah it's been more to you know, not try and shut them down, but the onus has been on the land owner to try and prove that they are legal non-conforming.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How do they have to prove that?

CLIFF DE JONG: It can be challenging. We do have a process now, so we just have created it, and every time I go to talk to Calgary Real Estate Board at the end of the presentation they're usually like, okay you still haven't given me a lot of comfort, I'm still not going to tell my clients to come to you. So we're trying to institute some level of understanding that if you provide us with some evidence, you know, you can look at the wiring, your age of the structure, your old tax assessment.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Age of the structure isn't enough to prove that it's?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, the suite can be put in, you know if you build up your house in 1967, you could have built the suite in 1985. It's the age of the suite. The suite must have been there before 1970.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And at that time, correct me at the wrong, how would they

CLIFF DE JONG: You still needed a building permit. So we always had

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are those on file still?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, not really, that's really where the property owner can do some research. But, in the absence of evidence, we have allowed for the home owner to give us essentially works like an affidavit. A lesser standard than an affidavit, what is it called again? Statutory declaration. So in the absence of any other information, if the home owner is willing to sign off and say you know what to the best of my knowledge this suite has been there since pre 1970, then they can sign that, and if we have nothing to the contrary, we're like okay good. And that's where at the end of this presentation realtors are like ... yeah.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is that mistrust?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah total mistrust, for sure. Trying to get enough people through the door. And then they still have to comply with the fire code, not the building code, but the fire code. So there's still money that they're going to have to shell out. So in this regard the registry has really started to take hold, you know, it's proving valuable to someone who wants to sell their house with a legal suite and it's pretty easy, right, you come in you got an RC1 but it's 1967 and you're like, yeah, you know what I do, I'm feeling pretty confident I can sign this document. Challenge with that document is the people who come to the counter and they receive this statutory declaration and they're like, oh, I don't know, I got to do a bit more research, and they come back and say you know what I can't honestly say I believe it was there since 1970. I can't get as far back as 1979. And they're hesitant to sign it. Those are actually the ones I'd love to give a building permit to. It's the people who say sure I'll sign that and they don't care. It's almost like a litmus test. If you're willing to sign it I don't want to give you a building permit. So we have to be able to bridge that gap and one way we created it is for the people who are honest, they're struggling with that, so are there other ways?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So as a home owner who buys an old house, you just need some kind of paper trail that shows

CLIFF DE JONG: And just to satisfy yourself, that's really what we're trying to get them to do.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was there a particular, these are obviously really old structures, is there a particular era where building basement suites into bungalows was the norm?

CLIFF DE JONG: I can't say that for sure. I certainly know lots of immigrants or immigrant families that that was definitely a norm. Whether they built them to any kind of code or not, I think it's always been the case where people have had extended family members living in their house and they would have made it as comfortable as possible, that's not unusual.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you find that demographically, do you notice some of those distinctions, that there tends to be certain groups of people that use this type of housing more than others, in your experience.

CLIFF DE JONG: No, we do have some data in terms of who's renting, who's in this suite these days, and it's really all over the place. I would have thought the most obvious one would be students.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But the people that own them.

CLIFF DE JONG: Oh own them. It's changed over the years, but yeah for the most part, I mean you still get a lot of the same type of people that are looking for extended families and you know that sort of thing. Obviously having it as a rental property, that then might have changed a bit over the years and that's tough to say.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So when you said for many immigrant families it's the norm to have multigenerational housing, you're talking about the legal non-conforming, immigrants that came and bought the home, it's obviously tied to a lot of immigration occurring at the time and people bought these houses before 1970, built the basement suite, that makes sense.

CLIFF DE JONG: Affordability, the family, family centered kind of thing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So, you've told me the general recommendations made to Council. What is Council's response been to these recommendations?

CLIFF DE JONG: A lot of times Council has been, and I go back to trust again, where their constituents are giving them information that is completely opposite from some of our research. So sometimes maybe we're not capturing the spirit in which their constituents are giving them information, or sometimes it could be that constituents are banding together on a particular issue, and are very passionate about it. So the Brexit vote, not that there's a comparison really, but the passion on the let's call it the no side, the anti-suite in my neighbourhood kind of side, is incredibly passionate. They have this firm belief that I have bought into an R1 neighbourhood, even though I don't believe that they knew they bought into an R1 neighbourhood, because I don't even know what my land use is and I'm planner. You bought into a neighbourhood for a whole different set of reasons.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Correct me if I'm wrong, was there an RC1, there was no

CLIFF DE JONG: There was only R1 and R2. The C stands for contextual.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But that didn't come into existence until 2007. So before that, it was an entirely different set of land use districts that had, that bylaw had no reference to basement suites.

CLIFF DE JONG: Is it really reasonable to think that somebody is looking around the neighbourhood for secondary suites, before they purchase? No. You got to be kidding me.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What I hear, I don't know if you can speak to this, what I often hear in tandem with RC1 is, you know, single *family*. As in, there seems to be demographic things associated with the land use so it becomes more demographic than a land use thing.

CLIFF DE JONG: A quick touch on that term. Prior to 1970, and I don't know why this changed, our land use bylaws or whatever they were called, zoning bylaws or whatever, they did reference that term: single family. Since 1970 we do not call them single family. They're actually single detached dwellings. And still call them single family dwellings. We don't get to say what's a family, right? And I think that that has really taken hold in the vernacular, right? I bought into a single family neighbourhood. Actually you didn't, because it didn't exist. We don't call them that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Planning isn't meant to control demographics it's meant to control built form.

CLIFF DE JONG: That's right. You can have as many people as you want living in your house.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So, and would you say the reaction has been, Council's kind of listened to contradictory information and made decisions based on that.

CLIFF DE JONG: They certainly get a lot different information from their constituents. And then you come into it with their own personal bias as well, but I'd say that the people that have influence over some of the council members are mostly definitely winning the day with the argument. Part of it is because the level of passion.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Absolutely. I'm going to go back to that in a bit with another question. What can you tell me about legal non-conforming suites, I'm not sure we really need to cover that. So is there anything else you'd like to share about legal non-conforming that we haven't covered? We talked about applicant difficulties, older communities like Bowness that were amalgamated, and kind of talked about having to prove that the structure was in fact built before 1970. All of which I didn't know.

CLIFF DE JONG: I do think, and maybe more of a generalization, but part of our I might say our as in I guess administration or more specifically building regulations, the frustration is that they're there, the suites are there, and we just want to create an opportunity for people to make them safe. They're shelling out money already, they're going to have to shell out money, and we're not saying that you get to stay there, we need you to bring them up to the minimum safety standards. And the fact that we can't get there, and that we can't focus on what we should focus on, is I think where we're, our fatigue is certainly entering in.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Because this land use process is the barrier before you can hit the things that are actually critical. Do you think, maybe more of a general question about legal non conforming suites, I read a CitySpaces report that actually referred to them as the elephant in the room.

CLIFF DE JONG: We've been trying to solve it forever.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How did they, did they encounter that just by looking at their presence, or did they encounter that because there is a public awareness?

CLIFF DE JONG: It's more internally known. Any process we've ever tried to focus on is always on new ones. Establishing this process that we're now trying to sort through and trying to convince people that we've created something, that is trying to address the elephant in the room, but whenever you're designing a process it's always easier, it's hard, but to focus on the new. The ones that have yet to come in. So it's the ones that are on the ground, operating in any manner of state, that we should be concerned about. And it's very difficult to address our best efforts to date have resulted in the trickle of applicants coming in. And so yeah, that's the

elephant in the room is just, it's all of them that are out there, how ever many that is, thousands and thousands, that would be great if we could try and address that holistically and just, we just, there is one way to do it, and that is through a blanket re-zoning for RC1 to allow them to exist.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Facilitate the building permit process. Okay. Moving on. This is one of the general questions I have for administration: what can you tell me about public engagement processes in regard to secondary suite policies?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well I mean in broad strokes, they're always labour intensive. They generate again that passion. There are a lot of staff who have been through secondary suite reports and don't ever come back to touch them. You would get a lot of war wounds, a lot of scars from the public engagement. It is some of the more difficult ones, right, before you're again trying to talk about something from a planning rationale. It has very little to do with planning. We as planners don't think of it as densification so we're already at odds with the community. The community thinks its densification. No, densification is when you see that bungalow taken down, somebody else's bungalow is taken down, and you've got yourself a rowhouse. That's densification. This is just a drop in the bucket. So we see it as fully compliant with every single MDP goal that we have. And so we get into the community meetings, the public engagement sessions, and the level of engagement deteriorates quite quickly because there seems to be a different take on them. And that seems to be more focused on *who* is going to be using, and that's fractious.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So this is what you mean when it says, you're trying to talk about something from a planning rationale but

CLIFF DE JONG: It's not about planning.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: To take that further, it's about who, and that is outside the scope of planning.

CLIFF DE JONG: That's right. We can't solve it in the planning world, because it's not about planning. And the public engagement is always focused on the land use bylaw which is a planning tool. We're trying to solve a non-planning issue with a planning tool and so we end up with this engagement that rarely, I don't even know if I can say if it's ever gone well. I can say 100 % for sure that I've never been involved in a public engagement that has to do with secondary suites that had a positive outcome.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So have you had some experiences with public engagement? What was your experience at those specific events?

CLIFF DE JONG: Some of the most difficult public engagements that I've ever done. There's yelling. There's people that get right up into your face. You really have to bring your A game. They can degenerate quickly. So if you're not aware, self-aware, of the kind of maybe disagreement you're having fundamentally with the people that are bringing these opinions in, it's going to degenerate really really quickly.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm trying to look at the track record, because as you probably know, this comes up frequently, can you tell me specifically what, when were you involved in public engagement with secondary suites?

CLIFF DE JONG: Most recent would have been the 4 ward.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: At the information sessions? Do you know of any other public engagement, before or recent to that info session engagement?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yes. Sure. Any town halls that we've had.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And the city hosted them? When?

CLIFF DE JONG: Would have been around 2014 we had heavy public engagement sessions.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was that related to the four ward policy as well?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah, four ward policy, rule changes, that sort of thing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So what is the town hall? Was there specific people targeted?

CLIFF DE JONG: Community association representatives. So that one was not productive at all.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there any documentation of this?

CLIFF DE JONG: We always have a summary of the engagement sessions in all of reports that go forward to Council. So any one of them that you pull up, I mean it's changed over the years too, so maybe since 2012 on we would have a summary anyway of that engagement.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And so you're speaking to this as well as the information sessions?

CLIFF DE JONG: And then there's ad hoc ones. That you always get invited at some point to come to some open house or ward open house or whatever, where secondary suites are a topic. Or you go on an application specifically to any given community association. So, it's everything from broad city policy down to general and the community to site specific. So it's sort of been through all of those.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: At these town halls hosted by the City of Calgary, were community association representatives the only ones invited?

CLIFF DE JONG: Those ones yeah. We would have a targeted audience. For other open houses it's a come one come all. Usually for an application specific one is one come come all.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know why CA representatives?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well it was for the 4 ward one so they invited all the CA reps from the four wards to attend that

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Were there town halls that targeted other stakeholders?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well broadly, yeah. I mean you do what you can. You advertise. You put up sandwich boards. Posters.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But these ones were the come one come all, different from the ones for the CA representatives.

CLIFF DE JONG: We tried different communication tactics depending on, and sometimes it's for the same report or the same issue. And you know we'll target different groups at different times to try and get as many people across the spectrum as you can.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And was there, other than these other town halls, not the ones for the CA reps, was it targeted to specific groups or organizations or was it just the general public?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, just the general public, anyone who wanted to come. We didn't restrict in any way shape or form. The only difference is that if you want to have a discussion or some information that you want to share with the CA reps, it's a slightly different audience. Our expectation is that they're more familiar with the issues, they might bring more balanced lens or something like that. So it should be a different kind of conversation with that user group.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So in your experience, who are the key institutional actors mobilizing against blanket re-zoning?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well. It would be from the roots. It's a grass roots kind of thing. Institutionally, it's rare that we have such agreement across things like the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, Calgary Home Builders Association, Urban Development Institute, arts groups. When you actually look at the institutional groups, I struggle to see an institutional group that thinks that secondary suites are not where we should be going or we should allow them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I know this is going to get a little abstract, when I saw institutional, what do you think of?

CLIFF DE JONG: I think of, well, I guess the lens, business industry, arts groups, university, that's kind of more what I think of. There's community associations, and they are more representative of the people, there is a definite, sometimes it doesn't make sense they must be the same people, somebody who is a member of the Calgary Home Builders Association surely are members of their community association. But it's the community association level where we don't get the same kind of buy in, I guess, to secondary suites, as a positive built form. It's not even a built form, it's a positive addition to the community.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: To further that discussion, and this distinction, when we're talking about institutional, what do you, and you said CAs are kind of connected to the local or grassroots level, so how do, as a planner, how do you conceive of community association involvement in the planning process?

CLIFF DE JONG: Continual outreach, right, with community associations. Sometimes if a community association is not the neighbour's, or the residents feel they are not being represented by the CA, they'll do a splinter group, or an ad hoc group, will rise up. So there are plenty of groups that just get created, right, residents against secondary suites, or you know whatever you want to call it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But CAs are the ones who are officially circulated or targeted for engagement policies.

CLIFF DE JONG: Well we circulate them on all of our development applications. We talk to the CAs individually, or we'll talk to the FCC. So we do what we can in terms of keeping community associations, and even residents associations, as closely linked to policy discussions and some CAs are more receptive, or other ones will generate a lot of sort of neighbourhood activity about this issue. Other ones that don't, and the residents are opposed, will generate their own. So sometimes CAs are part of the residents move against, there's never a community association that comes over wildly in support. So you only get, when you talk to people, I can tell you this from open houses too. What can be heart breaking, is you get people maybe, sometimes it's English as a second language as well, and you'll get people that are so vehemently opposed, and they are frothing at the mouth mad, and this happens, spit flying all over the place, and you're standing there trying to have a conversation, and eventually they'll move on. And then you'll get somebody who has been standing there listening to the whole thing and they'll come up and they'll go can you tell me how to actually build one? They don't say anything, they usually wait until the crowd is dispersed. That's when the people who are for them, you know, feel they can speak up. They really feel shut down, shut out, and shouted down, right, because again the people who are opposed are unbelievably strong in their opinion. And the people who are for, are typically, they don't want to get into a fight about it. They want to actually, they want to do it for their own personal reasons. Like and it's their property, like, in the land of the free, right, wild west of Alberta, I don't understand why that's not more of an issue. How are you telling me what I can do with my own property? And yet it's more turned into, no my property rights are affected by what you do in your basement so I'm telling you what you can do in your basement. Well, where is the proof of that? So that's a bizarre one for me.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So in terms of, getting down to the granular of what happens in those rooms, the conversations and people getting crowded out, as a professional planner, do you have any recommendations as to how those engagements or conversations, or just the way in which they are carried out, could be improved to mitigate that particular problem?

CLIFF DE JONG: Town halls are awful for this particular issue. When you get City staff up in front of a crowd, that doesn't work out very well. We did, for a thorny issue as it is, we had like

poster boards about the process, poster boards about what are some of the positive attributes, poster boards about a community's population, that sort of thing, and lots of city staff. Now this is expensive to do. But to have lots of poster boards, lots of people there that can speak to it, and a consistent messaging. That does help. It doesn't help with the people that will, I mean you'll still see people collect together and devise a strategy to come in and all of a sudden you've got yourself a nice little bon fire on your hands. What I do find is people have direct questions and if you can answer them directly, and not be worried about whether it's information that they don't want to hear, it's the information. The information is the information. If you can be as clear and concise as possible in the face of an angry mob, that will actually help.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So when you're comparing the educational component of understanding for people who this is unfamiliar territory for them, for that particular goal, the information session is far more efficient than a town hall, right?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah that's right. The delivery of the message is important. And then a town hall I think will tend, you know they hear something they don't agree with, and they'll shut it down, and won't believe anything else you're saying.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Did you find a marked difference in terms of how many people were actually willing to approach the planners and ask?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So the other thing is, as a professional planner, you know, and the role of CAs and/or these lobby or splinter groups, do planners treat community associations like they're representative of the entire community?

CLIFF DE JONG: I have to say... it's tough to imagine that the community association's representatives, where there's no really clear process are actually representative of the people. Now, having said that, there must be a reason why splinter groups often surface as well. I don't imagine that community associations do capture, they don't poll their residents, sometimes they do, sometimes they don't. Some CAs do a better job of representing, well I don't want to call them constituents, they would do a better job of representing the opinions of the residents and capture through the right processes but I think that would be the exception. It absolutely happens. Kingsland Community Association does a good job of that, as one example. Other ones would be more driven by one individual's personality on that community association. And beyond that, I do think that on this kind of an issue, I don't know if community associations, I mean it's easier for us to go to them and say could you get some opinions, could you circulate some information, but this one is such a hot button topic people are going to let you know what their thoughts are anyway so I don't know if we even need to go to the CAs to capture what we think residents, or to capture the thoughts of the residents.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Of the people that do resist blanket re-zoning, whether residents or CAs, what do you understand of their rationale?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well. Parking. So usually there's already an existing parking issue, that's usually the argument. So this will just make it worse. That's one. The other one is that rental properties look different than a home owner living in a property. So then there's the concerns of who is going to be renting. So those are the primary ones. From a functional stand point, thinks like increased garbage, increased traffic and you get into the crime and stuff like that but I mean those are ones that you just can't even get

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But in terms of parking, do you find that a lot of the neighbourhoods that see a high demand for secondary suites, or try to install secondary suites, do they tend to see these communities that have seen population decline?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well by and large we don't see secondary suites as being a huge contributor to the parking issue. We know that in broad strokes that secondary suites have about 1.2 cars per suite. That's a pretty low rate. So how much are they actually contributing?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So that was data to figure that out?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah, it's ongoing data. In fact we had an individual who has connections with 250 suites, essentially, through different investors and what not. Same kind of deal.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This is interesting, that there's a distinction between investors and mom and pop homeowners. Where do you see, who is introducing the most suites between these two groups?

CLIFF DE JONG: Investors. Investors are introducing the most legal, safe suites. And they're vilified for it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So if they're introducing most of the legal suites, would you say these mom and pop owners, largely are the ones trying to bring illegality into legality?

CLIFF DE JONG: Sometimes unwittingly. From our 50 suite pilot, yeah, they again they might have purchased that house with an illegal suite and just continued to operate it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How long have you been working with investors?

CLIFF DE JONG: Last three years I suppose.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you noticed anything in terms of the pace at which investors are investing? Essentially they are investing in the secondary rental market, right? Which is kind of, I've noticed too that the secondary rental market actually outpaces our primary rental market unlike other cities. It's really kind of, fascinating and it's rising. I'm curious, I know it's not entirely related to secondary suites, in the 60s and 70s we had favourable tax incentives for the primary rental market, so I'm wondering, perhaps despite this arduous process of land use that this is perhaps is more lucrative or easier in some way than trying to invest in

built to rent. Can you think of anything else in terms of rationale that you understand about actors that mobilize the blanket re zoning of suites?

CLIFF DE JONG: There's most definitely the fear of renters. That by and large is?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Where do you think that comes from? Or based in?

CLIFF DE JONG: Total conjecture on my part, I struggle to understand. It's almost like it's class distinction. You know I can't say that I've figured that part out. And honest to God, I'd like to think better of who we are I suppose. So I actually struggle to say that. But, other reasons aren't coming to me, you know? And what's left? And who hasn't rented a basement suite? When I first moved to Calgary I rented my buddy's basement suite.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So we talked, this question we've really covered a lot of it, do you feel there are any gaps in knowledge among the public regarding the blanket rezoning of secondary suites? Anything that we haven't already talked about?

CLIFF DE JONG: I would say uptake. The rate at which people are willing to have somebody live in their basement. Me personally, no. I don't want someone living in my basement. I would find it annoying. I would like to be loud, whatever. So, it isn't for everyone. And from, so let's say we take the twenty thousand, or sixteen thousand, CHMC number I like going with. At 20, 000, if we've got four hundred thousand, single detached dwellings in Calgary, that's like 5%, so you know I think the number of secondary suites that would be created if we just said go everywhere, right, it's not going to be huge. It doesn't work for everybody. It does work exceedingly well for people who are in that right space. The people who need the mortgage helper. And that's just talking of the people who own them. Forget the need of affordable housing and this is a beautiful thing where it's not even government subsidy. It's 20-25% less than the next most affordable dwelling. Like holy moly, why wouldn't we support this? It helps the homeowner, it helps the renter, it increases the supply, there's not a dime we have to spend of public money to get it going. Why wouldn't we support it? And I don't think, maybe neighbourhood by neighbourhood the numbers would be different, but we're talking about somewhere in the neighbourhood of a demand of five percent. And that's if all the illegal ones instead of 16 it's 20. The number isn't as big as, you know, some of the pundits like to show it out there.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say uptake, you mean uptake of legal, right?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah. If you've got 20 000 existing illegal, you take the straps off, right, and you say okay let's ease up and let's allow the creation of legal ones, existing and illegal.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Something that is already present.

CLIFF DE JONG: Right. We have 20, 000. If we build 20, 000 new ones, those renters have to come from some where. As a renter, and this I've learned from the investor types, right, they're like you want to provide a home for these people. You want to make them nice. You're now in

competition. In fact in a down turn you actually have to make your place nicer than your competition's. So you've got twenty thousand people who are in their secondary suite, that is also built form that is not for everybody. So that number is rather static. You can't create more demand. Unless it's more affordable, I suppose. So those twenty thousand people might gradually migrate over to the legal and the safe ones because they just look and feel different than an illegal one. Again, the cost of legalizing, and when I say legalizing I mean building code side, are significant. So they're stuffing money into this kind of thing. They're making it look good. It's going to out compete, am I going to pay \$1000 for a legal one that looks good feels good, I can market it as such, people don't pay for safety they pay for a bathroom and a new kitchen, but you're also getting the new bathroom and kitchen because they're already sinking money into it. So am I going to live here for a thousand bucks, or a crummy old run down one for nine hundred? I'm hopping over here as soon as I can. So I think that's part of what the communities have to understand. I was also at a community association meeting where, well it wasn't a CA meeting it was hosted by the CA about an individual application. And it was the first land use application that they've had, ever. So just now getting that stage in their development, of change. And it was amazing. The attitude was, because people were saying we don't want secondary suites in my neighbourhood. I said you know what, I don't know you have secondary suites here, but I know you have secondary suites here. Well why aren't you shutting them down? I said we're doing a thousand complaints a year. We do shut them down. And I don't even need to look at the data to know we've been in your neighbourhood looking for secondary suites. And then somebody made a comment that, well, when they're illegal, there is this unwritten contract that if they stay quiet we won't complain about them. They're actually encouraging illegal suites. And they're okay with it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you ever found that, have you sensed that comes up anywhere else, or just that particular meeting?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well, that is the reason. Because they feel the suite owner has a vested interest in keeping things maintained. If it's legal, well now you can't get things shut down. And so, if I complain and you're illegal, you'll get shut down. So for the resident, they feel like, no there's too much danger for my wellbeing, my peace and quiet, if you have a legal, safe suite, I can't shut you down.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was this conversation that you had at this particular open house, was that the only time that you got this?

CLIFF DE JONG: In that forum yeah, that someone had the audacity to say that in public. Normally those are one on one conversations.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Anything else in terms of gaps in knowledge among the public?

CLIFF DE JONG: Just that private property piece. Reiterate I suppose that, what I do in my basement, that's my private property, I can't believe that we're okay with having other people tell us what we can do. It's natural something law. It's not, there are property rights for sure, and they're embedded.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel there are any misconceptions among Council regarding the blanket re zoning of secondary suites?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well I think we would look to other communities that have gone through the whole blanket re-zoning exercise. And we haven't seen suite ma geddon occur, right. It's not like parking all over the place. It's not that the one misconception I suppose that just because it's allowed by land use that the feeling is well now it's going to be a real free for all. No, no, no, that actually enables us to do a much more effective job on the safety side. You improve the safety, you improve the operation. That's our belief. And I guess we need some empirical data to be able to kind of say this is how they operate when they're legal, in this town. I also think that it's difficult for us to pull data and information from other municipalities because when it doesn't match up with their belief system, it gets dispensed. So being open to more data, of what works and what doesn't, I mean the licensing conversation is the perfect example of where all these municipalities in Ontario have gone through a licensing system and they're not generating safe suites. It's the same conundrum. Vancouver is held us as look how many great secondary suites, they've got a licensing system, they've had for 15 years 2, 100 secondary suites. That's nothing. Are you kidding me? 2100 in a city that size, big deal.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there any place that it's really

CLIFF DE JONG: Well Edmonton opened up the doors. They do 250 building permits a year. And, I certainly don't ever hear that suites are a problem.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And that's because they provided blanket re-zoning and they provided grant.

CLIFF DE JONG: They do have a grant program.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: It's actually part of their affordable housing strategy. So there's a lot of incentives. Would you say, do you know much about, outside the scope of my research, but the success of their program? Are they seeing a lot of people coming through?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yeah, absolutely. 250 people a year. And for us, we removed the land use fee. We removed the development permit fee. And now we've excepted the development permit. If they all comply. If you meet all of the land use rules, you're a permitted use, you by pass the development permit goes straight to a building permit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is that to get it out of the SDAB process?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, just to save time and money for the applicant. For a development permit, even a permitted use requires drawings. You have to get them done. That's a cost unless you're a draftsman. Then there's the application itself. So, that's free, but you've got time now. So time is one. And so, on average, those development permits were taking thirty days, and that's just back and forth time, really. The application comes in, we put in into a file, we put it somewhere and

wait for someone to come pick it up, assign a file manager, three days before they can actually place the call to the applicant, applicant isn't there, gets back to them later, has some questions, whatever. Average thirty days.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What's the fundamental difference between the development permit and the building permit?

CLIFF DE JONG: Development permit is focused on do you meet the land use, building permit is focused on do you meet the building code.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And if there's already permitted land use in place, it's redundant?

CLIFF DE JONG: [nods]. We still do a bylaw check, because if you don't meet the rules, you need a relaxation.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's easy to do?

CLIFF DE JONG: We have a process now to do a land use check, at the counter, 30 minutes. So a 30 day process has been reduced to 30 minutes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's great.

CLIFF DE JONG: So, that's a huge incentive again. It's more the investor types, right, because they're now seeing a huge incentive because they save money. Because they're saving money, time. That's a month rent. I just saved a month's rent with this program. So we have saved a decade of time. We've saved ten thousand decades of time for applicants on the development permit exception program.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This was put in place a year ago?

CLIFF DE JONG: September 1, 2015. September 26th was the registry.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: With the exception, what is your experience? Evaluation so far?

CLIFF DE JONG: Very, very popular. It's got huge uptake, so in terms of like people actually coming forward. We've more than doubled our pace.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have numbers on that? If I were to follow up?

CLIFF DE JONG: That exception program ends March 1st, 2017. It's a temporary exception. We were just trying to get people to come in for their building permits, removing some barriers.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm guessing this would be up to Council, but is there any imperative to make that permanent?

CLIFF DE JONG: I would love it. We will report back to Council but we've got two notices of motion that we're going to have to deal with. One is to visit the last ten years of decisions on secondary suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What was that about?

CLIFF DE JONG: That's on having mandatory registration, like licensing. It's to re-introduce fees for the land use amendment. To increase fines for non-compliance, increase enforcement efforts.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This DP exception was like, a foot in one direction, where you're erasing some barriers, and these new notices of motion are moving the other way?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: These are two recent?

CLIFF DE JONG: They haven't hit the floor of Council yet. Pay attention in July. One goes July 4th, and that's to do a plebiscite.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: That's still being discussed?

CLIFF DE JONG: We didn't think it was. But apparently it is. That will be July 4. The other one July 22nd, I think ... 25th? Says the 18th or the 25th. Must be the 25th. I hope so because I'm not here.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So the plebiscite on July 4th, and licensing on 25th. So administration is going to be tasked with looking at the last ten years?

CLIFF DE JONG: No, it's very specific come back and like, re-introduce the whole concept. It's all questions we've answered before. But Council is going to tell us to do it again. You know what it is? It's 2015. It's 2015 all over again. So we brought reports forward based on a whole bunch of notices of motion. It's all back. I mean, you know, Council may not actually approve those notices of motions.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know who put them forward?

CLIFF DE JONG: Chabot for the plebiscite. And Keating was the driving force for the other one. He got nine councillors to sign off. For the revisit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: For the fees? That was Keating?

CLIFF DE JONG: Keating and you've got 8 others, I guess, to sign off on it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know much more, politically, what this is about?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well Keating really wants to see himself as a broker of a solution. And I think they do believe that this is like, a half step. I see it as a backward step.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Because we're reintroducing the land use amendment fee

CLIFF DE JONG: They're leaving us some wiggle room. So we could introduce the fee that are out of pocket costs. So we actually pay for advertising on the land use amendments, it's \$1500. So it might just be a \$1500 fee. But they're also introducing the mandatory registration, and saying that has to be \$1000. Mandatory registration for a secondary suite, and a fee that would be associated with that, but a rebate for home owners. So again trying to incentive home owners to have those suites legal versus, you know ... it will do nothing to encourage a homeowner even though they might get a thousand bucks back. It's just not as negative as the investor. It's all negative for the investor at this point. Now they've given us some wiggle room. But holy moly.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are they aware that investors are very involved in the production of legal secondary suites?

CLIFF DE JONG: Yes. But they vilify them. They're an easy target.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But that vilification is occurring at the Council level as well as the local level?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well I must say, not publicly. But you know rules are usually targeted by, Council members, and

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is it because investors are also associated with the types of

CLIFF DE JONG: Slum lords.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Yeah, they're not living in the suite.

CLIFF DE JONG: Absentee landlords.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I hear slum lord a lot. I never thought that's another name.

CLIFF DE JONG: So that is the view of, you know, people who are investing money into the community.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you tell me anything else that maybe I missed, is pertinent to understanding issues of blanket rezoning that I didn't ask?

CLIFF DE JONG: Well I would say that Calgary, although it's painful, we're not that unique in this. You know we really are the same as so many other municipalities. It's an amazing, it's

amazing to me because although the overall numbers may be five to ten percent in terms of number of households that have a secondary suite, if you actually add up the number of people, number across the country, how is it that we're so disconnected from the people who have them, and the people who rent them? How is it possible, it just ... it is something that baffles me because it's across the board, across any municipality that has any research on this. Whereas, what we could be doing is focusing on that being a house, a house with a suite, and let's make it safe.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Supporting people in what they are already doing to mitigate their circumstances.

CLIFF DE JONG: Maybe you're not home that much, maybe you want to have extra income, you don't want to be as reliant as you are on your pay cheque, your day to day on your pay cheque, or whatever. I do find it, Ontario felt the need to actually mandate it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think it's because, urban space has been commodified, but do you think it's in any way ... you know, we kind set after 1970 we stopped referring to land use as single family. But at some point we did refer to neighbourhood as single family so we had this idea of demography, these are the kind of people who live here, and the type of families that live here. And we did away with that after the 1970s. I notice the secondary rental market is huge, and it's growing. That is become more, at least in Calgary, more significant provider of rental housing Intense investment in property. Maybe that is the commonality, this is what it means to have more commodified space. Housing is a huge investment. This is just speculation, but perhaps that stance and conflict in people that are very rooted, and they believe that if you own the land, you have to live there, you have to be rooted and spatially fixed into that property, right? Property denotes some kind of rootedness.

CLIFF DE JONG: If you're renting, you're not making a full time commitment to the community. So I think there's ... that's the theory. And so there's maybe part of that that goes into that sort of presumption as well. As that community is defined differently now. As opposed to it was whatever, 50s and 60s, people are more mobile now. And if we had I think more clarity around expectations I suppose, right, and the same expectations for everybody. Why is it that what's good for you should also be good for you? Do I want you to go down to Florida and rent out your house while you're gone? Plenty people do that. If we were to try and introduce regulation on that, I think we would have a whole, largely the same group of people who are opposed to secondary suites, would not be in favour of having their ability to rent out their house when they're in Florida, you know, restricted. So what's the difference? And I think that's something that I struggle with, that in Waterloo for example, they license every single rental. Everything. And that's because they lost a human rights challenge from students. The licensing they brought in was targeted around the University and I'm not exactly sure who, if it was a students' union or what, brought forward a human rights challenge, because they felt those rules, and they were, were targeted. They were discriminatory against student housing, against students. And they won. So the response was, well let's license absolutely everything. So they licensed every single rental in Waterloo. In Calgary, if we're only licensing, or mandatory registration, of secondary suites, you know, the code, the building code, and the fire code, makes

it a reason to be more, I guess, focused on it, because you do have a self contained unit in the basement. It's just harder to get out. So you have to have these provisions. So there is a reason. I do want people to be able to easily identify whether a suite is safe. A sticker, and you go to the registration website and there you go. Easy to find it. I think that's important. So there is a distinction perhaps, but I mean why are we only focused on the user in a secondary suite? Why aren't we focused on users of all rental units? What's the difference? Now the demography, or the demographics of who is actually renting the suite, it really spans a lot. I was surprised at who, it's like twelve percent are students.

