Summary Findings of the 2022 Ontario Provincial Election Survey

August 11, 2023

Matthew R. Arp, PhD, Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy, Wilfrid Laurier University
Simon Kiss, PhD, Department of Digital Media and Journalism, Wilfrid Laurier University
Anthony Piscitelli, PhD, School of Interdisciplinary Studies, Conestoga College
Laura Pin, PhD, Department of Political Science, Wilfrid Laurier University
Jason Roy, PhD, Department of Political Science and North American Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University
Zachary Spicer, PhD, School of Public Policy and Administration, York University

Summary

The cost of housing in Ontario has steadily increased over the past decade, although the most dramatic increase occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. For the average Ontarian who did not already own their own home, this dramatic surge in prices effectively locked them out of the housing market. This begs the questions: "what caused the surge in housing prices?" and "what can be done to fix it?". This situation captured the attention of MPPs during the 2022 Ontario Provincial election, offering a multitude of various policy solutions for alleviating the housing crisis. Under this backdrop, LISPOP conducted a survey to capture the attitudes of Ontarians on increasing housing costs, as well as identifying the cause and possible solutions. These attitudes were analyzed by vote intention, housing status and issue salience. We found that there is more consensus than division on the significance of different causes (investors, NIMBY-ism and environmental protection) and solutions (increasing supply and tax policies) to address housing costs. However, the most fascinating results included some notable differences between respondents with varying party identification and homeowning status, especially attitudes towards immigration, investment in public housing and rent control.

Laurier Institute for the
Study of Public Opinion and Policy

Table of Contents

Introduction

The objective of the research project is to better understand the attitudes and policy preferences of people living in Ontario related to housing policy. Housing policy has become an urgent topic in discussions of everyday life in Canada, where the average cost of housing has increased substantially over the past decade. This is nowhere more apparent than Ontario, which has been experiencing a widespread housing affordability crisis. As a result, housing was a focal point during the 2022 Ontario provincial election. LISPOP commissioned a survey during the 2022 provincial election cycle to capture various attitudes of respondents towards the cost of housing, remedies and NIMBYism, as well as political preferences of provincial parties and leaders.

Research Design and Methodology

The Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy (LISPOP) established a multi-institution team of scholars and researchers to design the survey. This group was comprised of Drs. Simon Kiss, Jason Roy, Matthew Arp and Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University), Anthony Piscitelli (Conestoga College) and Zachary Spicer (York University). The group commissioned Dynata to provide a representative consumer (non-random) quota sample of people living in Ontario between May 18th and May 30th, 2022. Quotas were set to so that the sample matched the distribution of the Ontario population on age, gender and education. While this does not constitute a probability based (or "random") sample, which is usually thought of as the gold standard for survey sampling, those sampling procedures are often limited because of plummeting response rates. Indeed, the 2021 Canada Election Study declined to conduct a probability-based sample based on random digit dialing (RDD). This constitutes a threat to sample validity in probability-based samples. As a result, it is essential to examine the demographic distribution of the general population in comparison to the sample to be aware of possible biases. Overall, on key demographic variables, the sample we received is quite close to the Ontario population based on the most recently available census data. The sample is slightly younger (15% over 65; 17% in the census), much less rural (12% compared to 19% in the census), significantly better educated (41% with a university degree compared to 19% in the census) and slightly more female (53% compared to 51% in the census).

VARIABLE	LABEL	VALUE	SAMPLE	CENSUS
Rural	Dichotomous variable, R lives in a rural neighborhood	Not Rural	88.42	81.3
Rural	Dichotomous variable, R lives in a rural neighborhood	Rural	11.58	18.7
Degree	Dichotomous variable, R has university degree	Degree	40.52	18.9
Degree	Dichotomous variable, R has university degree	No Degree	59.48	81.1
Female	Dichotomous variable, R is female	Female	52.51	50.9
Female	Dichotomous variable, R is female	Not Female	47.49	49.1

Table 1: Sample distribution compared to Ontario Census data

Another way to validate the survey is to compare the results of our sample's vote intentions with the actual provincial election results. These are in **Error! Reference source not found.** and show that our sample was very close to the provincial election results overall. Our sample overestimated the Liberal vote by 0.5%, the NDP vote by 1.6 percentage points and the Green sample by 2.04 percentage points, all were within the margin of error. Note, however, that some variation should be expected as this compares the expressed voting intentions of likely voters with actual votes cast.

PARTY	SAMPLE N	SAMPLE PERCENT	PERCENT CERTAIN VOTERS	ELECTION PERCENT
PC	505	27.4%	40.2%	40.82%
LIBERAL	337	18.3%	26.9%	23.85%
NDP	313	17.0%	24.9%	23.74%
GREEN	100	5.4%	8.0%	5.96%
	587	31.9%	-	5.63%
TOTAL	1,842	-	100%	100%

Table 2: Sample vote intention of likely voters May 18th-27th, 2022 compared with actual vote distribution from the 43rd Ontario general election.

