THE SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL IMPACTS OF GENTRIFICATION ON VANCOUVER'S WEST SIDE

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Abstract

The current study examines the social and geographic impacts of gentrification on Vancouver's west side - specifically within the Kitsilano neighbourhood. Through a systematic review of recent development experiences and a survey of local residents a theoretical and empirical view of current development processes is formulated and their impact on current residents living in rental accommodations explored. Research and survey findings reveal that ongoing redevelopment on Vancouver's west side is the result of major structural changes within both local and provincial economies allied with the shortage of available building land. Local residents forced to relocate within the last three years cited rising rents, building demolition and building sales as the major factors behind their move. Of those residents who moved, a large proportion relocated to smaller suites and were required to pay higher rent. The majority of movers did not oppose development, but rather seemed to view the problems presented by forced relocation as one of the "costs" of living within Kitsilano. Despite a variety of relocation experiences, the majority of local residents indicated that they were satisfied with their current place of residence, although approximately half of those surveyed considered the residential character of Kitsilano to have changed over the last three years.

Executive Summary

The current Vancouver housing situation, characterized by a shortage of available land for development and rising housing prices, is a product of changing structural processes allied with the constraints of a limited geographic site for future housing developments. In the 1970's, the seeds of the current housing pressures were sown as a result of two major structural developments: the dramatic rise of Vancouver as a white-collar service-oriented city with an associated population increase, and a dramatic increase in the purchasing power of a substantial portion of city residents. The impacts of these changes on local housing markets were felt particularly within inner-city residential communities which experienced considerable revitalization as condominiums became the housing development of choice, and large numbers of young well-educated professional adults took up residence there attracted by the neighbourhoods close proximity to downtown, as well their architectural diversity, and various natural and recreational amenities.

While the pace of redevelopment slowed somewhat during the early 1980's, as a result of a provincial wide recession, toward to end of the 1980's an invigorated local economy allied with an influx of off-shore development served once again to increase the pressures for redevelopment.

Based on the survey of local resident housing experiences within the west side neighbourhood of Kitsilano, allied with a summary of local development contexts and the review of key informant comments, the study reveals that the current ongoing phase of redevelopment has impacted specifically on both the social structure of the Kitsilano community and its physical landscape characteristics. Approximately, one quarter of local residents surveyed had experienced some form of relocation as a result of a combination of rental increases, building demolitions and building sales over the last three years. Those households who had experienced relocation were further not representatives of traditional low-income or marginal inner-city neighbourhood groups, but rather well-educated, full-time employed, moderate income households, who were the victims of demand generated redevelopment over which they had little or no control.

Of those local residents who reported that they were forced to relocate the largest proportion were forced to accept revised housing accommodations with either increased rents or smaller suite sizes. In addition to those residents who had moved, thirty-five percent of non-movers further reported that they considered a move likely within the next year the product of a combination of high rents and currently unsuitable accommodations.

Given the demand generated nature of development the product of broad structural changes in the urban and provincial economies, local resident initiatives to restrict development have proven ineffectual. Similarly, City of Vancouver policies are geared more to the encouragement of affordable housing initiatives and not the restriction of developments per se, and have thus not addressed either the control or limitation of redevelopment except in accordance with local planning guidelines and land uses.

In the broader picture, developments on the west side of Vancouver, particularly in the neighbourhood of Kitsilano, must be viewed as part of the larger macro-economic and social process that affect the City of Vancouver as a whole with its continued attractiveness as a location for inter-provincial and international migration, balanced with the confines of a finite physical site and a lack of readily available building land. To address the residential challenges generated by these conflicts communities, developers and city representatives must work together to identify suitable housing sites and suitable housing forms that meet the needs of all residents. In short, only through sensitive and informed cooperation between all major players may the problems of affordable and accessible housing for all be addressed.

RÉSUMÉ

À l'heure actuelle, la situation du logement à Vancouver se caractérise par une pénurie de terrains disponibles pour l'aménagement résidentiel et par une hausse du prix des maisons. Cette situation découle d'une modification structurelle combinée à des contraintes d'ordre géographique limitant le nombre de terrains à bâtir disponibles. Au cours des années 1970, deux modifications structurelles importantes ont semé les germes des pressions actuelles dans le domaine de l'habitation : la progression fulgurante de Vancouver en tant que ville de cols blancs et de services conjuguée à un accroissement de la population ainsi que l'augmentation considérable du pouvoir d'achat d'une partie importante de ses habitants. Les répercussions de ces changements sur les marchés de l'habitation se sont surtout fait sentir dans les quartiers résidentiels du coeur de la ville qui ont subi de profondes transformations à mesure que la popularité des logements en copropriété s'est accrue et qu'un grand nombre de jeunes professionnels instruits sont venus habiter dans ces quartiers à cause de la proximité du centre-ville, de leur diversité sur le plan architectural et de la variété des attraits naturels et des installations récréatives.

Bien que le réaménagement ait ralenti quelque peu au début des années 1980 en raison de la récession qui a frappé l'ensemble de la province, à la fin de la décennie, la reprise de l'économie locale et la forte expansion au large de la côte ont contribué encore une fois à accroître les pressions à cet égard.

En se fondant sur les résultats d'une enquête effectuée auprès des résidents du quartier ouest de Kitsilano, de même que sur un résumé de la situation de l'aménagement au niveau local et sur l'analyse des commentaires des principaux répondants, l'étude révèle que le réaménagement en cours a une incidence particulière sur la structure sociale du quartier Kitsilano et sur les éléments du paysage. Au cours des trois dernières années, environ le quart des habitants du quartier qui ont été interrogés ont dû déménager par suite de la hausse des loyers et de la démolition ou de la vente des immeubles au cours des trois dernières années. En outre, les personnes qui ont quitté le quartier n'appartenaient pas à la population habituelle des ménages à faible revenu ou des groupes marginaux vivant au coeur des villes; c'étaient plutôt des ménages à revenu modeste, composés de personnes instruites et ayant un emploi à plein temps, qui faisaient les frais d'un réaménagement axé sur la demande et pour lequel ils n'avaient aucun droit de regard ou si peu.

Parmi les résidents qui ont affirmé avoir été forcés de déménager, la majeure partie ont dû accepter un logement plus cher ou plus petit. En plus de ceux qui ont déménagé, 35 p. 100 des résidents qui sont restés ont également indiqué avoir songé à déménager au cours de l'année suivante parce que les loyers sont élevés et que les logements actuels ne leur conviennent pas.

Comme l'aménagement est axé sur la demande, qui découle elle-même des vastes changements structurels auxquels ont dû faire face les économies urbaine et provinciale, les initiatives des résidents visant à limiter l'aménagement n'ont donné aucun résultat. De même, les principes directeurs de la ville de Vancouver sont davantage destinés à favoriser la production de logements abordables qu'à imposer des restrictions au réaménagement proprement dit. Les seuls moyens de surveiller ou de limiter le réaménagement sont donc les directives locales en matière d'urbanisme et d'utilisation du sol.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

The current Vancouver housing situation, characterized by a shortage of available land for development and rising housing prices, is a product of changing structural processes allied with the constraints of a limited geographic site for housing developments. During the 1970's, the seeds of housing pressure were sown as a result of two major structural developments: first, the dramatic rise of Vancouver as a white-collar, service-oriented city with associated considerable population increases, and second, related to the first, a dramatic increase in the purchasing power of a substantial portion of city residents. The effects of these changes were particularly evident with the emergence of a significant cohort of young, two wage-earners who during the late 1970's were drawn in significant numbers toward the inner-city housing market (Kitsilano, Fairview and The West End). The rationale for their selection of these inner-city neighbourhoods were essentially life-style related matched with the desirable location or situation of the neighbourhoods close to the city's major parks, beaches, and marinas, as well as the distinct and vibrant cultural and retail activity of the downtown area. The neighbourhoods themselves were further characterized by additional "desirable" attributes such as ethnic and architectural diversity which represented valued attributes among many middle-class in-migrants.

The result of these changes was a reorientation of the city's economic, cultural and demographic structure which in housing terms placed a premium on inner-city accommodation. As a result, vacancy rates fell dramatically and for the majority of the 1970's and early 1980's a severe shortage of apartments was evident. The housing market response was the construction of condominiums and the associated loss of additional rental accommodation. The condominium became the housing option of choice given its advantages to both developers and purchasers alike. For the developers, acceptable returns could be guaranteed more readily through the construction of condominiums given municipal "down-zoning" by-laws, the removal of investor tax shelters and provincial government introduced rent freezes. From the perspective of the consumer, the purchase of a condominium offered the benefits of equity, the availability of a range of different amenities, the need for less upkeep, and allowed a more controlled living environment than rental apartments with fellow owners generally more committed to social order and building maintenance.

While redevelopments slowed considerably during the mid-1980's as a result of a provincial-wide recession, the situation became volatile once again in the late 1980's as a result of an invigorated economy spurred on by local growth and development and set alight by the influx of off-shore investment and to a lesser extent investment from the United States related to perceived increased business opportunities as a result of the 1988 Free Trade Agreement. Between 1986 and 1989, the Vancouver region's employment grew by an estimated annual increase of 3.8 percent. The major sources of economic growth in the Vancouver CMA from 1984 to 1989 were commercial, business, and personal services (27.8 percent), manufacturing (17 percent), and trade (16.2 percent).

Not surprisingly, strength in the local and regional economy created substantial housing demand which was felt particularly in the City of Vancouver itself and in the Vancouver metropolitan area. Higher land costs, the result of a lack of available building land (undeveloped land zoned for medium to high density multiple-family use), resulted in the construction of a medium- and high-density condominium apartments in the City of Vancouver itself, particularly on the west side, and row houses in the suburbs. Condominium apartments accounted for some 73 percent of the residential market in 1989 with the strongest markets located in Vancouver and Richmond. To make way for these condominium developments, existing rental accommodation was either converted, or more usually demolished. The result was an erosion of affordable rental accommodation and the displacement of many long-term residents. Demolition of existing housing unit figures for 1989 reveal that within the City of Vancouver, a total of 528 units in rental buildings with six or more units were lost.

While the situation eased during the second half of 1990, as a result of the general decline in real estate prices associated with a slowing down local economy, the availability of rental accommodation remains problematic. Future predictions suggest that the Vancouver housing market will continue to "perform strongly" into the 1990's with a need for the provision of additional housing units the result of continued in-migration and the gradual aging of the population which in turn leads to smaller family units and an increased demand for housing.

1.2 Research Question and Objectives

The aim of the current research was to explore the social and geographic impact of continued gentrification or revitalization on Vancouver's west side. To this end, the research question may be summarized in two parts:

- Who are the individuals/groups currently most threatened with displacement as a result of the revitalization of Vancouver's west side? And,
- What, where and how suitable are the alternative and affordable housing options available to them?

The major research objectives may be summarized as follows:

I) To target and describe the population groups currently threatened by displacement as a result of inner city gentrification on Vancouver's west side. Affected groups will be classified according to socio-economic characteristics and life-cycle constructs.

II) To outline the efforts and actions taken by actual, and potential displacees, to oppose such developments, outlining their experiences of the process of protest and a summary of protest outcomes.

III) To describe and evaluate the location, type and standard of replacement housing either selected or considered by displacees or potential displacees with specific reference paid to the variables of affordability and suitability, and resident satisfaction.

IV) To outline possible housing policy or program initiatives that may assist displacees and potential displacees in dealing with the problems produced by gentrification.

V) To theoretically conceptualize the changing residential nature of Vancouver's west side in terms of the overall residential structure of the city as a whole.

1.3 Study Area

Based on the review of development projects completed on Vancouver's west side over the last three years, the particular neighbourhood selected for study was that of Kitsilano. The rationale for the selection of the Kitsilano area included the following:

1. Although development on Vancouver's west side has slowed considerably within the last year as compared to the latter half of 1989 and first part of 1990, construction of condominiums is still underway within the neighbourhood.

2. Rental housing vacancy rates within the Kitsilano area continue to be low (Apartment vacancy rate for April 1991 was 0.7 - compared to the City of Vancouver average of 2.0 percent), while average rents for apartments remain high (April 1991 average monthly rent for Bachelor suites $494.00 and one-bedroom suites for $618.00 compared to the City of Vancouver averages of $487.00 and $593.00 respectively).

3. Previous research has considered in detail the rental housing situation in other communities on Vancouver's west side (eg. Kerisdale).

Within the Kitsilano neighbourhood, the specific blocks identified for detailed study and analysis were those located in the north-eastern sub-area of the neighbourhood in the so-called "Apartment Areas" bounded by Cornwall Avenue in the north, Larch Street in the west, Burrard Street in the east and Broadway in the south. The northern portion of this sub-area represents one of the most amenable apartment districts on Vancouver's west side bordered by Kitsilano Beach and the West 4th Avenue commercial district. Many of the apartments are located on a natural rise that affords picturesque views of English Bay and the downtown peninsula. The area houses a majority of young adults with approximately 50 percent of the population between the ages of 20 and 34. There are also a growing number of adults between the ages of 35 and 44. The southern portion of the apartment area provides lower cost rental housing to a population that includes a greater proportion of single parents, although single young adults without children make up the majority of the households.

1.4 Research Method

The research strategy employed, involved the collection and analysis of data from three distinct sources:

- Background and secondary data sources on development and housing in Vancouver and Kitsilano.
- The survey of resident experiences and perceptions of change in Kitsilano.
- The interview of a range of key informants either involved in or knowledgeable regarding development within the Vancouver context.

2.0 Gentrification and Urban Revitalization: A Review of the Literature

The first documented use of the term "gentrification" was in a 1964 study by British sociologist Ruth Glass. The term was used originally to describe the residential movement of "middle-class" groups into selected older neighbourhoods of London, England in the early 1960's. Since its first use in this pioneering study, the term has been used and applied within numerous studies throughout both the North American and British Literature which have examined the fluxes and spatial dynamics of residential development within the urban context (Clay, 1979; Gale, 1984; Ley, 1985 and 1988).

The application of the term within the North American context has, however, recently been challenged given a series of different gentrification experiences which relate more to a sociological and collective phenomena associated with the renovation of older housing in inner city neighbourhoods of large cities rather than the movement of upper middle class residents into zones of transition or decay (Ley, 1988). Within its original context, the term was used to refer to a specific residential movement from the exterior into the centre or inner section of the city. Within the majority of North American examples, however, the characteristic movement of population has been more of an intra-urban nature involving residents from the same neighbourhood or from an adjacent one (Rose, 1984; Senecal et al, 1990). Similarly, it has been questioned by numerous authors whether or not the actors involved in the process are, in fact, "gentry" even in the broad sense of being upper middle class. The term "gentry" itself remains historically more appropriate for describing traditional British societal stratifications than those of the North American context (London and Palen, 1984; Rodgers, 1989).

Thus, in conceptual terms, it may be argued that the current widespread use of the term necessitates a revision of its initial meaning and context to allow it to embrace more accurately the current changes taking place. In this manner, the use of "parallel" terms such as "revitalization" or "embourgeoisement" may be considered appropriate (Ley, 1985).

Definitional difficulties aside, the changing residential patterns of the city have been the focus of study for geographers, sociologists and urban designers alike for the last two decades; with the concept of gentrification used broadly to refer to the movement of high income/status groups into areas traditionally associated with lower income residents (Gale, 1984; Smith and Williams, 1986; Thrift and Williams, 1987; Senecal et al, 1990).

The research completed, has explored changes both in the physical and social environments precipitated by such movements, and in so doing moved toward a preliminary assessment of the mechanisms producing such change (Rose, 1984; Thrift and Williams, 1987). While a broad understanding of the underlying factors producing change has been outlined, however, the specific social and geographical implications of the process itself have been slow to be recorded or documented. According to preliminary studies within this area, the process may serve to sharpen existing socio-spatial contrasts, particularly in terms of the physical environment between differing neighbourhoods (Rose, 1984), although considerable further study is required to clarify both the extent and nature of these changes.

Within the Canadian context, the logistical problems encountered in exploring the social and geographic dimensions of gentrification induced change within the urban environment are compounded by two major factors. First, the process of gentrification represents a relatively new phenomenon which shakes many of the standard assumptions and premises concerning the urban residential form of the city. Second, the process of gentrification, and thus by extension the effects of it, remain different within British, American and Canadian contexts a fact which cannot be overlooked within any detailed study.

The majority of geographical and sociological studies of the urban environment prior to the 1970's were heavily influenced, theoretically at least, by the pioneering work of the Chicago School of Social Ecology, a characteristic reflected in a broad acceptance, albeit a not uncritical one, of the principles and assumptions outlined within their socio-spatial models of city evolution and zonation.

By way of brief summary, it was assumed within such models that the wealthy would be constantly drawn toward the newer, hence more fashionable and desirable, housing located at the periphery of the city. Thus, wealthy residents would "leap-frog" over groups whose social and geographic mobility was more restricted. The product of this movement would be a process of 'filtering' in which the less affluent (and hence less mobile) would be supplied with lower cost housing - generally in the form of the older homes vacated by the upwardly and outwardly mobile.

In accordance with this model, the oldest and least desirable housing remains in the inner city where it is occupied by a population made up of four main groups, characterized by Gans (in Pahl, 1968) as "ethnic villagers," the "trapped," the "downward mobile" and the "cosmopolites." Summarized briefly, these groups are made up respectively of newly-arrived immigrants with little previous experience of the city or its culture, traditional low-income owners, the aged and the unemployed, and groups of students and artists who have been attracted historically to the counter-culture or non-conventional lifestyle afforded by inner-city areas.