Appendix F: Interview Transcription with Beverly Longstaff, Former Councillor for Ward**7 in Calgary, on June 29th, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are your perceptions about the secondary suites issue? What were Council's concerns about secondary suites during your term? When was your term?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: 1989 to 2001.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was there a secondary suites issue at that time?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Oh yeah. And a concern, the concern remains the same as it is today. People were very protective of R1 neighbourhoods, that was the driving force and used all of the same arguments to protect that designation.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Did Council have any concerns about secondary suites at that time?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Concerns about them in what way? In authorizing them?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Concerns about illegal suites?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Oh yeah, there were many many illegal suites in the City at the time.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And they were aware of them?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: I used to sit on the development appeal board and we used to deal with illegal suites often.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Were there any strategies implemented at that time to try and deal with that issue?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Yes, because even in 1989 there was a same as there is now, there was an affordable housing crisis in this city. Which got to be worse because the province, maybe the next year, or two years later, sold off all its affordable housing portfolio. They sold every unit for \$30 000 a door. So there were people in this city, you can imagine, who made millions of dollars from that purchase. So that exacerbated that crisis, right? So there were lots of things done, or tried to do, to address that. Allowing second dwellings in a home was one of them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you expand on that? This was something that passed at Council?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: No, it never passed. It was proposed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And by allowing second dwellings in homes you mean in all

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Legalizing illegal suites, for one thing. Everywhere.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: You said the motion was defeated. What was your experience about why it was defeated, what was the stance of Councillors at that time?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: It was defeated mostly for the same reasons. Residents came out from communities with R1 status who didn't want that to change. You know, you don't change anything in my neighbourhood, that's the typical argument for anything. But it's up to elected officials to look at the bigger picture and change things as needed, as required.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: You talked about people who didn't want anything to change in their neighbourhoods, particularly R1 neighbourhoods, but can you speak to any key institutional actors that mobilized against blanket re-zoning?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Like, community associations? Well yeah there were. Community associations did, yeah. Not on masse, but many of them did not support this kind of change because once again they're dealing with their residents in their neighbourhood. Some, I don't really remember the development community involved. I don't remember that. Groups like the Federation of Calgary Communities. I don't know what their position was on that particular issue. I remember before I was elected I was President of the Federation of Calgary Communities and so we, there was no objection, I mean we were pretty... but I don't know if the issue came forward. I mean it was not one that really got to be a real discussion, secondary suites, until, illegal suites always were, but the word secondary suite didn't occur until later. I would think in the 90s.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What were the concerns or rationale of community associations?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Concern would be changing the designation, increasing the density in their community, that followed all kinds of arguments to support that concern – parking, more parking on the streets, more disruption, a fear of crime, all of the things that they perceive that kind of congestion or density would introduce.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What about the structure causes disruption?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: There would be anecdotal stories of someone having a basement suite and people who didn't necessarily obey the law lived there, or young people lived there and had parties, police had to be called, just things like that. Not that things like that don't happen in a single household, but it just, you know people sort of become hysterical.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you reflect, you say this happens for all kinds of things, that fear or hysteria of change, can you reflect on what empowers that? What causes that?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: I really think it's because it's the unknown. Something is proposed in their neighbourhood and it is going to change it in some way. There is never any indication from anyone when it changes propose that it might benefit them. It's always the negative that's, I mean you know that's not fair to say that, because people feel, some people feel that way, but the voice that becomes predominant is the negative one. It becomes this kind of collective hysteria. People haven't even thought of the issue, they just detach themselves from reality in some way. They were contentious because they existed as illegal suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The reality of illegal suites, especially given that they're everywhere, was there a lot of experience with illegal suites? Did residents know?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Most remained, most remained anonymous. And I think that's still the case today. But once it became known, it became an evil thing. And I really remember that, even this righteous attitude. Even, you know, I must confess when I first heard this illegal suite issue I sort of thought oh how can people act that way, right? It just becomes this righteous attitude. Like you are doing something you're not allowed to do. And then you look at the issue in a different way, well it's benefitting society, right, because it's increasing housing stock, it's making, people who can't afford a home, they can more afford it because they have additional income to pay for the bills, you know, all of these things. But now in this city the debate has gone on so long, all of those arguments should be understood. There's no kind of reason for that kind of ignorance anymore.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was there certain neighbourhoods or communities where these appeals constantly came up?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: More in the northeast. And I remember one of the alderman, when I was arguing for them, saying, you know that was the tip of iceberg and if they were allowed his whole community would be overrun with them, his whole ward. I don't know if that's real. My opinion – that the ones that are there, and are not a problem, are accepted and people never think of that as being illegal. It's just there. I mean, I remember when I was growing up here – there were often basement suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about legalizing that is so dangerous, if there's already thousands of them existing in many communities?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: That's a good question. I have no idea. And I think it's just that irrational voice again. The fear was – if this is allowed, we'll be overrun with them, everyone will do it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I was looking through archives trying to find that motion. I think I might have found it, but I don't know. Do you know when that discussion was had? Beginning of your term or more toward the end?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: No it wouldn't have been at the beginning. You can't keep on doing the same things and have a change occur. You still see it today, the rates of homelessness in this city, right? Go figure. Isn't that a surprise.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Despite the coalition, there is still a minority holding power over outcomes.

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: It's because members of Council are controlled by this small slice in their wards who say don't do this. And they are probably the people who are most involved in their re-elections.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How is it that that particular group have power?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: It's a very small organization, really. But has an enormous ability to lobby. And why? Because they can rally those anti-people in a second... They can rally those people who say don't do this you're going to cause havoc.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious what 'disruption' means.

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: Nobody really knows what it means. They just assume that it's going to be different and different isn't better.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When that discussion was had, I know it was some time ago, it was still a ward-based system, was there any patterns to who voted it down and who supported it?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: It was generally always, if there was a split on contentious issues, it was generally inner-city agreed for change and because our communities in the inner city are more mixed anyway. I mean, there are R1 neighbourhoods in this ward who wanted them protected, I mean, they weren't any different. But they're generally more mixed. There are apartments, townhouses. There's diversity. And lots of people would say that's a good thing. It makes a more vibrant neighbourhood. And I watched the neighbourhood change. I've been around for a very long time and I watched the neighbourhood and it is better.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: By contrast how would you describe suburban wards?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: They are very homogeneous. They're very much one note communities, right, small single family houses. A fence. They have their own lot. I mean, it's very much, and it is a lifestyle, that people love and protect. You know, it's neighbourhoods where they think they're children have more freedom, there are schools close by, all that kind of stuff.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do a particular group of Councillors not want to move forward with these policies?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: I think they are scared of the repercussions of their electors. When you're elected to a city government, you need to have a city perspective, not just a neighbourhood perspective. Because these issues always get caught up in, you know.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about R1 neighbourhoods that generates discrimination against renters?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: People think, I would hear this sometimes, that people would base their arguments and say that's person is a renter, so they're not like me. Which meant that they're not, I don't know ... I can't speak to their prejudices, but they certainly had them. That if you rent you are at a different, you're just different from me. I often got the impression when people made that argument that they thought renters were of a lower class. It was real discrimination. People would get up and speak for their appeal and speak in a very derogatory way about renters. I would decide almost immediately against them because that's just total discrimination. But that still exists. People think it is going to diminish the value of their property, and that's a real driver, because their home is the single most, expense, not expense, but asset, right? The most important asset is their home. People living in mixed neighbourhoods have more experience living in diverse neighbourhoods. People in Briar Hill like visiting mixed neighbourhoods, they just don't want to live there. It's like living in a neighbourhood where everybody is a senior. Would you like to do that? No, no thank you, I don't want to do that. It's nice to have a house next door with children. It's nice to have that mix. I mean it is more vibrant, and it is safer. It's a protective attitude, where you feel like you have to protect all that you have. And it could be too, maybe a neighbourhood has, maybe the leadership in the neighbourhood has always been more global, perhaps, in outlook. And that may be leads to less fear. I mean if you've never experienced, you know, and maybe if the neighbourhood Experiencing other countries, other conditions, other neighbourhoods, they know that it's not a bad thing. Everybody should be compelled to travel.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there are any gaps in knowledge among the public and/or Council regarding blanket re-zoning?

BEVERLY LONGSTAFF: It would be nice if you could have a discussion without engaging in the emotion, but that's difficult to do.

Appendix G: Anonymous Email from a community leader to the Federation of Calgary**Communities, July 16, 2010.**

I have been following the trail of emails on this subject, and ...

Whilst he seems to be a nice type of person, but the fact remains, if the majority of our residents want R1, then we have to object to his application for a legal secondary suite.

The fact still remains, with an illegal suite, we can do something to stop the wild parties, Noise, parking, and leaving the place in a messy state.

With a LEGAL suite we do not have any control, as the occupants have rights and priveleges too!

If the owner of the property lives there, at least he can be responsible for his tenants, and the City would amend their bylaws, so that the owner MUST be in residence too, even when the property is sold, the same conditions must apply. Could the City impose this condition to their approval process???

A rented home without the owner there, with a legal suite could be a nightmare!

It's finding the resident's pulse on this issue. It could be a good Subject for our AGM.

Appendix H: Interview Transcription with Brian Pincott, Councillor for Ward 11 in

Calgary, on September 20, 2016.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are Council's concerns about secondary suites?

BRIAN PINCOTT: They vary quite frankly. They are things around we must preserve existing housing land uses and R1 shall ever thus remain R1. There are concerns from Council around the notion of spot zoning, what they call it, but everything we do is kind of spot zoning. Concerns about that, that we should have larger community context. There are concerns that if neighbours don't want it for whatever reason that neighbours should have a say in it, and neighbours concerns typically revolve around traffic, parking, and the quality of a renter.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is driving the politics to preserve land use?

BRIAN PINCOTT: It comes from residents, where people say look I bought into an R1 neighbourhood specifically, and it should remain that. You have this motion of a covenant with me as a resident that you won't change it. Which is silly. I don't believe that people when they buy a house, typically go, well this neighbourhood is R1 and oh there is R2 over there, but it's not near me. I think they look at the house and they look at the street and say I like it. I don't think they research all that much what all of the zoning is and zoning history is.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is your understanding of the value of preserving R1? What are the arguments made to preserve the RC1 neighbourhood? What are they trying to preserve?

BRIAN PINCOTT: They are trying to preserve the notion of private domain where other people don't encroach on it. Encroachment means parking in front of their house and creating noise. So I think it's that, that desire to preserve private domain.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So blanket re-zoning. Why do you think that proposal failed?

BRIAN PINCOTT: I think that generally people, the politicians don't believe ... see now you're into a political trap. It's a political trap. You can do all the polling you want that shows all of the widespread support for it. But one of my colleagues doesn't support, generally, the occasional one, generally doesn't support secondary suites because as he said he went to a community meeting and he said in front of the community, how many people want a secondary suite near them? And he said everybody was opposed to it, so I have to be opposed to it. Well that's not a poll, it's not scientific. So I think generally people go, they get yelled at about secondary suites from the people who yell about those things, which is a significant minority, but that is all they hear and they have, there is an inability of the politicians to consider that the vocal angry few are actually a few and we actually have a, this is a larger scale political problem that we have, we actually have a majority of politicians who don't understand the role of leadership.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you unpack that more?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Who are in here in the job, and feel that their role is just to reflect what the community wants, the community they represent. Whether it's good for the city or not. That's not leadership. Leadership is talking about how we grow and mature and why and leading a community in that conversation so that ideally the community understands. They may not like it, but at least they understand why these choices are being made. And, as an example, that's the role, that's what I think our job is. I picked up a community in the 2010 election that switched from one councillor to me. And the previous councillor was vehemently opposed to secondary suites, and when I door knocked in the election, all I heard at the doors of that community was opposition to secondary suites. I said yes I'm in favour of re-zoning, of allowing them in R1. That community didn't vote me, not a surprise. But I would go to community meetings, and my first year every community meeting or event I went to they talked to me, they yelled at me about secondary suites, and I would just talk about what it really means, and why, and that a lot of the fears of them are not based in reality, and I talked about the benefit. Before that election, the community did a community survey which said 80% opposition to secondary suites. [Haysboro] They were 80% opposed, the community association did a poll and they were opposed. A couple years ago, after talking about it, it fell off the radar as I talked about it more. And two years ago the community association did a poll, almost identical, and it was 75% in favour if I remember. So that is what I think my job is, not to go oh you're 80% in opposition I'll always vote against.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you describe what happened in that process? Do you feel in those engagements that there were gaps in knowledge?

BRIAN PINCOTT: There's always gaps of knowledge and people act from a position of lack of knowledge and fear, including my colleagues.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are some things that were a significant gap in knowledge?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Around parking rights. The street belongs to everybody, you do not have a right to the parking spot in front of your house. Another gap is around who renters are. I find it fascinating and I tweeted this, obviously when people believe when you buy a house you magically become a good person because all renters are bad, that we hear, but we've all been renters, shit I'm a renter right now, and we magically forget that we were all renters. So obviously if renters are bad and I'm a homeowner and I don't want a renter, I magically turned into a good person when I got a big ass debt called a mortgage. And talking about who uses secondary suites, and why, and it can be varied from the kids to the parents to caregivers to yeah I want the extra income. It can be varied. The other thing I've said, publicly, is you know if you're worried about parking, density and the quality of person, you know, you don't get a say, your neighbours don't have to ask you before they get pregnant, before they buy another car, and they don't have to ask you who they get to sell their house to. But that's the equivalent to what they're asking. You don't want more cars? Then your neighbour should give approval for you to get another car.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there was an opportunity to have the conversation on a larger scale before voting on blanket re-zoning?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Yes. I believe that the process we undertook in 2010 to 2013, in that term, was bad. Some councillors did their polling and just went well the numbers are there and I can ram it through and not understanding, they were new on Council, and not understanding all the political dynamics that you have to lead people to that decision as opposed to going here it is make the decision, because politically and we saw, it happened, there is a reason for the last seven years, six years, it's been like a stalemate. And I believe because it was not handled well in that first term, where we didn't lead people through a conversation to understand what we were talking about. It was the poll is there, this is what I campaigned on, I'm doing it and you can't do that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: These are things that occurred right before blanket re-zoning was proposed?

BRIAN PINCOTT: This was long before. This was 2011, 2012. That was our attempt at a compromise because in the Mayor's first term, the Mayor, and this was the Mayor's being new and not understanding the political process, he tried to do a city wide, we're going to make secondary suites a permitted use in R1. And there was, I totally supported that it was something I believed in, but it was not done in a manner that got us to victory. That ends up poisoning the waters, right? Because it is a classic suburban urban split on Council, so that was our approach to try and find a compromise that would allow us to move forward without putting, say the suburban councillors feeling that their residents didn't want it and it would be politically untenable for them to do it. We tried to pull off the threat for them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think it is an urban suburban divided on this issue?

BRIAN PINCOTT: The suburban myth of the white picket fence and backyard. That is where the notion of private domain is dominant. I think it's about that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience what were some of the reactions, were the reactions very similar to what you saw in 2015?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Yeah. The arguments against them has never changed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who do you think are the key institutional actors that resist blanket re-zoning? Are the same people in the 2011/12 as 2015?

BRIAN PINCOTT: No, I don't think there were any real institutional actors.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Okay.

BRIAN PINCOTT: You take a look at who came out in favour of secondary suites, everybody did! Everybody.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So who were the people who weren't? Who was not board with that coalition?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Community associations and neighbours and residents.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why community associations? What makes them distinct?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Because most community associations are not politically astute. And they are susceptible to bullies. And community associations are generally small, and there is a very small number of people who participate in them, but they can be very loud. So if a community association hears from 20 or 30 residents saying don't you dare have secondary suites, they'll come up with a position that says we're not going to have secondary suites. What's disappointing is that when you get a city councillor who should understand all of that, I've heard twenty emails against secondary suites, you go you kidding me? Twenty emails from a neighbourhood of 7000 people, and you won't support it for that? Give me a fucking break. A community association, the level of sophistication is so varied and ability and desire to lead and desire, a lot of people get involved with community associations for very specific reasons, generally to say no to shit. And that is one of the problems I have, I mean with some community associations, who are focused on the negative. We are here to fight prevent change in our neighbourhood.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you speak to that kind of politics, a politics of opposition or saying no, do you think, can you reflect on the relationship that some of these community associations have with their council and/or administration that would perpetuate that? What is your sense of the relationship between CAs and Council?

BRIAN PINCOTT: I think generally the relationship that is given them doesn't, the weight that is given a community association does not distinguish whether they're capable, knowledgeable, functioning community association or they're one that, there's no distinction that is made. We do a lot to foster it by asking or requiring community association input on things that again they could be representing six people or a hundred people. They may know what they're talking about, they may not. They may place a greater amount of weight and value on that input without any kind of filter.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think that is? Why do they get disproportionate amount of attention?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Part of it, with administration, is because Councillors force them to. Councillors, a relatively traditional way to become a City Councillor is through community associations. Maybe I'm different because I didn't come from a community association, right? I actually worked on city wide issues and focused it down to a ward when I ran. But I always worked on citywide issues. 8 members of council came up through community associations.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This blanket re-zoning, obviously it was proposed with, the hope or assumption that it would...

BRIAN PINCOTT: I take issue with re-zoning. With the term. What I said we were proposing was keeping R1 and making a secondary suite a permitted use in R1. That is all we are doing. Changing the definition to add R1 as a use. So I actually, I've argued that it isn't blanket re-zoning. We are changing it to allow you to put a secondary suite in.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you seen any transitions in ... so some of the resistance or the backlash to any secondary suite policy ... you've been on Council for 8 years? Okay 9. Can you speak to any transitions, has any thing changed in terms of the tone of the conversation or ...

BRIAN PINCOTT: Well I think from the neighbours it's the same. I think from Councillors opposed to it it's the same. I think the tone has changed around in the public frustration that we're going through this process, that we go through this process one at a time, that we're shamelessly asking people to come up and tell the most pitiful story that they can in order to beg on bended knee for the royal we to lend them the right to be able to stay in their own home. And none of that should ever be erred in public, and all completely irrelevant to the land use. And that is what frustrates the hell out of me and I think more and more people are getting really frustrated with that, because seriously all of those stories that we hear at City Council and when people opposed to it come and complain to their neighbours, irrelevant to the land use. And yet we allow, Council allows it to happen and it's embarrassing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think that weights on Council?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Generally not. I mean those and the majority voted against doing any kind of rules changes, they say it's the perfect approach, an appropriate use of Council's time. The majority of the applications go through. Because those guys who vote for them after the sob story are saying no this is exactly what our job is. And so I maybe they like the notion of being sort of this beneficent power that can, I will buy my generosity to give you the ability to make your life better and I get to hear your sob story and have you flagulate yourself in public to be able to earn my generosity. I'm being really, I think I am ... I think it's a power position and they love flaunting it and it's embarrassing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of gaps in knowledge among Council?

BRIAN PINCOTT: I have gaps in knowledge all over the place. Probably not as much as a lot of people on Council, who have done zero research on traffic, parking, the notion of complete communities, financial empowerment for the families who need someone to live in the basement. The notion of tenant rights.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think the fact that secondary suites are poised as a form of affordable housing has anything to do with resistance against them?

BRIAN PINCOTT: I wrote an op-ed where I said look secondary suites are neither paragon or paraiah. For those who are presenting it as a solution to affordable housing they're wrong, and those who say it's going to destroy community, they're wrong too. I don't think, I don't think it had been dragged into the housing crisis and we need to solve it ... that did secondary suites no

help whatsoever. The immediate reaction is I'm going to have a homeless person living next door to me. I don't think we did ourselves any favour striking that piece. It's a tiny piece of it, but certainly not.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The whole piece, the term slumlords, and the issue around owner occupancy?

BRIAN PINCOTT: It's all red herring. Owner occupancy doesn't make a difference. Other cities that have gone down this path, who said we will do secondary suites that are owner occupied, and then after a couple years they said it's nuts and they removed the restriction. It's that, so things like owner occupied, buys into that notion that renters are second class citizens and that is the thing, that notion is what drives owner occupied.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel that having more permitted will make more suites?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Yes because the more hoops you put in place for somebody to jump through to either get one or legalizing an existing one. The more hoops you put in place the less people will do it, right? I think primarily of existing ones.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Did they [applicants] ever talk to you about their primary barriers?

BRIAN PINCOTT: God yeah their neighbours. They hear absolute vile that comes from their neighbours' mouths and they don't want to go through it because it's a fight.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do they go to their CA?

BRIAN PINCOTT: They don't always go through the CA, but they don't have to. Some councillors ask that they do, but that's ridiculous. They don't have to, it's completely inappropriate. Some do, most don't.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you believe the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

BRIAN PINCOTT: No, not at all.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think people who resist secondary suites whether it's broad level policy or individual applications, where do you think the belief in unchanging land use comes from?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Post-second world war urban growth patterns. We've been for 50 years we've been an urban sprawl model, or a suburban model, and that has led to the notion that you don't change existing land use you just keep expanding further and further out. And that if somebody has R1 it shall ever be thus. So I would say it's a post WW2 legacy. Your supervisor would know way better about this than me. Anything about that that I've learned is from Byron.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there is demographic differences, considering that these are places that have been protected and remained relatively unchanged ...

BRIAN PINCOTT: I think there is a degree of classicism to it. I think there is an element of racism to it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Anything else?

BRIAN PINCOTT: Just fucking make it go away.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think that changing idea of who's responsible for housing is having a hand in how people react to this issue?

BRIAN PINCOTT: No I don't think so. I think at Council we are looking, majority of us are looking for more public participation on affordable housing, certainly I was in Ottawa all day yesterday doing the National Stakeholder Consultations on Affordable Housing Strategy. Last week I had sit down meetings with the Minister about affordable housing strategy, or National Housing Strategy. There is a strong desire and need for public participation in affordable housing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: With this whole secondary suites stuff, if you could go back and do something differently, what would it be?

BRIAN PINCOTT: In 2010, 2011, after the election, changed the approach because I think it has poisoned the waters and we're still suffering from that. I would build us towards a decision to make them a permitted use through public engagements, appropriate messaging, through educating the Councillors, not through doing a poll that says hey 85% and that means we can do it. That shows a lack of understanding of the political process. You can't just dismiss them [opponents], you have to listen and acknowledge what they say and they were dismissed in 2011 when we said no the polls are there and we know better and not honestly doing the work. Not doing the work to get to yes. And I believe in 2013, we could have gotten to yes but. Yeah. And we are suffering from the poisoning of the waters. And constantly.

Appendix I: Interview Transcription with an anonymous Municipal Planner with the City of Calgary, on June 23, 2016.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about legal non-conforming suites?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Legal non-conforming means there is a use that has been in place that might have been legal under previous regulations but under the current land use bylaw for example would not be a legal use and so we deem it legal non-conforming. It means it's allowed to be there but it does not conform to the existing set of rules so if someone came to do that same use today under these rules it wouldn't be allowed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What happens if you try and structurally modify a legal non-conforming suite?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: You can do some modifications I think up to a certain amount. And so say you had a building that was legal non conforming and it had a fire, if it was destroyed completely you would not be able to rebuild that use. But if it was only a portion of it, was destroyed, then you could re build. And then there's very limited, like, you can't expand the use beyond a certain percentage. I think that the rules on that are in the Municipal Government Act. I think it's like twenty or twenty five percent of your square footage.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there any kind of policy or planning direction to modify or change or address legal non-conforming suites?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I know there's one councillor in particular that has, in Ward 10, quite a few non-conforming suites because of the history of those communities, how they use to be an independent municipality and were amalgamated. And so a lot of those exist and I think he was advocating for us to be able to address those and every time we had a discussion with him on one of our items it popped up as an interest in resolving that issue. I think he wanted to bring those suites into compliance and it was just a matter of how do we do that. And even though we had a whole host of secondary suite things being contemplated I think he wanted that added and addressed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is the relationship, if there is any, between legal non-conforming suites and the issues around blanket re-zoning or the contentious nature of blanket re-zoning? Are the two related in any way?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think when I was working on the project I felt that they were separate issues. Because I'm not even sure the changes to the RC1 and RC1L districts, which we were proposing, would have resolved the legal non-conforming issues and so I think those had to be dealt with uniquely. I would think that they have different zoning, I'm not sure if there are RC1 zoning.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I was wondering, what made them non-conforming. But it makes sense it was an entirely different set of land use policies.

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Or they were developed in the history of Calgary where there were no rules. There's no rules saying you can't have it, then it's like a gray area whether you're legal or not. I think they were built in a time where the rules didn't prevent them and then once they're there, when you bring in new rules, we have to think about the bylaw, the rules of the day, and were they in accordance with those rules.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you speculate as to why that particular area was annexed into Calgary, why the bylaw at the time did not bring them into compliance? Why is it that administration or Council or whoever the body was imposed a land use on that area that would render all those structures non-conforming?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I don't know exactly but I would say it's not unusual for legal non-conforming uses to exist. It's not unique in particular to secondary suites. We have legal non-conforming uses all over the city. And in particular in areas like this where we're still going through annexation processes, like Rocky View County, Foothills, all those parcels of land had one set of rules and at some point in time when they get annexed they have to come under a new set of rules and then you deal with the uses that are there as land uses change and an area develops. I think there's a recognition that if it's say farmland that comes under the new land use or land use bylaw in the City of Calgary they just put SFUD. A district that basically says that if the use has been there already then it's continued to allowed to exist there until such time as we, you know, want to redevelop the land. But with communities that have urban environment, you can't really create an equivalent of an SFUD district. You need to have rules that sort of accommodate what people are doing on their property as a residential use. And so it's not unusual it's just the way that things happen and eventually those communities will come into, those houses that are say torn down if they're older and rebuilt, then you build it in accordance with the new rules. So you could see, maybe a long term transition, to that things are in compliance and you no longer have those uses.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you did any kind of engagement or speaking with any kind of stakeholders, is that where you got the impression they're separate issues?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: No, I would say that the public is unaware of these as an issue. We weren't looking at Ward 10 as part of this set of land use changes. And so we weren't talking to those community members unless they chose to come out to our open houses for the other four wards. So it's not like they were advocating or organizing on their behalf to have this resolved for them it was just Councillor Chabot for the area saying this is something that I would like to deal with. So we didn't include it in our public communications or public houses because it didn't have anything to do with the four wards that we were dealing with.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are these places that are amalgamated?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: You can find it in the MPD. There was a map that basically showed the build out and growth ...

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you tell me about any recent public engagement processes regarding secondary suite policies?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: We were out in February and March of 2015. We had four open houses. Well, we called them information sessions. We specifically did not call them open houses. It was not engagement, it was along the spectrum of public participation, it was an information session. We invited the public to come out and find out about what the proposed bylaw changes were so they could be as informed as possible going into the public hearing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you speculate as to why it was done that way?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Yes. I know exactly why it was done that way. It was done that way because we were given very specific direction about what to bring to Council and they made that decision in a public forum in I think during the September council conversations. 2014.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So there was some kind of public discussion about how they would do this particular thing?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Yes. I think the conversation in that September report was that administration recommending a city wide strategy and policy approach to implementing suites on a broad basis, as fair as possible, across the entire city. And it was getting voted down. You could see everything that has been recommended administration was getting voted down by Council and so there were those four councillors that basically stood up and said if you're not going to support this, then we would like you to consider supporting it in our four wards because we think we can do this, and it will be a bit of a pilot and maybe you will see that the world will not fall apart. So they floated that right at the end of that conversation and I can't recall exactly if Council voted on that at that point to say okay go away do some work bring us some rule changes and we'll consider them for your four wards. I believe they did vote. And they got enough support to go away and look at it. So then the four councillors were basically like, very clear about what they wanted administration to bring back for the rule changes for their four wards specifically. And so when it came to a public conversation it wasn't, was does administration think should happen here, it was this is what Council has asked us to bring back, here's what the rules look like, we've gone away and figured that out on their behalf, and now we want to explain that to you so that you have an understanding of what it means, what the changes would mean to you and how you might be affected.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So the direction, that specific direction administration was given, was concentrated in those four councillors?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Wards 7, 8, 9 and 11 – for those four councillors.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What was your experience at those information sessions?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think the feedback we heard was quite a bit of support, quite a bit in opposition, and some people there just to find out. So there were definitely some people who were very vocal who came to each of the information sessions, or as many as they could, to speak to the media and to speak to the Councillors, to speak to other people, to try and advocate in opposition. But there was a lot of people in those sessions who came to say I want to have a suite, or I live in a house that has a suite that's illegal right now, how, what are the technical ways that I could bring this suite into compliance if these rule changes go ahead. And so we had a building code guys, our fire code guys, beyond planning who had the technical people there this is what you would do and here's how much it might cost you in order to bring your suite into compliance and here's the inspections you'd have to pass, the applications you'd have to make. So giving them a lot of information so that they could decide if it was something they wanted to pursue. So our information sessions were really good that way. There was definitely a broad interest and there was quite a bit of positive even though it seemed like there was a lot of people screaming and yelling and getting upset. So I think the people who were in support and were curious about secondary suites and maybe in having one of their own in their community were more quieter and would ask questions on the side to building folks and then the people who were in opposition were really like, targeting, wanting to talk to the Councillors who were there.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What was going on at those information sessions? I'm presuming that those four Councillors came forward with that direction with the support of their constituents. Do you know how those Councillors came to the position that they did? Did they themselves do any prior public engagement, or are you aware of any stakeholder conversations that led to administration being given the direction that they were?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: But this was the opposite, because we were directed, this is what we want you to bring and so we didn't have a lot of flexibility so what was the point of talking to the public? We couldn't do anything with their input other than report to Council here's what we heard as far as feedback whether there's support or concerns, it wasn't really like administration got to have an opinion whereas usually when we bring something forward we have an opinion through recommending it we are saying this is where we think we should go. So that made it trickier.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When doing a land use bylaw review, you have to engage everybody. For individual land use redesignations, you notify neighbours. In broad land use change, you are exempted from all the individual circulations.

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Many conversations as to whether we were doing a textual amendment or blanket re-zoning. We had our legal teams give us advice, and there were risks regarding process. A textual amendment is an easier process to go through, and you achieve the same results as doing a blanket re-zoning which requires a pretty massive under taking.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything else in terms of public engagement that I might find useful?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I would say one of the things about public engagement for this it was an information session and generally speaking when we propose amendments to the land use bylaw we would do one open house, maybe two, and this was one information session in each of the four wards and so it was significantly more opportunities for the public to find out about this than is usually I guess the strategy. So we really tried to make it available for people to come and talk to us and we tried to put a lot of information on our website, we tried to clean up, created a whole website just for secondary suites, put out a video, tried to get the information out there. We wanted to have a really, a high level conversation at the public hearing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is the planning rationale for zoning secondary suites into new communities?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Like our R1 districts in suburban areas? What is the rationale?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Yeah, the planning rationale.

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: So I think with just the modernization of urban planning and really where we're going we want to have higher densities than we've typically have in suburban development and so secondary suites is one way to achieve higher residential densities and when you're building a community from scratch you can plan for those secondary suites, and the density of the people that are in that community and their use of the infrastructure and you can build the infrastructure to accommodate, not just single family homes but the suites that might be within them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience, who are the key institutional actors mobilizing against blanket re-zoning?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Institutional? So not talking about general public?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: No. There is, as you said, with the information sessions, there's clearly a diversity of views and depending on what poll or survey there's clearly some support. The point, there's a large group of people who are opposed and a large group that support, what I'm asking specifically about is institutional and I'm asking that because we still don't have any kind of blanket re-zoning, so by institutional perhaps I mean those people who have a say in decision making processes or actually have a hand in the outcome we have today.

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: So not just administration or Council .. so Community Associations. So who would be in opposition of them?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Yeah, in your experience, those key actors that mobilize specifically against blanket re-zoning.