Most Important Problem

Beyond taking any position on an issue, a central process that voters engage in is to decide that an issue is in fact important and/or a problem. This is the question of issue *salience*. It is possible for voters to oppose or support some policy, but to not think the underlying issue is overly important in the moment of a political campaign.

To assess the salience of various issues in the Ontario 2022 election, respondents were asked the open-ended question, "What is the most important issue to you personally in this provincial election"? The answers were recoded into 35 broad categories, graphed by categories that enumerated at least 2% of responses in Figure 1. Over 22% of respondents cited cost of living, wages and/or inflation as the most important issues for the provincial election. This was followed

by health care (non-COVID), and housing, each of which were named by 11% of respondents as the most important issue.
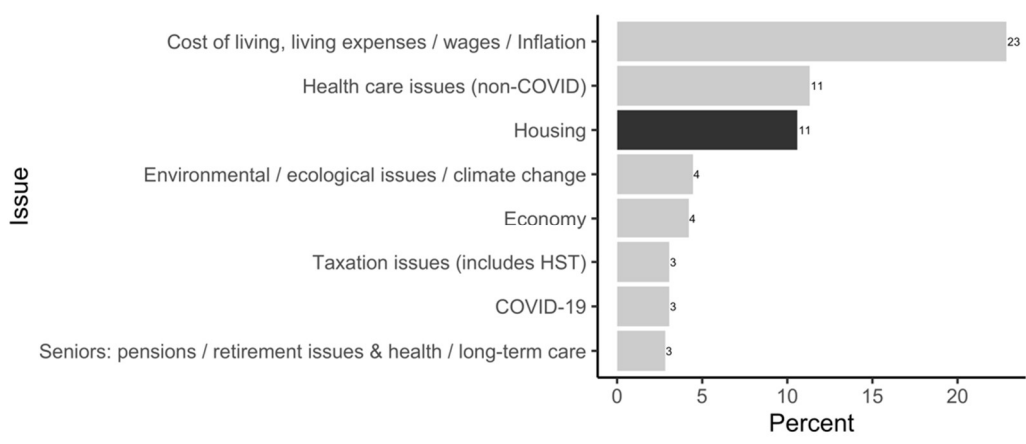

Figure 1: Most Important Problem

In a related research initiative LISPOP examined articles published in Ontario newspapers and national broadcasters about the Ontario election. In each article we counted mentions of terms related to a series of issues similar issues. We counted the frequencies of each set of terms as a measure of the news media's dedication to those issues. Here, the order was somewhat different in that housing and jobs issues were the two most frequently mentioned, followed by inflation.
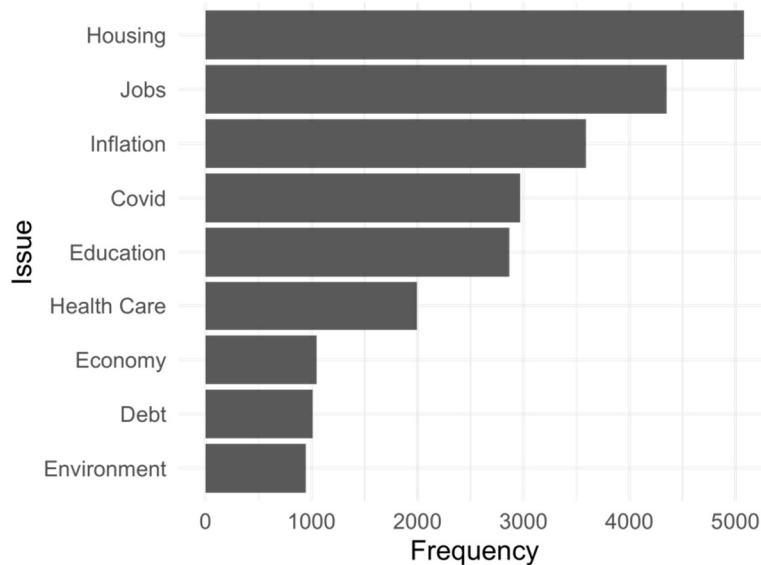

Figure 2: Frequency of topic featured in newspapers and national broadcasters during 2022 Ontario election

Both the survey data and newspaper review indicate that housing was a significant issue during the election campaign, as were other economic issues such as jobs and inflation. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the COVID-19 pandemic was not a significant issue for either voters or the news media.

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the COVID-19 pandemic was not a significant issue for either voters or the news media.