Recent studies of gentrification, however, have served to challenge this traditional model of residential locations and pointed to substantive revisions in the residential structure of many large urban areas that are the converse of this proposed residential scenario (Smith and Williams, 1986; Gale, 1984; Hammett, 1984).

Not surprisingly, this reorientation of residential patterns and movements has served first to attract the interest of researchers on both sides of the Atlantic, and second to initiate a widespread questioning of the validity of the so-called western city model. While some researchers have ventured so far as to suggest that the socio-spatial form of the western city may in fact be demonstrating a move back to a preindustrial pattern of social zonation (Smith and Williams, 1986), others have cast doubt on the widespread nature of the change.

Of the studies completed, the majority have focussed, perhaps not surprisingly, on either the American or British experiences. Thus, individual studies and collections of papers by Nelson (1988), Berry (1980), Palen and London (1984), and Auger (1979) based on American data and examples, and those by Anderson et al (1983) and Hammett (1984) based on British and European experiences, have indicated that the phenomenon is indeed widespread in both locales.

By contrast, studies of gentrification within the Canadian context remain more limited, and with the exception of a series of recent studies which draw on the pioneering initiatives of Ley (1981) not as well developed as either British or American research (Ley, 1985; Ley, 1988; and Senecal et al, 1990 for examples of recent Canadian research on gentrification).

The limited amount of work that examines the Canadian face of the process of gentrification remains problematic given the difficulty in merely extrapolating American and British patterns and experiences to the Canadian context (Logan, 1985). Canadian cities, their form and function, represent a product of an urban history that stands apart from its British and American counterparts and, therefore, one that may not reasonably be discussed nor analyzed by reference to the same processes and outcomes. The widespread blight and partial abandonment included in American experiences of inner city neighbourhood change, for example, remains far less typical within the Canadian inner city experience which has been characterized more by continuous phases of redevelopment, with each phase leading to a more intensive land use type (Ley, 1981; Senecal et al 1990; Ley, 1988).

Similarly, Canadian cities maintain a clear distinction from their American counterpart given the absence of well-defined racial divisions which predominate in the latter.

Relative to the large body of gentrification literature which has focussed on the discussion of gentrification and urban residential restructuring within both the American and British contexts, analysis of the residential changes evident within the Canadian inner-city, therefore, remains limited. As Ley (1988) observes, this represents an important research gap given the almost continuous national concern for the provision of housing within the Canadian city which has been related primarily to a matter of affordability of shelter. Based on a review of six of Canada's largest urban centres, Ley (1985 and 1988) has outlined the specific nature of changes within the structure of inner-city residential communities across Canada and documented specific findings relative to the processes of middle-class settlement and redevelopment. The results of the research indicate that the erosion of affordable housing alternatives within inner-city communities, and their replacement by new and renovated or upgrading housing stock, has resulted in a "social upgrading" of the residential landscape. In short, both the local housing stock and the social structure of many inner-city communities have been altered through both the reshaping of the local housing stock, a result of housing stock renovations, deconversions, condominium conversions, and the resulting influx of higher-income households (Ley, 1985; Howell, 1986).

While the literature charting these changes has remained brief, its focus has been primarily on the "gentrifiers" or new arrivals to a community rather than the existing residents or those displaced. Within the Canadian context, however, preliminary studies suggest that many of the communities "gentrified" or "revitalized" are not the characteristic run-down inner-city neighbourhoods identified within particularly the American literature, but rather more well-established or "vital" communities. Similarly, those local residents either physically displaced or threatened with displacement are frequently not the traditional inner-city groups identified by Gan's definition of "urban villagers," but more likely less original/more mainstream groups. In the absence of detailed study of these neighbourhoods or groups "threatened" with revitalization a complete understanding of the social and geographical impacts of residential change within the Canadian city remains illusive.

3.0 Gentrification/ Revitalization Within the Vancouver Housing Market

3.1 The Historical Context

Inner-city housing markets within the City of Vancouver have been the centre of significant change over the last two to three decades. Changes in the city's economic and social structure have resulted in considerable pressure for the provision of middle-income, adult-oriented accommodation within the neighbourhoods to the south and west of the downtown core. The result of these pressures has been the revitalization of a series of existing lower-income and low middle-income inner-city residential communities, with the associated loss of rental accommodations, (apartments and older single-family dwellings) and their replacement by purpose-built, middle-income adult-oriented condominiums (eg. development in the communities of Kitsilano, False Creek and Fairview slopes).

The physical revitalization of these communities may be related, for the most part, to broader structural changes that initially impacted on the city in the 1970's, receded during the early to mid-1980's, but emerged once again toward the end of the decade to impact on the structure and form of residential life within the inner-city zone. In broad terms, the structural changes that took place during the 1970's within the local economy saw the emergence and entrenchment of Vancouver as a predominantly white-collar service oriented city.

As part of a wider change apparent in the national economy, the employment mix within British Columbia shifted during the 1970's in favour of the tertiary and quaternary occupations. In 1971, for example, tertiary and quaternary occupations accounted for 55 percent of provincial occupations and rose considerably to 64 percent by 1978, with the largest relative gain recorded in the quaternary sector. Not surprisingly, given its level of infrastructure and development, the City of Vancouver remained over-represented in the expanding tertiary and quaternary sectors with approximately 70 percent of the workforce classified as being in "white-collar" jobs in 1971. Between 1971 to 1980, approximately 7,000 new jobs were added annually to the city's job total, of which an estimated 75 percent were the product of new office construction in the downtown area (Ley, 1981).

The rapid growth within the tertiary and quaternary job sectors during this period was accompanied by considerable changes in the metropolitan population which increased from 1,082,352 in 1971 to 1,268,183 by 1981. Within the City of Vancouver itself, the period between 1966 and 1971 saw a population increase of 15,923, of which a large proportion fell within the 20-24 age cohort. As part of this change, not only did the number of young adults increase, but the parallel counter-flow of out-migrants was made up of 50 percent of children under 5 years of age. The product of these changes was the introduction of a large number of new adult households into the city and the associated reduction in the overall size of the total number of households. Thus, while between 1966 and 1976 the population of the City of Vancouver actually fell slightly, the number of households increased by approximately five percent.

The results of these structural changes in population resulted in an increased demand for adult-oriented, inner-city accommodation. The majority of new households introduced during this period consisted of young, career-oriented adults with high household incomes and few dependents. The small family-size of the households, and their work orientation, contributed to their interest in the inner-city housing market, while existing inner-city neighbourhoods offered substantial attractions of their own including access to the city's major parks, beaches, and marinas, as well as the diverse and cosmopolitan range of cultural and retail activities of the downtown core. The existing inner city neighbourhoods, many of which included a number of historical buildings, also offered an eclectic mix of architectural styles and character buildings features which further appealed to the middle-class and cultural ideals of many of the new households.

The results of these changes included an invigorated inner-city housing market, a premium placed on inner-city housing, low inner city vacancy rates and a shortage of apartments through most of the 1970's. In the early to mid-1970's, apartment vacancy rates remained very low within the 0.5 percent range, and within "desirable" areas of the inner city stood at zero for much of the mid 1970's (Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver).

The response of the property industry to this initial housing shortage was not to increase the supply of high-rise, medium to high-cost rental units, but rather to turn to the development of condominium construction. The rationale for this choice were *two*-fold. First, revised institutional and popular constraints and sentiments mitigated against the massive development of high-rise structures. Public opinion was against high-rise construction given its impact on existing neighbourhoods and their vistas and amenities - a sentiment that was similarly expressed within other Canadian inner-cities. In addition, widespread inner-city down zoning had occurred in 1974 within Vancouver, limiting the availability of sites for high-rise residential developments. Second, the traditional norm of rental tenure fell somewhat from favour during the mid 1970's as a result of the combination of withdrawn or cancelled government initiatives and the increase in private market-based opportunities. For example, Federal tax revisions in 1972 resulted in the abolition of a tax shelter which had contributed to the attractiveness of rental structures as investment alternatives for both small and moderate investors. In addition, the Provincial Government introduced a rent freeze in 1974 which, despite its attempt to maintain affordable rental accommodation, served rather to stifle the initiative for rental apartment construction (Block Brothers Annual Report, 1974). Conversely, property developers were able to see that, given the above factors, satisfactory investment returns were more likely to be secured through the development of condominiums, which would further meet the desire for ownership of many of the new households. Thus, in brief, the condominium alternative offered the advantage of both equity and security to the purchaser, while providing developers with a guaranteed and speedy return on investments. The result was a development emphasis on condominium construction and the accompanying loss of large tracts of affordable to moderately-priced rental accommodation particularly in the desirable neighbourhoods on Vancouver's west side.

3.2 Recent Inner-city Development Experiences on Vancouver's West Side

While the beginning of the 1980's represented somewhat of a lull within the Vancouver housing market, toward the end of the decade the related issues of revitalization and the provision of affordable housing once again returned to the forefront of both public and private, community and individual, agendas and concerns.

The current renewed pressure for inner city redevelopment and conversely the erosion of affordable housing in the City of Vancouver, and particularly on Vancouver's west side, may be related for the most part to the interplay of three major structural factors:

1. A Provincial and Local boom;
2. Internal changes within the city; and
3. The shortage of available building land and the economic unattractiveness of rental constructions.

1. Provincial and Local Boom

Between 1986 and 1989, the Vancouver region's employment base grew by an estimated annual increase of 3.8 percent. The major sources of this growth were in the key economic sectors of commerce, business and personal services, manufacturing, and trade which accounted for 28, 67 and 16 percent of total economic growth between 1984 and 1989.

The physical expression of this considerable growth within the metropolitan area included the addition of 13.2 million square feet of office inventory, and 2 million square feet of retailing space between 1980 and 1989.

In response to the provincial and local boom, interprovincial and international migration rates also increased dramatically starting in 1987 with a total net migration increase of 64,446 in 1990; a considerable portion of which headed toward the Vancouver metropolitan area (Table One and Two).

In addition, international migration figures were similarly boosted by the federal/provincial "Immigrant Investor Program" which resulted in the movement of a substantial cohort of new immigrants into the province who were able to demonstrate a financial commitment of $250,000 allied with the ability to facilitate investment and development in the economy (eg. direct business investment, and job creation) many of whom choose to settle in the Vancouver area.

The result of these changes included the continued growth of the City of Vancouver, and current population projections, based on continued population growth, predict that the city will reach a population of 506,963 by the year 1996 based on an average rate of growth of 1.4 percent from estimated population figures for 1991 (Table Three).

TABLE ONE
British Columbia: Population Change, 1986 - 1991

		INTERPROVINCIAL			INTERNATIONAL					
Year	Qtr	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	Total Net Migration	Natural Increase	Total Population Increase
1986	1	7,256	9,498	-2,242	2,775	1,229	1,546	-696	4,573	3,877
	2	11,768	12,142	-374	3,301	1,549	1,752	1,378	5,765	7,143
	3	19,890	16,282	3,698	3,150	2,895	255	3,953	5,651	9,604
	4	10,498	10,670	-172	3,326	1,881	1,445	1,273	4.765	6,038
	T	**49,502**	**48,592**	**910**	**12,552**	**7,554**	**4,998**	**5,908**	**20,754**	**26,662**
1987	1	8,945	8,141	804	4,463	1,458	3,005	3,809	4,601	8,410
	2	14,753	9,590	5,163	4,888	1,511	3,377	8,540	5,892	14,432
	3	23,763	15,557	8,206	5,369	2,014	3,355	11,561	5,278	16,839
	4	13,452	10,007	3,445	4,198	1,280	2,918	6,363	4,229	10,592
	T	**60,913**	**43,295**	**17,618**	**18,918**	**6,263**	**12,655**	**30,273**	**20,000**	**50,273**
1988	1	10,799	7,516	3,283	4,753	1,090	3,663	6,946	4,265	11,211
	2	16,180	9,500	6,680	6,174	976	5,198	11,878	5,439	17,317
	3	26,226	14,938	11,288	6,981	1,695	5,286	16,574	5,871	22,445
	4	14,295	9,681	4,614	5,296	1,138	4,158	8,772	4,809	13,581
	T	**67,500**	**41,635**	**25,865**	**23,204**	**4,899**	**18,305**	**44,170**	**20,384**	**64,554**
1989	1	12,318	7,501	4,817	5,404	1,069	4,335	9,152	4,375	13,527
	2	13,952	8,354	5,598	6,983	1,115	5,868	11,466	5,949	17,415
	3	27,267	15,439	11,828	7,177	1,794	5,383	17,211	5,640	22,851
	4	26,563	13,123	13,440	5,771	1,279	4,492	17,932	4,808	22,740
	T	**80,100**	**44,417**	**35,683**	**25,335**	**5,257**	**20,078**	**55,761**	**20,772**	**76,533**
1990	1	15,353	8,667	6,686	5,758	1,099	4,659	11,345	4,350	15,695
	2	14,565	9,083	5,482	7,646	1,000	6,646	12,128	5,780	17,908
	3	32,167	16,685	15,482	8,883	1,761	7,122	22,604	6,240	28,844
	4	26,901	13,561	13,340	6,184	1,155	5,029	18,369	5,040	23,409
	T	**88,986**	**47,996**	**40,990**	**28,471**	**5,015**	**23,456**	**64,446**	**21,410**	**85,856**
1991*	1	13,092	8,179	4,913	5,678	1,100	4,578	9,491	4,350	13,841
	2									
	3									
	4									
	T	**13,092**	**8,179**	**4,913**	**5,678**	**1,100**	**4,578**	**9,491**	**4,350**	**13,841**

Source: CSB May 1991 migration bulletin. All figures are subject to adjustment.
*Preliminary

TABLE TWO
City of Vancouver: International In-Migration by Area of Origin
1986 - 1990

Country	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Europe Total	**1,382**	**2,327**	**2,663**	**2,808**	**2,808**
Britain	415	848	1,058	1,041	1,011
Rest of Europe	967	1,479	1,605	1,767	1,797
Africa	**299**	**480**	**613**	**695**	**582**
Asia	**5,458**	**9,350**	**12,995**	**14,586**	**17,395**
Hong Kong	1,085	3,281	4,962	4,660	7,402
India	1,339	1,530	1,652	1,530	1,798
China	473	622	659	968	1,094
Taiwan	215	396	824	1,368	1,601
Philippines	707	1,065	1,353	1,718	1,750
Vietnam	543	601	574	767	772
Rest of Asia	1,096	1,855	2,971	3,575	2,978
Australasia	**63**	**164**	**150**	**226**	**227**
N. & C. America	**1,238**	**1,535**	**1,146**	**1,200**	**1,113**
USA	570	808	620	681	606
Other	668	727	526	519	507
Caribbean	**72**	**119**	**144**	**161**	**164**
South America	**169**	**219**	**418**	**478**	**399**
Oceania & Islands	**233**	**341**	**373**	**457**	**722**
Not Stated	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
TOTAL	**8,914**	**14,536**	**18,502**	**20,057**	**23,410**

TABLE THREE
City of Vancouver: Historical Population and Projections
1986 - 2011

Year	Population	Amount of Change	Average Annual % Change
1986	435,995		
		36,625 (86 - 91)	1.6
1991	472,620		
		34,333 (91 - 96)	1.4
1996	506,953		
		30,854 (96 - 2001)	1.2
2001	537,807		
		24,932 (2001 - 06)	0.9
2006	562,739		
		17,206 (2006 - 11)	0.6
2011	579,945		

2. **Internal Changes Within the City**
In addition to external pressures on the housing market prompted by the recent economic upturn, internal changes within the city itself have also added to the pressure for continued development and revitalization resulting in the associated loss of affordable housing alternatives. Thus, for example, the gradual aging of the local population between 1971 and 1986 has resulted in a city population with a larger proportion of young adults allied with a smaller average household size. While the population of the city increased only marginally between 1971 and 1986 (a net increase of 4,890 or 1.15 percent), the population of young and mid-life adults (ages 25 to 34) increased by a total of 29,470 (or 50 percent) from 59,250 in 1971 to 88,720 in 1986. The significance of the substantial population growth within this particular age cohort is reflected in their status as the major "household forming" group; that is the group most likely to set up new households. The significant increase in this group, many of whom are employed within the quaternary or territory sectors has, thus, meant the increased demand for existing and new household units.

3. **The Shortage of Available Building Land, and the Economic Inattractiveness of Rental Accommodations**
The third major factor which has served to encourage inner-city residential development and the associated loss of affordable housing is that of the shortage of available building land allied with the economic unattractiveness of rental constructions. The finite physical site of the City of Vancouver, means that new land for housing developments is not readily available nor easily developed. Thus, new construction within the city has frequently meant the redevelopment of existing areas and the associated removal/demolition of the original housing stock. Invariably, areas of existing rental stock represent the 'prime' sites for redevelopment given their location close to the city centre, their frequent zoning for multiple-use, and their rental status with ownership in the hands of either an absentee landlord or a developer with no personal 'residential' stake in the community. For many rental development owners the maintenance of a rental residential structure proves uneconomical given the inequitable balance of the return between rental and private -ownership land users. Within the production of housing the major physical factor inputs include the land, building materials, labour, finance and technology. In the long-run, the trends of relative price changes between the major physical factor inputs affects the possibility and even the desirability of substitutions between the various factors involved. Within the Vancouver context, the rising cost of land has resulted in the development of high- and medium-density condominiums which guarantee a higher rate of return per square foot for the developer then rental apartments, and further require the consumer to pay a high downpayment as part of the purchase package.