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: So I definitely have seen community association who, I guess their planning chair or planning committee has taken a position. If you want to look at the public hearing, again there was a submission of about letters from Community Associations that oppose

the change, so those were community associations who said either we've decided based on conversations we've had with our community members or we've done a poll and the poll says no. And so they submitted a formal letter to say they formally opposed it. And then there's the Not4Rz which is a grassroots group that got organized, I don't know if we would consider them institutional, because they weren't, they are organized and they have a title but they are representative of community members from across the City.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you tell me more about them or their involvement with this particular policy? They are representative of communities?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: It's a group of citizens and I don't think they are specific to the four wards, they have membership and people who have supported them probably throughout the city.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Members of the public have supported this group throughout the city? And they are a group that specifically responded to secondary suites?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I had not heard of them before so I feel they got organized based on this proposal that came forward. They created a website and the website had, like, FAQs or information that was specific to what was coming forward as a part of our package of amendments. I certainly remember seeing members of this group at more than one information session and so I think that they were not just there to speak to the Councillors and advocate for their position but also to talk to other community members. They wanted to talk to as many people in the room as they could to tell us that they felt that this was a bad idea.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who were the Councillors who were present at the information sessions?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: They each came out to their own wards. I'm trying to remember because they were talking about coming to each other's, as well, and I can't remember exactly whether any of them showed up to each other's. Councillor Pootmans came to the ward 11 one. I'm not sure what his motivation was.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The members of this Not4RZ group, do you, are they prominent in any other kind of public discourse or any other like, or this is the singular thing that

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Yeah, this is their focus and I think the reason they call themselves Not4RZ is not for re-zoning so now that they're relatively organized and they have a network I expect that we will see them continue to talk about secondary suite issues.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do they actually live in the wards that were being discussed or represent any community, did they ever disclose that?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: No. I don't know who is part of their group. I know who spoke on their behalf, at the public hearing. A woman named Melanie Swailes who seems to be their point person. I think she may be a ward 7 resident but I don't know for sure.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you understand, so these key institutional actors you've identified, what do you understand of their rationale, their resistance to blanket rezoning?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: So there's lots of direct information on Not4RZ website where they specifically talk about what are their concerns. What I heard them say was density, being inappropriate for their neighbourhoods, parking being an issue that there is not enough parking for the amount of vehicles these extra residents would have, garbage, and unsightly properties, people who are renters, their argument was if you're a renter than you value the appearance of your property less. So you wouldn't take care of it, you wouldn't care to clean up garbage. I think they sort of did get into the burden on infrastructure.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I want to unpack this word – inappropriate. What does that mean? How is density considered inappropriate, because of this infrastructure piece, or are you referring to something else?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Their arguments are really difficult for me to really get a good handle on because sometimes I feel the arguments they're using are kind of hiding what their real concerns are. They are saying these communities are meant for single families, and the infrastructure and the way the community is designed is assuming a certain number of people per home, and if you add more people into the community through these suites, the community just doesn't have the capacity to handle it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can we take a detour – when we're talking about renters and unsightly properties and what density was planned in 1950 or 1960, I just want a professional, the land use bylaw, what would you say in a general sense is the land use bylaw's purpose?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: To govern the use of any particular property.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: From a planning perspective, can the land use bylaw legitimately be used to segregate renters from home owners?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: No. We have legal decisions that say you cannot dictate through a land use bylaw who lives or uses a site, you can only dictate how it is used and what is built. That's a Supreme Court of Canada decision about not regulating the user, just the use.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm wondering, I've heard this too before, but who does this apply to? Obviously when planners are drafting a land use bylaw they are under this particular stipulation, are they the only ones that have to follow that rule?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Not just, it's a municipality as a whole, so anything a municipality does, their authority only goes so far. And the extent of that authority of a city or a municipality to govern what happens on land is subject to the building, size and what it looks like, and what uses can be done on that property.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Would you say Council is beholden to this rule as well?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Absolutely. The Council doesn't actually make rules, the city itself and administration is the keeper of those rules that govern the city so Council gives us direction, but they don't write the rules. The municipality itself, as administration, has to operate within the authority that is given to the municipal government act.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Whether we're talking about broad city wide policy or an individual land use amendment, a Councillor cannot individually vote down a land use redesignation because it's introducing renters, they can only vote it down based on planning merit?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Planning merit, exactly.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is the planning guidelines for secondary suites, in any statutory way, outlined somewhere?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: There is a section in the earlier chapters or whatever they are of the land use bylaw that talks about the administration of this bylaw, like how the bylaw works. And I think it might be in the development permit section, and it says what needs to be considered by the municipality when they're considering a development permit. So it's not a land use change, because the rules about what you can consider in a land use redesignation are within the MGA, so there is a section in the MGA that talks about these are the things you can consider in a land use change, and in the bylaw for the development permit, and it might be straight out of the MGA, probably reflective of both.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But the MGA does outline what can be assessed or the nature, yeah, so is that kind of why in those public hearing processes whenever perhaps someone who is speaking out against an applicant that's why a Councillor has the power to say you cannot speak to the characteristics of the person. Is there any measure of accountability? How do you actually guarantee?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: You can't. They're instructed you have to disregard that comment, put it out of your mind, you can't consider financial reasons either, they can't consider that as part of their rationale for a subdivision. Financial reasons, reasons outside of planning matters, cannot be considered. So if someone from the public comes up and says something they are supposed to just not think about that. They are supposed to just disregard those comments.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What about going back to what the land use bylaw is for, my first question was about is it legal to segregate homeowners from renters, the other thing drawing from changing the nature of the neighbourhood or changing the low density character of the neighbourhood, would you say is that what the land use bylaw in part is for? Is to maintain any kind of community character? Or is there any bylaws or rules that are in place that are meant to preserve some kind of community character?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: There are rules about the appearance of a building. But they're kind of loosely defined. There's another bylaw that talks about the character and appearance of a building, so if you were

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel there are any misconceptions among Council regarding secondary suites?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: They mostly asked us do you have numbers or data or did you do a crunch of these numbers for us. I remember one asking about, they were asking us for numbers to try and make a point. To try to justify why they were going to not support, I'm assuming. So often we didn't have the data because we weren't anticipating they would want that, so our answer were sorry we don't have those numbers for you and they can make their point even without those numbers. And some of them were asking how many development permits have we actually seen.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So none of these questions about these specific questions was in that initial direction?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: No, which is not unusual, because they tell us to do something and we bring it back and we have to anticipate their questions and say here's the research that we did but they were asking us really left field questions. Some of them were trying to make a point like, this is not going to actually improve circumstances, suites are not going to come in for development permits if they're allowed, how many development permits do we actually have, what communities are these permits in, how many complaints have we received due to secondary suites and location of those, so they were trying to ask questions in that direction, you know. To deliver on whatever their position was.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: This is, this keeps coming up for me, that blanket re-zoning will not result in suites coming into development permit. Based on your experience as a planner, do you have anything to say about that?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think their point, and there is a lot of confusion because secondary suites is kind of a complicated issue. The other thing is we were bringing forward so many different things for them to think about and strategically we tried to separate the conversation pieces and they directed they all go on the same agenda at the end of June. That's very confusing, you're going to lose track of what we're trying to get you to decide on. We tried to be strategic about it but it didn't really play out that way. Blanket re-zoning, what it was going to accomplish was eliminating the need for a public hearing, right? So it was going to save Council significant amount of time because they still to this day are spending many many hours talking about secondary suites as they come forward. It was going to eliminate the risk for the applicant of that, the communities coming out and lobbying and opposing Council and then having to talk about personal details of their life in order to do whatever they could to get an approval, you know, whether it took tears or I'm sick my mother is sick and she needs to live with me, those are the kinds of things, again they're not planning considerations, they should not be on the table

but people felt pressured to reveal those things so that they could do what they needed. And the mayor speaks to that all the time – this is inappropriate that we are asking people to talk about the details of their lives. And he says all these people are English second language, this is very intimidating for them to come and speak to Council when all they're trying to do is accommodate their family and their house. The difference was yes it will make a difference because it will fix that process for an applicant, it will make life easier for them even though the applications were free, they weren't risking their money to do this.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: A lot of the amendments, some of the amendments, waive the fee, waive the fee, and what I've heard is oh we waived the fee and they're not coming forward. I don't know if you've worked with applicants, but if this public hearing process a significant barrier to applying?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think in the culture right now in Calgary, the way that public hearings go, people will look at that and say I'm not interested in doing that. And they have to look at the design of their suite, they probably have to pay some professional fees and spend some money even though the application itself does not cost anything they probably have to hire maybe an architect or someone to come out and look at their space and see if it's even doable. They're going to have to spend some money and the time and the stress, this is some other stuff that we heard, we got letters submitted to us about an applicant having, feeling that they have to go and talk to their neighbours and say I am proposing a suite, will you support me or not? Here are the details, and their neighbours saying I will not support you for these reasons and it totally breaking the relationship between those neighbours and them being enemies now in their community and making it extremely awkward for them to live together.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is this prevalent in your experience?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I would say, I mean one lady actually wrote us here is my experience in a formal letter. One of the things that Councillor Keating was advocating for, he probably wasn't the only one, but his real point was any time someone brings forward an application we want to know how the neighbours feel and we want to know, with signatures whether they support it or not. Where do they live and are they in support or opposition, take this form as an applicant. So go and get these signatures, talk to your neighbours, explain what you're doing, and then bring that to the public hearing. We talked to our FOIP folks and had them review it and said is this form in its current state legal? Because you're requiring that someone identify where they live and who they are and putting their signature on it. And they said there's a risk of this form will become public because it would part of the application package and the information going to Council and Council expecting to see it so we have to be very careful about how we used it but they said it's possible to use it. So an applicant collecting that information is not against the FOIP legislation, it's how the municipality then uses that form and how with an application package of information going to Council how we would present that information was the tricky part.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you tell me of any, with neighbours and neighbour support and these forms, and the difficulties that some applicants may face in this whole process, can you speak to any types of discrimination in these processes, if there is any?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think that's anyone's perception in watching the public hearing, I think planners see language submitted in letters of opposition that get submitted or phone calls that they get so we have to go through notification process by the way there's been a land use change application or there's been a development permit application here's what it is, here's the address so people know exactly what property they're looking at, and then I think they call us with all sorts of reasons about why they would oppose it. Some of that stuff would be put on paper as part of the file. It's just a matter of how forthcoming people feel about the arguments that they're making. We certainly heard it verbally at our information sessions but I would say the comments that got written down on the formal feedback forms weren't quite as blatant as what we heard people say.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kinds of things did you hear people say that were discriminatory?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: It's really funny because we would chuckle and we would say, what's happening with the formal conversation with what we can talk about is totally different from the informal conversation happening. If we were to create a power point presentation to Council that was actually what people were saying it would be really unprofessional and inappropriate. So mostly people would say, they stand up and argue and say renters are second class citizens they might not get into gender or age or race specifically, or income, but they're using I think those judgments and what I've seen in my opinion, that's what I feel is behind their comments.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So from what you've seen it's about tenure but it's about more than tenure?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: Right, they're judging. What is a renter? They are making assumptions about who a renter is and you'll see Pincott and other Councillors stand up and say I am a renter and I have been a renter and I don't fall into the category of who you're thinking that would be. And I have a job and I take care of my property and I have a family and responsibilities and I'm a good citizen, you know, and I don't think it's fair for you to make comments that seem like this is what you're saying and even the Mayor has called people out to say, is that what I just heard you say, you know? There'll be a comment made, and he'll say, you didn't really just say that, did you? So they'll press people at the hearings when they feel like inappropriate comments are being made.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Blanket re-zoning removes the need for a public hearing. When councillors vote down blanket re-zoning policy, do you feel that they are aware that this is what they are voting down? Do they see that connection?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: We've talked blatantly with them about that. We've said here are the outcomes if these decisions are approved and this is why we are recommending them. We have

put it quite clearly that it is an outcome. I think some of them may not be thinking about the applicant's side of things, they are thinking about, Council will lose control over these decisions and they want to, I'm assuming, I could see that there is an interest in maintaining control over individual suite decisions. If there was no longer a need to come a public hearing, that decision goes to administration and doesn't stay in the public forum.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why would Council want to hold onto that power?

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: I think because they can be so political and cause a lot of grief. If they are going to get a lot of upset people over the decision, they want to maintain some control over the decision.

[turned off recorder]

MUNICIPAL PLANNER: It's a little bit baseless, what's on their website. I read that and think, yes you're misleading people. It's maybe the opinions of a small group of people. But the folks who don't have the time to become as informed on the issue as they would like to be read that and think oh they must know what they're talking about... I think there is an inherent mistrust of government and so what you put out there, some people will just dismiss.

Appendix J: Interview Transcription with Cheryl, a community leader, on July 19, 2016.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: For whom are you speaking for?

CHERYL: Not4RZ Group.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your experience in your neighbourhood over time?

CHERYL: I showed you that this morning. Lived in the neighbourhood for 30 years and it's gone from being every single house owned by a home owner generally with kids to being a neighbourhood with older seniors I guess, where kids have moved out of the homes, and then now those homes being sold and a lot of them being sold to investors. That's a big difference. We never had investors. They were home owners rather than investors.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why is that happening? What is bringing that about?

CHERYL: A number of things. As the City has grown, properties in the inner city have become more desirable and because we're close to the university in my case then that's desirable for rentals for students. I think there's more kids going to university than there would have been back when the neighbourhood was built in the 60s, for one, so there's bigger demand for it. And the houses are getting to an age where they either need to have work done, which is going to cost money, or they are going to turn into rentals because the renters aren't as picky about what they want in a house.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does one become a member of this association or group or whatever we're speaking to. What is the difference between representation and members, how do you gauge and assess the views of members, what is considered the community?

CHERYL: I think it's probably really relevant how the group got formed. The way it started for me was that I didn't have any real clue about secondary suites other than the ones that I saw in my neighbourhood were not complementary, not very good to the neighbourhood. So then what happened is when I found out about the proposal to re-zone the four wards, I went to an open house about them and interesting enough the open house I went to was at the military museum, it wasn't for our neighbourhood, so as another example of how I don't think our councillor represents our neighbourhood very well, the open house held for ward 7 was held at Fort Calgary and you know for people who live in Brentwood, Dalhousie, anybody else who doesn't work downtown or living in East Village, Fort Calgary, in the winter, I couldn't even go to the one with our councillor so I went to the military museum because it was easier to get to and on that night Councillor Pootmans was there even though it wasn't his ward, and Councillor Carra. And Councillor Carra was of course a big proponent of the secondary suites and Councillor Pootmans was taking a let's listen to people and wait and see attitude. I spoke with both of them that night, and Carra quickly dismissed any concerns with suites and Pootmans listened for a long time and

I gained a lot of respect for him. What I said to him was, what I'm finding is secondary suites in our neighbourhood that are investor owned are not great. And I don't like that so can't we push to have an owner in the suite, because that's even what the mayor campaigned on, and I was told there is no way of ensuring there is an owner in the suite. They said they can regulate the use but not the user, and I've heard that a lot of times, so essentially we allowed certain people freedoms. So you can apply to rent a suite but I have no way of checking if you're physically the person there, you know, so they said that becomes problematic. So I argued and said well wait if the Mayor had this as his platform, then legal councillors or someone would have said hold on there is no way we can do that. How can he run on a campaign of owner? And that night I was really upset. If the owner is not in the suite then we're allowing investors to come in and create duplexes, and allowing duplexes in an R1 neighbourhood, and that was never the intent of a secondary suite. So I was riled up enough about it because it was only the four wards. I also thought what that would do is create really artificial divisions. We have Brentwood right next to Varsity, for example, and Varsity would have still been zoned R1 but Brentwood would be R1s and allow for suites. I thought well that that's going to be very nice, Varsity is just as close to the University as Brentwood is, and if you're an investor, don't buy in Varsity, but come to Brentwood it's free reign. And especially the way the ward boundaries are. Ward 7 is mostly Hillhurst Sunnyside, East village, Eau Claire, the downtown section, but it has a long job in it that goes up into Brentwood and Dalhousie. So what happened then is I actually contacted the Herald and I said I wanted to write a letter but I was limited to a 150 words and I contacted them and ask if I could write an editorial and they agreed to give me that space so I wrote an editorial on if you live in Wards 7, 8, 9 and 11, be aware that this is happening because I found that nobody was aware. And that was sort of the next step after the meeting is that I went around and talked to people in my neighbourhood and asked if they heard about the proposal, and they said no don't even know about it, so I wrote the editorial and I thought okay at least I got that off my chest and hopefully some people will read it, and I kind of thought that would be the end of it, and then I got contacted by people, they looked up my name, my information, and they phoned me. And I got phone calls saying yes you're saying exactly what we are thinking. So I got more and more involved in it, and the neighbourhood nobody knew about it and I thought it was important to let the Brentwood residents know. I booked a program room at the library and I just word of mouth said you know hey if you want to come to this meeting, and we didn't know if anybody would show up, and we got 40 or 45 people showing up, so I did a quick powerpoint presentation and I thought it was balanced. Why are we looking at secondary suites? What good do they do? We had no vacancy at that time. And just said you know so here is what I think is, there's possible benefits to secondary suites, but without an owner in the suite, yeah, reservations about that. And then I had a list of things that they could do to fix it first and that included things like cracking down on the illegal ones, fines, penalties, licensing, different, it wasn't a negative thing it was just there's things we should be doing before we do this. And from there is just kind of spread and we said you know contact your councillor in the same way that you had done, let them know. And it just kind of spread from there and so it went to, I contacted a lot of community associations at that point, and I found that a lot of them just didn't want to get involved, they're volunteers, they don't have the time, but there were some that said yes this is a huge concern for us too. And so then we just started emailing you know around sort of like this and then that's how I came up with the other members of the group. We sort of had the strongest voices on it and we sort of just connected at that point. And then we had a second meeting in

Lakeview, and had quite a good turn out for that as well and then we formed this group. It's a very impromptu group but basically we met then, met each other in person, and we met and then we just sort of formed this group and said we need some way of you know communicating or something. So we formed this rough website, and I mean it's a really rough website, but one of the people set that up and I think you've talked to him actually. And so he set up that so at least we had some place to post things and people found it on that and you know we went from there and then we all spoke at Council opposing this and we were quite vocal with our own community saying if you're opposed to this you have to write somebody and let them know. Because the thing was with the, they held four meetings for the four wards, and they had a total of it worked out to 177 people per ward on average, it was under 800 people that attended. So out of the entire city and out of the entire four wards there were only 700 and some people who knew about this or attended a meeting. There was no meeting held with the community associations or anything like that. So we were quite vocal on it and then you know it went to Council, it got first reading, and after that we had time sort of to you know get more organized and whatever. And they got a lot of letters, a lot of opposition. But essentially it was trying to be slipped through and the Councillors from those four wards what I learned afterwards is they have a very definite ideology and the ideology based around cities and densities and all that kind of thing. And they don't waiver from that ideology let's just say.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your perception in your community that is in the inner city councillor's wards, what is your perception of those four inner city councillors? You mentioned ideology, can you expand on that a bit more, unpack that more? What has been your interaction or experience or perception of their politics?

CHERYL: One of the best conversations I ever had was a full hour long conversation with Ward 1 councillor Ward Sutherland and so we had a conversation with him early on about secondary suites and he was very good to answer all my questions on it. After it had been proposed when I started getting active on this, I started thinking I need to know what the different councillors think, so I started looking at what are the different (...) and I came across what Sutherland had written, saying fix it first, before we legalize anymore areas for secondary suites we know there are a lot of problems around them so why don't we start with enforcing and cracking down on the bad ones before we open them up to new ones, so I had this conversation with him and I was asking him well there is so much we can do like for example if there is an illegal suite, why don't we put a fine in? Or why can't we crack down on them? Right now they are removing the stove and then coming back in and nothing happens. Why can't we put a fine in? He said because certain councillors don't want it. Anything we want to do for secondary suites, like licensing, requires the support of council, the majority of council, and he said there is a strong will on Council to not do these things. Automatically you've got the inner four and the mayor, five out of the fifteen that are one hundred percent for suites in every case, now out of those five you need three more and you've got a majority, so on any one particular issue, well we're going to fine illegal suites, well the argument is we can't really do that because what are we going to do with all those people? If you find an illegal suite, fine I'll fine you, I'll tell the owner you gotta get rid of the suite, well the person living in the suite, where are you going to go? There is no vacancy. So then you, he said well there is the ideology exists like that on every aspect of it so there are people who don't think there should be any fines, shouldn't be, and I said well I think

there should be licensing, charging a hundred or two hundred bucks for licensing the legitimate owners, like a drivers' license, whatever, and we'll put in a fee, and if we have that we have some money for enforcement, and he said there are certain councillors that don't want that because then you're making it more restrictive, you're limiting it, so they don't want fees or fines, and then I said well what about enforcing the maintenance of the properties, and he said well they don't want to see any, they don't want to see that, they want the free market to take care of itself, to just leave it unregulated essentially and so that was my eye opener. He said there are things that can be done, and he has a really interested fix it first thing, you can find it online, but you know most of us think that secondary suites could work if there was some enforcement around them and the statement we keep hearing that is false on two accounts, that Calgary is one of the only major cities that doesn't allow them everywhere, and we allow them in about half of the city already, so there is lots of places where you can set your suite. But the other thing that is missing is that other cities have secondary suites but they have controls and enforcement around them. We're proposing to just throw them out there with no rules or regulations and I mean one of the points that I think should be attached to suites is some costs, things like garbage pickup, sewage, whatever, and if you start looking them up, a lot of communities, especially around Vancouver, they charge a fee between 500 and 1000 bucks a year for the privilege of having that secondary suite and they figure it costs them 2 or 3 hundred for garbage, whatever, but I tried to, I spoke at a CPC meeting, a planning meeting here after that and tried to say that that's what we should be doing, is putting in some kind of fees so that they're paying some of the costs. And Councillor Carra grilled me for twenty minutes straight on that one. He said there shouldn't be costs associated, because he thinks you should make it as easy and free and convenient as possible so then you're encouraging suites, you don't want to put any policies in that will discourage suites, and that was Sutherland's thing too, that anything you put in, whether it's licensing or fees, will discourage suites. And the City wants as many suites as possible because at that time there was no vacancy.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think there are illegal suites? What produces illegal suites?

CHERYL: There are some because of the zoning and the lot changed over time, so there are some that are like that, where they're non-conforming suite I guess is what they are, there would be safe they are just in an area now that you know whatever there is a few of those, definitely. I think the majority of the reason is that basically you can pocket the income from them, undeclared revenue.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What makes suites illegal? How did you come to that understanding?

CHERYL: Brentwood is an RC1 neighbourhood so unless a suite has been re-zoned then the houses are RC1, however my understanding is that if it was prior to 1970 or something like that. The revenue part – if an investor buys a duplex, somebody said this to me and I hadn't considered it, if an investor buys a duplex and you're renting out a duplex, Revenue Canada expects to see revenue from both halves of the duplex. You either have lie under oath or say it was empty that year, but if you have two halves and you're rental then there should be two sets

of receipts. If you have a house and you rent out the house on the top to somebody and you create an illegal suite in the basement and you rent out the basement, you can show Revenue Canada that the rental for the house, and hide the basement.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Did any councillors reach out to you to learn about your concerns after the blanket re-zoning was proposed?

CHERYL: I said we reached out to them, definitely, and then I had meetings with a number of them one on one. I think I would give kudos to Councillor Demong. On the first re-zoning, and then they voted yes to first reading, and then to bring it back at a different date, and we were very disappointed. The night I walked out of that meeting, Councillor Demong approached me and said can I talk to you for a few minutes. I said I'm really disappointed that you voted for it, and he said I voted for it because I want to keep the discussion going, and he was open to me. He said my points were good points, I had a follow up, and some of the councillors were like that e.g. Councillor Pootmans. Sat down with Councillor Chabot. So yeah some of them were very open to discussing it. My own councillor was pointless to try and discuss it with her. Her representation of our community has been supporting anything and everything against our wishes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The package of fees and fines. I was asking what is producing illegal suites. Do you think that fees, fines or licensing system would bring more illegal suites into compliance?

CHERYL: Yes, I think that fines and stuff would. There is some validity that if you put fees on anything people are going to try and hide them to get around those fees, but you need an associated penalty with it. For example if you need an associated license with your car every year. It's not an option, you have to have it. You need the other half of it though. So what happens if you don't have a license? You get pulled over and you get a fine. You need both halves though. You can't just say you need to have a license but if we pull you over and you don't have license and don't do anything about it, then why would I spend money for the license? So there needs to be a penalty or a fine. We have illegal suites, we know they are illegal, and nothing happens with them. The CPC meeting we were at, the planning one, they were talking about things like fines and fees and there is a lot of councillors who don't want to see any of that, Councillor Keating asks what if somebody reports an illegal suite? They said we get somebody from bylaw to look at it. Okay what if you find an illegal suite? Well we try and educate the home owner. We tell them hey you need to get a permit, educate them. And then what? Well, yeah, that's what we try and do. And Councillor Keating was persistent. What happens then? You make them to remove the stove. Yeah we do. Do you go back to remove the stove? We wait for another complaint. Then what? We tell them they need to get a permit, how to legalize their suite, whatever. He says then what happens? They say well hopefully they work towards compliance. He asked – do you ever fine them or do anything? He said well technically we have the ability to fine them, I think it's significant, two or three thousand dollars for a repeat offence, and Keating said how often do you do this. They said very seldom, we try and encourage them, educate them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think they are adverse to fining?

CHERYL: I think the Councillors are. Right now they don't have the power, they have the power to some fining.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the group association support secondary suites as a permitted use in all single family districts in the City? Why or why not?

CHERYL: Well they aren't a permitted use. Would we? No. The idea of a permitted use is that I have no chance to comment on my neighbour's application. I don't have a change to say yes or not, and the first problem I have is it depends on the kind of suite. For example, there are too many conditions on it. If my neighbour is building a suite that doesn't intrude on my property, it might intrude in my parking, but if it's in the confines of his house, that's one thing, but there is also the type that are backyard, laneway, and garage suites. And those have the, they are more intrusive in terms of shadowing and privacy all those kinds of issues. The first thing we have to say is what kind of a suite? I might be in favour of my neighbour doing a basement suite, I'm definitely not in favour of him doing a backyard or garage suite. If it's a permitted use for secondary suites, then I've lost my chance to comment on those. Those are usually still defined separately as a discretionary use which means you can't comment on them but our experience in the community is that even when it's discretionary it doesn't really mean anything. But he will still be allowed to build it. The discretionary part means if every neighbour objects he gets to build it, it means you might have some influence on it or not. And I think the permitted, whether they should be, the reason I say no, is because I would attached conditions to it. Who is living in it? I mean that's what I see with the problem with the current one, is if my neighbour applies and he has a Mom who wants to come live with him, I'm going to say yes that sounds good. If my neighbour applies and just wants to create a suite and has renters coming in that he wants to rent to, but he's still living upstairs, I'm going to be a little bit cautious. I'm going to ask how many renters, who are they going to be, will you always be there? If it's an investor that wants to create a suite, no way. So those are the kind of things that if it was a permitted permit, you wouldn't find out about those things until the moving van pulls up essentially.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the group support the presence of legal secondary suites in your neighbourhood, why or why not? Do you think that question is like the last?

CHERYL: Yeah I would say it's conditional. That was the point of the licensing. If we could, Keating's proposal right now with those things, the licensing, the biggest advantage that I see that licensing would do would be to address that so that your neighbour applies for his permit, he has his Mom in there, great, he renews the license every year or two, great, we're all good. She moves out, she dies, whatever happens, he gets somebody in there, he gets a license for a year, we see how it works. If he's responsible and he's got a good tenant in there, after a year I have no problem with it. If he now is the absentee landlord with the tenant from hell in there, then after a year I have a chance to comment on that application in the same way we do for a home based business. And I can say you know what that just didn't work out very well, so you either get tenants who start mowing the land and having less parties and whatever the problem was, and maybe you can go again. Are you familiar with the way the home based business model works?

If you have a suite from hell there is an option through licensing to not do it again. Right now you have that suite, good luck trying to get rid of it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What brought him into the fold of this?

CHERYL: Because a lot of what you hear, they are fed up with the amount of time devoted to secondary suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about your neighbourhood that you're trying to preserve?

CHERYL: Not having it turn into a very transient community. The longevity of the community, what we have is we have residents that have been in their houses for thirty fourty fifty years and those residents bring something to the community, involved in the community association or the board, and I am not faulting renter at all but when a renter is living by the whims of the landlord he doesn't know if next year his rent is going to double, if the landlord stops maintaining the property, he's at the whim of the landlord and that can change in a jiffy, so the renter doesn't have the deep roots or the stake in the community that a long term resident does and the same way as a renter renting a house is unlikely to plant an oak tree because he's not going to see the thing grow up. It changes the nature of the community if you don't have permanent residents that make it their permanent resident home.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are the attributes that there is a fear of losing?

CHERYL: Stability. You know what they're like and who they are. Knowing each other. When you have young kids you know every family on the block if the kid had a problem he knows he can run to that house and knock on the door. If you have rental tenants all around you, would you knock on their door? Not likely. So just that. When we are in the winter, we all shovel each other's walks, and we know who the person is, we know that the guy down the street is 80 years old, we're going to go shovel his walk, and we take each other's mail in in the summer when we're gone, and I can ask the guy three doors down, keep an eye on my house when I'm gone and he knows which cars belong to my house and who is there. We have a low crime rate because we know who is around and if there is odd behaviour in the neighbourhood you'll notice it. You know and the community association and there is a certain sense of stability where you know look at your community association volunteers. They've been doing it for five years or ten years, they'll say I've been maintaining the ice for ten years, or coaching soccer for so long, or knew so and so's kids. There is a value to stability.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think ... so one of the first questions is what you thought is changing with the neighbourhood. What would be the ideal, instead of perhaps of what you're seeing, what is the ideal transition, where do we go from here? You acknowledge the fact you have demographics of people getting old and houses being bought up by investors and getting rented out, what is the alternative? What would you like to see happen in the neighbourhood in the near future?

CHERYL: I would say responsible transition in buildings. When we drove around this morning, they're proposing a forty storey tower for Co op and you look at it and you think what is wrong with twenty? What we're seeing is the redevelopment that is taking place is so harmful to the existing houses and existing properties, it's coming out of whack. Our community is getting older, fine we're transition some of the community, but instead of building you know monster high rises what about some condominiums? What about condos that are nice then the ones we walked through today? Build something that maybe the residents that are retiring would want to move into. They're going to redevelop North Hill Mall. And they're going to be put residential component into that. So maybe talk to the seniors and ask them what kind of residential they want to see. I think these towers would be totally unsuitable or a senior. They're four hundred square feet, they're cheap student housing rates. Whereas look at the one by Sears, there's two residential towers. And they were built as sort of luxury towers and the idea for those, my understanding, was that the residents from the area moved into those towers because they were bigger, they had two bedrooms, they were designed more for it and they were a little more upscale. Somebody could sell their house and move into that. 400 square feet? Doubtful. I get that the neighbourhood is going to change and transition, and I think secondary suites could be a good part of that, if you know the senior living in her place right now is by herself, she wants to rent to a university student, I think that could be a really good use. Our group is not even opposed to that. What we're opposed to is unregulated, throw it out there and give them what they want, and we're getting the investors not the seniors. We're still pretending that everybody that lives in a suite is a grandmother. Every example the city gives you is a grandmother, handicapped, whatever. And my kid said that's amazing we have 60, 000 grandmas in Calgary. We certainly don't. But that's what we're being fed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think discrimination against renters is pervading the conversation around secondary suites in any way?

CHERYL: Yes. And I think it is, and probably unfairly so in some cases, but I think it's based on experience. People don't just decide to discriminate against a renter next to them, I mean people, most people were renters at some point. What we heard at the Council meeting when this went to Council for the four wards, there were a lot of people who went and spoke up and said well here is my experience, you know, and they got unfairly brushed with, you're elitist, you don't want renters. No I'm saying that my experience has been you know, and that's what I tried to show you this morning is that there are good renters, there are wonderful renters, there are horrible home owners, you know, whatever. But the experience of most residents that I've talked to in Brentwood has been when the house next door turns into the rental it has not been a benefit to you. It doesn't enhance anything. The only way it enhances anything if it's a senior blah blah

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of any suites in the neighbourhood that have renters upstairs and downstairs and they aren't a problem?

CHERYL: No, not that I know of. I mean, the suite that I showed you this morning that was the one that looks really awful with the garage in the back. Those guys don't tend to cause us a lot of problems. They're not loud, aggressive, whatever. They don't cause us a lot of problems other than they don't maintain the property and I wouldn't want to live next to them. I know of a good

suite, somebody who has an illegal suite, and she bought it thinking it was legal, she bought a house with a suite in it, and it had building permits and everything, and I asked at City Hall, how could she get a building permit? And he said probably the person applied for an addition to the house and added the wiring later. And she didn't know it, she assumed it was legit. So she has a house with a suite, she's a single person, and this is a good example of a suite, she's only one person and she has garage plus a parking spot, lots of parking, and she has rented out to one tenant and so it's two of them in a house and she has done wonders with the property. The neighbours all love it because the property was quite run down, she fixed it up. She has good tenants, she's always there. One of the community association presidents talked to me about this agreements, neighbourhood agreements to keep illegal suites in a neighbourhood. I thought it was really interested. It was an unspoken agreement to allow illegal suite to stay in a neighbourhood. And he said in his neighbourhood there is one guy that has an illegal suite and it's illegal because of whatever variety of reasons it's a decent suite but it's illegal, he doesn't want to legalize it, he probably pockets the money, but he went to his neighbours and said you all know it's an illegal suite, but I'm going to have model tenants in there. And he introduced his tenant, and he said he's going to be just wonderful, and if he's not you can report me. The neighbours love Bob, he shovels the walks, he's the model tenant. And so they let that one go. And I thought that was interesting actually because they all know it's there and they know it's illegal, but the owner is in the suite, that's the difference. But in our neighbourhood I can't say I've seen great examples of this.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of how many suites are in your neighbourhood?

CHERYL: No. I asked the mailman once, and he said he had an inkling. Lots of places with an A and B mailbox. So there are ways of finding out but no I don't have.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is it that when the land use is changed, it's going to incentive more of that investor buy up in the neighbourhood? That's the general ...

CHERYL: Yes. The difference that I see is if you're an investor and you buy a house in Brentwood you'll pay five hundred grand for that house, and let's say you'll rent to four university students. And that's fine, you're allowed to do that, okay. But now you can rent that house for a maximum of, maybe fifteen hundred, eighteen hundred, the whole house. Okay. So that's one thing. You have a pay back period to make that money back. But now if you can go in and spend five hundred and make that house and you can make two suites out of it, upstairs and downstairs, now you can potentially rent to three or four people upstairs and three or four hundred people downstairs. If I'm going to rent out the house to five people, I have to find five people who want to get along and live in that one house and share one kitchen. But now, if I rent out the top I only need to find three people for the top part of it, and I can rent the bottom to you and and a friend. It's a lot easier to find two sets of people to rent to. And it's a greater incentive for the investor. And plus add on top of that he can now pocket the earnings from the bottom one. He can claim expenses of renovating a house on his tax and you know as a rental property, but he has a much easier way of hiding that income as well.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you or does your group believe that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging neighbourhood land use and zoning designations? Why or why not?

CHERYL: No, because we're realists, we realize it, that neighbourhoods change over time. But we do think that they need to be done with the consent of the community or at least with conditions around them. Like, I will have to send you some letters on how many people said you know they bought R1 for a specific reason, and so what we realize in the R1 neighbourhood certain areas change. We realize that there's changing that will be happening, but the other half of the equation that has to be answered is how do you address those changes? Rather than saying okay from now on we allow for secondary suites but we're not putting in any other rules or enforcement or anything else, we have to do that in a sensitive way. So you know, because one of the best quotes that I heard was from Ward Sutherland, he said rezoning takes away rights from some people and gives new rights to other people.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What does that mean?