Causes of Housing Unaffordability

One topic the Ontario election and housing survey covered was respondents' perceptions of the *causes* of the recent house price and rent increases. We did this because there is a significant debate in public discourse about why exactly house and rental costs are rising. On the one hand, some argue that it is due to a lack of housing supply, because of a mix of zoning regulations, environmental regulations (e.g., the Greenbelt's prohibition on development) and public opposition to housing developments in local neighborhoods (NIMBY-ism). Others argue that housing unaffordability is a product of financial speculation and homeowners owning multiple homes. Some point to underinvestment in social housing by the federal and provincial governments and/or a lack of robust rental regulation as drivers of housing unaffordability. A major finding of political science research into the making of public policy is that causes of social problems are constructed as a way of promoting a particular political project, rather than being "discovered" by neutral observers (Rochefort and Cobb 1993; Stone 1989). Thus, respondents' perceptions of the causes of housing affordability can shed light on the ways housing is constructed as a public policy problem.

The causes that we asked respondents to rate were meant to test a mix of causal stories that we observed in public discourse across the political spectrum in Ontario. These stories have been divided into two broad categories: (1) market and (2) policy effects. The full text of each item respondents were asked to rate is in Table 3.

MARKET EFFECT	POLICY EFFECT
Speculation by investors	Underinvestment in public affordable housing
Low interest rates	Limited rent control
Neighbourhood opposition that makes it harder for developers and municipalities to build housing developments	Excessive foreign immigration to Ontario
Urban sprawl	Environmental protection that limits the supply of homes
	Municipal red tape that makes it harder for developers to build homes

Table 3: Causes of housing unaffordability

When the average rating for each cause was calculated, as shown in Figure 3, it is apparent that speculation by investors is perceived as the most significant cause. This is followed by underinvestment in public housing and limited rent controls. Alternatively, environmental protection and NIMBY-ism that limits the supply of homes is perceived as the least significant causes.
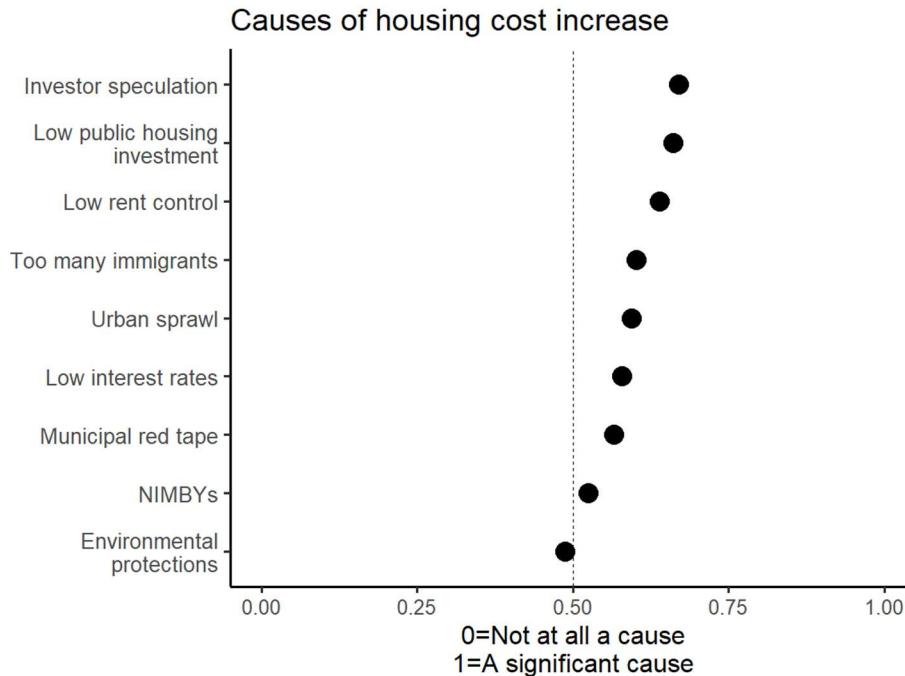

Figure 3: Causes of housing price increase overview

To get a better appreciation of the political dynamics of the causal story of housing unaffordability, we compared these ratings of the relevance of different causes of housing unaffordability across several groups. For example, acknowledging the importance of issue salience, we examined how respondents' preferred causes varied by their assessment of issue importance. The list of most important problems in Figure 1 was collapsed into three broad categories: (1) cost of living, (2) housing and (3) other. The most important problem identified by respondents had little impact on the perceived causes of increased housing costs, with the notable exception of low public housing investment and rent control.
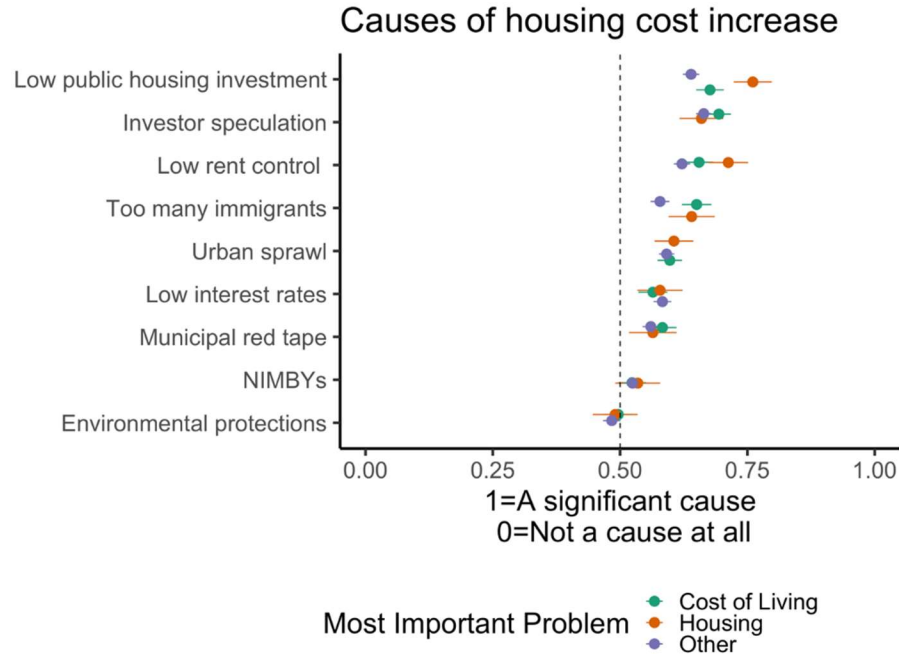
Causes of housing cost increase