3.3 Local Housing Market Experiences: The Erosion of Affordable Housing

As a result of the structural changes generated by rapid local economic growth, a changing urban profile and the associated shortage of available land, the recent Vancouver housing market has been characterized by a trend of steadily increasing accommodation costs, allied with a decreased availability of supply. Despite a recent downturn in the local housing industry, residential construction figures for the period 1986 to 1990 indicate a strong healthy market (Tables Four and Five), although the accessibility of it for many would be consumers remains prohibitive. Housing completion figures for the City of Vancouver, for example, reveal the completion of some 17,834 housing units between 1986 and 1990, of which the majority of the units completed were of an apartment design (Table Six and Chart One). While the total volume of construction is not insignificant, its focus remains overwhelmingly toward that of the private market rather than the rental one. Thus, during the same period the construction of "social housing" alternatives designed for the provision of affordable rental accommodation for low to moderate income households was considerably lower with a total of 3,190 units completed of which less than 50 percent (1,449 - 45 percent) were completed after 1988 (Chart Two and Table Seven).

TABLE FOUR
City of Vancouver: Annual Value of Residential Building Permits (1000's)
1986 to 1990

Year	New	Additions/Alterations	Total
1986	229,066	30,123	259,189
1987	322,858	29,932	352,790
1988	349,377	37,161	386,538
1989	535,343	28,626	563,969
1990	484,597	42,423	527,020

TABLE FIVE
City of Vancouver: Annual Value of Residential Building Permits
in Constant 1986 Dollars ($000's)
1986 to 1990

Year	New	Additions/Alterations	Total
1986	229,066	30,123	259,189
1987	293,241	27,186	320,427
1988	296,082	31,492	327,574
1989	421,862	22,558	444,420
1990	384,296	33,642	417,938

TABLE SIX
City of Vancouver: Housing Completions by Type of Unit
1986 - 1990

Year	Single Family Dwelling	Duplex	Townhome	Apartment	Total
1986	998	130	218	2441	3787
1987	957	211	171	1529	2868
1988	1028	236	165	2168	3597
1989	1511	151	12	2111	3785
1990	1122	232	208	2235	3797

CHART ONE
City of Vancouver: Housing Completions by Type of Unit, 1990
(n = 3797)

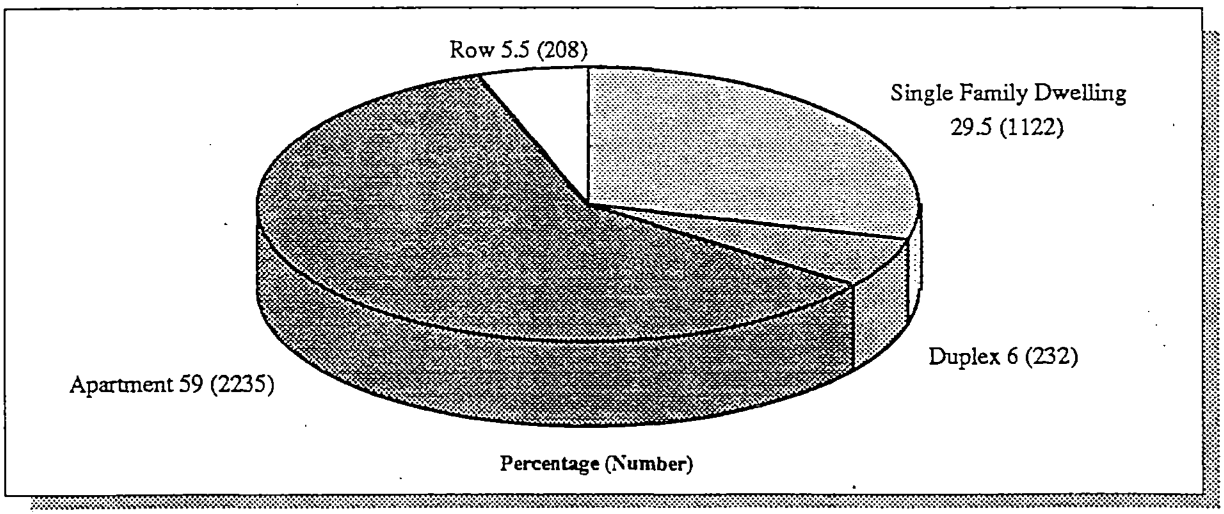
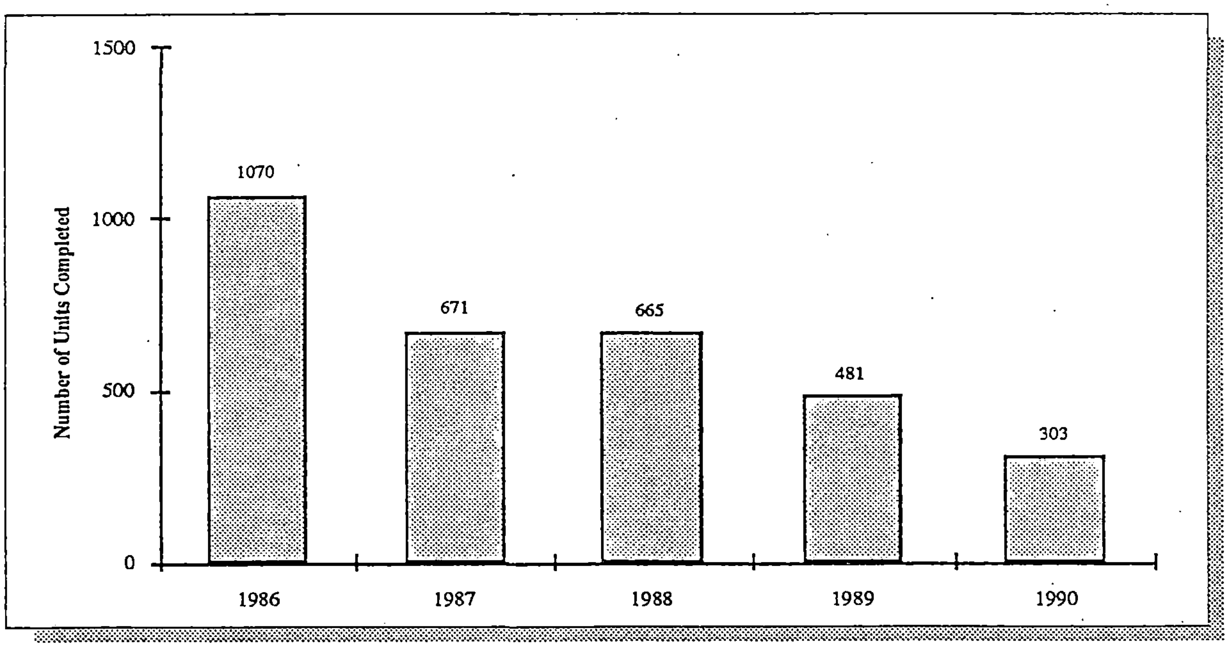


TABLE SEVEN
City of Vancouver: Social Housing Completions by Type
1986 - 1990

Year	*Row Housing*		*Apartment*		Total
	Non-Profit Rental	Co-op	Non-Profit Rental	Co-op	
1986	-	116	554	400	1070
1987	-	61	250	360	671
1988	-	-	580	85	665
1989	-	-	451	30	481
1990	27	-	276	-	303

CHART TWO
City of Vancouver: Social Housing Completions
1986 - 1990



Even with the addition of significant numbers of new housing stock to the overall city market, the problem of securing affordable accommodation has been heightened by two recent trends; first, the demolition of existing rental accommodation for the construction of new housing stock, and second the rising costs of both new housing stock and existing rental accommodations.

Figures for the demolition of housing units within the City of Vancouver indicate that between 1986 and 1989 a total of 6,334 housing units were lost, of which 4,445 were demolitions in RS-1 zoned residential areas, and of which 896 were rental units in buildings with six or more units (Tables Eight and Nine). While the actual number of rental units lost in rental buildings with six or more units was a small portion of the total units lost, it may be

TABLE EIGHT
City of Vancouver: Demolition of Existing Housing Units 1986 to 1989

Year	Single-detached*	All Other Types of Units	Total
1986	775	349	1,124
1987	1,033	531	1,564
1988	1,062	421	1,483
1989	1,575	586	2,163

*Demolition in RS-1 area.
Source: Statistics Canada and City of Vancouver

TABLE NINE
City of Vancouver: Demolition of Rental Apartments

Year	Number of Units
1986	
1987	220
1988	148
1989	528

Source:City of Vancouver, CMMC

hypothesized, that of the single-detached dwellings demolished a large portion were used for rental purposes at the time of demolition. As a result, the number of rental units demolished may be significantly larger than that indicated by rental units in buildings of six or more units alone. Thus, figures for the number of rental units lost to a continuation of conversion, demolition and changes in use over the last three years reveal a significantly greater loss in rental units (Table Ten).

In addition to problems related to the loss of suitable rental accommodations, rising rents and increased real estate costs have similarly impacted upon the affordability of available accommodations. Housing prices within the City of Vancouver, for example, have risen dramatically over the last five years, even given a small recent decline in housing prices. Thus, for example, the average sale price of a low-market range condominium on Vancouver's west side increased by 74 percent between 1986 and 1990 from $66,000 to $114,500. At the high end of the condominium market, average prices increased over 70 percent going from an average of 192,500 in 1986 to one of 328,000 at the end of 1990 (Table Eleven). Significantly, during this period, a total of 7,488 condominium units were sold on Vancouver's west side alone, or over two and a half times the number of social housing completions during the same period for the city as a whole.

TABLE TEN
City of Vancouver: Loss of Rental Units to Conversion, Demolition and Changes in Land Use
April 1987 to October 1989

Survey Period	Apartment	Row	Total
April 1987	501	210	721
October 1987	1,223	296	1,519
April 1988	1,153	107	1,260
October 1988	591	N/A	59
April 1989	911	161	1,072
October 1989	1,055	N/A	1,055

TABLE ELEVEN
Median Sales Prices, Condominiums
Vancouver West
1986 - 1990

Year	Quarter	Low-Range	Medium-Low Range	Medium-High Range	High Range	Units Sold	Annual Total
1986	1	$66,000	$105,000	$135,000	$192,500	181	
	2	$63,000	$87,000	$123,000	$205,000	223	
	3	$65,000	$92,000	$129,000	$200,000	221	
	4	$63,500	$86,000	$125,000	$185,000	230	855
1987	1	$66,000	$86,000	$117,500	$195,000	334	
	2	$71,000	$97,500	$130,000	$210,000	400	
	3	$73,000	$102,000	$139,000	$222,000	293	
	4	$72,000	$98,000	$135,000	$205,000	293	1,320
1988	1	$75,500	$103,000	$134,900	$206,000	375	
	2	$73,500	$109,000	$148,000	$230,000	520	
	3	$78,000	$109,900	$154,000	$211,000	458	
	4	$80,000	$111,000	$150,500	$227,500	443	1,796
1989	1	$90,000	$127,500	$168,000	$258,000	590	
	2	$95,000	$135,000	$178,000	$303,000	438	
	3	$95,000	$129,000	$176,000	$290,000	491	
	4	$107,500	$138,000	$198,000	$314,000	606	2,125
1990	1	$115,000	$163,800	$218,000	$350,000	454	
	2	$116,000	$155,000	$220,000	$357,000	245	
	3	$110,000	$149,000	$198,000	$305,000	381	
	4	$114,500	$152,000	$195,000	$328,000	312	1,392

Source: City of Vancouver

Equivalent figures for the cost of rental accommodation within the city indicate a 33 percent increase in the average cost of rent of a one bedroom apartment between April 1987 and April 1991, and a 32 percent increase in the cost of a bachelor suite (Table Twelve). During the same period, apartment vacancy rates within the city have remained low, within the region of 0.3 to 2.3 percent, with an average bi-annual vacancy rate of less than one percent (Chart Three). Although economists generally consider a vacancy rate below two percent to indicate an inbalance between supply and demand, vacancy rates below two percent remain a historical standard for the City of Vancouver as a whole.

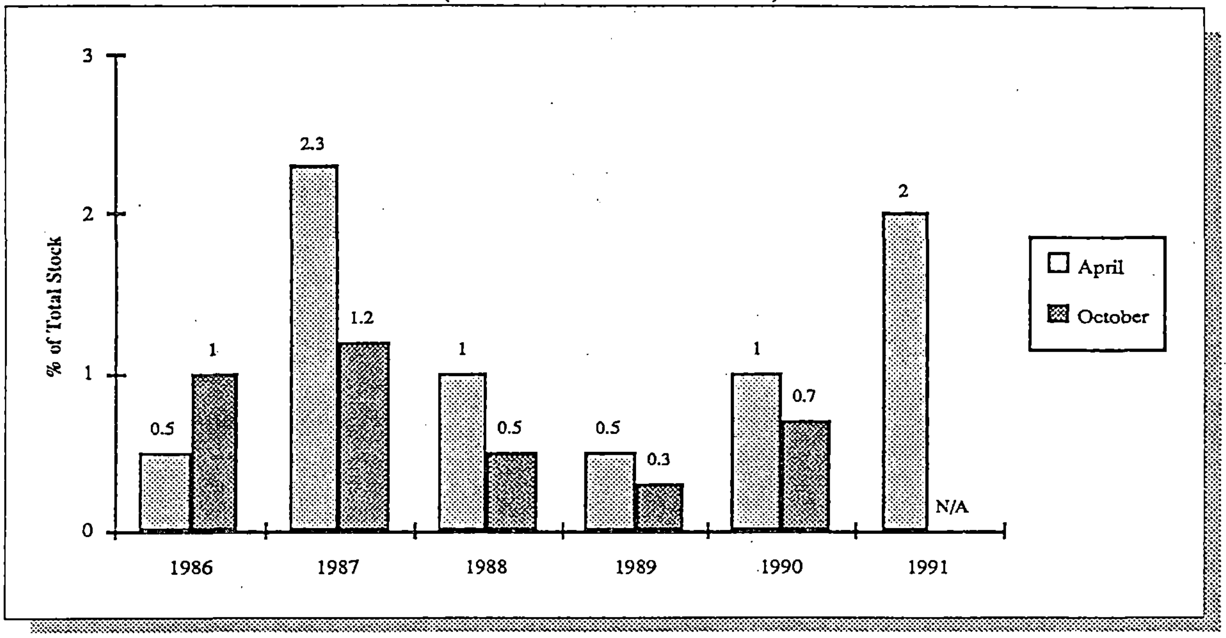
In short, low vacancy rates, allied with the high costs of new or used home purchases, have resulted in problems of accommodation affordability for many households. The re-development of large areas of existing rental accommodation have further resulted in the erosion of housing opportunities for many inner-city residents and their forced relocation to other more moderately priced accommodation. In light of the high costs of land, the majority of the renters remain unable to purchase a home (88 percent) and must, thus, accommodate forced changes in their housing status if and when they occur (CMHC, Builders Forecast, 1991).

TABLE TWELVE
City of Vancouver: Average Apartment Rental Rates
April 1987 to April 1991

Year		Bachelor	1-Bedroom	2-Bedroom	3+ Bedroom
1987	April	369	445	650	909
	October	365	447	637	925
1988	April	382	482	689	1035
	October	394	488	704	1019
1989	April	413	510	748	988
	October	423	531	779	1005
1990	April	452	554	799	990
	October	474	568	854	1095
1991	April	487	593	841	1063

Source: CMMC Rental Market Reports

CHART THREE
City of Vancouver: Apartment Vacancy Rates, April 1986 - April 1991
(Percent of Rental Stock)



Source: CMHC Rental Market Reports

3.4 Redevelopment Within the Kitsilano Neighbourhood

While inner-city redevelopment has impacted considerably on the west side of Vancouver, given the general desirability of the area for residential development, specific impact of the changes associated with redevelopment have been felt in the west side neighbourhood of Kitsilano. Initial revitalization of the Kitsilano community began in the 1970's when the neighbourhood was rediscovered by both property developers and young upwardly mobile professionals alike as a desirable community that offered the advantages of inner-city living allied with the benefits of a site close to the natural amenities of the beach and shoreline, and a distinctive range of stores, cafes and neighbourhood restaurants.

While the Kitsilano area formed an aging neighbourhood in the 1960's, with approximately 12 percent of the population over 70 years of age, and a substantial proportion of the housing stock over 50 years of age, it was to undergo significant change in the late 1960's and early 1970's as a wave of redevelopment swept the west side of the city. Thus, within the 1970's the Kitsilano neighbourhood underwent a period of considerable change and moved from a community of detached single family dwellings to one that included a substantial number of condominiums, the product of an influx of young urban professionals. Between 1966 and 1976, approximately 1,000 rental units were eliminated from the apartment-zoned area of the neighbourhood, while an additional 270 units were converted from rental to condominium tenure. The continued desirability of Kitsilano as an inner-city residential neighbourhood throughout most of the 1970's and 1980's ensured low apartment vacancy rates while a steady erosion of the existing rental accommodation served to maintain the pressure on affordable housing.

Although the early 1980's were accompanied by somewhat of a lull in development activity, the dramatic up-turn of the local and provincial economy toward the end of the 1980's, allied with the in-migration of considerable financial investment and population, resulted in a new phase of vigorous change between 1989 and 1990 when older sections of rental accommodation built in the 1960's were either demolished or renovated to be replaced by condominiums.