CHERYL: It means that any time you rezone, why are you re-zoning? You're changing the rules for the rezoning property, you're rezoning a piece of land, right? So you and I live next to each other, we both have a single family house, and that's our whole neighbourhood. You apply for rezoning and you want to create secondary suite. That took away my right to a single family neighbourhood, because now you're going to have two families in your suite. It took away some of the rights that I thought I had as a single family neighbourhood. I didn't think I could have an investor creating two suites next to me, right? So you've just got new rights because you bought a neighbourhood that was only allowing for a single house, but you're creating a second suite out of it. So you got some benefit out of that, whether it's financially or whatever it is, right, and I lost some of the benefit that I thought I had. And that can apply to anything. People think that it's just for single family homes but it's not it's like I was telling you this morning with the apartments, if this is your space and you bought this office right now and you said this is what I'm buying, this is what I have, you're assuming that that's going to stay like this, now if we say well we can actually come in here and put in a wall and we can create two of them out of this, well that might be good for you if you want to rent out both of them, that might be bad for you if all of a sudden, that's not what you bought into. And so the Councillors in the inner city well they're big on saying cities change, they have to evolve and change, and it's a NIMBY attitude to think you will always have what you bought into, but part of the value of our house is based on that. You can buy a R2 home or a double home for cheaper than you can buy a single home.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you mean by value?

CHERYL: When I told you when we lived in rented duplex in Ranchlands. We could have bought that duplex, we could have bought that half, for a lot cheaper than we could have bought a house. Okay, that makes sense. Okay so part of the value of Brentwood is that there is character to a community, when you rode your bike through it, there's boulevards, there's trees, part of what people are buying into in association with that community, part of why it's nice is the green, the trees. The value of the home is because of those features. It's exactly because we have big lawns and big trees that people like the area. There are other people who hate the area

and might want to be in East Village or something. But the value is the perception of what you're getting for your money. The value is in the neighbourhood.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But when you say the value of the house, what, like your personal value?

CHERYL: I mean right now a house in Brentwood right now goes for about 550 on average, or 540, something like that. On our crescent there are a lot more because it's on a quiet crescent and across from a park, it's more. There is a premium to pay to be on that and you could buy a house for cheaper if it's on Northmount. So the value of your house is what's around you, it's the zoning. The exact same house I have, if you plunked it down in Kensington, it would be worth a lot more because someone could buy that lot for a million bucks. So the value is in part the neighbourhood and what's around you.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So when we talk about stability and parks and people helping each other out, do you think that those are things that people have to pay for?

CHERYL: Yes, they are definitely in a realty price. The realty is about location, location, location. If my house, I don't know how well you know Calgary, if I saw Lake Bonavista. Expensive ritzy. If I say to you, Dover, I think Dover if you look up real estate records it has the lowest average priced homes in the City. You look at Dover and it's a different community, it's in a different location, it's more industrial. If you look at Mount Royal. So the value of your house isn't just the physical house, it's the location. (...) My house would look like a little hubble compared to everything else down there. The value of your house is tied to what's around you. If my house was right next to a 711, directly next to 711, would you want to buy it? Same house. It's what's next to you. What people are upset about is they bought zoning because that was an attempt to control what was next to them. That's what zoning started out to be is you know I

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: For what purpose?

CHERYL: Because it aligned with the values of what they wanted.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you bought into a particular zone because that zone represented a particular set of values? What does the zoning

CHERYL: To some extent. If a RC1 home, regardless of whether it's Edgemont or whatever, typically has a home on a big piece of land with a large garden with green space with trees flowers and garden around it, who wants that kind of a home? Not a student, they don't have time for it right now. Not a 90 year old man, he can't take care of it. Who wants that home? It generally tends to be families. And so why do you want to buy into a family neighbourhood? Because you have a family, you want other kids, you want whatever. As a student, why would you want to buy into a family neighbourhood? Maybe you wouldn't, maybe you would just because you like having the stability of families around you. My son works as a urban planner. For a company that is an urban planning company, he is an engineering student, an engineer in

training. And so he says in his company they get into some really good arguments because he's more on the lines of, he thinks more the way I do. There's an interesting divide in the company (...) The hipsters chose something different, the values are different. You buy in line with what your values are, and my value is to have a piece of land and a piece of grass and have a garden, and I can get that in an R1 neighbourhood better than I can in any other neighbourhood. Now I can get a duplex in an R2 neighbourhood that also have that. There are gorgeous infills in Hillhurst where they are technically zoned R2. But generally you don't get that in a neighbourhood that is a highly rental neighbourhood because it's too expensive to do. As an investor if I can put two houses on that lot I will.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think renters have less choice than buyers?

CHERYL: No I think they have more.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In terms of where they can live.

CHERYL: I'm not sure, not really. I can't think of very many neighbourhoods where a renter could not find a place. Even in Mount Royal, Lower Mount Royal, there are rental places. There's certain, I mean I'm trying to think where ... no technically I could buy a house in any part of the city but I'm also constricted. I can't afford a house in Mount Royal. I can say that I have one hundred percent of properties to choose from because I could also buy an apartment. I can buy anything but I can't because I'm also limited by budget. Whereas a renter, he can also be limited somewhat by budget but there are different accommodation in most parts of the city. I mean there's lots of rentals around here for students. Why do you need to convert the small packages that are left say in Brentwood, that are single family homes, who's on the push to push those to be secondary suites? It's not those homeowners. It's these other organizations and groups and whatever that have nothing to lose. So if you ask me, right now, and said should we double the tuition for all university students – yes, go for it. I'm not paying it, I don't have students any more, go for it. I have nothing to lose. Let's do a petition now across the whole city and ask citywide if we should double tuition. You know what, you'd probably lose. Because there's not as many students as there are seniors or retired or other or whatever. But we're all ganging up on you for this one thing. And that's what the secondary suites feels like is that we're these R1 homeowners that are saying you guys are just this elitist bunch.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who do you think is the driving force behind blanket rezoning? Beyond the councillors as representatives, what is the driving, who are the key institutional actors that are driving blanket re-zoning?

CHERYL: Basically density drives city revenue. The more you build the better. The city make a mistake and tried to correct that with the development levies. But for years it's cheaper to build out. They're trying to address that with the levies but it's also driven by what people want. So East Village now you're going to create a ton of new buildings, you're creating a ton of apartments, but when people have kids will they still want to live there? If not they'll go outside. Inner city Calgary, the old war houses, they were quite close together. The houses that are still in Sunnyside. They're small and close together. It wasn't always that you had a big lawn around

them. The idea of having a big lawn around your place came later. And when the automobile came that further boosted it. You grew up and had these bigger properties. When they were developing Wildwood I think in the early 60s, originally it was zoned as R2. But people wanted to buy a lot and they didn't want to build two small houses or a duplex on it, they wanted to build their house on it. So the developer actually sort of upsized and went to R1 properties because that's what the demand was for and so in the same way as you know we're trying to artificially create a demand for suites or R2 or whatever, but people are saying I still like the idea of a house that is my own with a yard and garden around it. So that's why I have a problem with taking that away, and it's interesting that the zoning follows what people want, they're trying to set we're going to tell you what you're going to get. People can fit where they want to be in that community. Am I high rise type, am I low, what do you I want? But now you're trying to do it retroactively in a community in Brentwood. We want you to be more dense than single family. But wait a minute that's not the zoning I bought, I bought that type for a reason. So if you take it away from me that goes back to you giving new rights to some people and taking the rights I thought that I had.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you talk about rights, what do you mean?

CHERYL: To an investor, to somebody else who wants to create something like a suite. And you're changing the nature of the community by doing that. You're buying something because of what's around it and then you're trying to change what's allowed to be in there. I don't think that is elitist anymore it's elitist to say I would like to live in Mount Royal but I can't afford to live there. So yes we all get put into pockets of affordability of whatever else and it's not attempt, I think some of the literature on that comes out of the States where there is a racial element to it, and where schooling comes into it and you can only buy into neighbourhoods with schools and that kind of thing, and we don't have that. If you go into Dalhousie you can see those towers, there's a lot of subsidized housing, low income housing, and then some very high end stuff. And so in Dalhousie at the school you have a whole mix, I know because my kids went there. There's nothing that says you know you have to have an income of a million bucks to live in Dalhousie and all the kids that go to school there, are, you know, so literature is looking at the States but in ours I don't feel that Brentwood is exclusionary other than houses are expensive in Brentwood because they are big lots and it's a nice area.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything else about suites I didn't ask about or has not been covered or is missing or overshadowed in the debate or in the issue?

CHERYL: I think the complexity of the issue, and I get this so often when we were talking about secondary suites on the rezoning. The first thing I'd say was you know the most common misconception was an owner has to live in the suite and I'd say no they don't, and they would say you're kidding, really? Doesn't an owner have to live there? I'd say no they don't, and they said oh I don't want that then. And so people would start out, I'd ask how they feel about secondary suites, they would say I think they would be good, and I'd ask what if it wasn't owner occupied? I thought it had to be, I said no. They don't get that, and then the other misconception is that a secondary suite has to be in a basement. There's no monitoring on them. Bylaw works on a complaints basis only. So you know our group isn't saying no to every secondary suite,

there is a place for secondary suite, we just see that the City is unwilling to do any of the enforcement or the fines or penalties, they just want a free reign and to go for it. It gets the City off the hook. The minimum I've seen is that there is 15, 000 illegal suites and I've seen up to 60, 000. It relieves the City from finding space for those units and removes onus for them to do anything. And then a lot of them think it's a waste for Council to be debating this over and over again and so what they do is they put it on the backs of the homeowners and they say, you know, come on this is such a no brainer allow for secondary suites. Well, it's a no brainer if you do the other things too. But for us it's not a no brainer and for what we're seeing in our communities it's not a no brainer. If that's our experience with them then either do something about it and bring in something to get rid of the poor ones and then we won't be unhappy with the good ones. But the way it's going right now, our community will lose out. The bigger picture of how I think the community will lose out, I got emails from people who said they moved out of Parkdale and into Brentwood and Dalhousie because Parkdale was getting too crowded, because those areas were hard to find to parking, getting too crowded, and it was increasing in density and they didn't like that, they wanted their little piece of grass out here. Okay that's up to them. So if you get more and more rental units in Brentwood that are run down, the community is either going to turn into a run down neighbourhood, more rentals, and you're going to lose out on your community association, your strengths of the community, or you're going to see it start getting to the point where the houses get so old and run down and you get people coming in building 4000 square foot monster in there and it gets out of realm for the average person as well.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel that those are the only two trajectories that are possible?

CHERYL: They're extreme, but yes communities do change like that and people will say well this has turned into rental that is not where I wanted to move for my long term home and it's not a slight on renters it's just the physical state of these buildings has deteriorated.

**Appendix K: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the
North Haven Community Association on August 15, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: For whom are you speaking for?

INTERVIEWEE A: The North Haven Community Association. We have a Development Review Committee and I am the chair of that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What does this committee do?

INTERVIEWEE A: It reviews all development applications within the boundaries of North Haven which is the original North Haven and Upper North Haven. There's about 3 200 people living here.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The original North Haven is older?

INTERVIEWEE A: Yes. It was about a 20 year, 15 year gap between the two.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your experience of change in the neighbourhood over time? How has the neighbourhood changed or stayed the same?

INTERVIEWEE A: The community association is celebrating it's 50th year, this year. The community itself started about 1961, so it's gone through different phases. First of all, development. And then we had empty land that was also developed at a different stage. It was a greater emphasis on multiple dwelling units. So that now what's happening is the properties are being redeveloped and we can see a pattern where this redevelopment is sort of coming up the hill towards us, the wave.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What form is that redevelopment taking?

INTERVIEWEE A: Well it's taking the existing zoning and redeveloping those properties and it can be, so far we haven't seen, well we have seen actually there was a property on the corner of 14th and North Haven Drive, they did really well with that. So there's taking normally a house and renovating it and there's also forms of those renovations from a knock down and new to taking the footprint and making it larger, or for just simply taking the existing footprint and freshening.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have there been many zoning changes?

INTERVIEWEE A: Other than the one I just told you, we haven't experienced the need for re-zoning. I believe you said that you were a former resident in a fourplex. Those four plexes, there's a number of them, multiple housing units, are spread around the community. I think a very healthy mix. But they've all reached the limit of their life span. So that's a great opportunity

and I see that that would be a benefit if those properties were redeveloped and naturally, the fourplexes would be significantly larger if they were redeveloped into that zoning. And we're kind of welcoming of that, I think it's healthy for everyone, they'll be more housing, that the quality of the housing would be improved but I think it's just a normal cycle and this community has reached that point where a freshening up of the inventory is a healthy thing and I think you'll see it in the community where there is a changeover of families. It's just a normal, good process, healthy city.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How do you engage with your members or the residents of the community regarding planning related processes?

INTERVIEWEE A: Well I'm also the Director of Civic Affairs. Everything goes through our board but we then have our committee and the committee is made up of volunteers from the community. We keep records of our meetings and we submit that to the community association. When we're asked to comment on a particular redevelopment proposal, we prepare a report and we engage the immediately affected neighbours and ask if they'd like to participate in the review. In some cases the neighbours do want us to discuss the proposal with them. In some cases the proponent wants to come forward and explain why they're asking for a relaxation. So we engage the relevant people in a discussion, in a review, and if it's deemed appropriate, we prepare a report and file it with the city.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does this area have an ARP?

INTERVIEWEE A: No, it's part of the Area Redevelopment Plan for the whole north west and it hasn't, hasn't really required anything more specific. And I can't imagine it would ever, I think it's a matter of taking what's here and refreshing it. Most people in our community really value this community. I can't imagine that we would end up actively seeking to have high rises put on my next door neighbour's yard. I don't think that's ever going to happen. I think it's taking what we have and making it current.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is considered the community?

INTERVIEWEE A: That's the one I was talking about. It's the boundaries. The community association represents, has always been, one community. It's in the boundaries for the City, they made a mistake and separated them out as two communities but they've never been two communities from the founding. The Federation lists us properly. So it's just a little irritant. But our board members are from Upper North Haven. The community association's hall was expanded to accommodate, so it's the boundaries are, and it's an average size community.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about the demographic make up of North Haven?

INTERVIEWEE A: The demographics over the last few years have been increasingly aging, but we're starting to see signs of the older residents moving on and newer couples with young families are moving in. So we, you know, we are I think a typical suburban neighbourhood that

is in transition. We do have seniors housing, so that brings our age group up a bit. And we do have rental housing, so there's a mixed population. But most of the housing stock, not most of the people but most of the housing stock for the square area, are single dwellings on standard sized lots. It's not a ostentious neighbourhood.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Has the community association experienced any challenges or barriers for things like unrepresented groups in the neighbourhood or membership? What can you tell me about the vitality of the community association?

INTERVIEWEE A: Well, with volunteer organizations these days, because you do have, people work long hours and people, if they do have young families, have incredibly busy lives. My son and daughter in law just live three doors down. You know, all of those trials that my family went through, as we were working, you know there's children, time is so limited for everyone that it's difficult to engage in community activities. And when it does strike an interest, like participating in an event, or something of interest like slowing the traffic down on the front street, it's more likely to be a case specific participation than it is to participate in the community association itself. And we've had many, especially this year, many attempts to increase participation by having a variety of events and we've got a Director of Entertainment and Activities and Outreach who was really good at coming up with, you know for all age group and all types of people, some form of activity and then trying to get the word out and then trying to get people to participate. And we've had some really good success but do we get 3 200 people coming out? No. And we just get a little frustrated because I think our membership now is about 200 and we will get, you know, to a barbeque or a pancake breakfast and an egg hunt or something, we'll get maybe 100 people, 150 people. That's pretty good, and everybody has fun, and they're not always the same people. And we have a tea for the seniors. The volunteers we have are really wanting to have others but they get frustrated because they want 3 200 and we can't do that. We have to say I'm sorry, it's today society, it's what we can do is create an atmosphere where people feel comfortable in our community and if they have something that they need to talk to us about they feel comfortable about coming to us so we can represent them. We have monthly board meetings and we do get people coming and saying you know I have a problem with this particular thing, can you help us with it? We do really well in terms of trying to outreach. We could do better, but you know trying to get people engaged is a very, that's a very difficult thing to do. For so many different reasons. If you've got some thoughts on how we can do better, give it to us.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are the CA board's thoughts about secondary suites if there are any to share?

INTERVIEWEE A: We did have a vote a couple of years ago among the board and it was tied. There has been change, I think, in the past couple of years and I think that it's tilted toward not being in favour of secondary suites for a variety of reasons. So in a general sense I would say, and I can't give you specifics, but I think the board has tilted because there have been some concerns that we've talked about more, in more detail, and we've had a number of presentations from communities as a whole. There's quite an active resistance in the community for secondary suites. I think we've come to the, if we took that vote again, which we don't like to do, we would

probably decide that it's not a great idea. However, you know, it's one of those things where it would depend and, yeah. To say categorically we're opposed to secondary suites would probably not be a true statement but I have yet to see, myself, an application for a secondary suite in this community that I would support. But, you know, it's just because of the particular nature of the application that come forward.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What was being voted on exactly?

INTERVIEWEE A: Specifically, should we support secondary suites? It was a very straight forward and ambiguous question.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So in a general sense, you said that there's been active resistance in the community to secondary suites. Can you tell me more about that?

INTERVIEWEE A: There's a very logical, I think the group that is against having secondary suites, has been quite well organized and quite detailed in their opposition for specific sites, to the point where they're very credible. And they build a case more convincingly than the ones that in general want to help on the basis on religious tolerance. Religious tolerance I'm saying in terms of, you may misconstrue that, it's having members of our board who, how can I say this, who have an interest in religious, doesn't matter what faith, who believe that helping young people have a secondary suite to take the pressure off them, from a religious perspective is the right thing to do. That's one set of the argument and it's a faith-based, it seems strange to have a faith-based argument for secondary suites. So we have that kind of, you know, help thy neighbour on the one hand, and then on the other hand, a very well organized group who have very sound logical reasons based on parking issues, and all sorts of noise issues, and all sorts of issues that are very specific to a particular site. On one hand you have someone who has a view of the world that is spiritual and on the other hand it's, another group with a view of the world that is very property-based. It's like, oh my goodness.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: These are both present in the community?

INTERVIEWEE A: Yeah, I would never have thought that. And it's irrelevant what the faith is, because it could be any faith. On the other hand, from a property perspective, it really is an economic and also quality of life. I wouldn't think they would be competing, but it's quite surprising when you get the two groups in the same room. And it's like, I see why we're not having another vote. I mean we try to encourage people to express themselves and to participate and it would be better not to have this sort of confrontation I think, there's sometimes when it's better to just say okay well we'll take a particular issue at a time not talk about the broad issue, like I couldn't have this, it was very clear to me, because of my planning background, it was immediately apparent to me that to have this kind of conversation around the table in our community would be the wrong thing to do because it would be counter productive and it's better to deal with each individual application as it comes up, specific to the particular concerns. And there may be some particular site, because of the way it's configured or because of the way they're going to design it, for some particular reason there was a reason to support that. But only to go on a very logical basis rather than get into this sort of confrontation of two value systems.

In that way it's easier for people to relate to it and not feel that we're not being respectful. I'm more comfortable with that approach.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you were talking about an organized group that used sound logical reasons on a case by case basis, things specific to that particular site, I'm hearing of, to me that sounds like a lot of planning rationale, things that are good planning rationale. Have you ever found that some of the, perhaps we'll say criticisms against a particular application are grounded in anything else, other than planning rationale?

INTERVIEWEE A: Not in this community. I think it's ... it's factually based.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Anything outside, say parking,

INTERVIEWEE A: Parking and noise are really high on everybody's list.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Noise associated with what?

INTERVIEWEE A: I mean construction is transitory. It's how it's going to be used. It would be related to increasing the number of people and then I think there's a feeling in the community that renters have not been as respectful to their neighbours as owners, for whatever reason. And also a feeling that the renters feel transitory and don't participate in community activities and don't get to know their neighbours. We do outreach to encourage the renters on that strip to participate in the, and it's sometimes successful. We personally have friends across the way, so there is, but they're our age. There's reasons people get together. And, you know, they're actually owners over there and so they've been here, they have a commitment so they'll come to these social events. It's more difficult with youth, for instance, because you're young and mobile and you're not committed. So that's a problem. There's a strong sense in the community, in North Haven, and there's a strong awareness that the renters don't have that sense of commitment and participation and it could be for, the community as a whole, sort of outreach to the neighbours, it could be participating like in a Stampede Breakfast or Movie in the Park night. It's offered, but they don't participate, and so, why would we want to give up our parking and have increased noise and for what? What do we get in return? We get, most of the arguments I've heard, that neighbours get lower property values, there is questionable development, and parking.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is questionable development?

INTERVIEWEE A: Well, the development that occurs to convert to a secondary suite is not always as good as it should be. The safety standards. It's just not, it's sort of marginal. And I don't think that's what we're looking for. So there's a resistance. And I'm becoming a cranky old man, I'm, you know you really have to convince me for the reasons I've just said, that I come from Vancouver. And in Vancouver, nothing is the same as when I was a boy. It's all been replaced. And I see that, you know, that we will be in a transition and that it will be different. And I can see that in twenty years time, for us to be having this conversation, will seem strange

because it will already, my garage is you know, for housing above, a laned house, and that's the way it's going to be. I don't think we're there yet, I think that we have to, we've got more of a hurdle to cross over before we get there. And I'm very uncomfortable with the standards that are being applied. If we could talk about, for instance, taking the four plexes that are over there and really making a show and really increasing the density and showing that this is not a bad thing. And, you know, they all have their duplexes but they've all converted their basements and you know if they can demonstrate what a great thing that is that would be a great step into encouraging people to say well maybe increased density is not that bad. But what we do see is very marginal and, that parking issue is really troubling. It's very very troubling. So you, in fact I've had to mediate for parking issues where people all of a sudden they lose their parking in front of their house and it's not comfortable. It's resented. So, you know, you have to think of those kinds of things.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you see a lot of secondary suite applications in the community and are they land use redesignations or development permits? What is the content of those applications?

INTERVIEWEE A: We haven't seen a lot of them, we've only seen a handful. There's a lot happening under the table, so illegal suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know or find or hear that they're a lot of existing unreported suites in the community?

INTERVIEWEE A: We're aware of unreported illegal suites, but there's, there's really no appetite to do anything about it. I think it is what it is. And I think if it was going to be, if it's an illegal suite there seems to be a little bit more caution taken to be respectful of your neighbours and you know unless somebody gets totally irritated, the noise level is too much, and the parking issue is so bad, that they report it. That's only happened once in the last five years. I think we're more, it's better to just sort of look the other way. But if you're going to go for a development permit, then that's a different matter. Or if you're going to go for, there has only been a handful as I said, that actually wanted to go RC1s. And they haven't passed.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there a general theme as to why they don't?

INTERVIEWEE A: All the reasons we talked about. And the ones that have actually gone to Council have been opposed by that very dedicated group in the community. It's a very vocal and as I said, they're articulate, they're very well educated about the facts in front of them and they convince Councillors to not approve. And quite frankly, for the ones I've seen, I agree with them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there a familiarity with the applicants of these cases? Are the applicants known to the community?

INTERVIEWEE A: No, no one has, I can truthfully say that no one, they're not basing, it just comes right out of the blue. The application is coming and there's no, for the group that's

opposed to it, there's not even an understanding of who is making the application so it's just based on that, having that designation in our community and they don't want it. And so I think that's what that is all about.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I was curious about the content of those applications and why, some insight as to why they get defeated.

INTERVIEWEE A: In at least one of the cases I looked wasn't really making a very good case.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What constitutes a good case? What is the criteria of a good case?

INTERVIEWEE A: I would say a good case would be to convince there is adequate parking on site, not just meeting standard but the reality of what's really being required. And giving an assurance of noise, respect for noise bylaws. Those are the two issues I have, but again I have to come back to, if the community goes along the path of approving one of these, why would we not approve all? If we approve all, what does the community get in return? There's zero. In fact it's all negative as far as I can see. There may be some of the community, community members, get a little bit more revenue but everyone else gets a reduction to the quality of life for the reasons I've just stated. So why would we put at risk the quality of life of the community for secondary suites and I'm sort of, I just don't understand, what anyone could offer to convince me that we would benefit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I was curious about – when people make their case on these applications, do they assert or cite things like, more social diversity in the neighbourhood, or perhaps is it are there applicants that want to age in place, all these things that are typically thrown out by proponents of secondary suites, does that ever come out in these discussions?

INTERVIEWEE A: We've had some applications for redevelopment that have effectively been creating secondary suites without asking for a secondary suite. So they would redevelop their property to have a secondary suite but they wouldn't call it a secondary suite. They would use exactly the kind of buzz phrases, like aging in place. I haven't had the diversity, has not been used, that's a new one for me. I don't quite see.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Like young families trying to afford the mortgage.

INTERVIEWEE A: That's a prominent one. So we're going to spend a million dollars as a nice young couple and we're going to have our grandmother live with us for aging in place, trust us, it won't be a secondary suite. Old granny is not going to be able get into the house because there's stairs and once she's in, trust us she'll just stay in the room in the basement and she won't, since there is no elevator and the layout of the bathroom she's been given hasn't been laid out for wheelchair accessibility, but trust us it's really just for her. I wasn't born, not exactly yesterday. So I mean, you see where I'm coming from? And we've been having those tests. And I think, I really don't want to be getting into those arguments. It's really not respectful of my intelligence, and it's counter productive. They wanted to say, I want a secondary suite and have a discussion

about a rational reason for it, and they're putting a million bucks into a property to, and this is what everyone will get for it, increase in value, that would be an argument I would understand, but to say that a design that has absolutely nothing to do with the argument that you're promoting, you know, is sort of an insult to my intelligence. Am I being unkind? Although I come across against secondary suites, I am the active proponent for redeveloping our community. We put our money where our mouth is and encourage people to enhance their property. And in certain circumstances, having higher density, to me, makes perfect sense, so why can't we concentrate on upgrading these properties to a standard that you know, you double the density, and it's perfectly fine. It's, to me, that's appropriate use of that land. So you know I am a proponent of development that is sensible and respectful of the existing fabric. So when it's not respectful, I'm not interested.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I think we covered this question already, does the board support the presence of legal secondary suites in this neighbourhood?

INTERVIEWEE A: We tolerate, I guess.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have a lot of problem illegal suites?

INTERVIEWEE A: No.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Any thoughts about secondary suite renters and landlords that board members have shared?

INTERVIEWEE A: I don't want to expand. We're nervous about the renters not being integrated into the community.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I want to unpack a bit more, nervous about renters not being integrated. Do you mean integrated in a

INTERVIEWEE A: Not in terms of, in terms of participating in activities and participating with people around them. You said you got to know your neighbours, that's what I'm talking about. If you're doing that I suspect you probably didn't participate in North Haven Community Association.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is the idea that, you know, when I asked if there are any thoughts about suite renters and landlords, and there's a nervousness among the community that renters will not be integrated. Is it the form of the rental housing that creates that situation, or is there just, we don't want a lot of renters in the community because evidence or history shows us they don't integrate well?

INTERVIEWEE A: Just keep in mind, this is a very diverse community. Just if we're talking about renters, there's a lot of rental housing around here.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say rental housing, like apartment buildings or homes that are rented out?

INTERVIEWEE A: The fourplexes, duplexes down here and all over there. Down there we have eight plex apartments. So we have a great diversity to the housing stock and we have a lot of renters. It's more a renter, for instance, next door. That's the sort of thing I'm talking about, in a single dwelling it creates more of an opportunity for tension.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Would you consider the existing rental housing as more integrated than scattered throughout?

INTERVIEWEE A: In terms of the individuals, we're not talking about housing stock, we're talking about individuals. On a general basis, it's difficult to get, with the exception of the seniors housing and the seniors participating in community events, if it's difficult and you know you have kids and you want to participate in clubs in something like that and you're, that you will actually participate. I'm talking not specific locations, I'm talking in general renters don't participate in the community. And they seem to feel like it's not, they're not committed to it. So you know you would be unusual, and it's not what we generally see. Generally see, and you know I annoy people by going door to door for canvassing. Generally speaking, the rental areas, and I'm talking even for the illegal suites in our single dwellings, you can tell whether it's an illegal suite because of the site. And the renters will never give, they'll never participate. And I get why that is, I mean, but it's like a pattern. Won't participate even when it's a free event, and won't even say hello. So that's what I mean by integration. It's not person-dependent and it's not locale, it's just an observation. Does that make sense? I mean you give up your parking, and noise bylaw protection, and you get back a stare when you pass somebody on the sidewalk and you get zero participation in the community events. Tell me again what it is that we're getting here as a community? I'm not quite sure. We have housing stock that needs to be upgraded. We've got a fifteen storey high rise that would be wonderful. We have apartments reaching the end of their life. Fourplexes that are illegal suites. Why can't we encourage the city to work with developers to work on those major, why are we talking about stupidity, like this is going to make a difference to the lives. I don't get it.

We do have in this community, we have affordable housing down there, we have it up there, we have affordable housing over there. And they're in a sorry state of commission. And they could be increased in density. So come back with a proposal to take care of real and tell me when you're doing that, tell me how they're going to be, and I'm going to use the word integrated, into the community and so they'll feel like they're part of the community. Suites are not what people aspire to. The housing for us, that's over there behind the mall, I'm sure that is subsidized housing. I'm 99% sure. It could be significantly redeveloped. You could probably, I'm not saying they should, but they could probably have a discussion about increasing the density at that site by 50% easily. And if it was done by a sensitive architect it could be great. There could be some features of that that could actually enhance the community as long as we take care of the parking issue. Why aren't we having that? They wouldn't be subterranean housing for the nearly dead sort of thing. It would be something substantial. Why aren't we having that discussion?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the board feel about the property value argument?

INTERVIEWEE A: I'm nervous about it. I'm really, that's when I say that there's a group that is talking about property values as a prime reason why they're opposed, it's a logical argument. They said, you know, one of the leaders of that group has property around the city and said well, you know I have my property in an area that is zoned for it and I bought that for that reason and I'm going to develop and I'll do a credible job of it. I bought my house because I wanted to be in a neighbourhood that had single dwelling units and I don't want to have higher density next door to me so please don't come with these subterranean proposals. This is my choice, I paid a lot of money for this and you're going to affect my property value and the same thing with me. I respect that argument. You can do it so that you could have a laned house and do it to increase the property value. But Calgary is not ready for that yet. I think probably a generation before it's ready. I think it's more suitable if you're talking about real housing affordability issues, to talk about the issues I just mentioned. Talked about upgrading the housing stock that is meant to be for higher density and for affordable housing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you believe that a purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

INTERVIEWEE A: I do. I think within boundaries I would be extremely upset if my neighbour put in an application to increase density. It's not why we bought into this community, it has nothing to do with the quality of life here and the sense of community. If somebody said well that little park it's green space it's a wonderful place to put affordable housing, we'll just take the green space out. You know, where's my sign, where is my protest? It's not going to happen because there are certain, you bought for a particular quality and you're willing to increase the density in the area but within boundaries and I think that, you know, there's got to be this sense of where those boundaries are and I don't get that from some of the people we deal with.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you had any conversations with your councillor about this issue?

INTERVIEWEE A: Yes he's very good, surprisingly he's very good about listening. He and his representative show up at all our board meetings and whenever there is an application that is sensitive that goes forward for a development permit he gets a copy of it and I respect he should get a copy of it. He does speak to the issue and he's been very supportive. There's a lot of negative press about Councillor Chu but he actually does listen and he does represent, he does work with us. The previous councillor was very good about that too, she would do exactly the same thing, mindful of the thoughts of the association. But you know I gather some councillors are not as in tune with their constituents. So I'm thankful that we've had all our councillors take that deliberate step to make sure they listen and do, they add a different perspective to it and so we listen to them too. So it's good to have that dialogue. We feel I think it's a true statement that for the last three councillors we have been lucky to have, they have actually represented and also represented the broader community to us so we understand the context. So I think it's very fortunate. I wouldn't have thought with the representation of Councillor Chu that I would say

that but I have to admire that he actually has bought into the idea that he's a representative and I think that's good.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: anything else?

INTERVIEWEE A: Nope.