Figure 4: Causes of housing price increase by most important problem

Figure 4 clearly shows that people who thought that "housing" was the most important problem in the Ontario 2022 election were more likely to attribute unaffordability to low rent control and low investment in public housing, and this is consistent with a historic understanding of that problem. The dramatic increase in housing prices that Canada has experienced in the last few years has created a new political problem for the country. Canadians and the political system are not used to the problem of high housing prices. So, when people respond to survey questions about housing affordability or affordable housing, it is worth thinking about precisely what people have in mind. Historically, "affordable housing" has been seen by policymakers and voters as a question of social or non-market housing.

It is also suspected that respondents who identified housing as the most important problem were most impacted by the recent increases in prices. This suspicion is confirmed when comparing most important problem to home ownership status, with almost 23% of non-homeowners most concerned about housing prices, compared to 5% of homeowners surveyed.

	COST OF LIVING	HOUSING	HEALTH CARE	OTHER
HOMEOWNER	23.05% (237)	5.25% (54)	13.91% (143)	57.78% (594)
SEEKING TO PURCHASE	19.85% (26)	22.90% (30)	6.11% (8)	51.15% (67)
NOT SEEKING TO PURCHASE	22.56% (150)	15.19% (101)	7.52% (50)	54.74% (364)

Table 4: Housing status and most important problem

It remains to be seen what will unfold as voters begin to grapple with the fact that "affordable housing" may no longer just be a question for low-income and marginalized voters, but will

increasingly be a problem for the middle class who will find it harder and harder to purchase homes or rent apartments.
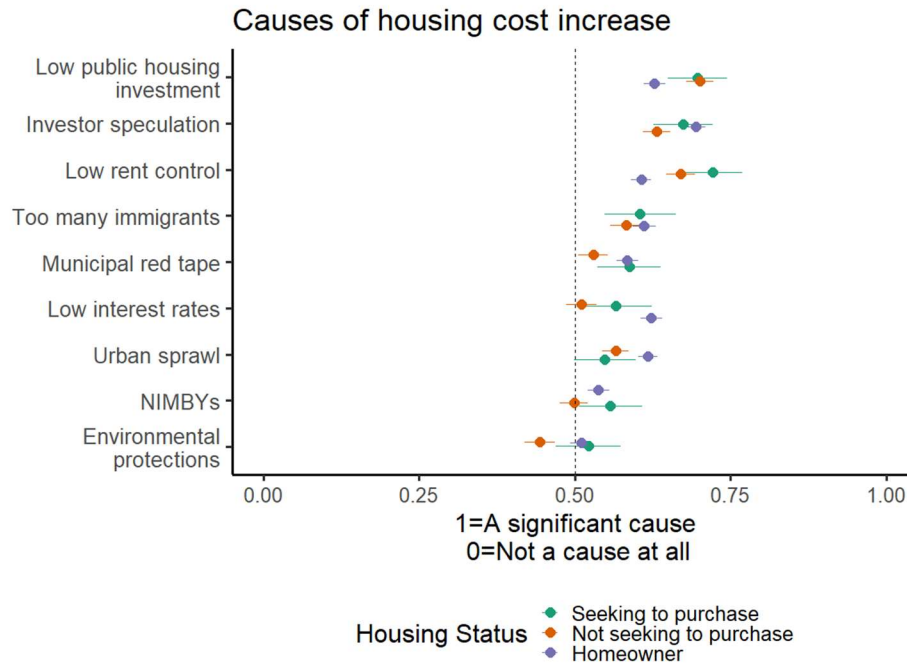

Figure 5: Causes of housing price increase by housing status

Overall, housing status was not associated with significant differences in opinions toward the various causes of housing cost increases. However, respondents who owned their own homes most strongly believed that low interest rates and urban sprawl were more to blame, whereas low rent control and low public housing investment were less noteworthy. Part of this finding can be attributed to the fact that those seeking to purchase are, in most cases, renters. It is worth noting however, people seeking to purchase their own homes are not very likely to blame some of the frequently cited barriers to the construction of new homes, namely, environmental protections and NIMBY opposition to new homes.