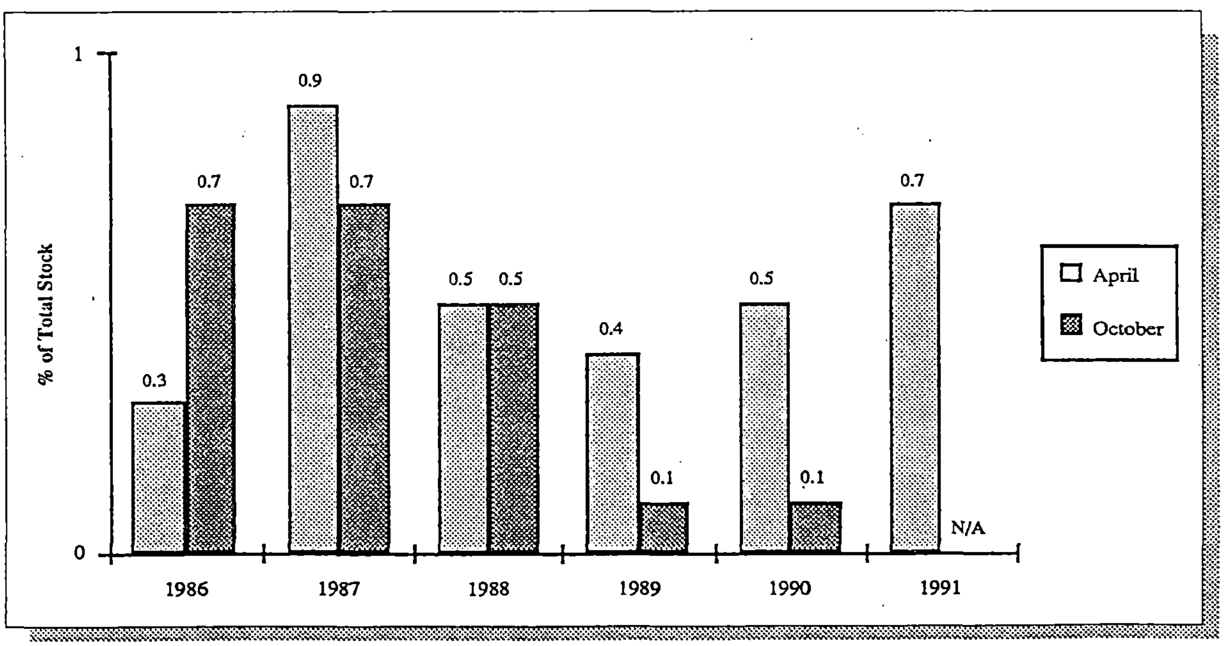
While the pace of Kitsilano has slowed considerably in the first quarter of 1991 as compared to the dramatic changes that occurred with the two previous calendar years mirroring the trends for Vancouver as a whole, the pressure for affordable housing remains. CMHC housing start statistics for January to April 1991 indicate the start of construction on 16 apartment condominium units during the first quarter and the completion of 140 units. For April 1991, a total of 102 apartment condominiums were complete and unoccupied. Housing start figures for May 1991 show construction starting on a further 92 apartment condominium units.

The review of city development applications, for the period January to June 1991 further indicates that a number of applications have currently been filed for a series of small-scale projects involving the conversion/demolition of existing single-family dwellings. While the pace of condominium development has slowed somewhat during the first quarter of 1991, the demand for rental accommodation continues. Vacancy rates for apartments for April 1991 were 0.7 percent with a total of 54 units available including 10 bachelor suites, 34 one-bedroom and 10 two-bedroom units. The average rent for apartments remained high at $618 for a one bedroom, and $826 for a two bedroom (Table Thirteen and Chart Four).

TABLE THIRTEEN
Kitsilano: Average Apartment Rental Rates
April 1987 to April 1991

Year		Bachelor	1-Bedroom	2-Bedroom	3+ Bedroom
1987	April	385	501	827	1150
	October	371	489	793	1518
1988	April	387	502	741	1232
	October	392	506	755	1241
1989	April	405	525	777	1370
	October	440	572	856	1379
1990	April	449	579	789	N/A
	October	486	602	834	N/A
1991	April	494	618	826	N/A

CHART FOUR
Kitsilano: Apartment Vacancy Rates, April 1986 - April 1991
(Percent of Rental Stock)



Source: CMHC Rental Market Reports

4.0 Kitsilano Resident Survey

4.1 Introduction

As part of the empirical assessment of the changing social and geographic structure of Vancouver's west side, a total of 457 surveys (Appendix One) were delivered to a randomly generated sample of rental household units located within the apartment sub-area of Kitsilano that stretches north and south of the 4th Avenue west. Completed surveys were returned from a total of 102 respondents representing a response rate of 22 percent.

Within the survey respondents were asked to provide information about or their perceptions on the following:

- Their current home
- Their recent housing experiences
- Their views on housing within Kitsilano; and
- Descriptive information about themselves

The findings of the survey are presented below.

4.2 Survey Respondents

The majority of survey respondents were between 25 to 49 years of age, female (61 percent), had received either some college or university education (87 percent), worked full and/or part-time (82 percent), in professional managerial or sales-clerical work (63 percent) and were single or divorced/separated (Figures 1.1 to 1.6). Their median household annual income was 26,000 to 35,000 (31 respondents - 30 percent); although 27 respondents (27 percent) had a total household income in excess of 40,000 per year, while 13 respondents (13 percent) had an annual household income of less than 20,000. The median rent paid by respondents was between $701 and $800 per month (22 respondents), 20 respondents paid between $551 to $600 a month and 17 respondents between $651 to $700 (Figures 1.7 and 1.8).

Figure 1.1

Age at Last Birthday (n = 102)

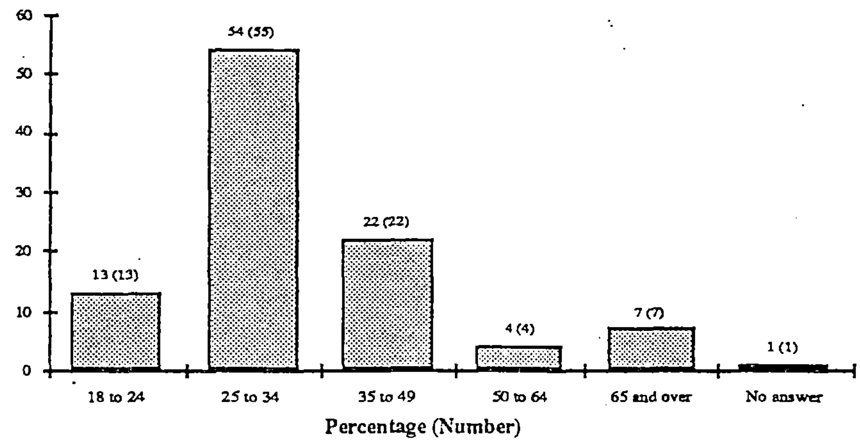


Figure 1.2

Sex of Respondent (n = 102)

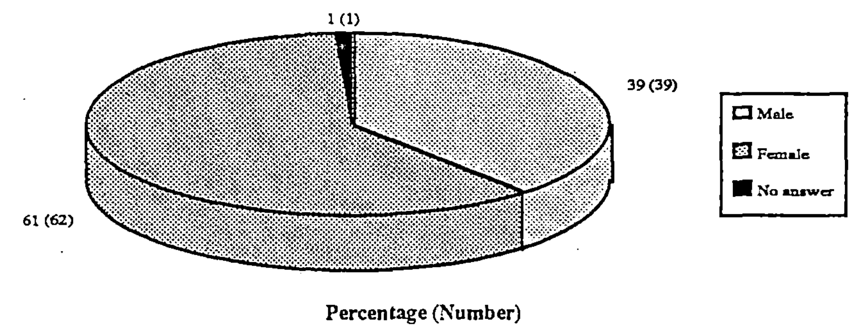


Figure 1.3

Marital Status (n = 102)

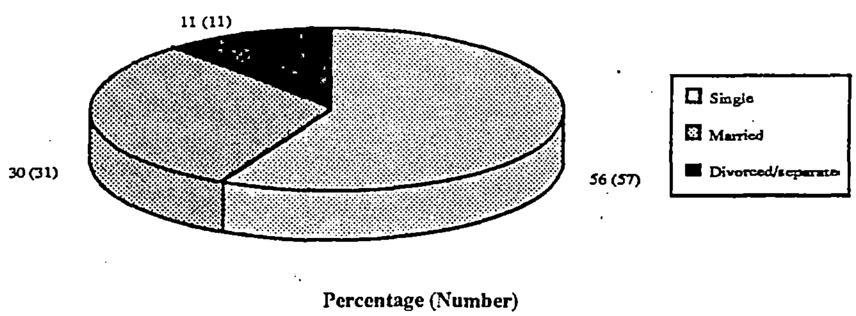
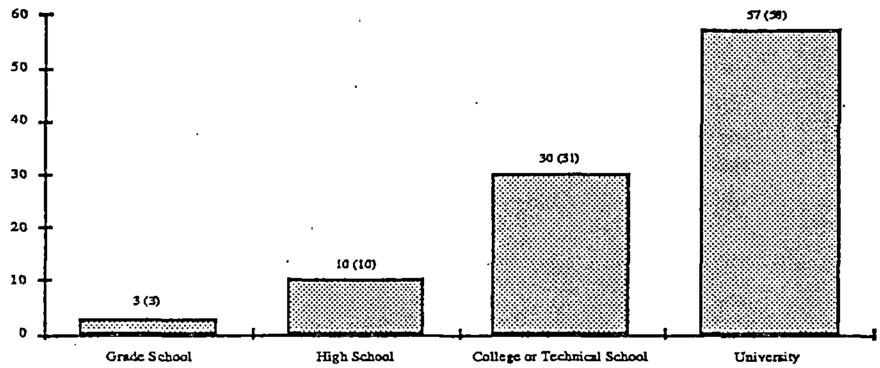


Figure 1.4

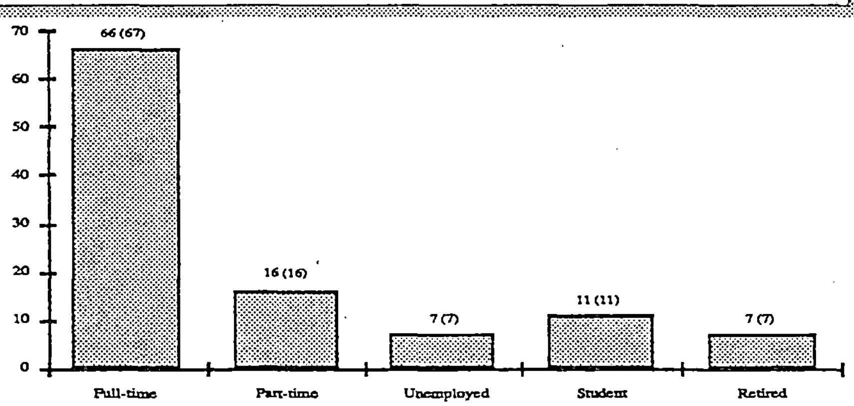
Highest Level of Education Started (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.5

Current Employment Status (n = 102)†

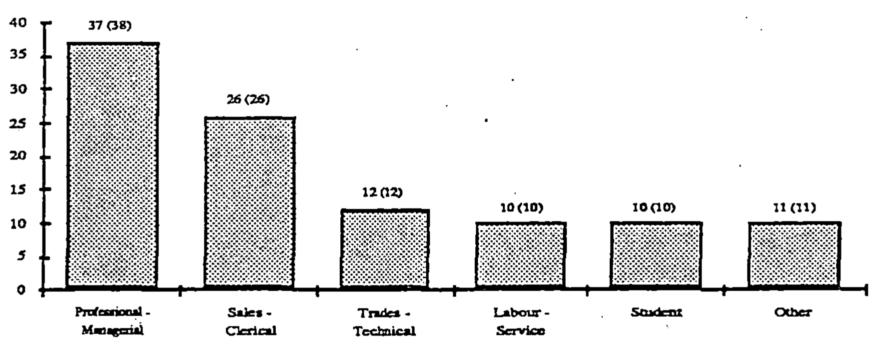


† respondents indicated more than one response

Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.6

Type of Work (n = 102)†



† respondents indicated more than one response

Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.7

Household Annual Income (n = 102)

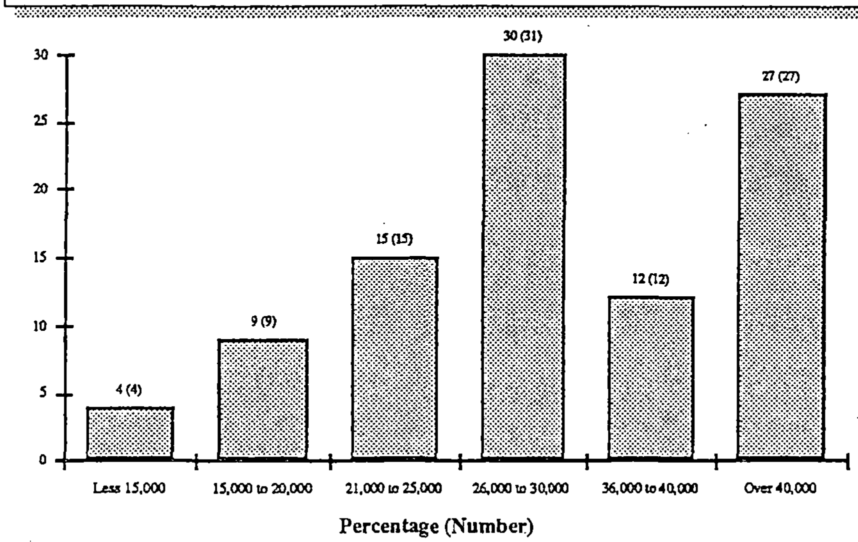
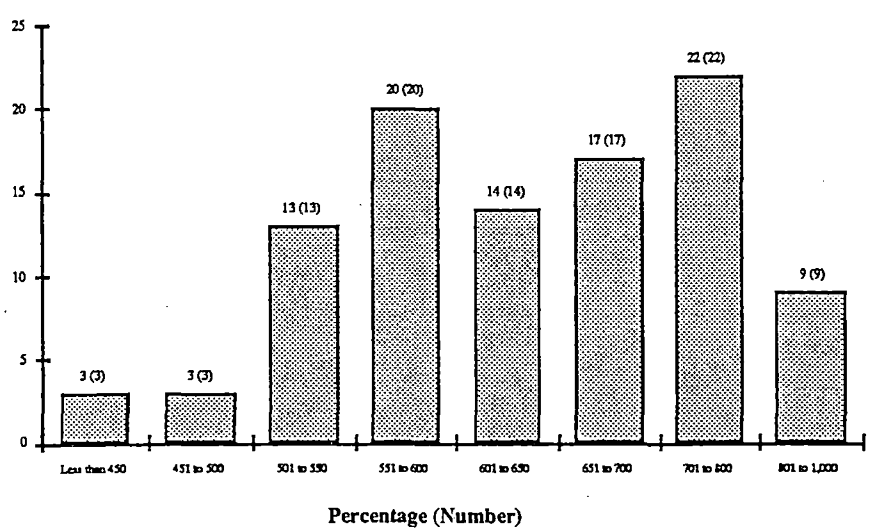


Figure 1.8

Household Rent Per Month (n = 101)



4.3 Current Housing Status of Respondents

Based on current housing status, 98 percent of respondents were renters (2 respondents did not answer), of which 25 percent (25 respondents) had lived at their current address for up to or less than one year, 48 percent (48 respondents) had lived there for one to four years, and 26 percent (26 respondents) for over four years.

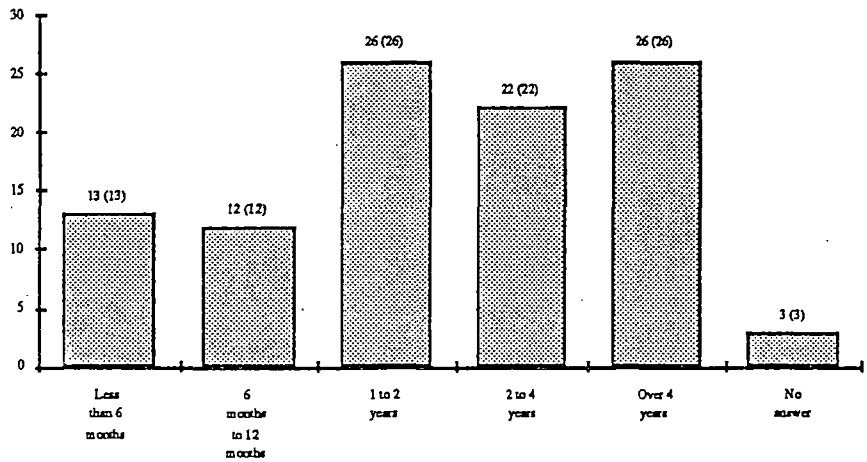
The majority of respondents (68 respondents - 67 percent) lived in a one-bedroom unit, while 21 respondents (21 percent) lived in two bedroom units and 11 respondents (11 percent) in bachelor suites.