**Appendix L: Interview Transcription with Gian-Carlo Carra, Councillor for Ward 9 in
Calgary, on September 15, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are your perceptions of the secondary suites issue?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: I honestly do not get the opposition to secondary suites. I have come to the conclusion that it is not-gettable. I've listened to my colleagues, tried to build bridges. My initial perception of secondary suites was that they make sense, they're obvious, we need them, but I wasn't initially on board with Nenshi's claim that they should be blanket legalized.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: Because I thought there was some places they made sense and some they didn't. And if there was opposition... my own sort of experience in building consensus in neighbourhoods that are dealing with neighbourhood change that there was a very real possibility that, you know, neighbourhood opposition movements would sort of solidify rather than block people pushing for change. When you frame something as a yes or no question you get caught up in a yes vs. no battle and the way to get out of the yes or no battle ... if you just said, you know what, of course we should densify parts of our neighbourhood and some should stay the same because they're beautiful and because they have heritage value ... if you turned a yes vs. no argument into a where and how conversation you could achieve a tremendous amount of good. My initial reaction to blanket was that that is really setting us up for a yes vs. no argument and that's probably not what we want to do. I came around, and also you know like sometimes I will approve a secondary suite as a member of CPC, that's on accord or that I actually think should be a lot more dense than just having a mere secondary suite, so not only was I worried about stirring up opposition but I was also worried about creating a financial lock in for an inappropriate form in an inappropriate place. Well we should only have secondary suites in TOD zones, and we're like well maybe we should have TOD zones are so dense ... maybe it's the ped shed that should have secondary suites ... you know I was sort of caught up in that urban design thinking but from a policy perspective

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you mean when you refer to attitudes towards secondary suites as akin to environmental racism?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: In second generation NIMBY studies, the initial NIMBY work was a how-to manual for how ... to tar and feather as lunatics neighbourhood opposition groups. And so the term NIMBY was developed as jaywalker, you know, as sort of a derogatory term to call out of the ignoramuses leading neighbourhood opposition groups and it was the second generation of NIMBY studies that had the benefit of ten, fifteen years of first generation NIMBY how-to manuals being enacted, came to realize, oh so what happens when you actually successfully crush neighbourhood opposition, is that you start to put a lot of locally undesirable land uses into the city but what we didn't see coming was that the people who are actually

wealthy and are people of means have the ability to prevent that from happening and the people who are actually downtrodden and lower class, don't have the ability to stop that from happening and so you basically have a concentration of locally undesirable land uses amongst the people who have the least capacity to deal with the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune and that sort of understanding that, you know, environment determines outcome, is a form of environmental racism. What they're really trying to articulate is that I don't want to be around those kind of people because those are poor people that I don't want to have anything to do with and they're not willing to say that. The closest anyone came to saying that in a public hearing was a person, a Muslim, an Islamic person, in a neighbourhood said you know I need the secondary suite for all these personal reasons that shouldn't be on the table and one of this neighbours stood up and said you know, I would never foist a secondary suite on my neighbours because I'm a Christian.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Did you have a lot of dialogue with your neighbourhoods about blanket re-zoning?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: Honestly, no. To me, it's fundamental. I got a little bit of push back from Acadia and Riverbend, my most suburban communities.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who do you think are the key institutional actors opposing secondary suites?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: It is not institutional; the only institutional actors are for some reason a majority of city councillors.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think anyone is pushing them behind the scenes?

GIAN-CARLO CARRA: No. I think it might be community associations, and their presidents, representing the vocal minorities of communities. And that's the thing with community associations right now, if you're an unpleasant SOB and you go to a community association meeting and you act like an unpleasant SOB, all the pleasant, nice citizens show up and say you know what, I've got a very busy life, and I don't have to be here. The FCC, cowardly, with its own professional planning staff, rather than engage in a serious educational program of its CAs, has sort of taken a pretty, has downplayed the issue.

Appendix M: Interview Transcription with Jeff Marsh, planning executive for the board of the Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill Community Association, on June 30, 2016.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: For whom are you speaking for?

JEFF MARSH: I am Director of the Hounsfield Heights Community Association. I am director of strategic planning and land use. So I am actively helping my community determine its official position on this stuff. But if there is something the community has taken an official position on, I'll let you know, but my views are my own.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your neighbourhood, what has been the experience of change over time?

JEFF MARSH: Well so what's happened, and it's one of my things, is I'm going to digress a little if I can. Don't get me wrong, Calgary is a big environment, we have a lot of sprawl, I understand the city wants to correct that, it's a problem for transit and infrastructure, all that jazz. What the city doesn't seem to realize is it's composed of a bunch of distinct neighbourhoods with unique characteristics and city planning doesn't seem to unofficially or officially recognize that, they seem want to blanket things. My concern with that is the effect that it homogenizes the community, makes everything the same. So sprawl is bad, but if you do southern California sprawl, it makes the sprawl seem worse. So although we're big, what makes it manageable is we have this unique distinct communities with well defined boundaries. I'm in Briarhill, I'm in Hillhurst, I'm in Bridgeland. So what's interesting is how these communities have evolved. Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill was developed with 1000 square foot bungalows in the 1950s, at that time a lot of the properties had a restrictive covenant registered that prevent you from subdividing lots.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is a restrictive covenant?

JEFF MARSH: Basically a document that is registered on land title. Not something within the city's jurisdiction, it's provincially done. It's binding on title, prevents land use. What's happened, I think partly because of that, is if you look at neighbourhoods like say West Hillhurst which was built much the same, maybe slightly smaller bungalow size, but about the same, this community has evolved into more of an estate community with much larger houses on the same size lot. Other communities, like West Hillhurst, it's developed into more of an R2, or putting in semi-detached houses, and it's interesting, but it increases the distinction between the neighbourhoods even though we're geographically very close. So this is evolving into an estate community, as discussed at the community association, we describe it as a single family large lot, is the word we use.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Has it always been that way?

JEFF MARSH: Yes because the original development is like the houses across the road. And then from what I can see there was not much development again until I'm going to say the 80s in which it started to redevelop, people started to build big houses on the ridge, and the development has moved from south to north toward 16th avenue. Now, I lived down the hill in Hillhurst, on 15th street, in a semi-detached duplex. And we wanted a bigger house, as you can see this is bigger. And we looked around, we liked being in Hillhurst, but we looked around and found a perfect, on street over, 50 foot lot, nice and high, it was great, we loved it. We looked and we said well we want to build this house, basically, so keep that in mind. And we looked in the neighbourhood, every other lot without exception had been subdivided. We looked and said well a) do we want to build? It would stick out on the street. And b) would they let us? It's not in character with what the neighbourhood is doing. So we found this lot in this neighbourhood, and we said hey it fits in with the development, it's happening, so we built it here, and that's true of a lot of people that come here, they are looking for the largest single family community. And so the effect with secondary suites, is when they do a blanket re-zoning, we're not against secondary suites per se, or I'm not against, we're against the necessary consequence that secondary suites ... in many of the ways they're used, make the neighbourhood no longer a single family.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the secondary suite change the nature of the subdivision?

JEFF MARSH: Well, so, ... so an unrestricted a secondary suite, the way it's typically used, is I'm going to say, ... well ... so I think it depends in two cases. Right now with secondary suites, and there's no distinctions, and that is part of what my problem is. It's a secondary suite, there is no controls on use, no discussion on how it's used. The City takes the position that they can re-zone, they can allow secondary suites, but then I don't agree with this, the City is taking a pretty hard line approach on the fact that they can re-zone and allow for a suite but then once a suite is allowed they cannot control how the suite is used.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you mean use as in residential/commercial?

JEFF MARSH: No they can control that stuff, it's controlled by zoning. They can't control is that suite rented out to a third party, or is it used for your extended family, right? Now so I'm going to say, in polling the neighbourhood and being on land use and seeing applications come forward, there's I think there is quite demand for secondary suites in this neighbourhood, but keeping in mind that people's primary concerns is they like single family residential. But there's a lot of people that have extended family and older relatives and underemployed child, or domestic employee, maybe they're an older person who doesn't want to leave their home but wants a caregiver that lives, right? Or ... people who want to have a suite for their nanny. In that circumstance, in having got hard numbers, polling the community, the community seems to generally say no they don't want them under any circumstances but in sitting on the land use committee and seeing applications come forward for these developments, applicants who came forward and said it's not actually a suite, it doesn't meet requirements, but could very easily be converted. They said look this is how we're setting it up, my elderly mother, there's a lot of demand for that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: You said by city standards it's not a secondary suite, but when we're talking about no control over use, do you feel like there's anything in place to enable control over use as things are today? If somebody is renting out the whole house for example, do you feel there are measures in place to control use?

JEFF MARSH: No, there's not. So I think the answer is, the other way for a secondary suites, another two scenarios. One is the owners need more revenue, they want a suite, and want a rent supplement, the third scenario is you put a suite in, you rent it out and you rent it down. Or if it's a laneway suite ... so that's the main, that last use is the main concern in this neighbourhood because let's take laneway suites, the cleanest example. You put a laneway suite in, you effectively took an R1 lot and made it an R2. It's not R2, I can't sell off the back half, but it's effective R2. And so that's what the concern is. I think if there was a mechanism by which to say yeah there can be a suite in this house but there's controls.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of any legal implications for that?

JEFF MARSH: Well the city maintains they can't. Other jurisdictions do. And I maintain the fact that you could actually do it through restrictive covenant as well.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do they still use those?

JEFF MARSH: No, in new subdivisions it's a new mechanism. The city doesn't like them because it limits what the city can do. Part of the reason we don't have TOD here is because of restrictive covenants, so the city has left us alone. Could they get around it with enough effort? Yes. But it's legally harder because of the covenants. So they go to easier neighbourhoods like Banff Trail. So that's what we're in the process of trying to start and poll the community now. This applicant asked if the community wants to put a laneway for her father, she has a full set of plans, it has the potential to look great. She's indicated she's going to move forward with an R-C1s and she had asked for community support. The community has taken the position that no, we would not support that, because of so many concerns that I've raised to you. And right now because that would be our first one within the boundaries of this neighbourhood, we feel it will set a precedent so we are actually going out and starting to act and poll the community to see where they stand.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: To elaborate further, an official

JEFF MARSH: So there's four scenarios put together for the polling, based on our discussions. One is no no suites allowed under any circumstances, we don't care the use, they can live with you and use the same kitchen. Option 2 is to say well yeah we're okay with secondary suites as long as the whole parcel is still used for single family purposes, which means the suite is used for extended family or domestic employee, i.e. someone with demonstrable lineage or someone who there is a contract. The third scenario, pension, affordability, secondary suites allowed with owner in the primary or secondary, owner-occupancy of one of the two. Takes it away from the slumlord who rents it out to two households.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say a slumlord, you mean?

JEFF MARSH: A slumlord by my definition is someone who has properties they are renting primarily for the purpose of making money. It's not a family who has a house and they've got family from overseas for two years and they rent it. It's someone who owns property for the primary purpose of making income from it and they will do what they can to maximize the income, which is increasing the density.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything to prevent that right now?

JEFF MARSH: This lot came up, we bought this property as a backup plan that we ended up using. As the old house was on it, we rented it out, on this property. I ended up renting it to students and so the only limitation, other jurisdictions actually have, like Edmonton and Burnaby have this in their bylaws, Calgary doesn't as far as we know, the limitation that potentially hit me because they asked the question, was the insurance company actually will not provide you with insurance for rental property if there is more than 5 unrelated parties that live in the house. And so that in theory, at some point I had to turn away.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So five people is the max?

JEFF MARSH: Yeah, but it's an insurance thing not a regulatory thing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Given that, can you speak to your experience of being a landlord of the house when it was rented to students?

JEFF MARSH: I was violating what I considered ... but again, there's no controls. There's just not much you can ... that's getting to a level of regulation that's pretty hard to control.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does one become a member of this group?

JEFF MARSH: Well the CA, you show up at our meeting, unless you have a very strong will you'll get elected. With Not4Rz, just express some interest, in terms of being aligned. Somebody who is pro-secondary suites wouldn't last very long. Honestly, Not4Rz, we're not a formal group, Melanie is de facto leader. If there is someone interested, or see someone else, hey want me to add so and so to our mailing list, then Melanie will say yes. It's basically Melanie and those who have shared an interest. We share information. She has a big mailing list and she will discuss things with the group and come up with, did you see the emails she sent out, about Keating's proposal? I will forward that to you, she sent it out and said spread this as far as you can.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the community association board engage, assess, or perceive the views of its members?

JEFF MARSH: We don't have good mechanisms. We have a facebook group, at arm's length. We post to it. We have a mailing list of two hundred fifty one people as of yesterday who may or may not live in the community. We don't restrict it, so I don't know how many community members we have obviously. We have the Great west newsletter, and there's bulletin boards at the LRT and community association. Regular meetings of the board, the board meetings are public, and it's been a long time since a member showed up. Land use meetings are public. They are publicized on our website. We're lucky, we're lucky we even manage to elect people at our AGM. Our AGM we offer free food and drink and we might get ten people come out. And that's because I've asked them – please come.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is this something that has changed over time, or has it always been like this?

JEFF MARSH: I've been involved for three or four years and it's been the same. In terms of trying to get a pulse around secondary suites, we had a neighbour day party over there, I went to the neighbour day party with a clipboard. I talked a few dozen people and said unofficial, where would you stand?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What was your experience?

JEFF MARSH: I was shocked. I thought this was going to be, I was pretty sure that people weren't going to want unpermitted suites, but because of what I see on land use, we would see a lot of people saying yeah that's ok as long as it's single family use, right. I found that fifty percent of them said no suites period, including the people back there ... how could you say this? So what people say and how they actually want to use their house are different two, which shocked me. I'm very concerned about this laneway house, so I think I'm actually going to fight it personally. I'm going to try and go door to door and solicit. But we don't have mechanism, we have membership problems.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who does the community association represent?

JEFF MARSH: The community association represents people who live in Hounsfield Heights/Briar Hill. Which you can find on the city website. A group that is underrepresented, primarily you will find we represent ... Renaissance Towers, that is within our community, we've had really poor engagement with them. There's two towers in Northhill Tower called Renaissance, condo towers. I think it is primarily an older demographic that lives there. The reality is they are separate from us. They have condo associations. We've had really poor engagement. Another initiative I'm running ... there is interest in re-developing the entire North Hill site, but it's become apparent that it's important to engage more over there. But basically there is Briar Hill, Hounsfield Heights, Renaissance, and Concord Specific.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you know about the demographic make up of your community?

JEFF MARSH: Within the last 5 – 6 years I would say all the original residents are out. If you bought in 1952, if you were 20 then, you're in your 80s/90s now. What's happening with these, we have younger families with kids who live in bungalows, in some cases the bungalows are rented out to families to students, the latter of which are more transient. And other cases the old houses and new houses are generally like single families with kids, say 0 to 18. And Renaissance I think is primarily seniors. It's more expensive. There's no families. Older, more affluent adults.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel that each of those groups are equally represented on your board?

JEFF MARSH: Actually we do have board members from Renaissance. Gunther over there, he's a family bungalow happy to stay in his old bungalow. Laura is in a big new house with grown kids. Carol is a family in a bungalow. No tenants. Tenants just don't generally sit on the board. Probably the biggest thing we lack representation for is tenants. And we don't have landlords either. Well that's not true, we do have a board member who happens to live here who owns another property in the neighbourhood, so he is a landlord in the neighbourhood. So do have that, but we don't have any one as far as I know that is exclusively a landlord. And we do have a board member who is in, he isn't geriatric, but he's older.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is your groups general thoughts about secondary suites, if they have any to share?

JEFF MARSH: The community association said we are in the process of trying to figure out where the neighbourhood stands. We have actively taken, we have officially taken the position that we wouldn't support that particular RC1s land use re-designation and I think, this is me talking, based on what that was and the fact that we chose not to support it it's safe to say we would not support any, because that was an extraordinary well planned, considerate application. It wasn't a slumlord.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What about Not4RZ?

JEFF MARSH: This new proposal will split Not4RZ. My RC1 will become different than one from St. Andrews, which is really bad from a planning point of view. Despite how I feel about, I think it's a bad piece of legislation regardless of how I feel about it because it adds confusion. Honestly they sit there all day and they process these RC1s applications all day. Which by the way, the map is important to note because even though they want to do zone 1, it's only a handful. He doesn't care. He's tired of this, he wants to put it to bed. He saw the four councillors, voted against the four, but he's tired. It doesn't effect his constituents, he's tired of wasting his time and Council's time, so I feel he is just coming in to broker a deal, which, you know. I can respect.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why would it split

JEFF MARSH: Part of the concern is how things are used. A lot of it is just getting rid of illegal suites and making sure they're safe, because there are so many out there. Not4RZ is concerned

about all suites. And so there's a lot of illegals out there and part of Keating's proposal is to tighten up enforcement and regulation to weed those out. So folks not in zone 1 think it's not good, but maybe it's the best we're going to get, so maybe we should support this. I'm the only, Sandra also, I'm the only Not4RZ member in our organizing committee who is actually in Zone 1. Melanie sent this and said should we support this, this is Keating proposals? She got in in advance.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why did she get it into advance?

JEFF MARSH: Because she's built a really good rapport with working with Council. It wasn't just no we don't want them, she actually talked to council, she sits in their office. And Keating said I want to bring this forward, put this issue to bed, so he came forward and gave it to her.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How involved do you think local groups should be in the re-designation process and why?

JEFF MARSH: I think they should be very involved, unfortunately the City doesn't support that, it's a very top-down organization. A lot of community associations are feeling this right now, residents and communities are grass-roots, their experience of living in the community come from there. And the city wants to bring in their experts and enforce what they believe, top-down, and this is generating a lot of friction, not just on secondary suites but on a lot of things. I think that's something they need to come to grips with but don't see any progress on.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you see the issues with membership compromising the institutional role of CAs in any way?

JEFF MARSH: Not particularly because the people who want to get involved do get involved.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you reflect on why, perhaps, some people in the neighbourhood do not desire or are unable to participate in the community association?

JEFF MARSH: I think everyone is just busy with their own life and it's not a priority. As long as, people generally don't get involved if everything is okay. It's only when you've got the guy who is never involved until his neighbour has four suites and there's parties and now the guy is on land use and here all the time. If things are good, they have more important things in their life. You could say that our low membership and low turn out are indicative of things being quite stable and desirable in the neighbourhood. As things start to deteriorate you'll see membership kind of pendulum swing increase and unfortunately that can't be too late.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about the nature of interaction between your CA and Council regarding secondary suite policy?

JEFF MARSH: There's not much of a rapport.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does your group believe that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use and zoning designations? Why or why not?

JEFF MARSH: I think the general feeling among the community association is that it's not going to guarantee it forever, but it does provide some level of certainty which if that is going to change there needs to be substantive notice and consultation, because it's a large investment, especially in this neighbourhood with these estate homes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything else you would like to share that is pertinent to this interview, that was important that I didn't ask?

JEFF MARSH: Secondary suites is one particular issue, but it's just one particular issue but an example of a larger problem we're having with planning in the city. And I'm going to say that issue is the tendency to blanket-apply policies when you actually have neighbourhoods with distinct, unique characteristics. As a result of this is homogenization, which I don't think the City recognizes or ... sees as important.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think was motivating the motion for blanket re-zoning?

JEFF MARSH: Well the city is keen on, basically it's easier to blanket something than to do a bunch of different solutions. The city is very concerned about increasing density and reducing sprawl, right? They are very concerned about affordability, affordable housing. And so I think it's all well intended but again it's just easier to do that way, to try and break it up.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think prevents home owners from making a suite safe?

JEFF MARSH: You're a slumlord. There's a difference between legal and safe. Illegal doesn't mean safe or unsafe, depends on the landlord. If it's legal it ensures a certain level of safety. Cost and a moral conscience.

Main barriers to making it legal, I think the HVAC requirements are pretty bad and one of the ones that make it cost prohibitive.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Any other barriers not related to cost?

JEFF MARSH: Well we're in a single family housing

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you expand on what that means? What is it about secondary suites that changing the nature of the neighbourhood?

JEFF MARSH: This is a single family large lot. Instead of that, it creates effectively subdivided lot R2.

**Appendix N: Interview Transcription with Jim Stevenson, Councillor for Ward 3 in
Calgary, on July 21, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are your perceptions of the secondary suites issue? What are Council's concerns about secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: My concern is all the spot zoning that we're doing right now. In the city we have a hundred thousand plus properties that are zoned to have secondary suites and we've had that, we changed a lot of those zonings a number of years ago. There's been very little uptake on those for legal suites because it's really important that we have legal suites that are safe for the people that are living in them. So a lot of people are continuing to build ones that are not legal, not up to code even though the property that they sit on is possible for them to have a legal suite on it. The other thing that we did back three years ago or so was that we required all new developments, that they have to have R1s qualification right, so, so the only place where there's R1's, the older more established communities, and so my mission is to try and protect our R1 areas. I think that we need to have some areas of the city that are R1. When people are moving to Calgary, head offices or whatever, a lot executives and people that are looking to buy homes here as business people, they would like to buy in an R1 area, you know, so at least have that choice. So I disagree with the idea of all the spot zoning, like having everybody come forward to change their designation on their street. So my argument is that you can say well it's all right to approve this one on a cul-de-sac because parking is not a problem, but once you approve one, how can you say no to the next door neighbour and the neighbour after that? And the streets are not designed for that much increase in population and the density and so on. And I think it's wrong for us to do all the spot zoning and that's been my position all the way through.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say, two questions for you. With the motion that made all new developments R1s, what was the rationale behind that?

JIM STEVENSON: The rationale was that when people buy into those new areas they know that there's likely to be secondary suites because they're designated that. That's a whole different ball game than changing existing long term zoning, right? So I was fine with that because it meant that the new areas, the people had the opportunity to understand before they bought their home.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say, referring to the R1 that survives in older established communities, and there is a direction to protect those areas. Protect them from what?

JIM STEVENSON: Protect them from the spot zoning and the increase in density there. So that we have some areas that are designated as single family dwellings.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you mentioned executives to look to buy homes in an R1 neighbourhood, what is it about the R1 neighbourhood that some people would be interested?

JIM STEVENSON: I think a lot of people if they've got the money to be able to buy a nice single family home, then they would like to buy that single family home in an area that is got other single family homes in it. That's the type of community they want to buy into. If they don't have the sufficient finances to buy that single family home they'll go into a more, a higher populated area where they can get a multi family or a lower priced home. It's an option that's important.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you support the legalization of existing, unreported suites, why or why not?

JIM STEVENSON: Yes I support the legalization but they have to come up with the proper code requirements. So as long as, if it's a property where a secondary suite is allowed, and it's an illegal suite on there, I'm strongly in favour of getting it legalized.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think are the barriers to legalizing existing unreported suites?

JIM STEVENSON: The cost and the exposure of income. There's a lot of people who do not want to disclose the income they make from renting out their basement. They pay income tax on it so it's all money under the table, cash. But the big thing that's a concern to me is the fact that they don't want to spend the money to provide the property egress from the basement bedrooms, things that are purely dangerous for the safety, and you know, effects of safety of those people living in those suites. But it's costly to do that and so they don't want to do that if they're already raking in this money under the table, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you support secondary suites as a permitted use in all single family districts, why or why not?

JIM STEVENSON: No and I've already covered that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about the challenges involved in legal non-conforming secondary suites? Are the challenges the same or different from new suites?

JIM STEVENSON: Even if they are legal there's no reason to allow them to continue to operate without the code provisions that are necessary, the safety provisions. I don't agree with allowing them to continue operating if there's a danger, safety problem, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: During the public hearing process, what do you take into consideration when assessing a secondary suite land use re-designation?

JIM STEVENSON: I take into consideration the present zoning and what they're trying to do to change that zoning. I take into consideration, although to a lesser degree, parking problems and neighbours' concerns over it, what the community feeling is about it. I take those in but, to a lesser degree I guess than I do to the change of land use without the whole community changing their land use as a single spot zoning as I call it, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think are the conditions under which a suite redesignation should be approved or rejected?

JIM STEVENSON: I think we just go back to the same thing that if it's spot zoning, if it's not the whole community, then I'll disagree.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have there been any scenarios or situations where you ... you've never approved a suite re-designation?

JIM STEVENSON: Yes, but I still keep an open mind until I hear the public hearing presentation on it but my history is that I've not been persuaded to vote in favour of one.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How do you engage with or assess your constituents perceptions of secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: I don't know whether there's any scientific analysis to it, you know. I hear, they're all anecdotal stories I hear from people but the majority of the people that contact my office and contact me are people that are against the spot zoning like I am.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you ever encounter constituents in your ward that support suites?

JIM STEVENSON: Yeah that ones that are applying for them.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Within your ward, obviously there are many communities, do you find there is a diversity of perspectives of secondary suites or is it uniform?

JIM STEVENSON: It used to be a diversity in that the people who live in R1 homes generally across the board they want to protect that R1 zoning but then there's a difference of opinion when it comes to the people who are renting secondary suites or who are renting apartments or renting a house. You know they've got a different outlook on it than the people who actually own those. And I should say, own and live in, those houses. Because that's usually where the line is drawn, if they own and live in them then they want to protect that zoning.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What role do community/homeowner associations play in your decision making about secondary suite policy?

JIM STEVENSON: Giving me their opinion, that's all. I listen to their opinion or read their letters.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I want to go back to this distinction between renters and homeowners. Do you know of many renters in your ward or in the communities in your ward?

JIM STEVENSON: Oh yes. We have a lot of houses that are rented but a lot of illegal basement suites that are rented, you know. And we have rental apartment buildings and that too.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you unpack a little bit more, there's a distinction between home owners, home owners that own and live in the dwelling. Is there a tension in any of the communities in your ward between the home owners that don't live there and the home owners that do?

JIM STEVENSON: No I've seen no example of tension. I'm just saying that, generally speaking if they are renting, if it's an income property, they are more apt to want to divide that into two so they can get two incomes from it and to do that legally they would have to change the zoning.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Reflecting on your engagement, your experience with this issue, who are the key actors and institutions who oppose blanket re-zoning?

JIM STEVENSON: I think the communities likely are the most, there's a motion coming to City Council on Monday right? But there's been a lot of push back from the communities that are included in that motion. They're saying hey we didn't get consulted, we don't agree with a blanket re-zoning, right? So the communities likely are the biggest push back from that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Could you describe the concerns of those opposed to blanket re-zoning, if there are any?

JIM STEVENSON: It's my concern too, is if we do a blanket re-zoning of a community without any consultation of that community and consultation to the R1 land owners, then I don't think we have the right to do that. I guess we have the right to do it, but I don't think it's right for us to do it, right?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: A lot of proponents of blanket re-zoning point to this huge city wide coalition but on the other hand you have a group of communities that are R1 that relatively speaking are much smaller group and yet the impacts are felt more acutely by them. Do you think that's well understood in the politics of this issue?

JIM STEVENSON: Let's go back to what you said first about UDI, explain what you meant by that. Calgary Homebuilders of course there are merging into one now but the CHBA was definitely outspoken in saying we want to prove blanket re-zoning, make it available, secondary suites available through the whole city, re-zone everything. I don't really know what the reasoning is behind that or why that, I mean we've given them the right to put R1s in all of the new areas that they've developing so it was really never clear on why they were taking such a strong stand on that, right? But the blanket re-zoning definitely resonance home owners, community associations are against that generally. There are some community associations that are in favour of it, but the people living in their community aren't necessarily in favour. It's a case where I question whether or not that community association is actually speaking for their people because what I'm hearing is they're not.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you expand on that a bit more?

JIM STEVENSON: The CAs are very important to us as city and as a Council because we look to them to being the voice of the people in those communities when it comes to planning matters and development or redevelopment, all those things. But it's very difficult for a community association to really get the pulse of what they're people are feeling and especially on an issue like this. It's difficult to get that pulse because it's hard to get people involved in the community associations. We've got community associations where their board of directors very seldom change let alone the volunteer base. Cases where the president is the same president for twenty years. And so you gotta say okay are they really feeling the pulse of their community? And I don't know the answer to how they would get that pulse, get an accurate feeling of it, but I really question it when I hear people say hey I don't want my house zoning to change without my permission, right?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there's any kind of tension between, you have an individual who owns their property and wants to do with it and perhaps the primacy of private property rights, so being able to do with your property as you wish, was is it that empowers the neighbours to control or restrict what somebody does with their property?

JIM STEVENSON: The neighbours can't, but the neighbours can voice opinions, voice concerns, opposition, but it's City Council that agrees or disagrees with the application. But I mean there has to be rules, you can't, private property owners can't be just allowed to do whatever they want with their property, it has to be reasonable and so you know if you're a land owner and you had a house there and you say you want to tear this house down and put a meat packing plant on there, we would say no. It wouldn't be possible. So there's limits to where the home owners' rights have got, but you know then you jump from that home owner that is wanting to change the land use and then you jump to the rights of the next door neighbour and you say well, does that next door neighbour have any right, you know, legally they don't ever write to block it, they can as I said oppose it, but that again they've got rights too. And so if you got a community where you've got the vast majority of homes are R1 and the community wants to keep that all R1, you know? Can you say well they don't have a right to fight the re-zoning of one? Because as I said, once you re zone one, it's very difficult to object to the next door neighbour doing his.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What makes secondary suites incompatible with R1 neighbourhoods?

JIM STEVENSON: Incompatible, I guess we always have the issue with parking and we have the issue with population and congestion and so on. But you can always make the argument to say well adding one more house in this community that was developed 48 years ago is not going to make a big difference if we take and put another suite in there, right? That's where I keep coming back to, if we allow one, how do we stop the other 50 people on that street from doing the same thing? That would completely change the lifestyle, it would change the way that community is if you added that kind of increase in density you know.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you think perhaps, the direction to have a blanket is more about reducing a bureaucratic work load than it is any kind of planning direction?

JIM STEVENSON: We could enter into the old area of philosophy and ideology and all the rest of it, I mean, they know, administration knows that the majority of Council are in favour of these spot zoning. Very few of them get turned down. So therefore they're getting the picture loud and clear from Council, is that we're pushing in that direction you know. We changed the thing to reduce the cost of applying and eliminating that cost for applying and that put a huge load of these applications coming forward because it doesn't

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience have you seen an increase in volume?

JIM STEVENSON: Oh yea, there's been a heavy increase in volume if you look at since we reduce the cost.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And it's associated with eliminating the fee?

JIM STEVENSON: Oh definitely, no question.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience what kind of people buy into R1 neighbourhoods?

JIM STEVENSON: I don't know. I don't think that there's a kind of people. Because you can't say that they're a different kind of people or a different class of people. It's people that choose that to be the kind of community they live in whereas someone else will say I want to live in an apartment building downtown. Well to me I wouldn't want to live in an apartment building downtown, but lots of people do. It's choice. It's not at all about classification of people it's just about allowing them to have the choice.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Regarding the secondary suite issue, what are your thoughts about the majority of secondary suite renters and landlords?

JIM STEVENSON: I don't see any, I don't have any thoughts about them. I've got close friends of mine that have them, you know, that rent their properties and I have close friends that rent properties themselves. I don't have any thoughts, I don't see one iota of proof that there's anything different about a renter from an owner or a renter from somebody who lives a different lifestyle. I just don't see it a difference.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience on Council, do you think that discrimination against renters ever pervades the secondary suite debate?

JIM STEVENSON: We hear that but it's not a reality, you know.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say you hear that, you mean you hear it

JIM STEVENSON: From the public. Oh yeah when people come up to speak and say we don't want renters living next door to us, that doesn't make any sense to me.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel there are any gaps in knowledge among the public regarding the blanket re-zoning of secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: I don't know how to answer that question. I don't know if there are gaps in knowledge. Nothing jumps out at me.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel there are misconceptions among Council regarding the blanket re-zoning of secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: No I don't think so. I think Councillors recognize and understand the implications and you know they're all over the place on voting for or against something. So I think they consider each one, you know.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you speak to, we often hear in the media for example it's a divided Council, it's a divided Council, I'm trying to understand, especially around blanket re-zoning, the different Council members positionality on this issue. Do you have an understanding of where different Councillors are positioned on blanket re-zoning? Or is there a general pattern to those that are for or against?

JIM STEVENSON: There is somewhat of a pattern but it's limited, you know, because when people talk about the divided Council as being a bad thing, I just laugh. It's democracy, you know. I would be really concerned if everybody was voting the same way all the time. The healthy thing about our Council is that the division is never the same. You look at votes, it's never the same eight or the same seven. So people have their own reasons for objecting to or fighting against a particular approval, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the fact Councillors were proposing blanket re-zoning in the inner city have anything to do with why it was defeated? Is there a reason there's a distinction between inner city Councillors and those that don't?

JIM STEVENSON: All I can do is tell you why I'm against that and I'm against it because, and they know I'm against it, because I don't believe they did a proper consultation with the people in those communities, right? That's why. I mean my obligation as a City Councillor is number one to look at the best thing for the City. Number two is to make sure I'm looking after my constituents, right? But it's always what's best for the city, number one. And I disagree when someone is trying to do something that I don't think has been properly vetted with their constituents.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How long have you been on Council?

JIM STEVENSON: Nine years.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Has there ever been, in your opinion, adequate consultation regarding secondary suite policy?

JIM STEVENSON: No I don't think so because I don't know how you would do that. It's the same thing as there's a motion coming forward to have a plebiscite. I disagree with a plebiscite because a plebiscite you're now allowing the people who are directly affected to have their say, it's watered down in everybody right? And it's natural that someone who does not have an R1, they're going to say why not, you know? So I disagree with that approach. So I don't know that there's ever been a proper way of vetting this, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So nine years. Were you ever involved with the land use bylaw review? The new 2007?

JIM STEVENSON: No.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I know you said you can speak on your own position, but as a general understanding of what happened at Council, why do you think as a whole blanket re-zoning was defeated?

JIM STEVENSON: I just think there was not a strong enough case made for it. I can only tell you why I was against it, I can't tell you why others voted against it but obviously there wasn't a strong enough case, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: My last question for you before we get open ended. Do you believe that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use and zoning designations? Why or why not?