Certainly, during the election campaign, the Ford government made no bones about the need to get around planning blockades, up to and including enabling development on parts of the protected Greenbelt surrounding the Greater Toronto Area. Comparing the distribution of causes by vote intention (Figure 6) reveals how this political story did not really resonate with voters.
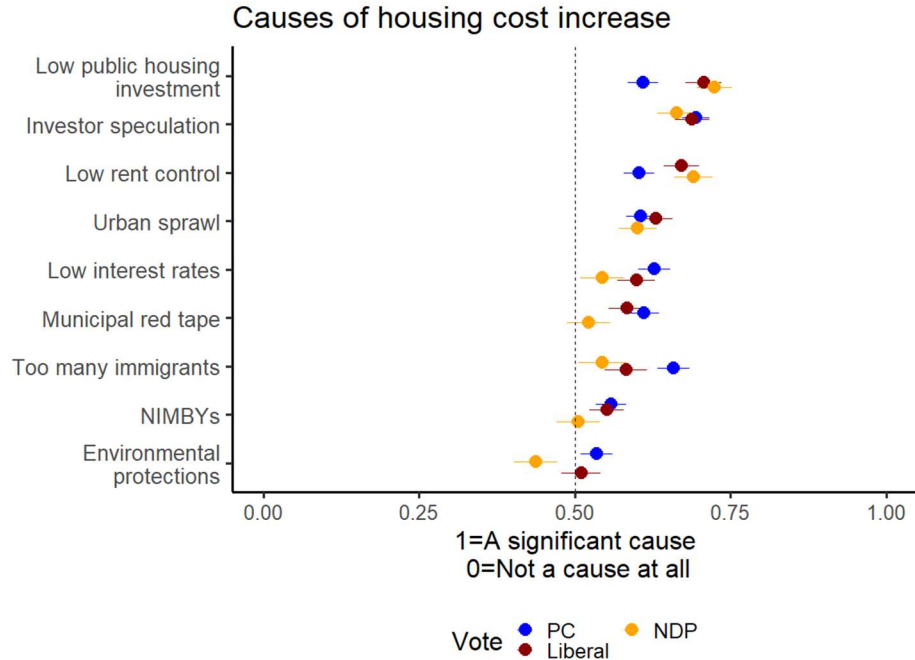
Causes of housing cost increase

Figure 6: Causes of housing cost increase by vote intention

Overall respondents intending to vote Liberal or NDP were more likely to single out low rent control, investor speculation and low levels of public housing as causes of housing unaffordability. But PC voters were much more likely to single out immigration as a cause. We find this a politically significant point. The federal Liberal government has announced plans to increase immigration to Canada to from 405,000 in 2022 to 500,000 immigrants per year by 2025. Given the strong likelihood that home price increase increases are here to stay, this is evidence that conservative voters could be mobilized to an anti-immigrant backlash as they blame immigrants for house price increases.

While NDP and Liberal voters tend to both agree that lack of rent control and public housing are likely causes of house price increases, NDP voters are much less likely to blame government regulations as a cause of the house and rental price increase. For example, NDP voters are significantly less likely to blame "municipal red tape" and "environmental regulations" as a cause of housing price increases. This likely reflects a general worldview that governments are solutions to problems, rather than causes of problems in and of themselves.

We also compared variation in the causes of house price increases between respondents who live in different types of communities. One might imagine that respondents in rural areas might have different views of what is driving any house price increase from those in urban regions. We asked respondents to provide their 6-digit postal code, which allowed us to assign each respondent to a Forward Sortation Area, a geographic unit used by Canada Post for which Statistics Canada produces population counts and population density. Respondents were divided into 5 different