Sixty-four respondents (63 percent) shared their accommodation of which 26 shared with a spouse or fiancé only, 20 shared with a friend, 4 shared with a spouse and child, 2 shared with friends, 2 shared with a sibling, 2 shared with one child, and 1 shared with 2 children. Five respondents did not indicate with whom they shared their accommodation.

The most important factors reported by respondents as influencing their selection of home were three-fold; the neighbourhood location of the suite (69 respondents), the price of the suite (29 respondents) and the apartment design/layout or specific features thereof (24 respondents). The majority of respondents indicated that their selection of accommodation had been based on a combination of factors with neighbourhood location the most commonly identified criteria for selection. (Figures 1.9 and 1.10).

Figure 1.9

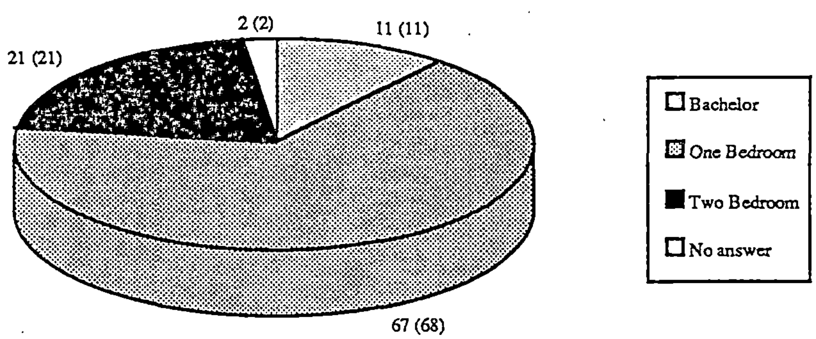
Time at Current Address (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.10

Type of Apartment (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

4.4 Resident Views on the Availability and Affordability of Rental Accommodation Within Kitsilano

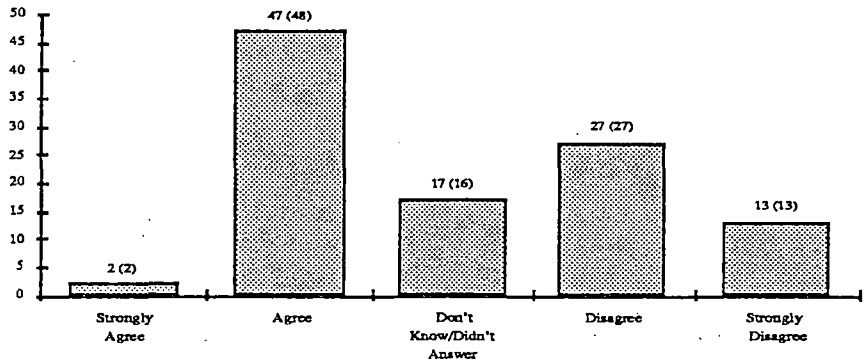
Respondent views on the current provision of rental accommodation within the Kitsilano community varied. While respondents marginally agreed that the supply of rental accommodation within the Kitsilano was adequate (50 respondents - 49 percent), they strongly disagreed that affordable accommodation was available (74 respondents - 73 percent). Respondents were similarly divided as to whether the availability of rental accommodation had remained the same over the last three years, with the largest proportion (43 respondents - 42 percent) indicating either that they did not know or offering no specific opinion. Respondents were, however, more likely to disagree that the availability of affordable rental accommodation had remained the same (39 respondents - 38 percent), although again the largest proportion of respondents (45 or 44 percent) indicated that they "did not know" or offered no specific opinion. (Figures 1.11 to 1.14).

Those respondents who disagreed that the availability of rental accommodation had remained the same over the last three years (30 respondents) indicated the major reasons for the change were first the construction of condominiums in the area and the demolition/conversion of rental accommodation (16 respondents) and second a continued high demand for rental units with a fluctuating local supply (10 respondents).

Similarly, those respondents who disagreed that the availability of affordable rental accommodation had remained the same (39 respondents) reported that the changes over the last three years had included the increase in existing apartment rents prompted by increased demand/decreased availability (23 respondents; and, the replacement of inexpensive apartment rental units by high-price condominiums (6 respondents).

Figure 1.11

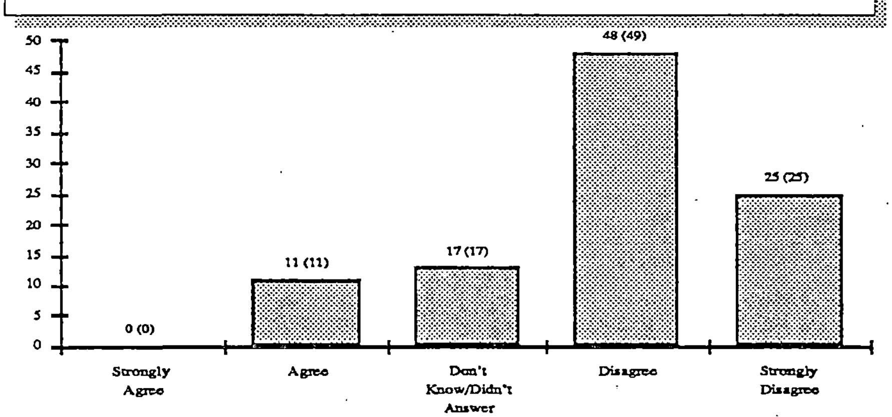
Within Kitsilano the Supply of Rental Accommodations is Adequate (n=102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.12

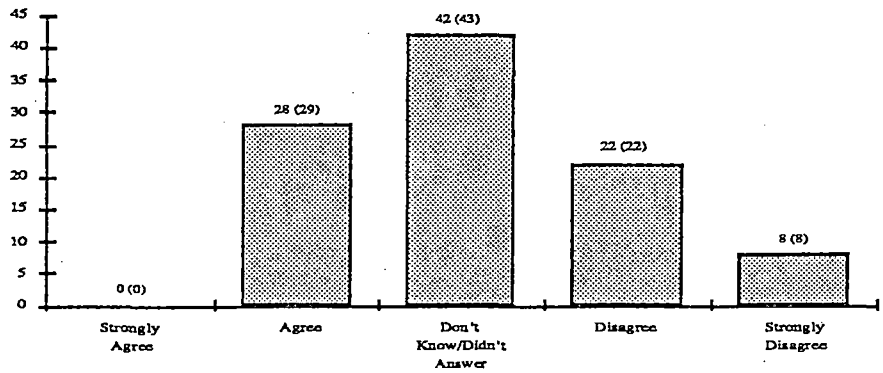
Within Kitsilano Affordable Rental Accommodation is Available (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.13

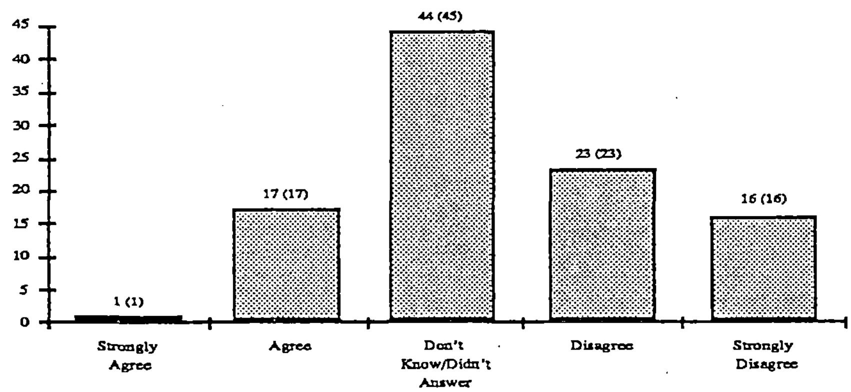
Over the Last Three Years, the Availability of Rental Accommodation has Remained the Same (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.14

Over the Last Three Years, the Availability of Affordable Rental Accommodation has Remained the Same (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

4.5 Respondent Level of Residential Satisfaction

The majority of respondents reported that they were currently satisfied with their current place of residence (69 respondents - 68 percent). In response to the probability of a move within the next year, 45 percent of respondents (46 respondents) indicated that a move was unlikely, while 30 percent (31 respondents) reported that it was likely, and 25 percent (25 respondents) suggested either that they were "not sure" or did not indicate a specific response (Figures 1.15 and 1.16).

Respondents who indicated that they were satisfied with their current place of residence (69 respondents - 68 percent) reported the following reasons for their satisfaction:

- 29 respondents mentioned the location of the apartment;
- 21 respondents mentioned the characteristics of the building (eg. in good repair, old/character design, quiet/friendly);
- 19 respondents mentioned the reasonable cost of the rent; and
- 19 respondents mentioned the desirable characteristics of their apartment/suite itself (eg. size, layout and views).

The majority of respondents reported a combination of factors that contributed to their overall level of satisfaction.

Respondents who reported that they were currently not satisfied with their current place of residence (9 respondents - 9 percent) reported the following reasons for their dissatisfaction:

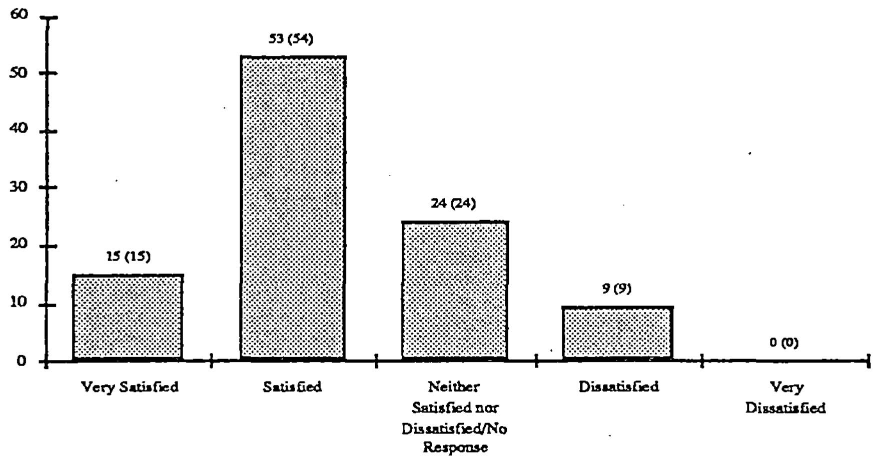
- 7 respondents mentioned the characteristics of the building (eg. in disrepair; noisy, lack of security);
- 5 respondents mentioned the rental costs; and
- 2 respondents mentioned undesirable characteristics of the apartment itself.

Respondents who reported that they were likely to move within the next year (31 respondents - 30 percent), reported the following factors that would likely prompt a move:

- 11 respondents reported that their current rental costs were too high;
- 9 respondents reported that the availability of a more suitable apartment would result in a move;
- 6 respondents reported that they were considering buying a property (generally outside of the neighbourhood because of cost); and
- 3 respondents indicated that they were afraid of building demolition.

Figure 1.15

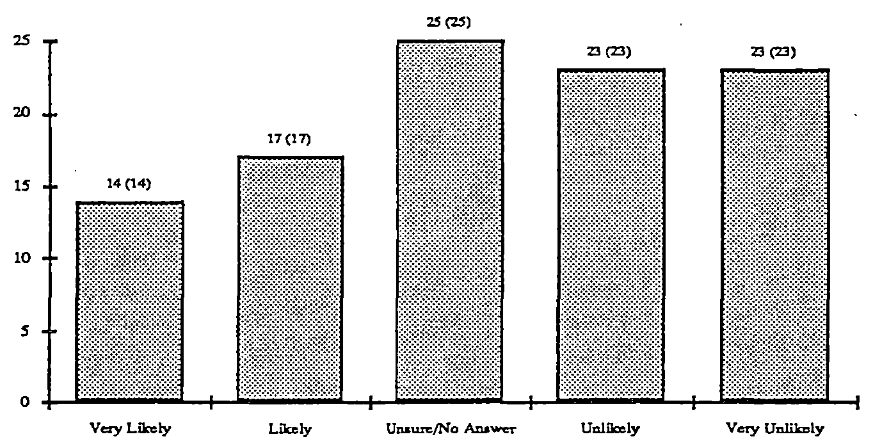
Current Level of Residential Satisfaction (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.16

Likelihood of Move Within the Next Year (n = 102)



Percentage (Number)

4.6 Respondent Views on Kitsilano

Fifty respondents (49 percent) reported that they considered the residential character of Kitsilano to have changed over the last three years, while 32 respondents (31 percent) reported that they did not. Twenty respondents (20 percent) did not indicate a response (Figure 1.17).

The 50 respondents who reported change in the residential character of the neighbourhood outlined the following changes:

- Fifteen respondents reported the construction of private condominium buildings in replacement of rental accommodations;
- Ten respondents reported the loss of "character" and/or older building structures and their replacement by modern "boring" structures;
- Ten respondents reported the "yuppification" of the local community with the associated loss of long-term residents;
- Five respondents reported that the neighbourhood had become less friendly;
- Four respondents reported that the neighbourhood had lost its "folksy" appeal and become more commercial/business oriented; and
- Three respondents reported that it had become more expensive to live there.

4.7 Recent Housing Experiences

Twenty-five respondents (25 percent) reported that they had been required to change residence as a result of building redevelopment, a change in building ownership or rental increases over the last three years (Figure 1.17).

The date of resident required moves indicated that 11 respondents (44 percent) were required to move in 1989, 8 (32 percent) in 1990; and 5 respondents (20 percent) in the first half of 1991. One respondent (4 percent) was required to move prior to January 1989.

The major factors reported by residents as those behind the required move included the following:

- Twelve respondents (48 percent) reported that the building had been sold and was scheduled for redevelopment/demolition.
- Eleven respondents (44 percent) reported that they moved because of substantial rent increases (eg. $55 and $100 per month).
- Two respondents (8 percent) reported that they moved in response to the private sale of the houses in which they had rented suites.

Of the 25 respondents forced to relocate, 2 respondents (8 percent) reported that they contacted the "Renter's Guide" for assistance in finding alternative accommodation.

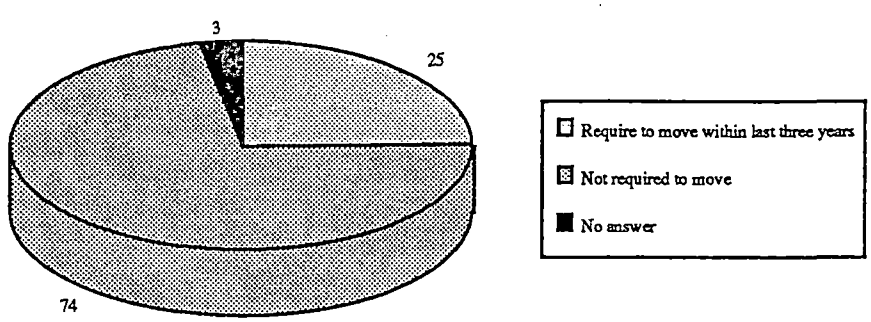
Based on the most recent move they had been forced to make, thirteen (52 percent) respondents reported that their former residence was larger; fourteen respondents (56 percent) reported that their former residence had the same number of room as their current abode; twelve respondents (48 percent) reported that the rent of their former accommodation was lower; ten respondents (40 percent) indicated that their former residence was the same distance from their place of work; eight respondents (32 percent) reported that their former residence was further away from the shops they visited regularly; eight respondents (32 respondents) reported that their former residence was the same distance from the social or recreational centres/resources they used; and eight respondents (32 percent) reported that their former residence was the same distance from their support groups (family and/or friends).

Thirteen respondents (52 percent) reported that the move they made had impacted on their "quality of life," while 6 respondents (24 percent) reported that it had not. Specific factors reported as impacting in their "quality of life" by respondents forced to relocate included the following:

- Two respondents reported that they felt safer;
- Two respondents reported that the location of their new apartment was better;
- One respondent reported that the reduced rent was positive;
- One respondent reported that the quality of his/her housing was lower; and
- One respondent reported that no-one was available to look after his/her children.