JIM STEVENSON: No. Nothing is guaranteed. I'm dealing with Harvest Hills Golf Course right now and all those people backed on to a golf course and thought they were always going to have a golf course. But it's privately owned so that private owner is trying to change the land use. No you can't be guaranteed that you're next door neighbour is always going to be the same, right?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there are any comparisons with what you're experiencing with the golf course and secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: Definitely there's a comparison. But the situation is that when you think you're buying in an R1 area, if you're buying in an R1 area and your house backs onto a strip mall, you know. You know that that's not likely if always going to be a strip mall. It's liable to be in 25 years from now, viable to be a change, that they build an apartment building there or something. You know that and you gotta be prepared for that. But as far as the general zoning of your community as being an R1, the streets, the sewers, all the services were built to handle an R1 community, right? And one of the big problems we've got in, and I understand redevelopment, you gotta have redevelopment, and here in the inner city, the Beltline did a lot of redevelopment. And always it's a question of how do you deal with the increase in usage of sewer system, for instance. In Bridgeland, it's one thing if one guy buys two houses, tears those

war time houses down and builds a sixteen plex. You would say well, there's a lot more crappers in sixteen units then there was in those two houses. You might say but the pipes were overbuilt so they can handle it alright, right? Well now down the street we go, and then somebody tears down four houses and they build a ninety eight storey tower, right? Are we able to handle that, right? And so in a new subdivision, when you build a new subdivision the cost of putting in all the pipes and everything are born by the developer. They lay those all. And we have levies against them to pay for all that. How do we collect the levy in an inner city area that's being redeveloped? How do you say to the fourth person that's done a massive expansion and intensification, how do you say to them well hey we're going to have to, we have a problem with dealing with that infrastructure upgrade. When it comes back to these single family homes, if you have all single family homes in a community, you're expectation on the widths of the streets and the parking and the water pipes, all that, those things are all geared to the fact that you have a R1 area. There are exceptions where you have some change of zoning on something and they're sort of intensification but to start doing this house by house creates a problem not only for the quality of life of the people there because of such an increase in congestion, but also for the city in how we handle the increase in usage in that area. We already have parking problems without adding secondary suites in these communities because we didn't build them with the idea that there would be two families living in one of these smaller homes, right?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Your point about setting precedence – if you let one community's application go forward, how do you deny the next one. Do you think there would be significant uptake of legal secondary suites if there was blanket re-zoning?

JIM STEVENSON: I don't know that. The difficulty is when you start legalizing one here on this block and one on the next block, the neighbours don't complain about the illegal one because they think it's legal too. So because of the fact that there are some legal plopped in the middle there and so then you don't get the complaints about it and my real concern is with safety of the people living in these secondary suites. It's very difficult to police it when you're spotting legal ones amongst them, you know?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of any, is there anything that's changing in R1 neighbourhoods, are there any difficulties that are specific to R1 neighbourhoods? Can you tell me anything about R1 neighbourhoods?

JIM STEVENSON: The thing that concerns me about the R1 neighbourhood is the illegal suites that are there. And we see it in my community, we see it, I know there's an illegal suite across the street from me, I know there's one down the street. But the policing of it is just so difficult, right? And it also causes you to say well you know if we go in there and force the closure of that suite then those people are out of a place to live, right? So you have this, what do you call it, a push pull on this because the neighbours don't like the idea that somebody has a secondary suite there, but they don't do much about it, right? And I'm not sure that the blanket legalization would do anything to improve that and there's a lot of negatives that I feel about the blanket.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have any recommendations for addressing the presence of illegal suites?

JIM STEVENSON: I think there has to be more education because in this whole argument that we're having in the city about legalization of suites, people think that if we change the land zone that legalizes the suite. It doesn't legalize one suite, not even one. The public perception is that how can we be against legalizing the suites, how can you be against allowing them because this is helping students. But the people that I talk to that have those opinions, when I ask them questions they have very little knowledge about what a legal and illegal suite is. There's very little understanding. It's just easy to grab a soundbite and say yeah I'm in favour of secondary suites, why aren't you supporting legalizing suites? The issue that has been in front of us has nothing to do with legalizing suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think the public hearing process is risky or a source of, a barrier in any way to people legalizing their secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: Well yeah, I'm sure it is. I mean because the only time they come to us is if they have to have a land use change, right? And so you know there's more and more pressure saying you know, you should have the right to do and change your land use if you want, you know, and so they come and the concern that I have when I see these public hearings is that there's a lot of emotion involved and not the logic, it's emotion. And someone comes to us and says my mother in law is sick she needs a caregiver and I want to develop my suite so that I can have my mother in law live down there and have a care giver and so on. The law is very clear that we do not consider the user, we only consider the land and the use, right? And yet that emotional impact causes people to say well how could we turn her down? But the fact is that next week that person can sell that place and there's nothing to commit to that particular situation or scenario that has been laid out. It's difficult for people and you see the emotion of some of these land owners where they come before us, you know, and to me it should be just very clear you don't have the land use, if you need to have a secondary suite, buy into a community that allows those, where you have the land use.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I noticed when you said very few land use redesignations are defeated at Council, and I understand your position, but in your experience, the ones that do get defeated, what makes them distinct from the ones that are approved?

JIM STEVENSON: That's a really good question. I've questioned my colleagues as you know, I've had colleagues that say well if there's no back lane then I'm not going to support it. And then one will come up with a back lane and they vote in favour of it. So I'm not exactly sure. All I know is my position and I'm very strong on my position but why people jump around I'm not sure.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything else about the secondary suites issue that I haven't asked that you think is pertinent to understanding how people feel about secondary suites, how we regulate secondary suites?

JIM STEVENSON: I mean there's some members of Council that are so strongly motivated to get these suites approved that they do a tonne of back room work trying to convince people to

support them on that, you know? I'm against the general principle. I don't do any back work. I've never went to my colleagues and said I want you to vote against this. I just have my own personal belief that this is that, and I stand with that belief but there's a lot of pressure put on people to vote a certain way. Proponents of this, right? And sometimes they're successful. They get enough to support something. I don't know whether, I mean there's eight councillors that put forward this one that is coming on Monday but from what I hear there are two or three of them that are backing away from that, you know? I don't know whether it's going to be passed or not. One of the things that concerns me is they refer to other cities. They say well look at Vancouver. But Vancouver is like our inner city. They don't have a Ranchlands or a Saddle Ridge. They're called Richmond and Surrey and so on. It's just the inner city. And often too if what they say about Red Deer, but then when you actually dig into it, these other cities have different restrictions, it's not a general across the board approval. But that doesn't stop people from using those as examples of why we're so backward, to not allow these, right?

Appendix O: Interview Transcription with Andre Chabot, Councillor for Ward 10 in

Calgary, on September 8, 2016

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about the secondary suites issue? What are Council's concerns about secondary suites?

ANDRE CHABOT: Numerous concerns both pro and con. So on the pro side, some members of Council believe that if we just allow them to occur naturally, city wide, with no oversight, that it would provide an additional housing source and would actually introduce some affordability because you're introducing more product on to the market, thereby reducing rental cost. On the con side of things, the municipal development plan states that part of our objectives and our goals in order to be sustainable is that we want to build communities that provide choice, a multitude of choice, for people to grow up, live, work, and remain in place or within their same community, minimizing the need for transportation infrastructure by providing all opportunities, employment, recreation, education, all of that, within a community so you can essentially stay in close proximity to where you live and you can age in place by offering seniors' type of housing and even palliative care, whatever it is you need throughout the course of your life. Complete communities. My concern about a blanket approval of secondary suites is that we will essentially taking away one of those land uses away, one of those housing choices away, completely. Which is a single family residential. And so the land use currently for secondary suites does not involve a land change that is recognized as a density modifier. So if you go from RC1 to RC1s, it's still viewed as a single family residential property even if there are two occupants. The old land use bylaw recognized a secondary suite as an R2 property. 2P80. My concern is in regards to a blanket approval, is that contrary to what others will argue is that, and I'm basing my assessment on experience, on history, historical evidence, to support my argument, in that a blanket approval will not actually encourage more legal secondary suites, but will actually result in a proliferation of illegal secondary suites. And the reason for that is that typically the issue around legal vs. illegal secondary suites has not been primarily the land use, but rather compliance with the Alberta Building and Safety Code. So when you tell people that regardless of whether or not you have the land use, secondary suite, it will only become legal if it complies with those requirements which are provincial regulations. When they start looking into it and figuring out what the cost is to bring a unit into compliance they quickly come to the conclusion that it's way cheaper to do it illegally and so better to ask forgiveness than permission. Especially with Council's direction lately to be more supportive of increased number of secondary suites. Which is why we amended the land use bylaw to incorporate the s designation for starters and all of the new area structure plans we've essentially eliminated the R1 use completely. So now all R1's have an s designation in new area structure plans. So we have roughly 80,000 properties within the City that are appropriately zoned for secondary suites so with a market absorption of about 200 units a year, we essentially have, I don't know, more than 50 years worth of land supply.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there is a difference between the neighbourhoods, brand new neighbourhoods being zoned for R1s and the need for secondary suites there versus the need in established neighbourhoods?

ANDRE CHABOT: Places like Forest Lawn ... as it transitioned, as it went from being its own little village to now being part of the City of Calgary and through annexation, what the City did is when they looked at designating the properties in that area they looked at what was there, right? So is it just all single family? Are there houses with basement suites? And so they tried to zone it to be in conformance with the existing land uses and so what happened is a lot of the R1 zones were designated as R2. Because they already had suites. And it was every single one, but there was a lot of them, so there's no point in zoning them R1 because it will make all of these other ones legal non-conforming.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: 1980 bylaw?

ANDRE CHABOT: It originated under the previous one, 46M or something or other, when it was annexed. It of course transitioned to 2P80 and 2P80 looked at it even more closely. There are a lot of areas that were still zoned R1 even though secondary suites were not a non-permitted use. It wasn't until 2P80 that they defined them as a being something that was, that needed some other level of oversight.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you mean?

ANDRE CHABOT: Under the old bylaw, 46M, a secondary suite was not prohibited. So you could put in a basement suite and it didn't really get recorded as something else. It was just, you have a house, and it may have another living facility within that house but it's one house.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But the land use designation had the 2 in it?

ANDRE CHABOT: No, not in the one prior to 2P80. It was the same designation regardless if it was a single family residential home or had a basement suite. So there wasn't a lot of need back then for secondary suites because things were a lot more affordable. The cost of living was less, incomes were good. It's only typically during those really critical times when supply is really low that we see this real big push for secondary suites. The reason I say it will encourage more illegal than legal suites is some of those areas that got transitioned through this process of 2P80, and some of the older communities, Penbrook Meadows is a prime example, it was re-designated as R2 because there was a significant amount of R2 properties that existed at least from the perception of what constituted an R2 properties but at the time, side by side, up down, didn't matter, it's a duplex. And so what happened is as soon as somebody had an R2 property they thought automatically they were allowed to build a secondary suite and so because they're allowed and anyone who owned an R2 property went okay I'm allowed to build a suite, I don't need a re-designation, do I even need approval from the City? I can do internal stuff in my house and not have to get a development or building permit. So there was a perception that you were allowed to do it. So who is going to complain that you're putting in a secondary suite if they know your property is zoned R2? So no one every objected to any of these suites going in. No one ever thought of challenging them on the legitimacy of their suite. And so what happens in a blanket zoning sort of scenario is that if everyone is of the opinion that secondary suites are permitted city-wide, what do you think is likely going to happen? Especially if enforcement says you know what if you have an illegal suite you know we won't come down hard on you because

we blanket zoned. Anyone where we have R2 type zoning the City is pretty lenient on its enforcement side. They say you know what you have the appropriate zoning you just don't meet the requirements of the land use bylaw so if somebody complains they'll investigate, but if they have the appropriate zoning, they'll say okay if you apply for the appropriate permit, so by extension, you go okay these guys, just a slap on the wrist? I'm just going to do it. And I'm not going to do this interconnected fire alarm system because that costs a lot of money and I'll have to hire an electrician and I may not be able to put in a double insulated ceiling for fire protection and fully insulate my furnace room because, so I'll just do it haphazardly. Especially in blue collar neighbourhoods, many of them are trades people and they'll do it on the cheap. If they get caught, then they're like okay what do I need to do to fix it? And so we provide them with some time and leniency for them to bring their units into compliance. What ended up happening in Penbrooke Meadows in particular, is one guy had this property and it had front drive garages. Okay so it doesn't really have a basement, but there's all kinds of on street parking, there's a driveway, people can park their cars on the driveway, you know as far as off street parking, and I can still meet the requirements of the land use bylaw because I've got a complete off site parking pad, not even considering the garage. And it's not on public lands so I'm meeting the provisions of the land use bylaw in terms of parking. And now this underground garage, below the main building, it's really useless other than storage. I'll just put a suite down there. So this guy would buy a side by side duplex with front car garages and he would suite both garages. And then typically because it was essentially on the cheap he was able to rent his properties real cheap because it didn't cost him a lot and besides people go it's a garage, you want me to live in a garage? I'm not going to pay a lot for that. So because of that you typically don't get the best renters. If it's somebody who says hey there's a suite available for \$400, shit anywhere else is \$750/\$1200. Kid wanting to get out of the house or some friends want to get together to hang out and party ...so a lot of this became very transitional in nature because it's like okay this is a dump, I don't want to live here, landlord doesn't take care of it, and so the property starts to go for shit. And because it's transitional, the landlord says I'm not going to go a month without having a renter here, especially if somebody stiffes me on the rent. And then you know, sure, damage deposit, big deal. It doesn't cover the damage let alone the rent that I've lost that they didn't pay me. And so if they leave any garbage behind, the landlord, you know what he does? Takes it all out, throws it in the back, fixes it up as soon as he can, and gets another renter in there. So you get a backyard that is full of garbage. So next thing you know the guy next door says I'm sick and tired of living beside this dump. He tries to sell his property. Everybody goes to visit his property, they go, you live beside a dump. I'm not going to give you that much money. So this guy has to sell his property at below market value. Guess what, this guy here goes, huh, it's now something that's within my price range if I suite the basement, the two front door garages, I can turn this into a revenue property, even if I'm getting low rent. There is one street in Penbrooke where one guy owns 27 properties all in a row and that's exactly what he did.

K: How do you know this?

ANDRE CHABOT: We can it the quarter mile of hell. That's how I found out he owns all these properties and he does exactly that, what I finished saying. And how many of them are actually legal? Zero. And who is going to complain? Nobody! Because they are all living in there and they're so cheap, if they ever complain, it's usually because the landlord did something. Well the

landlord is not going to do anything negative to them because he wants the revenue and worse case scenario okay these guys walked out, they want to complain, I'll take them to court and get my pound of flesh. Because the enforcement side of things was very lax in the past. In the land use bylaw, there is no fine for operating outside of the permitted land uses.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Given that evidence, about the reality of what happens with these legal and illegal suites, what do you think is the, what's driving, you made this distinction between the pro and the con side, what do you think is driving the pro side if this is the reality of how these things unfold historically? What is there a political mandate to push for them?

ANDRE CHABOT: Because a lot of other cities have done it. Typically it's keeping up with the Jones. We don't want to be seen as a hick town, we want to be seen as a progressive town. So if other cities are doing it, and it's providing a need and there's no impediments, it's cut away a lot of red tape with Council with waiving the fee for application for, so initially it was like when Rollin Stanley said we'll absorb it in our budget. The argument we hear constantly is there are other cities that have done blanket approval and there's not been a proliferation of applications for secondary suites. I go, no – now what is it you're tracking when there isn't a proliferation? Well the number of applications. I go, yeah, legal ones. So how many illegal ones have gone in during that timeframe? When you've done a blanket approval because everyone believes they're permitted everywhere, how many illegal ones have gone in where no one has complained, no one has registered a concern, because there's a perception that they're permitted everywhere. So what's the point in complaining? They're permitted, they're allowed. Most people are not educated enough to know that you still have to go through the regulatory process of getting a permit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But the stove, don't you need a 220 volt outlet for the stove, right? So is that still considered, wouldn't that be difficult to do illegally?

ANDRE CHABOT: Are you kidding? It's simple.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So part of this issue is that blanket re-zoning will make people more comfortable having illegal suites, and given the cost and the knowledge needed to go through the legal process. Can you identify for me with your communities, the issues around illegal suites are?

ANDRE CHABOT: Safety, security. And this concern for on-site parking and the potential to impact their residential parking. We live in Calgary, nobody owns just one car. Maybe young people such as yourselves may not own a car, let alone even one. But guys like me, I have one in the garage, one behind my garage, my Camaro, my project car, my wife's car out front, and I have a motor home. So six vehicles, two people. Three vehicles each. Not counting my boat or my motorcycle or my little trail bike.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think the kind of people who rent suites have a lot of vehicles?

ANDRE CHABOT: Yeah but maybe not within their own home, it might be somewhere else. Not many people, like older people like people from 40 on up, that have a family, that are married, husband and wife, will have less than two. No one. Like any family, most people live in a single family residential homes will have at least two vehicles. Now if they decide that they want to suite their basement because they become empty nesters they say okay we're going to suite the basement.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you know how people in your ward feel about suites?

ANDRE CHABOT: Most of them don't care. There's certain communities, like Marlborough and Marlborough Park in particular, and Applewood, who have bought into communities that were, at the time, considered to be breaking out from the Forest Lawn area. Because Forest Lawn had so many negative connotations attached to it, mostly because the McNally report had identified Bowness and Forest Lawn that these communities are creating a burden for the City because they're costing us, eroding our roadways quicker, they're making use of our facilities and they're not contributing to our tax base. This is before they were annexed. It was probably a 1956 report, the McNalley Report. Because of that report the City went oh maybe we should do an annexation application and bring them into our fold, not realizing all the deficiencies in those communities that did not meet City of Calgary standards. So a lot of money was needed to retrofit those communities to make them compliant with city regulations. It's still deficient to this day to be honest with you.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think those deficiencies persist?

ANDRE CHABOT: I think it's the mentality of the people who move into the area. I say this firsthand, because I'm the same mind set and maybe that's why I keep getting elected with the highest percentage. I guess, you know, for a lot of those folks, their home is kind of like their retirement package, right? So they move into it and you'll see this a lot with the seniors, they don't want to move out of the community. They've grown, they've moved in, they've raised a family, they've developed friendships with the people within the area and they essentially see it as still almost like a small town. And so they have those established relationships and they've grown up in this home and it's become like almost part of their family, the home itself. And so if you were to say to them, listen, we're building this multi-family house. The new place costs as much as you're going to get for the old house. And now you have to get rid of all your stuff that you've accumulated for the past 40, 50 years. So a lot of places go through gentrification, where the parents raised their kids and they move out into another area and the kids move into the home, they raise their kids, and they move out. Well that hasn't happened in the Forest Lawn area because a lot of the kids who grew up there with their parents say you know what they're so many negative connotations in this community, it's perceived as bad, and because I live there people look at me differently and I don't want to be looked at that way because they grew up with it their whole life. If they get the chance, they get out of the community. Maybe way more crime, but if it's not Forest Lawn, then at least no one is going to tag me with oh you live in Forest Lawn. Even the Beltline has way higher crime rates than Forest Lawn. But no one attaches negative connotations to that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: You started talking about Marlborough

ANDRE CHABOT: When Marlborough and Marlborough Park started developing, a lot of people saw those two communities as close but separate, right? So we're not in Forest Lawn, and please don't call us part of the Forest Lawn area. That ends at Memorial Drive. Forest Heights is the end of Forest Lawn. Penbrooke Meadows could be associated with Forest Lawn, but Marlborough and Marlborough Park are separate communities, and they were northeast, not southeast. So they sort of created this, everyone who bought into this area bought into it with the perception of we're buying into a safe, clean, well-kept, predominantly owner-occupied single family residential community and we love that about it. We love the fact it's safe and it has all these amenities, it has shopping in close proximity, doctors, education, schools, etc. You know, we can stay within our community and essentially you know be separated from the rest of Calgary. So when this whole secondary suites started coming around and some suites started developing, they said that's not what I bought into. Those are the communities in Ward 10, almost exclusively that are most adamantly opposed to secondary suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: CAs?

ANDRE CHABOT: Both CAs, yeah.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But everywhere else?

ANDRE CHABOT: Forest Lawn has gone down significantly in the owner-occupied side of things and it's because of the negative connotations. Just the name – typically property values are 10 to 20 % lower than everywhere else in that area. It may be identical homes, but because it's Forest Lawn. A lot of those people have sold and moved out, and because they're lower, investors started taking advantage and suiting them. So there's been more of a changeover in regards to having secondary suites which is now permeated throughout the community. There is a higher level of acceptance because there is so many of them. We have no comment. That's what I typically get from the CAs. Leave it up to the adjacent residences because they're the ones directly impacted. A lot of the folks within the CAs, they don't really care what goes on down the street. But if you try and put it next door to them, they will come.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why a plebiscite?

ANDRE CHABOT: So the reason I wanted to do a plebiscite is because although I know that we are not legislatively bound by the outcome of a plebiscite, I was trying to do a three step process. I wanted to use it as a tool, not as a decision-making input. What we've seen in Council is exactly what I just showed you, you'll see a whole bunch of ...some applications are more contentious than others]. There are some communities that are clearly adamantly opposed to secondary suites because they want to preserve the feeling and the context of the single family residential neighbourhood that they grew up in. And they want to be able to preserve that. Not just for themselves but for their children. And there are other places where it has transitioned so much over time that it has become acceptable or there hasn't been a huge opposition so what I

thought, through a plebiscite, what we'll get out of that is a poll by poll sense of where there is broad acceptance or broad disapproval. So then what do we do? Then we say we use the same process that we use for parking restrictions.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The areas that are very opposed, these RC1 neighbourhoods, do you think those places in any way privileged?

ANDRE CHABOT: No.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about the R1 neighbourhood that the presence of suites ... how would secondary suites compromise the character of those neighbourhoods?

ANDRE CHABOT: That's a good question. It's more philosophical than anything else. Having been a renter myself, having lived in secondary suites, in basement suites, I can tell you me personally who takes pride in the maintenance of my property, I did not have the same level of pride in somebody else's property. Although I didn't like to see an unsightly yard and stuff like that, but the grass overgrowing and shovelling the sidewalk, ah, not my property. I'm not the one who is going to get fined for not maintaining it. And unless it was specifically written in my lease that I had to do that maintenance, I didn't. And so you know it's not

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In apartment buildings there is a property management company that does those things.

ANDRE CHABOT: It's not about the individuals who don't care about it, it's property management. Single family residential is not the same. The landlord is more concerned about whether or not he is going to get his rent. If he has multiple properties to maintain every single one let alone his own, while it's like, you know what I don't have to live there so I don't care if the grass is longer. It's work. It's an imposition rather than just ... so a lot of guys who take pride in their property will write that into their lease. The ones that don't, the ones who own multiple properties it's like whatever.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The example you told me about, the whole block of properties, and sometimes investment companies that buy up suites.

ANDRE CHABOT: Edmonton is facing that now.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: It's not just mom and pops, its companies that are buying these houses. Have you seen a lot of that?

ANDRE CHABOT: Not so much, primarily because we don't have a blanket approval. So most of the new communities where it's essentially blanket approval, they're brand new homes, right? And so you don't see a lot of companies buying up brand new homes. If they're going to buy something, they'll buy it second hand, something that needs a little care and a little bit of work to bring it up into a rentable kind of condition and they can typically get it at significantly below market value of a brand new home. Edmonton has gone with a blanket type approval. Although

they have some restrictions that are greater than our own. With the land use. For example, if you build a basement suite and it's one bedroom, then you have to provide for one additional parking stall for that unit. But if you build a basement suite with two bedrooms, you have to provide two parking stalls for that secondary suite. And we don't. So it's one per residence, not residents. There's a few other nuances they have. They also have limitations on size of development for basement suite and we've essentially just lifted that.

**Appendix P: Interview Transcription with Shane Keating, Councillor for Ward 12 in
Calgary, on October 13, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about council's or your concerns about secondary suites?

SHANE KEATING: I think the issue we have is that secondary suites are not the silver bullet for anything. They are a good method of using under-utilized space in a house. In many ways they are not low cost, some apartment blocks are cheaper, so they are not this thing that people portray they are. Those who approve every secondary suite regardless of location and scenario are not using wise planning decisions, they are just pushing a philosophical point of view. I've also said those who vote against every secondary suite regardless of situation are not using planning procedures or methodologies or anything in their decision-making. They are simply opposing secondary suites for whatever reason and it could be that they don't like spot re-zoning. We have those two aspects on Council – those who want it everywhere regardless of whether it's a good place or not, and those who don't want it anywhere. Somewhere in between we have councillors who change their mind depending on the application which I think is exactly where you should be.

SHANE KEATING: Some people own several houses and rent every single one. They're nothing but a business. But we won't accept that in Calgary. It should happen here because this is the right location and spot for it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Talking about those two extremes, more about what residents are saying, what is the motivation for that middle rationale? What risks are we trying to mitigate?

SHANE KEATING: We really need to look at responsible landlords. And that would happen with a business license. We have to mitigate that for the neighbours, and the other risk we have to mitigate is it's easy to say you're tramping on the rights of the homeowner but then they totally ignore you are tramping on the rights of the neighbours. Every homeowner should have the right to do what they want with their property, yet if that usage impedes the rights of others or causes discomfort then that has to be taken into consideration as well.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What rights of the neighbours might be impeded by the precedent of secondary suites?

SHANE KEATING: Well for example we have no regulations on who and how many. So you could have a two bedroom secondary suite and rent it out to 8 people.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Asking about renting out a house to multiple people

SHANE KEATING: But that's not changing the zoning to fit a specific need, that is something that is available. So the other question – let's talk about RVOs and a few of those other vacation rental spots. People can do that now with their house without a question. Should we be allowing that? That's something that we may have to look at because that changes the use of, the intended use, to totally different things.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: There's a lot you can do with private property without a redesignation. This seems to be something that revolves strongly around the change in land use. What impacts does land use change have that you wouldn't otherwise experience?

SHANE KEATING: Well it does change the neighbourhood to some degree, and I'm not saying good or bad, but it changes the neighbourhood most certainly. You have more people living in there, more cars, and the difficulty we have in some of our areas and my area specifically is home-based businesses. So that changes the make-up of the community. You're talking about visits, about traffic patterns, so in many ways this is the same scenario. We have more car usage than we've had in the past, ownership not usage, more car ownership than in the past, and I mean you can go back 30 years and easily see that there were fewer cars per household than there is today. So all of these things come into play when you talk about change of use and it isn't so much that we can sit here and say well you can do so much with this property so what's the matter with this one? It's an apples and oranges argument. Does it fit or doesn't it fit and should you allow a different usage just because there are some that would misuse it? Going back to the rental properties on a daily basis – some do it because they can make more money than they can renting the house on a monthly basis. So should that be regulated? Or should it not? Because suites does go away from the intended use of that property, it goes away from the intended method of that neighbourhood...Or you know, should you have a specific regulation according to people who want to do that? In my view, secondary suites are no different. Allow the vast majority where people want them, they do a great service in some cases. Going back to the individual who has five or six houses in the city and secondary suites in every one of them, you have a business operating with no license, no sort of financial contribution to the municipality for their business, you have all of those scenarios. So should we change it?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious about the difference between property owners who own a whole block or scattered sites, the larger operations, versus an individual, the mom and pop owners. But there is no way watching Council to know how many of this group are there compared to this other group. So you mention one example of someone who sounds like more of an investor type. Is it well known or is there any way to discern whether most secondary suites re-designations are initiated by the investor type versus mom and pops?

SHANE KEATING: I think if you had a business license system, you could tell automatically because you would have to disclose the business and where you're at and you could ask specific questions on the license. Do you own more than one? And the city could go in and look at the records, they can find the applicant and see what other properties they own and see what the zoning is. Should that be part of our investigation? I don't think so. We have in many cases whether it's owner-occupied or investor driven, we have those who are bad landlords and we have that whether they are single family houses, large apartment blocks, or whatever. That's

there. Should there be a mechanism because of the neighbour's rights? We hear stories all the time and I'm the first one to say that all of the stories may not be exactly factual. But you know I've heard many stories of people who've lived in houses with a secondary suite and have nothing but problems with their neighbours. I've heard other stories where people have a great time. There's both of those. But if you have a landlord who doesn't look at community standards and doesn't maintain the house problem and doesn't look after problem tenants then we have issues within the community. So can you find ways of doing that? I think other municipalities have to some degree and I don't think Calgary is willing to look at it. We brought in a fairly, good compromise and those who were opposed to one things in that compromise voted against it which was disappointing because again either it's exactly 100% the way they want it, the pro side as well, they didn't like it because of the business license. It's one way, one aspect. We put in many mechanisms for the so-called, why would you make an older lady pay for a business license, well if you look at this line it says if you're owner-occupied the city will give you a rebate. So we can't charge different because of our regulations because of municipal government act, but we can offer rebates. So that senior who wants to stay there, they just have to fill out a form and get their fee back. If you're not willing to accept that, then what's the issue? I did talk to a fellow from the students union. His concern was is if we put in a business license, that will be passed onto the student. I'm saying well, if your business license is a \$1000 every two years and you divided by the months, are you saying because of that small fee on a monthly basis, and I get that students live in a lot of secondary suites, and that money is tight, but are you saying that because of that small fee, which probably would be passed on, or the fact that that person who is making .. can't afford it, to allow that business, are you saying that negates anything good? Well no, the answer is no, but that's where we get into that difficulty. Even on the pro-side, and when I said look at these people, they're doing it for a reason because they're making money. And should they not have the responsibility to help regulate this business or whatever it is because it's not cheap to build a secondary suite if you follow the code, I get that, but at the same time you know it's a personal investment, it does increase the value of the house, it does all of that. Whether we go into the argument that it decreases the value in the neighbourhood, I'm not so sure that I buy that but I haven't seen evidence one way or another. So the difficulty coming back to our point again is the pro side people said I can't support that because of this, but they were unwilling to look at any other ways of resolving that issue. And that's where we're stuck. Both sides are unwilling to look at any slight change because it doesn't fit 100% their philosophical point of view. If you're in that mode, nothing happens. You make the choice and if you're willing to put up with it, that's your business. And that relates to secondary suites as well. Many people use that term social engineering which I think is a nasty term, but many people say that because it's the wrong thing to do you can't do it anywhere – that's where I have a problem. There's nothing wrong with cul-de-sacs in some areas of the city and those who choose to live on them and pay the price, so be it. Those who want to live in a secondary suite, so be it, let's do it. Those who want to live in a high rise condo in the core, let's do it. But don't negate other people's choices because you have a philosophical point of view.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the City have a responsibility to guarantee things like unchanging land use and adequate parking if that's a choice?

SHANE KEATING: The City has not so much a guarantee, the ability to change as long as it's a decent change, but you have to remember that the City re-zoned and allowed secondary suites in well over 100, 000 properties. So the City is offering that choice. The difficulty is should you as a person who wants to live in a secondary suite or you want to have a secondary suite have the right to do it anywhere you so choose? That's the difficulty. Can we put in high rise towers anywhere in the city? Should we be able to put secondary suites anywhere in the city? The City has made allowances.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: The re-designation process, it does go through administration – I'm curious about the planning hearing process. Are the planning principles supposed to be analyzed by administrators or the public hearing?

SHANE KEATING: They should be analyzed by the administrators. The difficulty is, as of late, regardless of circumstance, there has not been one application for a secondary suite declined by administration.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why?

SHANE KEATING: They get into the view that this is the thing to do and regardless of the scenario, yes this is the thing to do. They have given, in the past, we've changed some of the regulations, in the past they gave fairly significant relaxations which I don't think they should have had the right to. I think they should have looked at it and said you don't fit the regulations. We can give you this much relaxation but in some cases they were giving 3 and 4 metres on the width of the property. It comes to Council and the interpretation. Administration don't have to justify their decision, they just have to make it. Now they would have to, might have to justify it to the City Manager but only if there was an issue. Council members have to justify their decision. Did I make the right decision according to sound planning? Because we are elected, we are held by the MGA which states this is what we must do. And if you're not making decisions according to sound planning issues then people can say you're biased and possibly take you to task for your voting patterns. Whether that will ever happen on a secondary suite is small potatoes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious about location. This proposal for blanket re-zoning, which doesn't have as much RC1 as suburban areas do. And your notion of motion, which was similar in that it was a set area within the core, one of the things I'm interested in – why the core? Why is it that a lot of the policies that want to incrementally make progress toward secondary suites always delineate an inner city area and exclude suburban area, even though there are a lot of existing illegal suites in suburban areas.

SHANE KEATING: The whole aspect of why the core – when we look at the core, my first one, I guess, the two zonings – one was permitted and one was discretionary. You can't say even the first zoning was the core, 16th avenue. It makes sense – transportation is better. People walk. There is intensification of employment centers in that area. There is a different clientele in that area. Many post secondary education, many younger population in such a way that they are starting out and that is where they live to start. We can inspect private properties on a whim.

Businesses we can. Because it's private property, there's some difficulty with enforcement. But you have to honestly state, coming back to the issue, there are those people who want secondary suites whether they are investors or they live there who don't want to pay the expense to bring a legal suite up so they are illegal and they will stay illegal no matter what, and there are those who do not want to claim the income. If you take those two factors into the existing illegal suites, you're not going to get much of a change unless you have the capability to hit them hard and that's what my motion also said was no more of this working through, because right now bylaw says well, very lenient. If you want to nail them, if you want to stop the illegal, then it's the same thing as a red light. If there's no ticket for a red light, people will go through a red light. If we blanket it, then people would have no idea which ones are legal and which are illegal. So how do you formalize a complaint? Because you don't know. If it was permitted anywhere, anyone could throw a suite in their basement and advertise it because suites are legal. Now who is going to follow up with the advertisement? We had an advertisement when it was talking about Rosedale. Whether it was a misprint or not, it stated illegal suite with tenant already. In the listing of the house. Did they mean to say legal suite with a tenant? I don't know. But here's the point. If we blanket everything, anyone could put in their advertisement for a secondary suite because who's to know? So that's part of the argument. People are going to go illegal regardless of the scenario. And filling out a form is not more red tape, it's just regulating and identifying. If people who want to make twelve to fifteen thousand dollars a year with their house with technically very little expense, you know thirty to forty thousand dollars. If you make fifteen grand a year over ten years, it's not a bad payback. People who are not willing to fill out a form and go the legal route aren't interested in making a legal suite in the first place.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do suburban councillor and residents have more concern?