10

groups, based on the population density of their FSA.[1] Interestingly, there were almost no impacts on perceptions of the cause of housing price increase by urban environment (Figure 7).
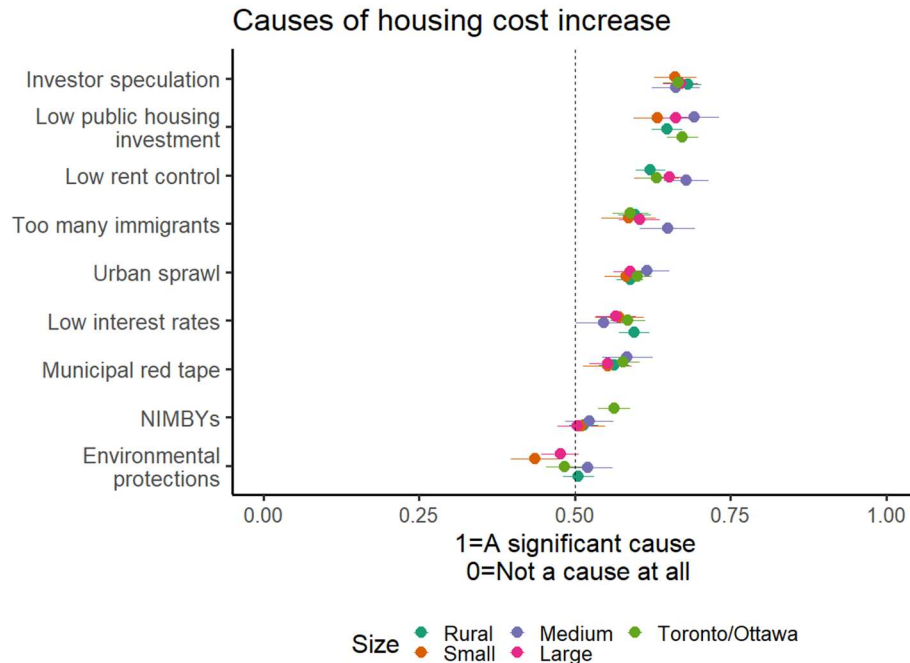
Causes of housing cost increase

Figure 7: Causes of housing cost increase by density

Overall, people tended to view a combination of investor speculation and government inaction (low rent control and low public housing investment) for house price and rental increases. In some ways this does help to explain why governments in Canada have tended to act more quickly on policies that target foreign investors, such as vacant home taxes targeting foreign investors implemented by British Columbia and the City of Toronto.

To sum up our findings in relation to public perceptions of the causes of housing unaffordability, there was a notable difference between the perceived cause(s) and the importance of housing to respondents. Those who responded that "housing" was the most important problem were more likely to define the cause in terms of low levels of rent control and low support for public housing. One interpretation of this is that voters are still interpreting the political issue of housing in terms of government programs for support for housing for marginal populations, rather than a broader based issue that affects market-provided housing for the middle class.

Beyond that, one of the more significant cleavages is partisanship. Investor speculation is perceived to be the most significant cause across the board. However, respondents intending to vote Liberal and NDP were more likely to define the problem in terms of low levels of rent control and low support for public housing. In contrast, Progressive Conservative voters tended to identify

---

[1] (1) Rural < 25,000, (2) Small 25,001-99,999, (3) Medium = 100,000-499,999, (4) Large = 500,000-1,020,000, (5) Toronto/Ottawa > 1,020,000

excessive immigration as a significant cause. Here, we emphasize the potential this poses for a political party to mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment.

In sum, we identify the current Ontario cleavage in public opinion about the cause of house and rental increases as being a left opinion dominated by the belief that the house price and rental increases dominated by a combination of investor speculation, government inaction on public housing and rent control matched by a right opinion being dominated by a concerns about investor speculation and excessive immigration. Voters do not really embrace the argument that planning barriers and NIMBYism are significant causes of house price and rental increases.

Solutions to Housing Unaffordability

As much as dissecting what people think caused the recent run-up in housing prices is interesting, solutions are probably more important. At the end of the day, regardless of the cause, something has to be done. Respondents were asked to rate a variety of policies put forward by Ontario's political parties to address housing affordability on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being strongly opposed and 10 being strongly supportive.

The most supported solutions include more rent control, increasing the housing supply, eliminating housing transfer taxes and government loans for new buyers. It should be noted that the very general policy goal of "increasing the housing supply" is reasonably popular, a sense of the difficulties emerges from Figure 8. The least popular policy is reducing heritage designations, adding more properties to existing units and taxes for owning multiple houses, which doesn't find majority support. Other potentially useful policies, such as requiring developers to build more affordable housing, more affordable public housing and increasing taxes for foreign home-buyers barely find majority support.
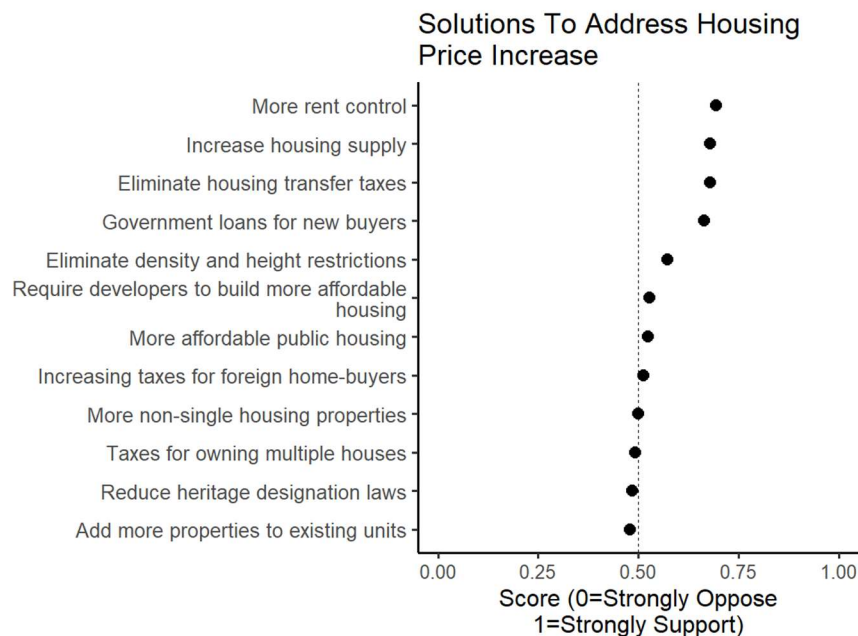