Figure 1.17

Recent Housing Experiences



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.18

Residents Forced to Relocate: Date of Required Move (n = 25)

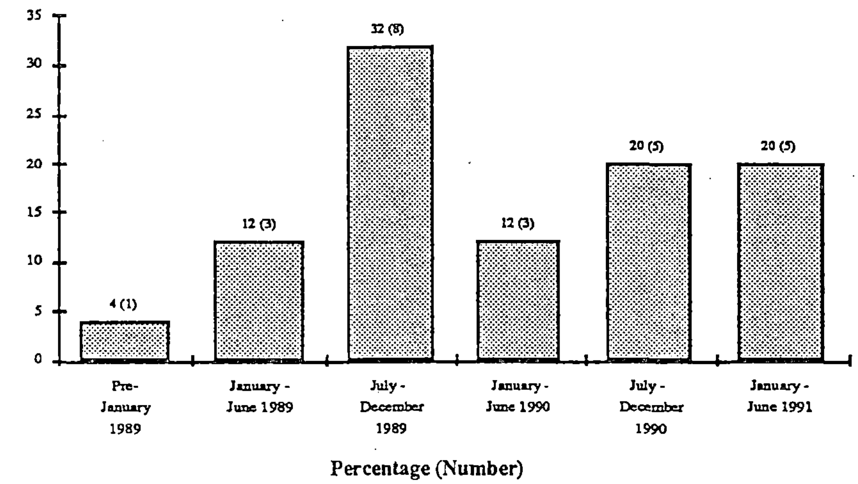


Figure 1.19

Size of Former Residence (n = 25)

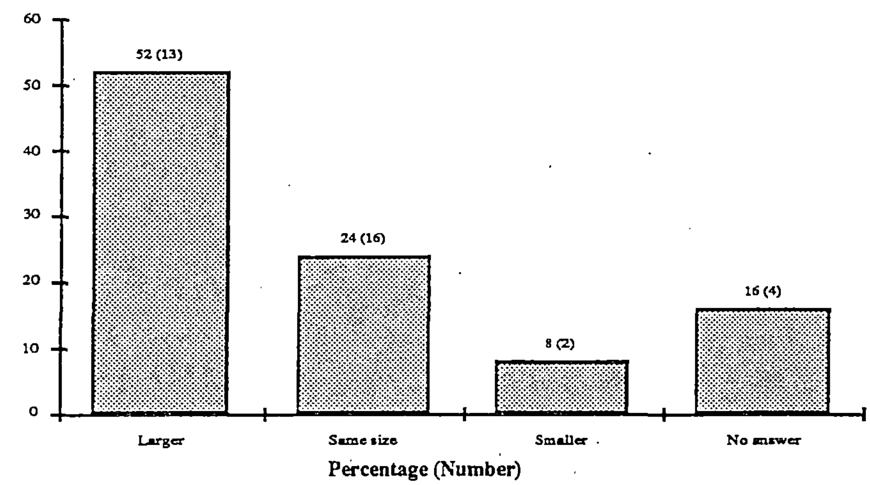
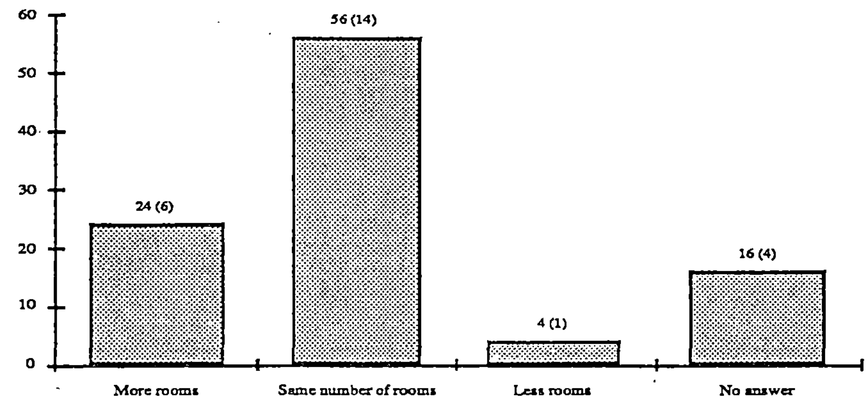


Figure 1.20

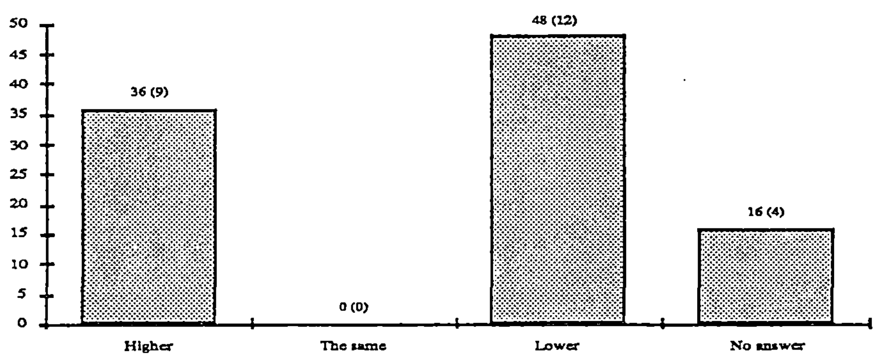
Number of Rooms of Former Residence (n = 25)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.21

Rent of Former Residence (n = 25)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.22

Distance of Former Residence from Amenities/Activity Centres (n = 25)

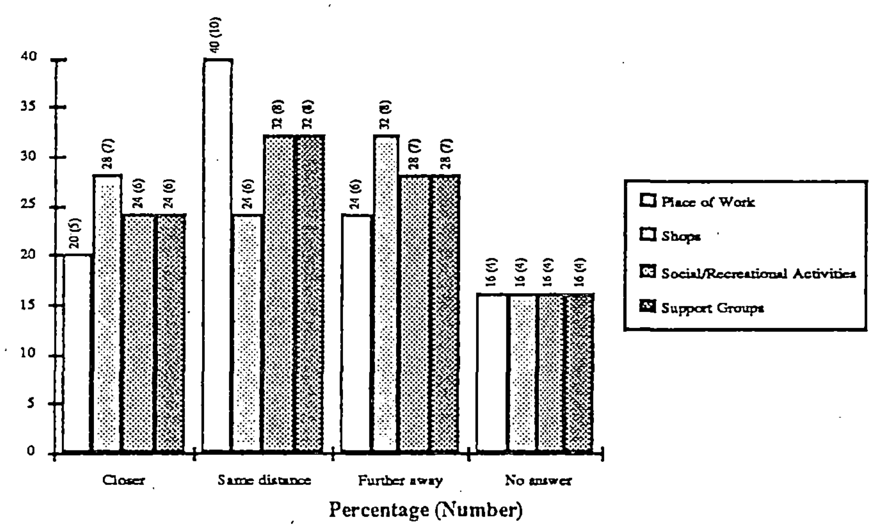


Figure 1.23

Impact of Move on Quality of Life (n = 25)

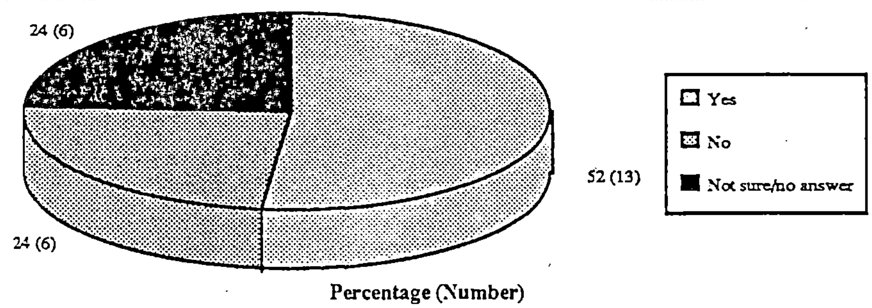
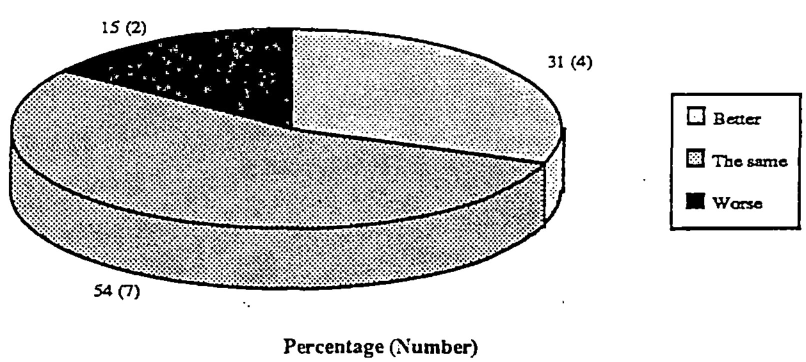


Figure 1.24

Quality of Life After Move (n = 13)



4.8 Comparison of Residents Forced to Relocate with Non-Movers

Residents forced to relocate within the last three years as a result of building redevelopment, a change in building ownership or retail increases were generally younger than non-movers, with 19 movers (76 percent) less than 34 years of age, and no movers over 50 years of age (Figures 1.25 and 1.26).

Based on household size, 17 respondents (68 percent) forced to relocate lived in households with more than one person, as compared to 47 (61 percent) of non-movers. Average size of households forced to relocate was 1.88 persons as compared to an average household size of 1.69 for non-movers.

On the basis of highest level of education started, movers and non-movers were similar in profile, although respondents forced to relocate were more likely both to be employed part-time (24 percent of movers - 13 percent of non-movers), and more likely to be students (16 percent of movers - 9 percent of non-movers) (Figures 1.27 to 1.30).

On the basis of annual income, the median annual income for both movers and non-movers was the same between $26 - 35,000, although movers were less likely to have annual household incomes in excess of $40,000 (2 respondents - 8 percent) than non-movers (25 respondents - 33 percent) (Figures 1.31 and 1.32).

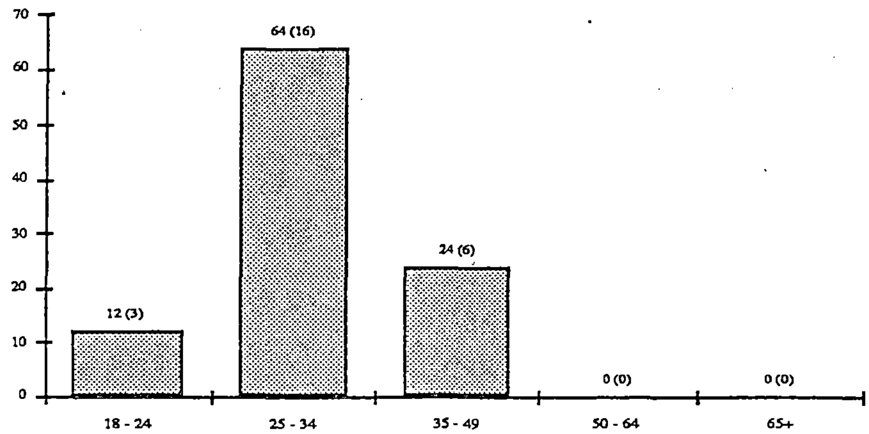
Current levels of residential satisfaction among both movers and non-movers were similar, although no movers reported that they were dissatisfied with their current residence while 9 non-movers (12 percent) did (Figures 1.33 and 1.34).

In response to the likelihood of a residential move within the next year, only 4 residents (16 percent) forced to relocate indicated that a move was likely as opposed to 27 non-movers (35 percent) (Figures 1.35 and 1.36).

Finally, residents who had recently been required to relocate were generally less likely to report that the residential character of Kitsilano had changed over the last three years than non-movers (44 percent to 51 percent); although in part this may be related to the newness of some of them to the community given that approximately one-third (8 respondents) of movers offered no firm opinion (Figures 1.37 and 1.38).

Figure 1.25

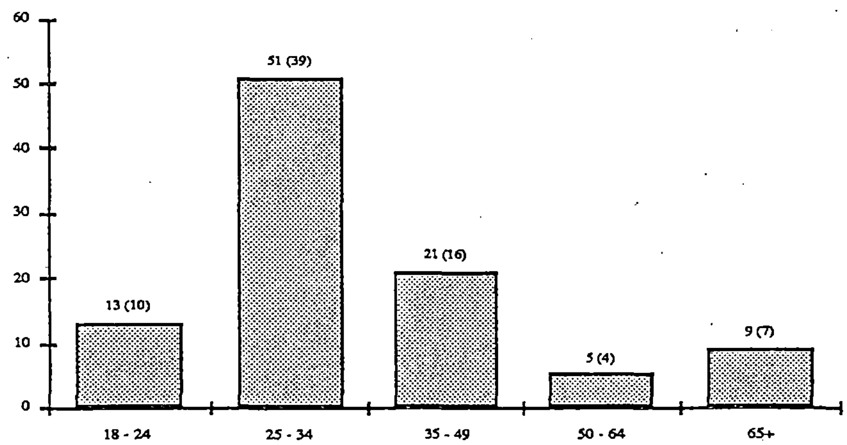
Residents Required to Relocate by Age and Last Birthday (n = 25)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.26

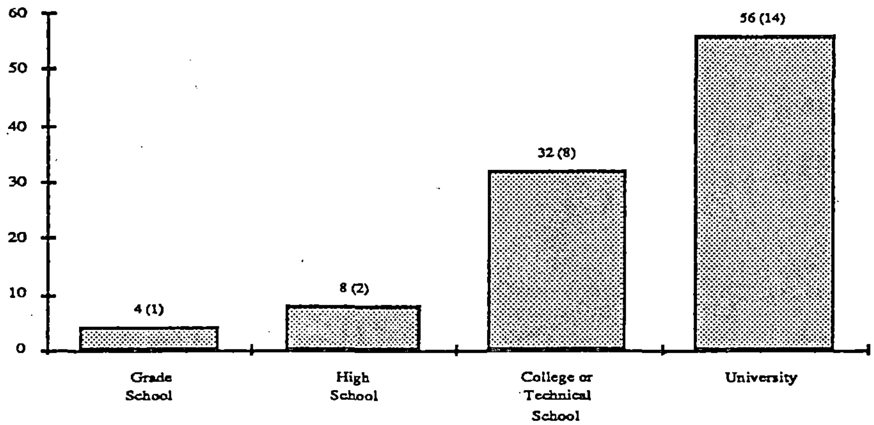
Residents not Required to Move by Age at Last Birthday (n = 77)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.27

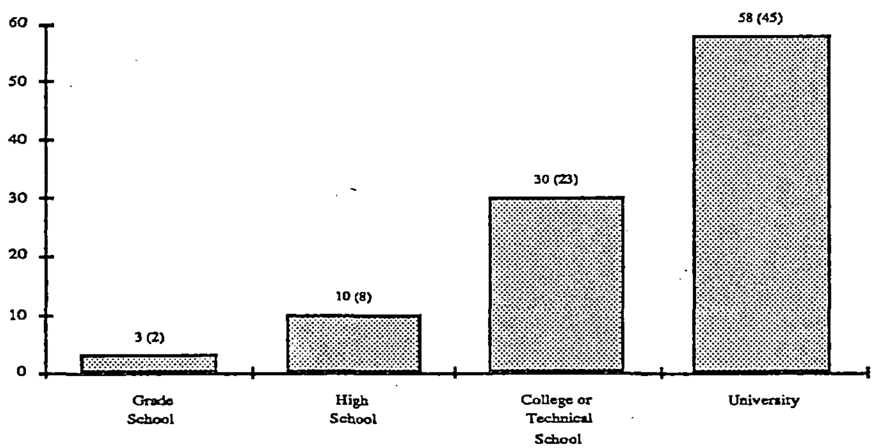
Residents Required to Move by Highest Level of Education Started (n = 25)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.28

Residents not Required to Move by Highest Level of Education (n = 77)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.29

Residents Required to Move by Current Employment Status (n = 25)

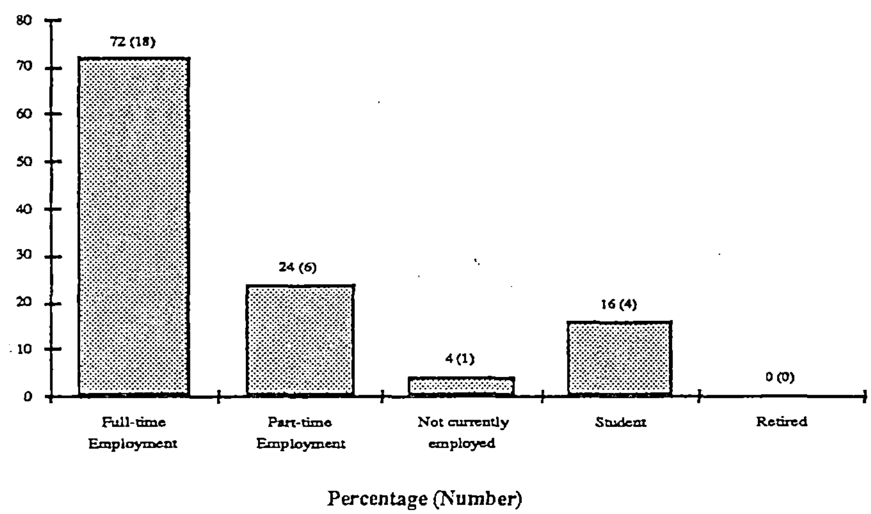


Figure 1.30

Residents not Required to Move by Current Employment Status (n = 77)

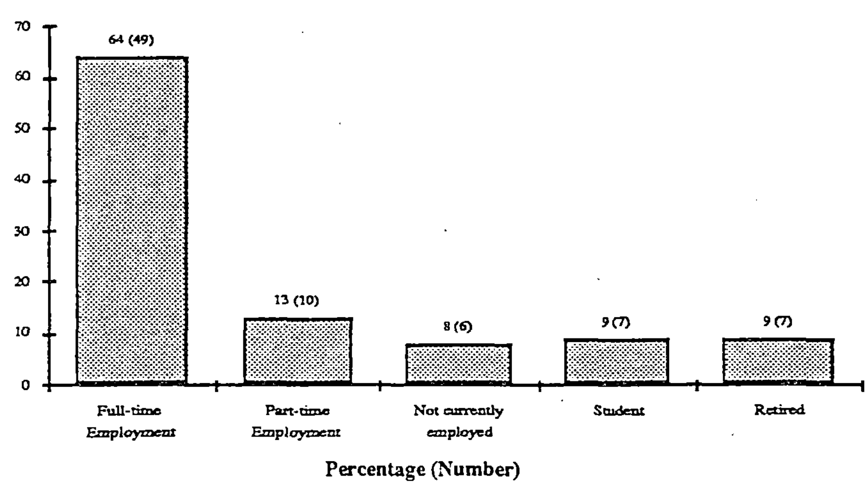


Figure 1.31

Residents Required to Move by Annual Household Income (n = 25)