SHANE KEATING: Probably because there is a proliferation of suites in those areas and it strongly goes, I don't know if this is an accurate portrayal or not, because of the mentality of the individuals who live in different areas of the city. We have to admit that there probably is a different mentality depending on where you live. You also have to admit that the difficulty with some of the newer areas or the outlying areas is because the residents in many cases are the ones who are more vocal against. I shouldn't say that either because we've had some applications which you would consider in the established area and have been vehemently opposed much strongly than the other ones. I think you're honest and accept that if you don't understand that different people live in different areas of the city, then you're missing the point. There are people who live in the core and love their high-rises. There are people who love their green grass in the back yard. And if you don't think they're different in some of their points of view, I mean some, and I'm not saying they're different people and I'm not saying good or bad, but different view points. If you're not willing to accept that as a city as a whole we need the core, the Beltline, the inner city, the suburbs, the industrial areas, we need all of these. If you don't consider that all of these areas make a great city then you go back to your philosophical point. We have people here who say they absolutely hate front car garages. Nobody has told me yet that they are a huge detriment to the city as a whole. Should they be everywhere? No. But should you ban front car garages everywhere in the city? I don't think so. It comes back to my point of view as to why there is a different viewpoints from different parts of the city, but as a whole it makes a great city and you have to be willing to embrace that concept and understand it and not be stuck on the fact

that your way is the right way. We have that in Council. The pro side is extremely that way – my way is the right way and if you disagree with it they're very critical of you. Not every Councillor makes up the complete understanding of their complete ward all the time.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: There's a lot of diversity in each ward. Can you tell me about your experience with your community associations regarding secondary suites? Have you found that most of your communities are in agreement? What is their stance? Are there differences?

SHANE KEATING: I would have to say that we don't really get a whole lot of feedback from our community associations regarding secondary suites. It comes back to where I really believe, and I've asked this and said it over and over again and I still don't know why administration doesn't do it – they should put together a package and it should go out and they should hand it out with an application and say this is not required, it's not legislation, but it may help you in getting past your application process. And I've said that each secondary suite should have a map and a sheet and they should go to the ten neighbours on the other side of them and the five neighbours on either side of them and that would say be 20 households that should have some input within secondary suites. The guy that lives six blocks away shouldn't have the ability to say yes or no; their opinion shouldn't matter on an isolated application because in many ways that may not affect them.

Appendix Q: Interview Transcription with Ward Sutherland, Councillor for Ward 1 in

Calgary on October 19, 2016.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In a general sense to start, what can you tell me about your concerns about secondary suites?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I can tell you the challenge that I hear daily. The two perspectives are pretty simplistic, I have one individual says you know what I went to an RC1 area, I knew that's what it was, it's a life investment, you have no right to change my land zoning because I'm invested in this my life savings. The opposite person says it's my house and if I follow the rules within my house I should be able to do what I want to do. Those are the two opposing views from both sides. So people are very passionate about it and I think it's, I don't think I know it's the geography and the demographics influence what direction or the way that people think. So my mature areas like Scenic Acres, Silver Springs and that, they don't want it at all. 90% of the people say no way I don't want secondary suites. The University they understand it, they seem less opposed to it, less issues. Mainly what it comes out to do is the people on the side that are opposed to it are, their view is, you know it will devalue their property and always addition parking issues. But that has also to do with urban design, especially in the mature areas. For example I live in a cul-de-sac, I would say 80% of my cul de sac has lived there for the last fifteen years. I've had very low turnover. We have kids with cars, you put in a secondary suite then where are they going to park? Or they think it won't be maintained. Even the Mayor when he first promoted secondary suites it was based upon, well the owners being there, because people also have this perception that they don't maintain the house, the yards, that kind of stuff, etc. You get all this, a lot of it is fear, a lot of it is what people see in certain areas, etc. Are they founded fears? Not necessarily. Sometimes they are, sometimes they aren't. I think in the terms of do we need them? Of course we need them. We need them. There are 125, 000 houses that are zoned for secondary suites that don't have them, currently. However the one thing that concerns me is that, I'll be very upfront is, they give examples of other cities, well it's a façade. Yeah it's blanket, but they have massive problems and no one talks about it. Especially in Vancouver right now, they have people putting two mini houses in the back. It's kind of this form of a blanket is a real concern for people because when does it change the character of a street? Let's say you have twelve houses on a street. When does it change the character? When the third one, the fourth, the fifth, has a suite? No one can answer that question, so that becomes difficult. And I can't answer it, and the people on the street can't answer it, so I get people that have four or five illegal suites in a small condensed area, constant complaining because it has affected the street and the look and the amount of cars and everything so even when you blanket you can't because it's land use you can't say yes to one and no to the others, so there's really no system. So we've tried to work together the last year and a half on different solutions to go around the land use laws. In terms of trying to make permits, for example, doing a permit system, you know aging in place, having seniors, there's so many good reasons to have them and then other reasons where there are problems. The most difficult thing is there's a separation between governments and who controls things. A lot of time people will bring up behaviour of renters and landlords. Well that's out of the preview of the municipal level, that's a provincial level. Rent laws, etc. all have to do with a landlord and renter rights, are all provincial. So what I mentioned two years ago, I'm going, I

think what I think the real solution needs to be is that the province takes over the entire thing, or we take over the entire thing, and have complete control from the renter to the landlord and then we can do something about it, because right now it's almost laughable because we, the only time we know if there is an illegal suite is if we report it. Then we have to call them up, ask permission to visit, and that gives them lots of time to take the stove out, which they do. Then they put the stove back in, we're not allowed to come back and check. We're not allowed to do any of that stuff because it's outside our level of government. So we have to deal with that. Bad landlords and all that, that's outside our purview. It should be one agency dealing with it from start to finish and having two levels makes it difficult to enforce. For the pilot program, the three reasons they gave were they didn't want to invest the money to make them safe. They didn't want to spend the money to make them safe. And the second one was they don't want Revenue Canada to know they are making money renting. Those are the two major things, the failure of it. So I'm not sure that's going to change anything now. Because if you're not going to invest the money, by blanket zoning, how does that change anything? People aren't going to come forward if they didn't want to spend the money anyway.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think blanket re-zoning normalizes suites?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I think it encourages illegal suites. Because the people know there's no enforcement system. So god forsake if someone ends up dying because they don't have the proper escape. It's happened in Calgary near the university before a few years ago. So we don't have a system from front to back to deal with it. So my frustration is that the province doesn't want to get involved with this. And the Councillors on the other side just say well let's not worry about it. And I don't think that's acceptable either. Okay the whole system is broken so let's just pass it so we can say that we're progressive and we don't have issues with secondary suites. Well like I said there are cities that are progressive but the suites are all unsafe, so what do we accomplish? If the illegal suites are going to happen they're going to happen, whether they're legal or not.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about illegal suites induces property devaluation?

WARD SUTHERLAND: They perceive that, but it's not factual. So from our assessment department, there's no evidence in factual to back up people's fears.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Where do those fears come from?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I think it's because people see rental properties that are not maintained and they envision that with the secondary suite beside me, the same thing will happen. Is it realistic? I don't think so. But that's what they perceive, so good luck battling perception. It becomes very difficult. What we're trying to do is create a positive reaction to secondary suites where we set up a site you can go to, you can get certified. A lot of times I think this is becoming a senior issue. I'm concerned, I've been concerned with seniors for a long time just about aging in place becoming challenging and having these large residences and that are just not practical, it's not sustainable, so where you can take, we're looking at Abbeydale where you can take an existing house, rip it up and have four suites and a main kitchen and then seniors can stay there,

and AHS can come along, we're looking at all different alternatives to deal with that. But when you get into students and affordability of course people want to rent their units because houses are so expensive. I can't imagine a young couple going in and it's like 500, 000 grand and you're like how are we going to sustain this, well we'll have a renter down below to pay the mortgage. A lot of those things make sense. Another thing we're doing to resolve the perception and the landlord issue of unkept properties, we are addressing our neighbourhood policy. We are re-writing them completing, our bylaws, the Community Standard Bylaws.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When did this start happening? What induced that?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Eight months ago. What induced it was secondary suites, about landlords, conditions of properties.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was there a particular, was there some kind of catalyst, was this discussed at Council?

WARD SUTHERLAND: It also just had to do with normal complaints coming into the Councillors' office. I noticed there was a gap in policy, things were left to too much perception. So the neighbour would perceive the yard was in terrible shape. Bylaws would come out and say it's not 2. 5 inches. Walk away, and the neighbour says what happened here? We've been in the process of doing that right now. They've had open houses, they've had different inputs, so they'll be bringing back different standards that are much more strict.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Was this proposed in Council? Like a Council meeting, a public meeting?

WARD SUTHERLAND: We discussed in debates, discussing that our bylaws are ineffective and too generic and we didn't have to do a motion for, we didn't have to do a motion to have administration to revisit it. So we didn't do a motion, they just agreed we'll revisit it in administration.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there someone in administration I could talk to?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Kurt Hanson is the general manager.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: RE: your rationale for the vote about blanket re-zoning last spring

WARD SUTHERLAND: So I didn't vote for it and why I didn't vote for it was simply that they were deciding without consulting their communities. I believe in democracy and I don't think it's my job to tell, especially something as critical as land use, to decide for them. So I voted no. And that was the reason, because they didn't consult their community, there was no democracy, they were just deciding on their own.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How did you feel about Keating's proposal?

WARD SUTHERLAND: It was a mish mash of our committee work. So he was recycling our committee work. I was on committee with Evan Wooley on bylaws and looking at how we can look at different things, looking at different ways whether we should license, business licenses, it was a mismatch of all that and that's why it didn't get much support because everyone said we've talked about this, and there wasn't a resolution on it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Are you aware of illegal suites in your ward? Have you heard from the communities, have you heard many complaints, concerns, or issues, about existing illegal suites in neighbourhoods? Or is that a non-issue in your perspective?

WARD SUTHERLAND: If I hear it it's more or less in Bowness. The complaints more or less come from Bowness because there's so many illegal ones.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why Bowness? Is it the legal non-conforming? Or is there something about Bowness that there's a lot of illegal suites?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I think it's legacy, it's been there for a long time. And again they don't get addressed unless the people officially call 311 and when people complain about it I say call 311 because I can't do anything as a councillor.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: If I have an illegal suite, I don't have the necessary development or building permit, but I have the necessary land use, if my neighbour complains about my suite, will bylaw still come out if I have permissive land use?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Actually they wouldn't because if you were zoned R1S and they said there's a suite there, they would actually say well they're allowed to have the suite, so what's your complaint? If your complaint is outside the suite, like the conduct, it's a different story, but if it's just that they have a suite, they check the zoning right away. But again if they have a suite and it's R1s, we don't go in there to see if it meets all the standards. If they're permitted and they're renting, that doesn't give us a right to visit it. The problem is land use is attached to the property, not to the person. It's permanent. So you know, once it gets passed and the person moves five months later, it stays R1S or whatever it is.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think that taking care of the secondary suite applications just through administration is feasible or right or are there things that lie outside the purview of planning that have to be discussed at Council?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I prefer a separate board or administration just went through the process and followed all the rules, but that can't happen because it's land use. I prefer it didn't come to Council.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are the things that are coming up in the public hearing that you think are distinct from what a planner would be looking at?

WARD SUTHERLAND: It's emotionally based. The rules are there to protect the resident beside them etc. So the planner would look at that stuff and say well no you're not allowed to have this window, that kind of stuff. That would already be there. You know it's emotionally based, emotionally charged.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Given that, knowing that perhaps there is a preference with you or among Council that administration takes care of these rules. Why is Council consistently... like blanket re-zoning...

WARD SUTHERLAND: It would allow them anywhere.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: But if you wanted a legal one you would have to go through planning considerations. So in the big picture, there is this depoliticized way to dealing with suites, but over the past few years, any kind of proposal that would try and depoliticize that process a bit, and to just leave it up to planners, has been voted down, and this seems to have produced a cumbersome situation where 30 to 35 applications once a month. So the volume is going up and Council is left to deal with this instead of putting it through an administration process. Why?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Because we would have blanket land zone. That is the crutch of the matter, it separates everything unfortunately. I think everyone on Council would argue we don't want it to come to Council but what we can't agree on is should we blanket zone the entire city? That we can't agree on.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Besides the issue of public consultation, what happened in the past spring was a motion put forward and administration was tasked with doing something where communities didn't have a lot of time to contribute, beside that, what else is problematic about blanket re-zoning?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I think it becomes a struggle of whose rights it is.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is your belief about that?

WARD SUTHERLAND: If in purpose searched an area that this is what the area is and someone comes in well no this is all changed, I don't think that's fair. However, I think that if we could a permitting system it would be more acceptable to those individuals. Because if they knew that someone's having one for medical reasons, or for a senior, I think those individuals that I've talked to that are opposed they actually seem good with permitting. They don't seem good with land use change but they seem good for permitting with a particular reason.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you talk about situations, medical reasons or seniors. Do you think there are other scenarios that are not acceptable to residents in the neighbourhood? What types of secondary suite situations are people more fearful of?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I think the number one issue if the owner of the house doesn't live there.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And why is that problematic?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Because most people think that if the owner lives there that they will be a responsible landlord because they won't put up with problems from the tenant and that the yard and everything would be maintained and you wouldn't know if that was a rental property at all. I think that perception of that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: You acknowledge that it is a perception. A lot of these proposals to put forward a business license or permitting system, this is meant to soothe people's perceptions rather than what reality, really, about renters and property value?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Yes and no, but it also gives ability to understand research, control, make sure they're safe, give us tools to do additional stuff, so there's benefits to that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you believe, to some extent, that the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Being a councillor I would say no. Being a private citizen I would say yes. The reality of understanding densification and what goes on, some are more realistic than others. Like do we densify Crestmont, on the edge of the city? No. There's right places to densify. So do we expect a change in Crestmont? Well, no you wouldn't. Montgomery? Of course you would, it's more inner city now. And Bowness, it's become more inner city. So I think it's where you live, that expedition should be different.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why is that?

WARD SUTHERLAND: It only makes sense in terms of cost in infrastructure; the more inner city, it's more cost effective and productive to have densification in the inner city than it is in the burbs because it's so stretched out, it's very expensive. And there's not the amenities and that kind of stuff. The old designs that were suburbs, it's not the right direction. New designs of our new suburbs, of course completely 100% different, mixed use, walkability, everything. We just had this conversation about schools. So with this problem with schools is as we, you know, as the City in conjunction with the school boards allot areas for schools, the communities haven't changed. They haven't revitalized. I have schools in Varsity, Scenic Acres, Silver Springs, where 85% of the students don't live in the community. They're all bussed. That's normal now. We have regional schools. We also have charter schools, all the different available schools, none of them are neighbourhood schools anymore. So it's changed the dynamic. It's changed the transportation. So we were talking about walkability, well if you've only got 20% of the people who live in the community, all the rest is coming in cars or busses. So we have those challenges now, when communities don't revitalize, many issues besides recreational areas also schools.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think some neighbourhoods aren't revitalizing?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I would say in some other wards because, my particular ward is there was I'm the first term councillor the other one was there for 30 years and he didn't allow for growth, he fought growth like crazy, so there was no, didn't believe in it, I don't know. There's no growth, no change, so because of the area with the university, SAIT, all that kind of stuff nearby, and we have an abundance of really nice parks, the Beaumont Park, our canopies of trees, areas that are really attractive, and no new housing, it creates hyper inflation. And that was part of our growth strategy that hurt the City from the previous council where they said everything has to be built in the NE, well it created hyperinflation in other areas because they're desirable areas. So what was happening in these areas, these house that were four or five hundred were going up to 900, 000 and you would have to tear down the house because it was so old. So if you want to live in a desirable area, low crime, you got everything around you, you're going to pay for it. With people's perceptions, we just had to deal with the golf course, the Country Hills golf course. So you have the people along there, well it's private land. And, but, it was I'm entitled this has to be there and you don't have the right to do this.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I've had that get brought up a couple times. It's interesting to compare. We have these golf courses be redeveloped, and successful, which arguably has a lot more impact on the neighbourhood than secondary suites. Whereas these individual case by case secondary suites meet a lot of resistance, so I'm just curious why ... I mean are those two things comparable? Why are larger developments, do you think they are more or less contested than individual suite designation?

WARD SUTHERLAND: I don't know if I could compare the two because when we look at a larger development we're really looking at the outline, the MDP, our densification, etc. So we're applying all those planning principles to an outline. And it's multi-use, etc. So that's meeting the criteria of the sustainability we're going toward in the future. So that's already mandated of the direction we're going.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Whereas suites not so much?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Yeah.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you gotten a sense of how community associations feel about secondary suites or policy?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Interesting you said that. Because I constantly ask them and I have several CAs that do not given an opinion when it's submitted. They say they're not comfortable knowing the direction. So I have several that do that, I have a few that support them, and most of the rest are completely on the fence because they don't really know how. So what I've asked them to do, I just had my Presidents meeting, we are going to do a more individual community online survey, with their community base, on re-asking a bunch of questions again. Same questions, give the survey to all the community association, they'll do it with their members only, and get back the result.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think that silences a lot of people who aren't part of the community association?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Yes it could. We're going to advertise it. So they'll have the choice. In the suburban journals that go to every house it will be pre-advertised to say we're going to do it online but you have to put your address in and yes they are going to have the opportunity.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have some are vehemently against secondary suites?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Bowness was a town but they did the 60s philosophy – putting all the low income together. That's what happened to Bowness. So the two areas of town were Forest Lawn and Bowness. It was that 60s philosophy, so this is a legacy thing they've had to deal with. And they want to get out of that legacy. And that's why you know in our affordable attainable housing we do that mix so no one even knows and it's a much more sophisticated way of doing it that is productive for all parts of society so we're working on that. That's a legacy issue from the 60s when they did that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there anything we haven't spoken about that is important to understanding why we regulate suites the way we do? The geography of it? What are demographics of areas that oppose versus those that are apathetic?

WARD SUTHERLAND: More out in the suburbs. More affluent. Tends to be the case.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And you are suggesting that these things are related to why people would oppose secondary suites in the neighbourhood?

WARD SUTHERLAND: Yeah, that's the way people think. As a councillor that becomes, it's one of the biggest issues is overcoming those fears and coming up with solutions to introduce it but you know I'm sure you notice that the amount of suites that go through are pretty high.

WARD SUTHERLAND: My voting pattern. If the opposing residents around it don't want it, then I always vote no, every time.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Given that you find that it's more suburban and affluent neighbourhoods that oppose, do you think there is a lot of justice in giving neighbours power to decide whether someone can have a suite?

WARD SUTHERLAND: They're the ones that have to live with it. The outcomes. They have to live with the outcome, so they should have the right to vote, for now. I mean until we have a system. If the neighbours are fine with it, so applicants get their signature, if they're fine with it who am I to say it's a problem.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In the few cases that get defeated at Council, is there any similarities?

WARD SUTHERLAND: The majority that get defeated have neighbours that are vehemently against it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What if neighbours express discrimination against renters?

WARD SUTHERLAND: That's irrelevant to me.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So if surrounding neighbours

WARD SUTHERLAND: Let me rephrase that. I listen to all the aspects of it. So I consider all the factors, then yes or no. I look at the land use, the parking, all the specifications, as well as the rationale behind it and whether people are accepting or not accepting it. It's a combination of all of it to be honest. If we go blanket, then the next question is what do we do with the illegal ones? Which is pretty sad.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: If you had to summarize the main issues with existing illegal suites, they would be ...?

WARD SUTHERLAND: We don't have any authority, or jurisdiction, to deal with it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is it about illegal suites we have to deal with?

WARD SUTHERLAND: 99% of the time they aren't safe in terms of building codes.

**Appendix R: Interview Transcription with Druh Farrell, Councillor for Ward 7 in Calgary
on July 27, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I wanted to know more about that. Secondary suites clearly came up before we did our 2007 land use review and then I'm curious what happened to that directive at the land use review stage?

DRUH FARRELL: Similar to what happened on Monday. Council was divided on whether or not to move forward and chose not to move forward with it. We did introduce maybe around that time when we were receiving funding from the province after the ten year plan to end homelessness we did receive some grant funding but the process was so laborious and I believe it was often being defeated at subdivision development appeal board, very few of those were successful.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So that program met a lot of barriers at the SDAB level?

DRUH FARRELL: Both the land use planning application and appeal level.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In a general sense, why do you think Council has remained divided on this issue for so long?

DRUH FARRELL: Oh I think it's, um, it was really articulated by a member of the public who said that there's a R1 covenant and there is no R1 covenant but we do treat residents who live in R1 areas differently than we do any other property owner. It's almost like they are that pinnacle of success and that everyone aspires to that lifestyle. And so that it's worthy of protection. We don't protect any other land use as, cast in amber, but we do R1. And members of Council have used the R1 covenant as well. So it's very interesting the language that comes out when discussing secondary suites.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious, is it really protection of every RC1 neighbourhood or in your experience, since there are so many throughout Calgary, obviously there must be something more specific to it, or there must be specific neighbourhoods.

DRUH FARRELL: No, no, I think that there are often homogenous, they're not particularly diverse, and so that generates you know, as a greater possibility of generating intolerance when everyone around you looks just like you. And often in the same age group as well because they're aging at the same pace within that specific community and so I mean we saw that with the Southwest BRT discussion. There was a complete lack of understanding or empathy of people who are not like them. And so you don't get that same attitude in communities that are a little bit more diverse. Because that diversity is embedded in their daily life.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think it is that gives these RC1 neighbourhoods institutional power or power over outcomes or decisions?

DRUH FARRELL: It's interesting, and I was starting on that, the language that's used in Council, um, that we don't use for any other property owner or residential property owner. So they bought in an R1 so they, I think it's seen by some as the more stable, the most law-abiding, the most property tax paying citizens. And it represents the aspirational goals of everyone, that we all really want to be living in that kind of neighbourhood. So therefore it needs our protection. But I've, with Council, communities, single family home communities in other zones don't get that kind of protection and certainly not the same kind of language used. Rationalizing no change.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: In your experience, your long term experience, are there any transitions occurring in these R1 or RC1 neighbourhoods?

DRUH FARRELL: They're declining in population. Some are seeing renewal, which is young families moving in, which is great. But the very nature of their homogeneity it isolates them from a lot of the struggles that people are facing, you know interestingly Mount Royal has some of the highest levels of secondary suites and it's because, and I'm talking old Mount Royal, because they had nannies and gardeners and so there were often out buildings, pool houses, and so they rent them out, right? Or use them for service. Until you need a suite, a lot of people are against them. It's an interesting phenomenon.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious, I pulled up data looking at, there's now a registration system showing where suites are, and it appears there's a lot already in the four inner city wards, relative to other places, do you know why that might be?

DRUH FARRELL: Partly because they pre-date the bylaw, just historical. There are lots of other zones where they're allowed as well. So just could be a historical. And they're closer to where they're needed. Not that they're not needed all over the city, I believe that they are, but used to be a very common form. I was growing up in the inner suburbs, in Cambrian Heights, many many houses had suites. It was normal. In our house in Hillhurst, we had a suite when we bought our house and on either side of us. And now none of us do because we don't need the money. But it was common place and then it became somehow discouraged.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: I'm curious, when the blanket re-zoning for the four inner city wards was going through Council and even with what happened lately, can you reflect on that process? How do you go from proposing something that you think will generate some success or positive outcome, and then ultimately having it defeated and then it seems like that happened again, this past week.

DRUH FARRELL: But it didn't though. The four wards, the four area councillors, were the ones who presented it. So it was impacting, I believe to show leadership, you impact yourself first before you impact others. So this [new proposal – Keating] was presented by someone who had no suites in his ward so the zone didn't extend into his ward, though the wards was signed the motion predominantly. It was adding it was re-introducing a fee, it was adding home owner occupied, it was adding an extra level of red tape, plus the boundaries didn't make sense. They were simply based on even though it was explained as a logical boundary, there wasn't anything

logical about it. I've got communities north of 16th avenue that already allow suites because there's no R1 in them. But it didn't include those, it didn't include the University, and so it missed a lot. The LRT, transit oriented development work, but it was, I saw it as being, and it cuts communities in half, a number of them, which didn't make sense. That may seem like a barrier when looking at a map but those communities still identify as being a whole neighbourhood. And so I think that, I saw it as it could be perceived as we're making it super easy in this area, and we're making it more difficult in other areas, therefore we're trying to discourage further applications outside those areas. And I know that the Mayor for example saw it as just a test to move forward, but the risk I saw is that the Council of the future may say well we're already got this zoned and discourage applications outside the zones.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Where do you think this owner-occupancy issue, what motivates that?

DRUH FARRELL: Uh, you know I understand it. On some level I support the idea of [owner-occupancy]. It generally, it's perceived anyway whether it's embedded in fact or perception, that the owner will take better care of their property and they're not going to put up with unruly tenant if they're living within the building. Having it so that you get a suite and then you're having to constantly prove it's owner-occupied, what do you do with that? Do you say if you sell the property I'm sorry you have to shut down that suite? I don't know how. And that was the problem we identified in Council, how do you prove that? And how do you ensure that it continues into the future? And are we intruding too much into people's private lives?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Since I only have three more minutes, is there anything that you can tell me in a more open sense that would help us understand the current regulatory framework to secondary suites?

DRUH FARRELL: It's unfathomable. You won't be able to understand it, it doesn't make sense. But it's based on fear

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Fear of what?

DRUH FARRELL: Fear of the stranger, fear of people who are different. I mean we've heard everything at Council. So I'm basing it on the public hearings. In a way having all those public hearings have helped us identify what people think about their neighbourhood and neighbours. But it's a fear of renters, I think we openly discriminate against renters. In Calgary they're sort of considered losers, they're not winners, and maybe R1 people are winners. But it's somehow perceived as a failure. And, but I, 39 suites are coming up in the September public hearing. It's been increasing over the years because more and more people see the benefit of them and they want their options, even if they don't apply for them right away, they want the option for the future and that's a good thing, we talk about choice and flexibility, it's a really good thing. And we're all seeing it as a direct relationship to the economy. It's a way for people to keep their homes, we should be applauding that rather than penalizing it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have any recommendations going forward, since this seems to be less of a planning issue and more of a political phenomena, any recommendations in the future as to how ...

DRUH FARRELL: This issue will not go away, and I think there was an assumption awhile ago that the issue would go away if we kept on saying no. The issue is not going away, obviously. And there will continue to be a need, it will be an increased need, increasingly so. And so we're just simply will have to, another generation of politicians will have to deal with it and maybe we won't be an outlier of every major city in Canada. But I think it just needs to go to a political level. And you know similarly to what we say with the Southwest BRT, we saw how a younger generation of active citizens who recognize that if they get involved they make a difference and we saw the outcome of this Southwest BRT, those young people who came out to speak ended up being the prevailing point of view, the Council awarded that by supporting them through policy. And that I think will happen with suites. There's a massive demographic shift in this city, both with aging community, trying to figure out housing options as well as young people.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Those in R1 want young families, and as somebody that is in that generation, how do you think a young family can afford to live here.

DRUH FARRELL: It's a certain type of young family.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Income doesn't keep up with housing, I can't see a young family moving into a neighbourhood with \$900 000 house.

DRUH FARRELL: That's minimum probably.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When you say a certain type of family, can you unpack that a bit more?

DRUH FARRELL: I'm dealing with duplex development in Rosedale, and it's open – we do not want affordable housing in Rosedale. There's a petition that is going to erode the values of Rosedale, I'm not sure what those values are if you don't want affordable housing. In some cases it's thinly veiled xenophobia of the renter.

**Appendix S: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the
Tuscany Community Association on August 17, 2016**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who are you speaking for?

COMMUNITY LEADER: The Tuscany Community Association.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the community association feel about secondary suites?

COMMUNITY LEADER: We haven't drawn a line in the sand about them. We have some criteria that we use as we receive application. We're pretty well aware of which parts of our neighbourhood are transit oriented, the areas that are multifamily tend to be more application from secondary suites. The single estate lots, not so much. First of all we look at – does it fit the criteria? Is it allowed on that piece of land? And if it is, then we review the application and we consider whether the home owner or the land owner has contacted us. Sometimes they are proactive and they will come to us and say, 'this is what we have in mind, this is our story, and we want to build this, and we've talked to our neighbours, or we haven't, or can we do anything. So I consider all of those things. I think the City does too, but I kind of look at what the City does with that information and I figure that's a good policy for us as well. So we had one for instance last year where the person who owned the land didn't live there and this is when

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How can you tell that?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Because it tells their name and their address on the application. And so this was a landlord situation where somebody owned the land, they rented out to some people, and they wanted to build a secondary suite downstairs and behind. They were going to change the configuration a bit. So I went to the neighbours behind and beside and across the street. And I just asked everyone, do you know anything about this? Have you heard about this, have they talked to you? No. No, no, no. Okay, that didn't make me happy and I thought you know I'm not pro or against secondary suites, I do not necessarily want one in my home, but I know it's contentious in this city. But you know when it was an election hot topic for instance, I remember you know there were ideas tossed around, like you would have to live there and then you could have your mother in law suite. There were all sorts of dynamics going on there. But really, none of that matters. But people think it does, and it doesn't. So when you look at really the rules, I look at, were you enough of a neighbour to talk to other people about it? That matters to me, because that's what our neighbourhood is like. And if you didn't, well, I'm not going to be racing out to support your application. Well, I may or may not speak out against it, right? Whereas we've had other ones where we've got home owners who live close to the LRT, their land was actually not designated the same as it would have been if it had been like one property, for some reason it was a funny direct control, so they wanted to re-designate their land, they had gone to all of their neighbours, talk to everyone about it, they told us very frankly that you know I forget the numbers, but for arguments sake, out of ten neighbours, we had ten that were not happy and eight that were fine with it. And we're being friendly about it. Okay good, right? And

so I just said well you haven't applied yet, we have nothing to talk about yet, but thanks for letting me know. I will say that as a citizen and resident and community leader, I feel that the information out there about secondary suites is not always full and I won't say transparent is a bad word for that.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kind of information?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I think that people are confused because during the last municipal campaign there were lots of debates around this. So for instance, you know, people may have heard that yes you have to live in that place in order for it to be a secondary suite, in order to add a suite, but what if you sell the property? You can't control that. But the average resident, I'm not sure they know that, right? And the other thing is, one of the big things was oh this is going to really resolve some homelessness or that kind of thing. I don't buy it. That's not really, like, if you need to have another suite in your house because you need to add to your income, reduce your debt load, or need family living with you – let's just be honest about that. This is not about homelessness. But I mean, for a few people it might be. But this is not a quick, easy and inexpensive fix. It's an expensive undertaking. I think people should be allowed to do that. I'm not very big on government control. I just think let's be respectful, open up some of these options, I guess, but at the same time let's respect the fact that hey, if you bought your home with the understanding that you were living in a single dwelling kind of an area, like your little street, well I'm not so sure that it's okay to just change that on people. Having said that, I think well – in newer areas like mine, where you do have R2 and all those kinds of things, well, people realize that we're putting more homes on a street, like the lots are narrow or whatever. And the City's operating in a different way. I just think to go into mature neighbourhoods and to just allow anything is not, to me, I'm just glad I'm not a President there. And it's really not about me being for or against secondary suites, it's kind of like you would like people to have a choice but if you can't build it here, well, you know you can build it over there and make sure that going forward that the City plans it that way. Like I think that, if it complies with the rules, that's fine.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why do you think people on the block would object to a secondary suite?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I think parking is a big one. I don't know about some people may have concerns around property value, but the City doesn't take that into account – fair enough. But you're changing the character of the neighbourhood. In my neighbourhood I know where the multi-family areas are. I know where the estate areas are. I know where the playgrounds are, where the traffic flows, where the schools are. Those are just different pods within a huge neighbourhood and I don't necessarily treat all the parts of my neighbourhood the same, just like the City can't treat every part of the city the same. That's why when there was talk about a blanket, I thought well that's tricky because you need to understand really well how all those people operate differently, because we're all little unique places. It's not all about NIMBY.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you think there is renter discrimination? Are there a lot of renters in Tuscany?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Oh yeah, there are renters – I don't know if I see that. What I will say is sometimes you have home owners who are really really careful about how they take care of their yard, big on maintenance, all that, and then you have other people who are like hey, I just want to live in a condo and you can take care of everything. Well, lots of condo people are renters too. But I think that could be a factor but I don't hear it when I consult with my committee. But I don't doubt in some part of the city, it would be a huge factor.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think is the danger of not having the owner live in the building?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Lack of oversight. Lack of maintenance. But that's like any rental place. Yes it would be mostly preferable to have the owners live in the homes. But I have neighbours who are home owners and don't take care of the house too.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is the feelings toward an illegal suite that is not maintained? What kind of threat do those properties pose for the neighbourhood?

COMMUNITY LEADER: We want to have pride in where we live. If you like to live in a place where there is pride of ownership, well you're not happy if someone is not taking care of things.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Aware of illegal secondary suites in the neighbourhood?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Yes.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How are they tolerated? What's the general experience with them?