Figure 8. Solutions to address housing crisis

When respondents perceptions of different solutions to housing affordability were sorted by the most important problem, some general trends are apparent (Figure 9). Respondents who cited other concerns than cost of living or housing were less supportive of all solutions, when compared to those groups. More rent control, more affordable housing, increasing housing supply and government loans for first-time homebuyers were strong preferences of those with a concern about housing. The other solutions were generally agreed upon by all the groups.

Figure 9. Solutions by Most Important Problem

We examined how support for these policies varied by voters' current home status with interesting findings. Renters who plan to purchase a home are most supportive of government loans for new buyers, a plan put forward by the NDP. of increasing housing supply and more likely to support reducing heritage designations. It is clear that renters wanting to purchase homes do constitute a distinct electorate with distinct preferences, presumably, the political parties heard this as well and this explains the eagerness to develop policy pitches to win them over. At the same time, it is worth noting that renters looking to purchase were as supportive of expanding rent control as renters not planning to purchase a home. Presumably, these voters have been hit hard with rent increases in the recent past. They may even be reckoning at some level that their plans to purchase a home may not come to fruition.

Figure 10. Solutions to address housing crisis by status

Overall, our survey suggests that the Progressive Conservatives were more likely to receive support from renters who are seeking to purchase a home in the next 24 months (Table 4). However, PC voters also constituted the largest group of homeowners as well.

HOUSING STATUS	PC	LIBERAL	NDP	GREEN
HOMEOWNER	46% (319)	26% (176)	22% (149)	7% (45)
SEEKING TO PURCHASE	44% (34)	28% (22)	21% (16)	8% (6)
NOT SEEKING TO PURCHASE	31% (118)	26% (101)	32% (121)	11% (43)

Table 5. Housing status and vote intention

In a more sophisticated model that controlled for the fact that both men and people without degrees are much more likely to vote for the PCs, this relationship still held, suggesting that renters seeking to purchase a home were 57% more likely to vote PC than renters planning on staying put.

	(1)	(2)
Housing Status (Homeowner v. Renter Not Seeking To Purchase)	2.05***	1.99***
	(0.25)	(0.25)
Housing Status (Renter Seeking To Purchase v. Renter Not Seeking To Purchase)	1.58*	1.58*
	(0.36)	(0.36)
Education (No Degree v. Degree)		1.02
		(0.12)
Gender (Male v. Female)		1.58***
		(0.18)
Num.Obs.	1647	1645

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6. Odds Ratios of likelihood of voting PC versus other parties by housing status, education and gender

We can build on this analysis of political dynamics by examining how support for all solutions varied by vote choice (Figure 10). Overall, Liberal and NDP voters had similar preferences while PC voters were less supportive of rent controls, affordable public housing, requiring developers to build affordable housing, government loans for first-time homebuyers and taxes for owning multiple homes.
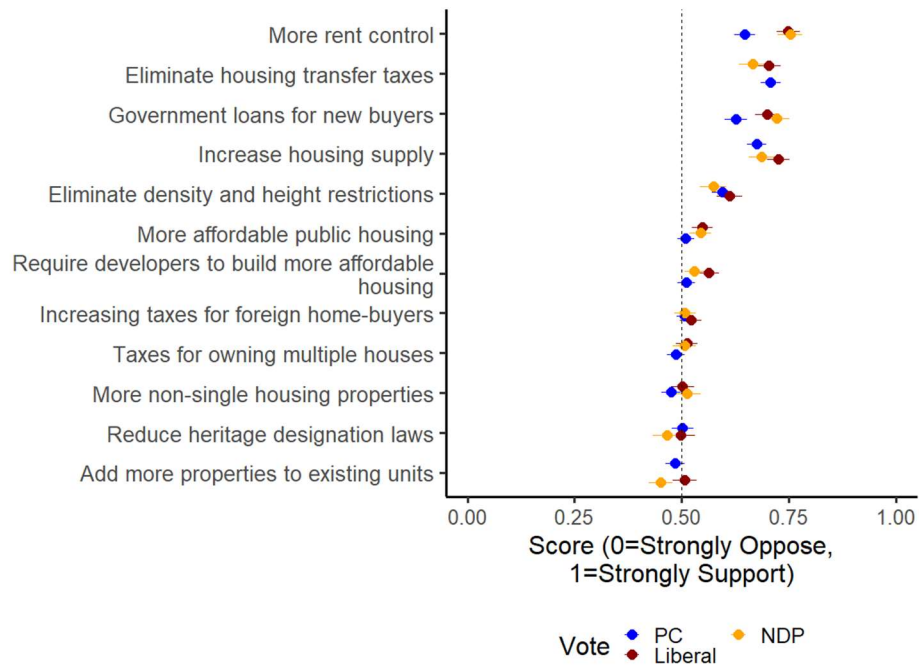