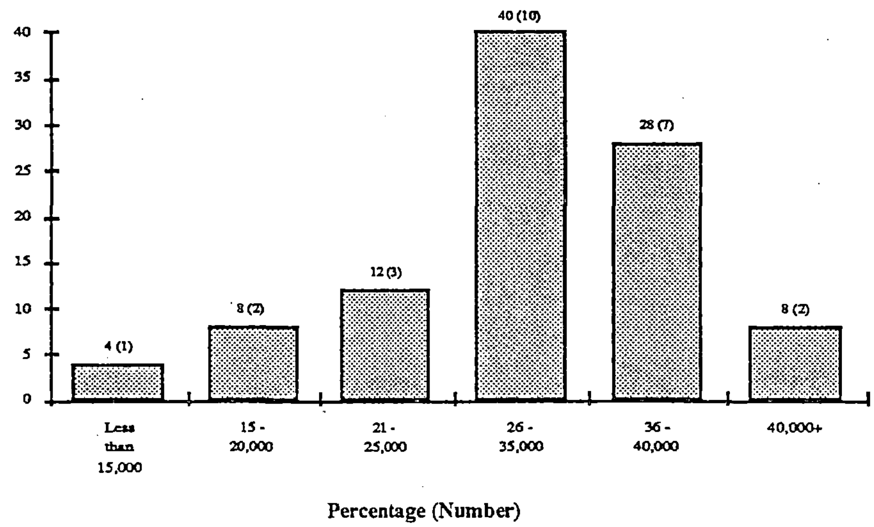


Figure 1.32

Residents not Required to Move by Annual Household Income (n = 77)

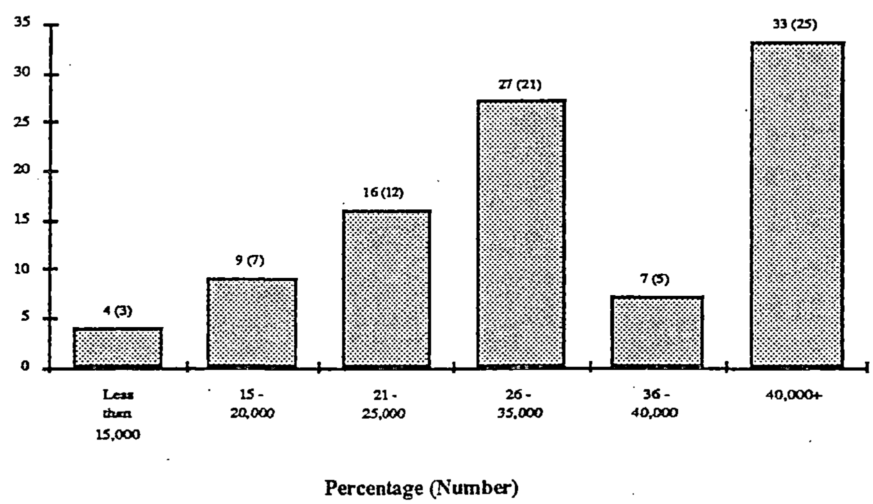


Figure 1.33

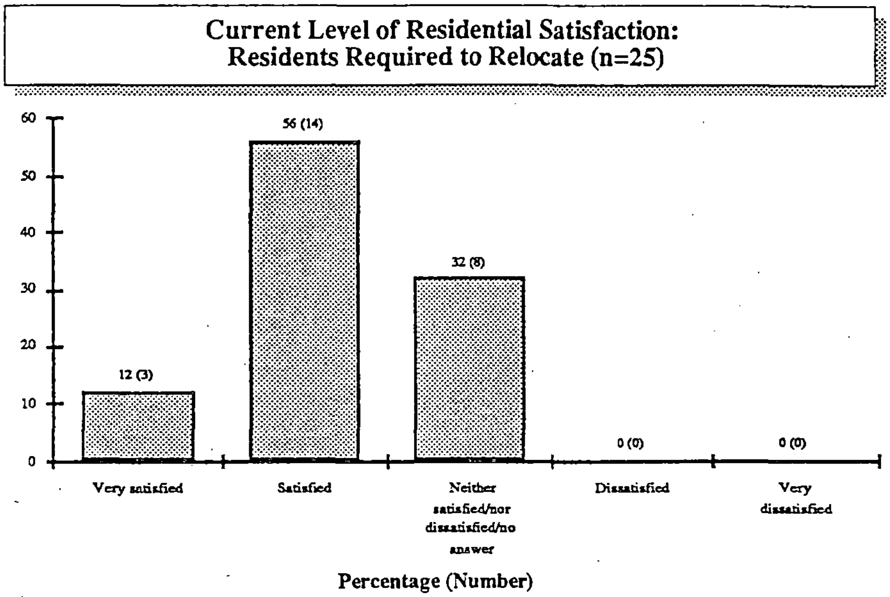


Figure 1.34

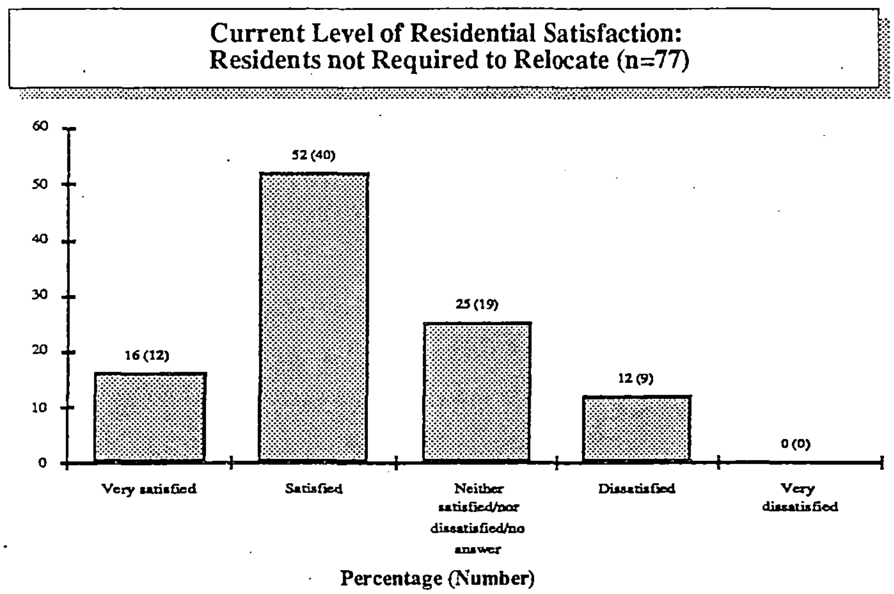


Figure 1.35

Likelihood of Move Within the Next Year: Residents Required to Relocate (n = 25)

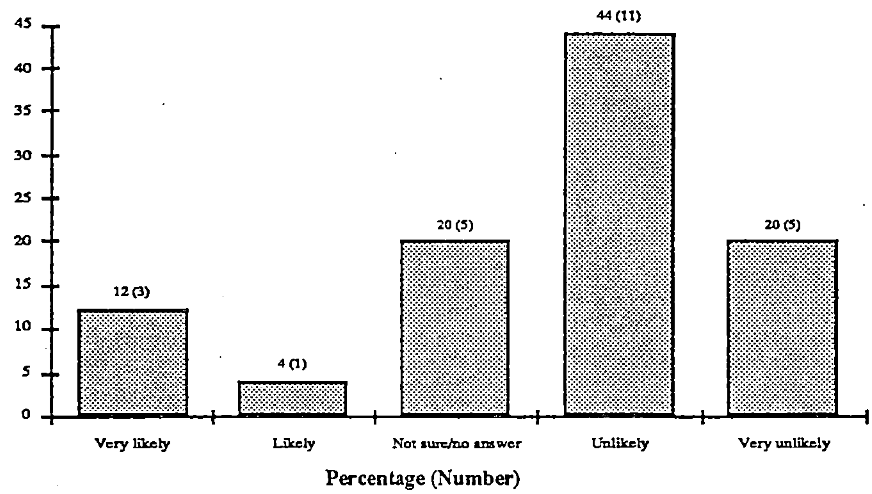


Figure 1.36

Likelihood of Move Within the Next Year: Residents Not Required to Relocate (n = 77)

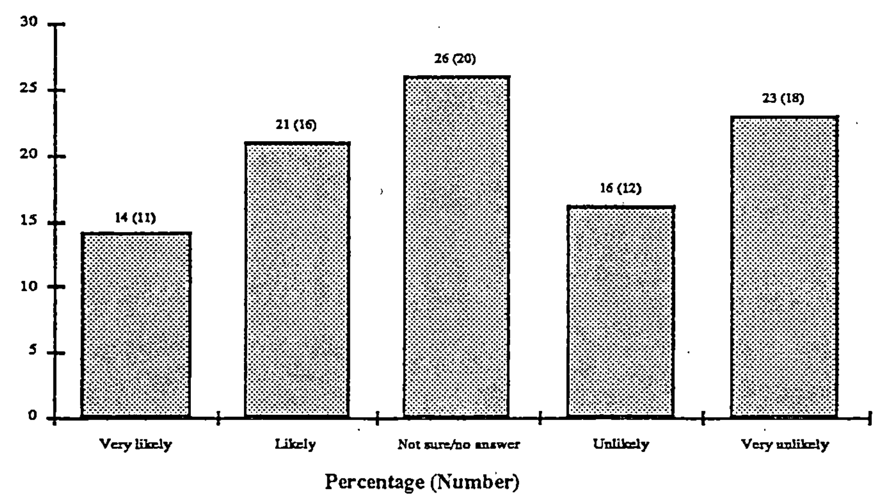
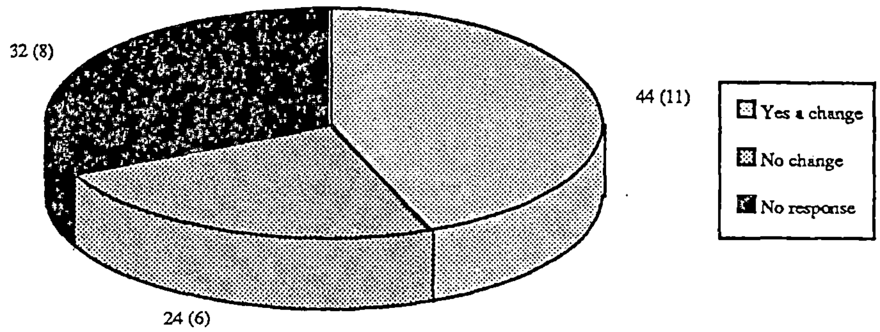


Figure 1.37

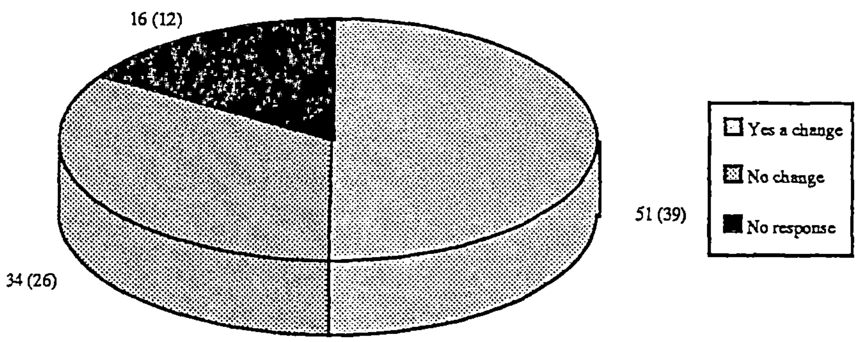
Change in Kitsilano Residential Character Over the Last Three Years: Residents Required to Relocate (n = 25)



Percentage (Number)

Figure 1.38

Change in Kitsilano Residential Character Over the Last Three Years: Residents not Required to Relocate (n = 77)



Percentage (Number)

5.0 The Social and Geographic Changes on Vancouver's West Side With Specific Reference to Kitsilano: A Discussion and Exploration of the Outcomes and Issues

Based on the secondary data sources presented and analyzed in section three, and the review of local resident housing experiences presented in section four, it remains clear that the pressures for residential change and development on Vancouver's west side will continue well into the next century. The changes that will likely take place will impact specifically on the social and geographic structure of current residential neighbourhoods with the key issue one of the provision of both affordable and suitable housing opportunities within the face of ongoing redevelopment. Despite a recent downturn in the local and provincial economy, the pressure for redevelopment continues and there remains a definite undersupply of rental accommodation within the city. New rental developments remain limited within the city in light of both high land values and construction costs, and the uneconomical return on investments. By comparison, although the market has recently softened, condominium (strata-title) developments remain favoured with the demolition of existing structures (frequently rental) undertaken to provide space for such development. By way of commentary on the current and future housing contexts, the findings from the current study cast some additional light on the current residential situation, and provide a framework for the discussion of possible initiatives.

5.1 Groups Threatened with Displacement

Based on the results of the current survey of Kitsilano residents, allied with the review of the current housing context and key informant interviews, the displacement of existing residents within the Kitsilano neighbourhood appears to be an ongoing social and geographical by-product of the physical replacement or redevelopment of existing residential structures, most of which are rented out.

The large proportion (25 percent) of the survey population who had experienced some form of forced relocation over the past three years suggests that displacement is a wide-spread phenomena, and one that impacts on a broad-range of population groups. Within the current study, for example, residents who had experienced forced relocation were young adults, generally employed full-time with some college or university education, and with moderate household-incomes (for example 76 percent had a household income in excess of $26,000 per annum). In addition, 31 percent of total respondents reported that they considered a future move within the next year likely the product of high rents and current unsuitability of their present residence.

For those residents required to move, the varied rationale for their relocation, which included building sale, building demolition and continuous rent increases further suggests that the impacts of redevelopment are indeed widespread and affect not only residents in buildings physically renovated or demolished, but also residents within the same community who are confronted with increased rental costs as the potential "marketability" of all suites similarly increases. One local resident, perhaps, summed up most succinctly in concluding that the only "safe" residents were those who owned rather than rented.

While the results of the current study are useful in providing a brief profile of the local residents threatened with displacement, allied with those actually displaced, they must not be considered a full-picture of the groups threatened. The timing of the current study, in between phases of specific building demolition, resulted in logistical problems in tracking residents who may have moved out of the community prior to the study as a resulted of forced relocation. While several respondents reported that the majority of former building occupants had sought new accommodation within the same area, specific examples of former neighbours who had been forced to leave the neighbourhood were also cited. Given the difficulty in tracing these residents, however, a quantitative assessment of their number and profile remains unfeasible.

5.2 Actions Taken to Oppose Community Redevelopment

Of the 25 respondents forced to relocate, only 2 reported that they had contacted some existing group or agency to help them seek new accommodation. Respondents, generally, seemed to accept the high cost of rent, the insecurity of rental leisure, and the possibility of periodic forced relocation as one of the residential "costs" of living within a desirable community such as Kitsilano.

Half the respondents surveyed did indicate that they considered the residential character of Kitsilano to have changed over the last three years with all indicating that the change had been for the negative. The major changes cited all related to the ongoing redevelopment of the community and included specific mention of the construction of condominiums and the loss of rental accommodation; the loss of character buildings, and the yuppification of the local community as the major changes that had occurred. Despite the considerable portion of respondents who reported change in the community, over two thirds of respondents reported that they remained satisfied with their current residence, while one third reported that they would likely move within the next year.

Key informants from local resident associations did indicate that they continued to oppose the pace of developments within the community, but that their success in challenging individual projects had been limited. The major basis for their opposition to development was reported to be that of the city introduced Local Area Planning Process, which actively encouraged the involvement of community-based groups within the planning process.

Based on the lack of substantial progress made in challenging developments through the neighbourhood planning process, however, local resident representatives conceded that local initiatives had not on their own been successful in opposing either individual developments or community restructuration as a whole.

5.3 The Selection of Alternative Accommodations

Given the difficulties encountered within the current study in tracking down residents forced to relocate outside of the local area, some caution must be exercised in interpreting the characteristics of alternative accommodation selected by all neighbourhood displacees.

What remains evident from the current study, however, is that the new housing alternatives selected by respondents who remained within the Kitsilano community after relocation represented somewhat of a trade-off between the costs and benefits of staying within the Kitsilano community and those of relocating elsewhere within the city.

While the location of newly selected accommodations remained close to the site of former residences, and similar in overall layout (eg. one bedroom), over half of respondents who offered a committed response reported that the former residence they had been forced to vacate was larger and that the rent of their new accommodation was higher. Despite these changes, however, the majority of residents forced to relocate indicated that they were satisfied with their new place of residence.

In the search for alternative accommodation as a result of relocation only a small proportion of respondents (two respondents) reported using any outside group or agency for assistance. Both respondents subsequently reported that they found a new residence independent of agency guidance or help.

The selection of revised housing alternatives with a generally smaller square footage and yet increased rental costs by movers within the current study suggests a trend that may be relevant for other neighbourhoods undergoing revitalization within the Vancouver context, namely that of increased housing costs allied with smaller residential units. Similar findings for the Kerrisdale neighbourhood located to the south of Kitsilano, for example, suggest that for relocated residents who wish to remain within the community trade-offs must be made both in terms of rental costs and the size of suite. While such change may more readily be accommodated by middle-income wage earners in small two-person households, the possibilities of accommodating such revised residential costs are not as likely for either fixed income households, or those households with three or more members. To this end, the current nature of redevelopment on Vancouver's west side, with an emphasis on the construction of one and two bedroom condominium units may be viewed as a threat not only to the continued provision of a range of suitable housing alternatives on the basis of cost, but also on the basis of size and physical layout. Within the current sample, for example, those residents contemplating a move within the next year, reported that the likelihood of their move was related to either excessive rental costs or the availability of more suitable (size, number of bedrooms, layout) accommodations. From a similar perspective, the small number of respondents who indicated that they were interested in buying a home as the rationale for their future relocation reported that in order to be able to afford a suitable place of residence (both in terms of cost and size) they would probably have to relocate outside of the

Kitsilano area, and possibly outside of the City of Vancouver itself into the metropolitan area (eg. Surrey).