COMMUNITY LEADER: We haven't had any complaints that I'm aware of. The two illegal suites by my house don't bother me because I know them and I can see they are taking care of things. They have room on their driveway for the additional car or whatever. One of them have their mother living there and the other one rents to students. So honestly – I don't mind it. But if I knew of one and people were belligerent, I would probably report it. But if the CA got a complaint – I would say call 311 or submit online, but honestly we are increasingly pushing people towards those systems because I'm not a bylaw officer. Resolve it on your own if you can.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you have a lot of interaction with your Councillor?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Our councillor has not really expressed his opinion. He says it's your neighbourhood. Like most things, he says here are the rules if you need more support this is where you go. It works pretty well. I like the fact that our councillor has a community liaison.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the association support secondary suites as a permitted use in all single family districts?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I support secondary suites in appropriate places, where it's allowed and I encourage those land owners to communicate with their neighbours. Most things, if you have good communication, you're fine.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: ... permitted use in single family in your neighbourhood?

COMMUNITY LEADER: No, because it's not a permitted use.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Any recommendations? How would you like to see secondary suites managed? Do you think the current system is effective?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I'll start by saying that I know it is a very time consuming task for Council. However, you're changing the fabric of the neighbourhood, and that's important work. I can see the system needs to change, but the way that some of the problems have been communicated, people would not be keen to drop the assessment.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Fabric of the neighbourhood?

COMMUNITY LEADER: If I lived in West Hillhurst, then, yes. I know that City Council or bureaucracy would like us to have less vehicles. I just think that it doesn't happen over night. In this current economic climate, people are squeezed already. I do think that people need to feel respected. For lots of people who are not inclined to comment because they don't want to cause a problem, I don't think we're quite ready. I've lived in this city my whole life. I look at places like Bowness and Montgomery very different than I do Tuscany and also like Kensington or Woodbine. I've lived in lots of different places and there are some places that because of the cultural element of that part of town you're going to have more multi family, multi-generational families living in one house and well in this office we see that all the time. So I just think again it comes down to individual neighbourhoods and area councillors that, that's why Council doesn't always agree because they represent people in different circumstances. I think we're a ways out before we say you can always do a secondary suites. I think if it's well managed, for me, if somebody came to me.

**Appendix T: Interview Transcription with an anonymous executive for the board of the
Montgomery Community Association on August 19, 2016**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your experience of change in the neighbourhood over time?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I look at it from projects I see as the planning chair. Over the last few years it's been housing that has increased in size and quality and scope I guess. We're just seeing a lot more larger homes and I think that's due to the market. It's inexpensive to buy here but the prices are going up. A lot of the older homes are being torn down.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What about demographics?

COMMUNITY LEADER: You know I think more younger people are moving in only because of the type of the housing I'm seeing.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about CA membership?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I can only speak for the planning committee. Not a lot of turnover; a few younger people who are just having kids.

COMMUNITY LEADER: Based on comments that come up, whenever we get a secondary suite, we have no problems with that. We might think that the City is going to approve it anyway so we don't want to argue. It's a first stage, so we have no problem with that. But an owner in an R1 area is concerned because it means more cars, or more renters, so I get that. I would like to change my lot, but I don't want my neighbours to.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: If the neighbours are upset, does the association intervene?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Because we want to represent everyone's voice, we write a letter saying who objects and for what reasons.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Is there controversy over land use change regarding secondary suites?

COMMUNITY LEADER: No not at all.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why isn't there a degree of fear about secondary suites?

COMMUNITY LEADER: It's not a fear, there is a concern. We have people on our Board that say it's an R1 neighbourhood and we don't want to turn it into an R2 area. I think that it's like we bought this thinking it wouldn't change. But personally I think the City needs to densify... I don't want it, but I think we need to have it.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are the conversations at the table like?

COMMUNITY LEADER: It's easier because they're not close to us. When we review new proposals, we always look at the basement - are they planning on a secondary suite there? And we go back and confirm. We always look to see if it could be turned into an illegal suite.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you had a lot of run ins with illegal suites?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Not me, but I'm aware. I see separate entrances.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Any concern among the Board?

COMMUNITY LEADER: No, we don't hear anything. It's not the richest neighbourhood so ... and maybe it's family members.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you explain what you mean by that?

COMMUNITY LEADER: There is a whole range of people that live here, that's the great part of it. There's people I see who tell me I want to turn my basement into a suite, so I know they're not going for permits, but it's expensive.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What about blanket re-zoning?

COMMUNITY LEADER: We wouldn't have gone for that. We want to see each land use amendment one at a time because people bought into an R1 neighbourhood so people want to retain that sense of control.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Control over what?

COMMUNITY LEADER: Control over neighbours. Control over what they see next door to them. Control over their sense of value over their property. People get concerned about density and might not have a good understanding of what density is.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What does the planning committee assess about a land use re-designation?

COMMUNITY LEADER: No, we don't really have input that way. We feel we can comment more carefully when a DP comes through because then we have planning issues we can respond to. Will this have an air conditioner? A staircase? We want to be rigorous and comment on planning principles and not just fears.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the Board have a lot of interaction with your councillor, specifically about secondary suites?

COMMUNITY LEADER: I've had very few but the President has had more. I'm not sure what his take on it is.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you believe the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

COMMUNITY LEADER: You always think it does but you have to remember sometimes it's a big envelope, so you might have to bite it.

**Appendix U: Interview Transcription with Elise Bieche, President of the Highland Park
Community Association, on September 11, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who are you speaking for?

ELISE BIECHE: I am speaking on behalf of the Board of Directors of Highland Park Community Association.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your experience of change in the neighbourhood over time?

ELISE BIECHE: So Highland Park, what I would consider a community in transition, very much. We are in a period of high, high growth, high change. Experiencing densification. We have an aging housing stock and primarily our neighbourhood is zoned R2 and higher. So that kind of gives you the context of where we are. In 2014 we had fifty six or fifty seven development permit applications, a large majority of them would have been associated with you know that single family bungalow coming down and an infill going in. And then 2015 we had thirty seven infill development permit applications and now we have a golf course that is ... yeah. It's a big one. So I guess that characterizes where we are. We are, in addition to that I guess an interesting perspective is Highland Park evolved into a neighbourhood of promise. I don't know if you know what the Neighbourhood of Promise is. The Neighbourhood of Promise program is a City of Calgary funded program and based on the Strong Neighbourhoods Initiative. There are four pillars to a successful community and that's economic, diversity, social services, and I can't remember the fourth one. We were deemed a neighbourhood of promise about six years ago because we were on the tipping point of poverty. We were on kind of that, yeah the pendulum could have swung either way for Highland Park. City of Calgary has associated additionally social workers and additional funding for our community association, we received just extra attention to make sure that we can avoid going the wrong way on the poverty scale.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Has there been any transitions or changes in terms of membership rates, or turnover?

ELISE BIECHE: When I first came to the board in 2012 there was four or five key members and the board was very much, you know, almost singly focused on our community hall. We were at the point where our hall was, the lease was up for renewal, and that caused some tension in the community – did we really want to keep the hall? Did we feel it adds value? Did we have access to funding to make the necessary updates to the hall? Because our hall super old. So we transitioned, we're now actually, we have a whole plate of directors for our community association. Fifteen members that sit on the board. We are moving into advocacy, you know you can take a look at the fact we wrote letters on secondary suites, we are highly highly engaged in

the Green Line and the golf course and our hall is really in the position now where it pays for itself and so we've been able to transform the board into serving the broader community.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think was the catalyst for that change at the community association level? Was it linked to the Neighbourhood Promise program? What revitalized the board that way?

ELISE BIECHE: That's a great way question and I'm not sure I can attribute it to one thing. I think it was a series of factors, I definitely think that the Strong Neighbourhood Initiative helped us achieve more stability and it allowed us to reach out to the community more.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How did it allow you to reach out more?

ELISE BIECHE: We had funding to put out programs out to our community that we would not have otherwise had money for, right? We were able to do Music in the Park. We do that three times a summer. The first time was super super small, the second summer what we decided to do was allocate more money from the Strong Neighbourhoods and offer a free meal. So it was pizza in the park, and pasta in the park, etc. So all of a sudden, people who weren't normally coming out had the opportunity to get a free meal, rightly or wrongly (laughter). And so we were able to reach them, and it was just like, come out, enjoy some live music, have a piece of pizza, meet your neighbours.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How do you get the pulse of the community? How they feel about planning, how they envision Highland Park, things of that nature?

ELISE BIECHE: We did put together a statement of significance through our planning and development committee. Based on interviews that we had, in addition I have to say we were so lucky because we were an EVDS project. The pulse from the community, as far as we know, is that we have so long been neglected from the City of Calgary, you probably can't find many communities of our age that don't have an ARP.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is Highland Park Community Association's stance on secondary suites?

ELISE BIECHE: For Highland Park, like I gave you the context, we are primarily R2. We recognize that a significant number of original homes that are in our neighbourhood probably already have secondary suites. So for us though it would be an issue if they were unsafe secondary suites, so are the secondary suites in those old bungalows, are the tenants that are living in them in a safe situation? That's a challenge. It would be, but then the other conversation that we have to have, and I'm not sure we're even there yet as a CA, what to do with secondary suites in the infills? What do we do if people want to put a secondary suite in an infill? And so you know I would think that there are probably a couple of considerations. One, is that going to make it more affordable for a family to live in my neighbourhood if they had a secondary suite? And if that's the case, then chances are I would endorse or encourage families to put secondary suites in their infills because I want a families who are going to come and move into Highland

Park, and their kids are going to go to school in our neighbourhood schools, I see the long term benefits of that. You know, and then you get into the logistics of parking and okay, now this house, what was a fifty foot lot that had one family can now potentially have four families living in it, what does that look like? I don't know if we have clarity as a CA, what does it start to look like if we have secondary suites in the infills? We see the secondary suites in the single family bungalows, the original housing stock, also is another way for our senior population to age in place. We have a high level of seniors and we think that that's awesome. If someone needs someone to shovel their walks so they can live in their house for another year, I think that's great. If it means that they have to find that relationship with a tenant who can help them or financially help them live in their house, then I think that's awesome too.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Can you reflect on why having increased density in the inner part of a neighbourhood, what are the consequences of that?

ELISE BIECHE: I would think it probably has to do with traffic congestion, parking. Those would be the primary concerns. I mean, Highland Park is naturally densifying just with the housing stock turning over, so then you compound that natural densification with further densification as secondary suites... and we don't have, so how do we do that intelligently or sensitively?

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Any renters involved with the board?

ELISE BIECHE: We have a special membership where you can sit on our board, and you don't even have to live in the neighbourhood. We have people who own lock ups and properties, and they're considered invested stakeholders.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: As a board, have you had a lot of engagement with your councillor?

ELISE BIECHE: My councillor is staunchly opposed to secondary suites. We wrote a letter as a board, so our board is not at all aligned with Sean Chu. I don't think Councillor Chu, he doesn't ask anyone any questions before he forms his opinion. He sends his community liaison to our meetings.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you feel the CA has power over policy?

ELISE BIECHE: We don't have any say over policy. Especially when you have Sean Chu as your councillor. They are the recipients of your input.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you believe the purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

ELISE BIECHE: Of course not, everything is up for change.

**Appendix V: Interview Transcription with Marvin Quashnick, President of the
Thorncliffe/Greenview Community Association, on July 26, 2016.**

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What has been your experience of neighbourhood change here over time?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: It's very much on the cusp of change more than change itself. That cusp is moving forward and accelerating. The longer term change has been a demographic shift away from younger families and so the population has dropped since the late 70s or early 80s. That's probably the most significant thing is the population drop. Most of the housing stock has remained the same although there is a gradual change, far more gradual than neighbourhoods that are closer into the city centre. And for the business end of things, that's actually become more concentrated even though the population has lessened, the shopping areas seem to be serving a much larger catchment than they were before and that's kind of reflected in the devolvments that the retail end has gone through. And the industrial park, possibly even more so, there's a much higher concentration there than what there would have been, five, ten, twenty years ago.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you said that it's moving away from younger families, what is it changing into?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Definitely a greying demographic. But as I said things are on the cusp of change. The younger families are starting to move back in and see it as a more attractive area, but that is just kind of, at it's beginning. I don't think the numbers reflect, we see it more anecdotally but in terms of programs of the facility here or, there's still far less children and certainly far less adolescents than there would have been, you know, five ten years ago.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the CA engage or assess the views of members?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Recently we've done a fairly broad survey by a hired independent survey company both to do an online and a mail out version to, and it was more, it's not something we do regularly. I don't know if it's every been done before. This was a big deal, it was fairly expensive and fairly extensive. But on an ongoing basis, we do the social media things, facebook, twitter, as well as just the printed newsletter that goes out. And there's on the ground stuff, trying to liase with business associations as well as independent businesses and other groups within the community, like the churches and some of the other social agencies that operate within the area. And we have various partnerships with other community associations and there's one that was sort of spearheaded by the City of Calgary community and neighbourhood services. And it's sort of a large networking thing amongst other things but that's its broad basis is that all the facilities, all the organizations, you know schools, businesses, have some sort of a mechanism and opportunity to liase together and then disperse to their various memberships, what the others are doing because you know schools are whatever, are pretty good

at networking with their students and their families but not necessarily being aware of what we do, and vice versa.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who was targeted in your survey?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Residents at large. And part of the rationale is to try, because there is a big of a generational perception of what a community association is and what it can do. So part of it, maybe the main focus of that survey is to say to those that historically haven't been involved, what can we do for you to make us relevant to what your needs are now? We did it as broad as we possibly could.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What is the community association's, the board, their general thoughts about secondary suites if they have any to share?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Well there's been a bit of an evolution, and I think that the, where the change happened was in 2010. There was a particular application that went to Council that we didn't support and that began to change because, you know it was all the things that what we've come to see as wrong with the system. So that was the starting point, because we felt we'd failed that particular applicant. We did a survey and there was also that was shortly after Nenshi was elected, and that was a bit of a push by City Council to do some secondary suite reform at that time. Those two things together prodded us to do a survey, specifically on secondary suites and what people thought. We didn't get huge return on it, but it was like a 50/50 split. It was one of those splits where there was very little middle ground. People were adamantly for or against. What came out of that though, less about those positions that we learned, was that there was a lot of misperception about the issue, so, because it was a small survey and there was a lot of comments that people made, I did take the time to contact most of those people that provided contact information and have further conversation and in that, especially on those who were opposing them, opposing any level of reform, that was where most of the misinformation was. And that's not you know untypical with controversial issues that are largely framed in the media. You know it was one of my first exposures to something like that, so, that's what we dealt with in depth and gradually from that point onward we were less about just you know application by application and moved more towards the board being able to support systemic change.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So what kind of misperceptions did you encounter?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: The one that pops into my mind was one woman thought that you know that by passing any sort of ruling to make secondary suites easier to get she would be forced to have one. That still sticks in my mind even six years later. That was so out there. I guess that sort of frames all of it. To a lesser extent people figured that as soon as the zoning, the term blanket zoning was thrown around a lot. That's really has been a term that has prevented you know any sort of progression on secondary suites, I think, because it has all these connotations that people automatically go on the defense that they are thinking they are going to have to fight something forced upon them as opposed to you know the other side of the argument which never got legs is that this is going to provide more opportunity to do with your property what you want. That's what the argument is on the plus side but it never, and I'll speak fairly

closed into our locale, it didn't seem to have the legs that this was more big government trying to force things on us that we don't want. And it seems to be, from what I can see, more messaging problem than anything else. That blanket zoning becomes such a powerful catchphrase that people figured they were going to be smothered by the blanket.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you talked about moving away from application by application and moving towards more systemic change. Can you unpack that a little more?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: You know part of this was starting to broaden the conversation, seeing that this community as on the cusp of change and what that change was going to look like. About that time was the first big push for infill development in Highland Park, which is the next community to the south. And that housing stock there is just pre-war and post-war, whereas here it's early 50s and beyond and there was quite a, almost a quantum leap in construction style and quality, so anything after, about 55, was much higher than what happened prior to that. So where we saw yeah it makes sense if you have those really older, really horrible houses to go the infill route, that most of the houses in this community were you know of an age and of a quality that you could do lesser things to increase the density and prolong the life of that housing stock. So that's where it kind of got started was sort of twofold. One the fear of and not wanting to have a sudden rush of infills and what would be a better way to have more density and that would be secondary suites in existing housing stock and the other slightly different perspective was you know seeing the waste in destroying a bunch of houses that still may have had a generational life in them. So it was kind of two fold there. It's both the pragmatic and utilitarian aspect of saving or utilizing something that is already there. So that's sort of conservationist angle. But also from not wanting to see the neighbourhood to use, lack of a better word, eviscerated, by having infills everywhere.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the CA support the legalization of existing, unreported suites in the neighbourhood?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Well the short answer would be yes but there is never any short answers. But part of our rationale for legalization of suites is so there's standardization and rules to follow so, you know, the legalization of existing unreported suites would be contingent upon them meeting a minimum standard by both the Alberta Building Code and the City's Land Use Bylaw. So that is another one of the main reasons we decided to advocate for legalization of all secondary suites is so that they meet some minimum standards. And not to use over blown and over the top analogy, but the legalization of marijuana. That you have an underground, non-functioning dangerous element of the economy and the idea was to raise it above the ground, so that there is some level of safety and standardization.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think are some of the barriers to legalizing existing suites?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: I guess the short answer to that would be politics. It does, as I've become more involved in this seem exceptionally political and often not necessarily about the issue itself, I mean that's sort of would be my definition of politics when politics is for in and of

itself. So I see, there's one councillor for instance that votes no on all applications regardless. Supposedly he has a valid and principled reason for doing that. But you know there comes a point when pragmatism should challenge your principles and he's not allowing himself to do that. That's one example, I don't mean to single out one councillor because I think all of them to some extent are guilty of politicizing this for multiple reasons. And you know it becomes so muddled and convoluted that even when you see a councillor bring something forward to quote on quote fix the problem you know it's curious if it's just in order to play politics for other reasons, and you know I'm going to give Keating the benefit of the doubt, I think he's been relatively sincere in trying to fix it, but you know it's so burdened with politics and history now that even genuine and sincere fixes have all this ancillary mess attached to it that they're trying to fix it with rules and guidelines that are so cumbersome that even if they get approval and legalization it may be, you know, I've actually, even though we've been supporting legalization a couple of the things that have been brought forward to do that I've breathed a sigh of relief when they failed because they've so problematic and so complicated that they'll create a worse problem.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So when you say, there's a lot of things that are said about people who are struggling or who have existing suite, so some people say it's x and some people say it's y, when you say politics, do you think if you met somebody that owned an unreported suite that the number one reason that they would not apply is because of the political environment?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: We have lots of unreported suites that we are aware of, and we've never ratted anybody out. There have been, I mean of the last, since 2010 every suite application that has gone forward we've supported other than one. And that was one that the neighbours had complained about. And it was, everything that gives secondary suites a bad name and it actuality it wasn't really a secondary suite, what it was was somebody had bought a house and stacked like 12 people into it. That's kind of, so when this came to the light of the bylaw, the reaction of the property owner was to apply for a secondary suite, and when it went to Council we didn't really have any choice but to oppose it and it was one of those situations where you look like you're talking out of both sides of your mouth. You want these grand systemic change but here you have this particular instance that you're fighting tooth and nail against. You know fortunately most of the councillors that have helped us you know, they got that and they know what our perspective was. They found a fairly elegant solution but we also spent an hour on council floor to do that, so again a waste of time with it. That is the exception. Most of the other ones that have been unreported are unreported because, or unapplied for, they're illegally operating is that the property owner is afraid that there maybe one or two things that are not going to meet the criteria. And they'll be forced to change all their furnaces or face some fairly significant cost to retrofit the house. We haven't gone out and looked at these things, but you hear these stories and take it at face value. Maybe that particular suite is in bad condition or good condition, but you know the amnesty that they put on the fees going forward since 2015 I think has helped more of those people to come to the surface and knowing that the community association will support them has helped a little bit.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you seen an increase in volume in this neighbourhood?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Yeah. You know it's not, again there's a real topsy turvy nature to suites versus other things. You know we've had significant amount of suite applications come forward since they relaxed the fee but we're still only talking about half a dozen or so a year. And you know we've spent far more energy and far more time at Council talking about those than the bigger developments that come forward and you know the most recent one is the redevelopment of the golf course at the southern end of the community. That could be as many as 4000 units, and we've had other bigger developments of like a hundred units, it's the biggest. But it's just the system is completely reversed on the amount of time and energy that is spent on secondary suites and how much input we can have on that which is basically if we're concerted and knocking on neighbours doors we could defeat every one if we wanted to. But to have any level of input and impact on a development like the golf course, which is going to be a generational change, we get nothing. And the council time for that will be negligible compared to a secondary suite application would be.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Does the CA support secondary suites as a permitted use in all single family districts?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: The answer would be no, and the rationale for that would be what's acceptable by the residents. I've had numerous conversations with like Druh Farrell who supports it and the planners support permitted uses and I can agree with that from their rationale, you have a footprint already there, it doesn't alter the footprint. What we've found when we started to talk about this as a community that the way that it becomes sailable for lack of a better word is that you retain the discretionary. You don't then have to go for the land use change, but sort of my feelings that's why it failed at Council when Nenshi first brought it in is that he pushed for permitted and at that point he probably had enough by-in from councillors if it was discretionary so again that's the higher level political, we're sort of faced with the lower level political in that in order to get it across the goal line that seems to be the compromise you have to make. It certainly is for us and at a board level when we were having the conversation well should we support fully permitted, you know, close to half maybe more, just slightly more than half weren't comfortable with that and that kind of, as a basis in that the residents that we talked about it, that's the compromise that seems to work.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kind of controls do you think as community leaders maintain the secondary suites for a discretionary use in all single family districts?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Development permits get circulated, we have the ability to make comments, and as long as it's more or less with keeping the rules, the policy guidelines and the land use bylaw then if you bring something forward up you can probably not you know have it stop but you can have changes made or you may have, when it's working at its best you as a grassroots organization have that anecdotal that may help the application.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How does the CA feel about enforcing owner-occupancy?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: We haven't talked a lot about it at the board level. It's one of those things that appears on the surface a good idea to fix a problem. But I understand it's ran into significant problems when they've tried it at Council because of the legality involved. It's one of those things that after you start to think about it for awhile, yeah, that does become problematic because now once again you have this double standard situation that if you have a secondary suite you're forcing or creating a two tier for owner-occupied versus non owner-occupied. But it somebody owns ten, fifty houses and rents them all out without that secondary suite and against packs twenty people in there, now you have that much worse situation. So you know on balance I would have to say that the owner occupied thing is not a viable or good idea.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you think motivates the enforcement of owner-occupancy piece?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Well there's a, I'll speak, I think this could be placed broadly to the city but people have a bias and a prejudice against renters, full stop. That, I'm pleased to say, has been fading since I first volunteered here and fading significantly but it's still, there is still a vestige of that old bias. I can speak fairly strongly because this community association had that horrible prejudice when I started, that if you were a renter, we don't want to deal with you, you're not going to be here, you're not invested in the neighbourhood.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How did that change?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: It was glacial. It was one of the more frustrating things that I found when I first volunteered here. I can't say how did it change. How did the social stigma or the social acceptance of smoking changed? How did the acceptance of gay marriage change? These are all things that you know, that we witnessed in a fairly short period of time, culturally, and the how's are pretty to you know when was the tipping point? For this I didn't see a tipping point, it was incremental. More people came into the community that gradually had a less

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: People that came into the community?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: People who joined the board and the CA. Because I'm been the bubble of the board. That's probably more of what I'm referring to but I think it's also true to say the broader community in a more acceptance of that. And maybe because you know we're moving into a generation or two now that at least at some part of their life people have been renters. You know you look back several generations, people stayed with their family until enough money was had to have the house and they often didn't have that experience and it's not, if you go back more generations the opposite was true, but there was that little post war period where houses were cheap, money was plentiful and that was the nature of the culture and it maybe created a foundational bias and prejudice against renters because that was sort of a blip, maybe a 30 to 40 year blip in a century and now it's come back to a more tiered and nuanced strata society where everybody's been a renter at some point in their life.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What are the perceptions of landlords?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: Most of the landlords have been owner-occupants who just want, and of that, most of them I would say marginally most of them, about half, don't even want it as a profit, you know, they are there to have some member of their family have the secondary granny suite so that's the majority of the landlords wouldn't even want to be labelled as landlords because they're not really, they're facilitating their home to make it more conducive to an extended family relationship or a relationship that's not necessarily familial but like a caregiver, that sort of thing. So I can't even, that's the bulk of the one's we've seen are not even what you would categorize as landlords and then of those that you would probably the majority are owner occupant. This is another major reason we decided to support and advocate for suites is that we didn't want to see the quote on quote working class nature of the community change and this was when house prices were rising, you know, in 2010, in that time, so you create the ability to retain affordability in the neighbourhood and encouraging those younger people the ability to buy homes and live in the neighbourhood and not be, you know, super high income earners so again it goes back to that fear of gentrification and how do we stall that, how do we mitigate it, how do we soften it, and how do we give people that want to live in those communities who don't have the means at a half a million dollar house without some sort of mortgage booster. Again I almost don't really consider that a landlord. I'm trying to move the goal post as what I label as a landlord. To me a landlord is somebody who doesn't, probably isn't an owner occupant and isn't doing it for a motivation to be in a certain place it's purely profit and there's a few of those, and you know, it's a mixed bag.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How involved do you think community groups and neighbours should be in legalizing existing unreported suites?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: I think right now far too much. This is contradictory I know, as someone who is advocating civic engagement, but I think it's one of those areas that far too much weight and power is given to a CA to make change where there's far too little in other areas.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What can you tell me about the interaction between you and Council?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: We're not on the same page as our councillor. There's been a limited conversation that didn't go far. He's opposed every suite that we've supported. He bases his decision purely on the application.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Who are the institutional actors that mobilize against secondary suites?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: I don't know any advocacy groups.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How much power do you think community groups have over secondary suites policy?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: We have power over individual applications, but no power over policy. I'm fatigued at this point.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do the CA Board believe that a purchase of a home guarantees unchanging land use?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: The short answer is no.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Anything else?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: The issue is the genesis of that post war snapshot of utopia that suburbia started out as. It's a way to create somewhat of a fantasy that was a remedy to the trauma of the second world war, and that continues to linger, that monochromatic ...It's a trajectory of inequity. The more you have, the less you want to give anything away.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What makes Thorncliffe different?

MARVIN QUASHNICK: I don't think it's historical, it's current. It may be different boards. Seeing that initial gold rush, the infills, we aren't against infill but that speed of change, I remember the conversations, people saying you want secondary suites you want infills everywhere, that's where the conversation went, that was the genesis of why the tide started to change.

Appendix W: Interview Transcription with Laura and Glen Greenwood on May 10, 2017.

Laura Greenwood is a board executive for the Marlborough Community Association. Glen is her husband.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So, secondary suites. How do you feel about secondary suites in your neighbourhoods?

LAURA GREENWOOD: No, we don't want them. That's the opinion of the board, because we manage, we do the secondary suite issue. Whenever they come in for development, they come to me. We have a standard letter that says no, we don't want secondary suites in our neighbourhood.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: And what's the reason for that?

GLEN GREENWOOD: They cause... not everyone. The majority cause problems. I'll give you two examples. One behind us is a secondary suite, and they don't cause a single problem, but the person who owns the house, lives in the house. That is an uncommon situation. The other example, absent. That is 90 per cent of the problem.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kind of problem?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Cops are showing up on a regular basis. Yards are disarray. The people are just transient. It's not, you can't paint everyone with that brush. The houses that have caused us problems, parking or whatever, it's always been a house with a secondary suite. The landlord is absentee. There is no punishment. It's just money. And currently Marlborough is a little bit cheaper than everywhere else. Houses are big, lots are big, so they can make a 900 square foot basement suite.

LAURA GREENWOOD: Unfortunately when they rent the upstairs and the downstairs, the people that live upstairs don't have access to the backyard. So what do they do? Sit in their front yard with a fire pit. With their sofa. Really? Come on? My god.

GLEN GREENWOOD: They drove up on their front lawn with stereo playing, fire pit in the front, it was just weird.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What kind of impact do those things have on you?

Laura: it just makes it a less desirable area to live in because you're always concerned. I have been concerned about these idiots out there, drinking with a fire going on, what happens when the house catches fire because they're being stupid. The maintenance of the home and the property, it's not nice to look at. You want to live in a neighbourhood that is pleasant and when you walk around you don't want to see garbage.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Where do you locate that behavior? Is it a renter thing?

GLEN GREENWOOD: What is happening is the people who can't afford a mortgage, no down payment, they're pinched. So they can only afford 1200 bucks a month, so they get the upstairs apartment, and they can't make ends meet. It's a low income rental situation that really shouldn't be happening on two levels of one house. And the city actually promotes it, they do. What's happening is the rich are coming in, taking a house, parting it out, to people who really can't afford it, and they get caught and they say well we'll shut down for three months and start back up again and nothing will change. It's really unfortunate because we're keeping the little guy down and letting the rich get richer.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: These situations where someone applies for a re-zoning, are you familiar with them?

LAURA GREENWOOD: Oh usually.

GLEN GREENWOOD: Most of them I've called in already. I'm the guy.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So it is landlords with 'problem suites' applying for re-designations?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Yeah and most of them don't live in Marlborough.

LAURA GREENWOOD: They're absentee, all of them.

GLEN GREENWOOD: It's not like the woman behind us who lives there and keeps everybody kept because, yeah.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: What do you see as the undesirable outcome, when the city or planners approve these re-designations, what do you see as the outcome of that?

GLEN GREENWOOD: It will turn into a high rental community

LAURA GREENWOOD: It won't be desirable for single families, right? It will drive people like us out.

GLEN GREENWOOD: And families too. You can't have a family with a crazy group across the street. You would never let your kids play in the yard. It's unfortunate. The puzzle is there is lots and lots of available sites that are already approved for secondary suites, but you know what, how many are actually legal secondary suites? If their legal, there's a paper trail. They don't want that.

...

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So the community association board has taken an activist approach to secondary suites?

LAURA GREENWOOD: [nods]

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How do you feel, you submit these letters,

GLEN GREENWOOD: It makes no difference. It does not change one outcome of a single application.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So every time someone applies for a re-designation does it just go through?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Yes.

LAURA GREENWOOD: Are you positive? We saw three..

GLEN GREENWOOD: So far, for one the owner didn't ask for a permit. They just made it more marketable to sell.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So there is a recognition, these land use re-designations increase the market value of the house?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Yeah. I talked to Jen, Chabot's helper, she said it's a problem now. It's free

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So there's never been a point when, all of them go through?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Yeah, we do letters but it makes no difference.

LAURA GREENWOOD: However, I mean, we have done things on our own and gotten some shut down.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How did that happen?

LAURA GREENWOOD: A lot of work with 311.

GLEN GREENWOOD: To put things in perspective I have found 30 illegal suites on my circle.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Why is there such a higher concentration here than anywhere else?

GLEN GREENWOOD: Because it's cheaper to buy the houses.

LAURA GREENWOOD: Also, we're close to the core. We're central, there's LRT, buses, I mean it's a good, it's a prime area actually. Forest Lawn is considered city center, but we're just across the street. We're very close.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: With this effort you put it, shutting down the illegal ones, can you talk more about that?

GLEN GREENWOOD: We call, we shut them down, and you keep at it. I have called on over 400 suites in the last ten years.

LAURA GREENWOOD: We have a spreadsheet.

GLEN GREENWOOD: I have a very large hard drive.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Have you ever spoken to these landlords or renters living in the suite?

GLEN GREENWOOD: No there's no point. They look at you like you're just in their way. It's just huge money and it's unfortunate. It's against our Charter rights to be told who we can rent our house to. So all the city can do is say you can only have one kitchen and one bathroom.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: How long have you been involved with the board?

LAURA GREENWOOD: Oh, I've been off and on for 15, 20 years. Long time.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: When the community association makes their submission on the circulation, and the board has taken a stance on secondary suites, , what was that process internally?

LAURA GREENWOOD: Well at the table there was our President at the time, and he's no longer the President, however when we took that stance it was an issue because there are parking issues, people were complaining about parking, there were maintenance issues, home maintenance issues

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: People were complaining about these things to the community association?

LAURA GREENWOOD: Absolutely. They complain to us about everything and anything. And we're all like-minded in that we do not want secondary suites in the community.

GLEN GREENWOOD: Actually that's why we moved into Marlborough. We used to live in Pineridge, just north of Marlborough. It was a duplex area, and we just wanted a bigger piece of ground, less congestion, and that's why we moved into Marlborough. And other people have the same kind of idea.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: So you're moving away from a duplex area and congestion. What were the negative impacts, what were the impacts in that neighbourhood?

GLEN GREENWOOD: It seemed transient. We moved into Marlborough and we know our neighbours.

LAURA GREENWOOD: And knowing your neighbours to a lot of us is important. Not that you go for coffee with them or anything like that but at least you know who they are and if you need something maybe whatever you could depend on them to call 911.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Do you mind if I ask, the neighbours you know, are they all property owners?

LAURA GREENWOOD: The majority of them are, yes, in our cul-de-sac.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: With the CA, is there a lot of outreach to renters in the neighbourhood or do you find that renters don't participate? What is the community association's experience with renters?

LAURA GREENWOOD: There's not a lot of engagement, people tend to gripe. They bitch about it but they don't do anything. In our community, I can't remember how many, a community of 8000 homes or something. Out of that 8000 we've only got 150 members of our community, who buy memberships.

KYLEE VAN DER POORTEN: Has it always been like that?

LAURA GREENWOOD: Yep. People were more involved in the community when we had a soccer program. When they had children. We no longer have, we gave up our soccer program a couple years ago. We joined with other communities so now we run Eastside, they still practice at our hall and we have a soccer field, but now that there isn't a lot of kids in soccer why buy a membership? I don't need one.