While the structure and format of the current survey sample mitigates against a quantitative description of either the location or nature of housing alternatives selected by displaced residents who relocated outside of the Kitsilano area, informal feedback from local resident associations, local residents and City of Vancouver staff suggest that a proportion of displacees from the Kitsilano area have over the past two to three years sought accommodation in the East Side Commercial Drive area of Vancouver which offers a range of potential flexible housing options (for example converted three-story single family dwellings), allied with a vibrant and new wave/ethnic community mix complete with a collection small independent stores and counter-culture coffee bars and cafes. To this end, the Commercial Drive neighbourhood offers some of the desirable "folksy" features reported by a sample by long-term Kitsilano residents as being lost on the west side as result of development, although it lacks the same proximity to waterfront parks and beaches.

5.4 Housing Policy and Program Initiatives

The problem of providing affordable accommodation within Vancouver, and particularly on Vancouver's west side may be directly related to the lack of undeveloped land zoned for medium to high density multiple use, which has driven up the cost of land, and therefore made the development of affordable rental unit unfeasible for the majority of the private housing market.

In the past, tax incentive programs and government sponsored initiatives have aided the development of rental accommodation and served in part to meet housing demand. Prior to 1972, for example, the Income Tax Act allowed investors in new rental housing to "write off" a portion of the costs of providing rental housing against income from other sources.

Changes made to the Income Tax Act in 1972, however, withdrew these potential advantages for investors, and as a result the construction of rental housing within the Vancouver area was reduced. In the mid 1970's, in response to the growing demand for housing, allied with a popular call for the return of some investment/tax shelters, the federal government reinstated some of the pre-1972 deductions through the Multiple Unit Residential Building Program (MURB) and also included an additional inducement by way of grants and loans offered to developers through the Assisted Rental Program (ARP).

The estimated impacts of these government introduced programs allied, with the Canada Rental Supply Program (CRSP), included the development of some 23,200 subsidized rental units within the Greater Vancouver area. The subsequent loss of these programs, however, has contributed to the current problem of a shortage of rental accommodation allied with the parallel problem of a lack of affordable accommodation.

Rather then acting specifically to deter the redevelopment of existing residential communities, current Provincial and City housing policies are aimed at "encouraging" the ongoing provision of affordable housing as part of the broader development process. To this end, Vancouver City Council and its professional staff have introduced a series of initiatives aimed at first maintaining affordable housing stock and second encouraging new production. Specific initiatives introduced as part of this agenda have included the following.

- A ten percent participation in the Vancouver Land Company to build affordable rental units;
- A Financial Levy of $1,000 on each multi-family unit to be demolished;
- The establishment of a relocation, housing information and emergency assistance service for tenants; and
- The negotiation of a percentage of affordable rental housing in major new developments (eg. the proposed development of non-profit housing alternatives as part of the Concord Pacific Developments Ltd. on the former Expo site, the Marathon Realty Company Ltd.'s Coal Harbour site, and the Bosa Development Corporation's Station/Main Street site).

In spite these initiatives, however, it may be hypothesized that development and the associated problem of the provision of affordable housing on the city's west side, specifically within the Kitsilano neighbourhood will continue.

The continued desirability of the location, the shortage of available building land, and the high cost of land will continue to mitigate against the ready provision of affordable accommodation. Specific initiatives that may address the problem include the rezoning of residential land uses to permit higher density land uses and a control on future developments. While both initiatives have been suggested by various development and residential groups alike, both introduced in isolation of other supporting initiatives will in the long-run prove counter productive. Thus, for example, the blanket introduction of higher-density land uses will, from a local resident perspective, serve further to erode much of the character of the neighbourhood itself and thus serve to threaten its attractiveness as a residential locale. Alternatively, the restriction of future developments may result both in the further escalation of available land costs while further discouraging existing building owners from maintaining current rental properties.

The problem of the provision of affordable housing within the Kitsilano community must, therefore, be assessed from a city-wide perspective that takes into account the various factors involved. To this end, the provision of affordable accommodation on the west side of Vancouver generally, and in the Kitsilano area specifically, demands the ongoing and meaningful interaction of all the major players including government and municipal representatives, development industry representatives, and local community groups.

In broad terms, the problem of the provision of affordable housing on the west side of Vancouver may be most effectively addressed by the identification and development of suitable residential sites throughout the whole of the city of Vancouver which will in turn reduce in part the pressure for development on the west side as a whole. Specific initiatives should, therefore, be considered by all local players and may include the flexible zoning of rental units in non-residential areas, and the provision of controlled medium-density developments in current low-density residential neighbourhoods.

Specifically within the Kitsilano area suitable sites must be identified by the major players for controlled developments that include a non-profit component. This will almost inevitably involve both the creation of rental units within existing non-residential structures/areas as well as the revised zoning of current low density neighbourhoods to accommodate medium density developments. No magic or easy solution exists for the current housing problems and in this regard all the major players must accept some form of compromise if progress is to be made.

5.5 The Changing Nature of Vancouver's West Side

A substantial body of research from numerous sources has clearly established the obvious links between trends in the provincial and local economies and changes in the residential and physical structure of inner city housing markets within Vancouver. In brief, the move over the last two to three decades toward a downtown labour market driven by a focus on office employment in advanced services in either the public or private sectors has precipitated a major thrust for change within, and restructuring of, inner-city housing markets. In addition, recent increases in inter-provincial and intra-provincial migration have further served to add additional pressure to an already difficult housing climate in which supply has consistently fallen behind demand for most of the last two decades.

The problem of providing affordable accommodation within Vancouver, and particularly on Vancouver's west side may be directly related to the lack of undeveloped land zoned for medium to high-density multiple use, which has driven up the cost of land, and therefore made the provision of rental accommodation prohibitive. The social and geographical impacts of these changes are extensive and relate both to the changing residential structure of communities undergoing redevelopment and their physical landscape orientation.

In terms of changing social structures, development on Vancouver's west side have to date impacted on communities traditionally characterized by their social and cultural diversity, for example, the Kitsilano neighbourhood. While quantitative data are not yet available from the recent 1991 census, previous census data reveal that between 1961 and 1986 the socio-economic profile of the community changed considerably. Significant trends during this period included the steady increase in the 20 - 44 age category, allied with the concurrent decrease in the number of older adults over 65 years of age. In part, the increase within the 20 - 44 year old age group may be attributed to the emergence of the baby boom generation, while the related decrease in the 65 and over category may be subscribed to the loss of seniors who have chosen not to settle in Kitsilano. A second significant trend within the community during the latter part of this period was that of a significant increase in the proportion of households with incomes in excess of $50,000. One explanation for the increase in the proportion of households within incomes in this range is the increased number of double income families who have moved into the Kitsilano area. In this regard, it may be hypothesized that the Kitsilano neighbourhood is seemingly becoming increasingly attractive to professional couples who are seeking a certain "lifestyle" which is offered by the natural amenities and cultural/social facilities of the area.

In terms of physical landscape structures, the relationship between the revised social changes and the physical fabric of the community inevitably remains a close one. While the number of young adult high income households has increased dramatically during the last two decades, this changing social structure has been reflected in a revised physical landscape which has seen the removal of single-detached dwelling structures and their replacement by condominium units. For the periods 1961 to 1971 and 1981 to 1986 the Kitsilano neighbourhood experienced a significant decrease in the number of single-family detached dwellings. While the decrease during the first period may be explained as a result of rapid apartment development for rental purposes - the second period decreases may be most likely attributed to an increase in the number of demolitions of single-detached dwellings to allow for the construction of duplexes and apartments. The loss of single-detached dwellings and existing apartment structures within the Kitsilano community represents the physical landscape expression of the changing social and economic structure, with many new residents (professional couples) seeking a type of housing development which allows ownership with the demands of minimal maintenance: namely a condominium.

In terms of precise quantitative descriptions of these social and geographic changes additional research is required. What remains certain, however, is that as the social and economic structure of Vancouver changes it will become increasingly difficult for Kitsilano to maintain both a social mix and a landscape diversity. As land prices continue to rise, Kitsilano along with other desirable inner-city neighbourhoods on the west side will continue to face considerable pressure to develop at higher densities, with condominium units the landscape of choice for both developers and new residents alike.

6.0 A Concluding Word

Within the Vancouver context, the face of revitalization/redevelopment has, over the last two decades, changed considerably. The outdated image of eclectic, innovative, renaissance individuals braving a risky real estate market, expending some of their own labour to rehabilitate a house and so do their bit toward the rejuvenation of a dying neighbourhood remains both inappropriate and unapplicable. The face of redevelopment on Vancouver's west side remains both more widespread and more collective than the efforts of hardy or speculative individuals upgrading or renovating individual properties, and the product of much deeper structural processes. Within the Vancouver context, the continued in-migration of population and investment, allied with the finite supply of available land, has resulted in the rapid escalation of land costs and the associated rapid redevelopment of desirable neighbourhoods largely independent of the activities of individual gentrifiers and more the product of the initiatives of large-scale developers.

In this context, the redevelopment of west side neighbourhoods may be usefully conceptualized in terms of urban conflict theories with the focus a crucial battle between competing groups (long term residents and developers) for the same stock of dwellings or more precisely the same plot of land. Invariably, however, long-term community residents quickly lose the battle, and thus their homes, given their lack of control over the key factor inputs particularly that of land or property ownership. The result is their forced relocation, and the subsequent redevelopment of their former residence.

The large number of respondents of the current survey who were forced to relocate suggests that the effects of redevelopment are considerable, and further affect a broad range of community groups.

To this end, whether the changes that take place are considered either positive or negative remains a question of perspective. The current review of the Kitsilano neighbourhood suggests that in the face of redevelopment the existing social mix of the community has been threatened and further the diversity and individuality of its unique physical landscape eroded. Such changes do not represent the revitalization of the community per se, but rather its physical redevelopment and socio-cultural reorientation.

In the face of such developments it may be humanistically argued that the need for some compromise is required. While ongoing development within any urban context is both an appropriate and desirable feature of its continued growth and evolution, development for development sake alone threatens both the survival and health of the community itself. Healthy communities and cities are neither the product nor outcome of market-based forces alone, but rather the product of cooperation and collaboration between all key players be it local municipal governments, private developers and local citizen groups. The key to the development of livable cities is their sensitive balance and management which must take account of the needs of all.

Within Vancouver, the unavailability of private home ownership to all but a small proportion of current renters, suggests that the needs of this large population group deserve attention.

The provision of "affordable housing" will remain a key issue within the Vancouver scene, and one that requires both private and public initiatives if it is to be successfully addressed.

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APPENDIX ONE

Housing in Kitsilano

Dear Resident:

The following brief survey is designed to gather your views and opinions on the housing sector redevelopments that have occurred in Kitsilano over the last three years. The research is being undertaken by Humanité Services Planning Ltd., an independent research consulting firm, with funding provided through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Please take the time to complete the survey and return it in the prepaid envelope enclosed. Your answers will help us to understand better the changing face of urban development in the Kitsilano area.

If you have any questions about the survey, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or Malcolm Holt at (604) 655-1925.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher J. Smith
Humanité Services Planning (B.C.) Ltd.

CJS/smb

The survey should be completed by a household member 18 years of age or over.

Please indicate your response to the following questions by placing an X in the appropriate box or by writing your brief answer when asked to do so.

About Your Current Home

1

a. What is your current housing status?

- Owner/Occupier ☐ 1
- Renter ☐ 2
- Other ☐ 3

b. How long have you lived at your current address?

- Less than six months ☐ 4
- Six months to 12 months ☐ 5
- 1 year to 2 years ☐ 6
- 2 years to 4 years ☐ 7
- Over 4 years ☐ 8

c. How many people currently live in your household with you? ☐ 9

What is the relation of each of these people to you?
(eg. spouse, child or friend)

________________ 10

________________ 11

________________ 12

How many of these are under 18 years of age? ________________ 13

d. How many bedrooms does your household have?

- Bachelor ☐ 14
- One bedroom ☐ 15
- Two bedroom ☐ 16
- Three or more bedrooms ☐ 17

e. What was the most important factor that influenced the selection of your current home?

________________________________ 18

About Your Recent Housing Experiences

2

	Yes	No	
a. Have you been required to change residence as a result of building redevelopment, a change in building ownership or rental increases over the last three years?	☐	☐	19

If *yes*, please complete questions b - h, based on the most recent move you were required to make. If *no*, please proceed to Section 3.

b. Based on the most recent move you were required to make, please indicate:

i) The month and year in which you were required to move. ________ Month ________ Year 20

ii) The block and street from which you were required to move. ________ Block, eg. 1500 ________ Street, eg. Alma 21

iii) The block and street to which you moved. ________ Block ________ Street 22

c. Briefly identify the major factor that required you to move.

____

____

____ 23

	Yes	No	
d. Did the landlord or building owner serve you with official notice?	☐	☐	24
e. Did you contact any local, or city agencies in your search for new accommodation.	☐	☐	25

If *yes*, please identify which agencies you contacted.

____

____

____ 26

About Your Recent Housing Experiences (continued) 2

f. Based on the following criteria, please compare the residence you were forced to move *from* to the residence you moved to. Please circle the appropriate response, e.g. *larger.*

i) My former residence was **larger, the same size,** or **smaller.** 27

ii) My former residence had **more rooms, the same number of rooms,** or **less rooms.** 28

iii) The rent of my former residence was **higher, the same rent,** or **lower.** 29

iv) My former residence was **closer, the same distance ,** or **further away** from my place of work. 30

v) My former residence was **closer, the same distance,** or **farther away** from the shops I visit regularly. 31

vi) My former residence was **closer, the same distance,** or **farther away** from social or recreational resources I use. 32

vii) My former residence was **closer, the same distance,** or **farther away** from my support groups (family and/or friends). 33

	Yes	No	Not Sure	
g. Overall, the move I was required to make had an impact on my quality of life.	☐	☐	☐	34

If *yes*, please explain how.

____

____

______________________________ 35

h. Would you rate your quality of life as **better, the same** or **worse** as a result of your move?

Please explain why.

____

____

______________________________ 36

Your Views on Kitsilano

3

Beside each of the statements below, please indicate whether you Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD), or Don't Know (DK), or write the appropriate responses.

	SA	A	D	SD	DK	
a. Within Kitsilano, the supply of rental accommodation is adequate.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	37
b. Within Kitsilano, affordable rental accommodation is available.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	38
c. Over the last three years, the availability of rental accommodation in Kitsilano has remained about the same.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	39

If you disagree or strongly disagree with statement "c," please explain why.

____

	SA	A	D	SD	DK	
d. Over the last three years, the availability of affordable rental accommodation in Kitsilano has remained about the same.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	40

If you disagree or strongly disagree with statement "d," please explain why.

____

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	
e. How would you rate your current level of satisfaction with your place residence?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	41

What are the major factors that contribute to that level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction.

____

____

	Very Likely	Likely	Not Sure	Unlikely	Very Unlikely	
f. How likely is it that you will move residence within the next year?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	42

What are the major factors that would contribute to you making a move.

____

____

	Yes	No	
g. Overall, do you think that the residential character of Kitsilano has changed over the last three years? If *yes*, please explain how.	☐	☐	43

____

____

About You

4

a.	Your age at last birthday.	18 to 24 ☐	44
		25 to 34 ☐	45
		35 to 49 ☐	46
		50 to 64 ☐	47
		65 and over ☐	48
b.	Your sex.	Male ☐	49
		Female ☐	50
c.	Your marital status.	Single ☐	51
		Married (including common-law) ☐	52
		Divorced/Separated ☐	53
d.	The highest level of education you have started.	Grade School ☐	54
		High School ☐	55
		College or Technical School ☐	56
		University ☐	57
e.	Your current employment status.	Full-time Employment ☐	58
		Part-time Employment ☐	59
		Not currently employed ☐	60
		Student ☐	61
		Retired ☐	62
f.	The nature of the work you generally do.	Professional - Managerial ☐	63
		Sales - Clerical ☐	64
		Trades - Technical ☐	65
		Labor-related - Service ☐	66
		Full or Part-time School, College, or University Student ☐	67
		____________ Other (please specify) ☐	68

About You (continued)

4

g. The total annual income of your household.

less than $15,000	☐	69
15,000 to 20,000	☐	70
21,000 to 25,000	☐	71
26,000 to 35,000	☐	72
36,000 to 40,000	☐	73
Over 40,000	☐	74

h. Your current household rent per month.

less than $450	☐	75
451 - 500	☐	76
501 - 550	☐	77
551 - 600	☐	78
601 - 650	☐	79
651 - 700	☐	80
701 - 800	☐	81
801 - 1,000	☐	82
Over 1,000	☐	83

It would help us if you would participate in a follow-up survey next year. If you would like to take part, please write your name and address in the space below.

Name: ______________________________

Address: ______________________________

____

____

Thank you for your participation

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