Figure 11. Solutions to address housing crisis by vote intention

One stand-out finding here, however, is the way in which there was a high degree of cross-party consensus, and significant support, for the general policy of increasing the housing supply. Notably, however, while there is not a lot of cross-party disagreement on some policies instrumental to actually increasing the housing supply (e.g., eliminating density and height restrictions, or adding more properties to existing units), the level of support for those policies is comparatively low. Ontarians seem willing to endorse general goals of increasing the housing supply, without necessarily supporting concrete measures to do so.

Policy Trade-offs

One way in which we tried to analyze this problem was to present respondents with a series of survey questions in which we forced them to make a choice between several pairs of outcomes. These trade-offs were (1) increasing public investment in affordable housing vs. lower taxes, (2) increasing public investment in affordable housing vs. increased health and education spending, (3) increasing public investment in affordable housing vs. stabilizing debt and balancing the budget, (4) provincial vs. local control over zoning and (5) reducing environmental regulations vs. maintaining green spaces. These survey questions differed from those previous in which respondents could rate their level of agreement with a series of items. These were constructed to

be zero-sum survey items. For example, if a respondent was for increased investment in affordable housing, they had to be for higher taxes, or lower health and education spending. Effectively, each of these were constructed to include a pro-affordable housing choice and an anti-affordable housing choice. It should be noted that for three of these items, one pole was "public investment in affordable housing". Respondents likely interpreted this as meaning public investment in social housing. A fourth pole, local versus provincial control over zoning was designed thinking that local control over zoning was an anti-housing choice on the grounds that it would enable local opposition to housing intensification. The fifth pole, maintaining green space versus reducing environmental regulations, was conceptualized such that maintaining green space was an anti-housing choice on the grounds that it would make it harder to build homes.

Overall, for four of the five areas, respondents chose the anti-housing choice, namely, lowering taxes, increasing health and education spending and balancing the budget over increasing investments for affordable housing. Respondents also preferred local control over provincial control of zoning. The only even split occurred between reducing environmental regulations to promote the building of new homes compared to protecting green spaces.
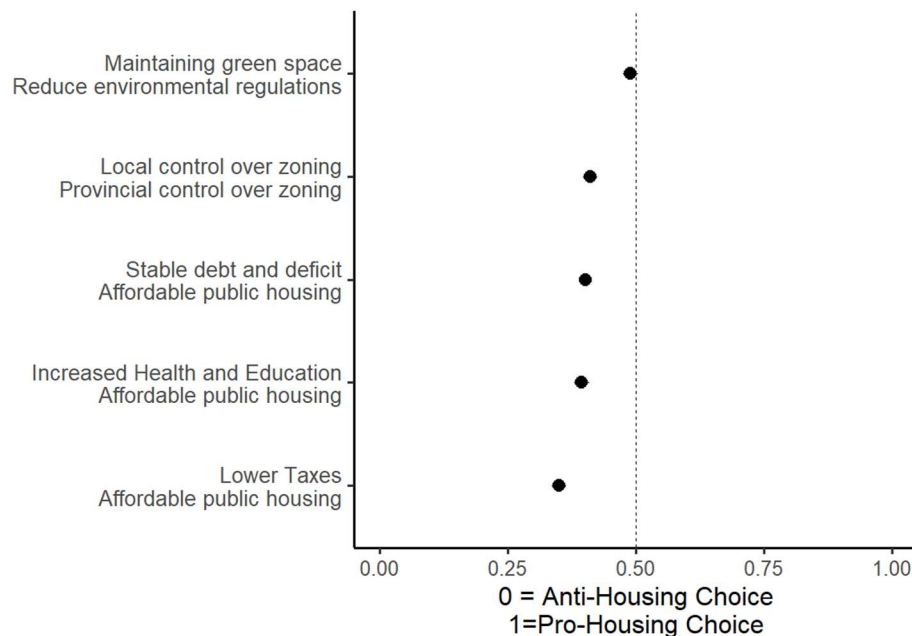

Figure 12. Trade-off question overview

These data seem to suggest that when respondents are pushed to choose between promoting housing and other policy objectives, housing loses out. As roughly 95% of Ontarians live in private-market forms of housing, another interpretation is that investments in affordable public housing are not perceived as having any direct benefit to respondents in terms of improving housing affordability.
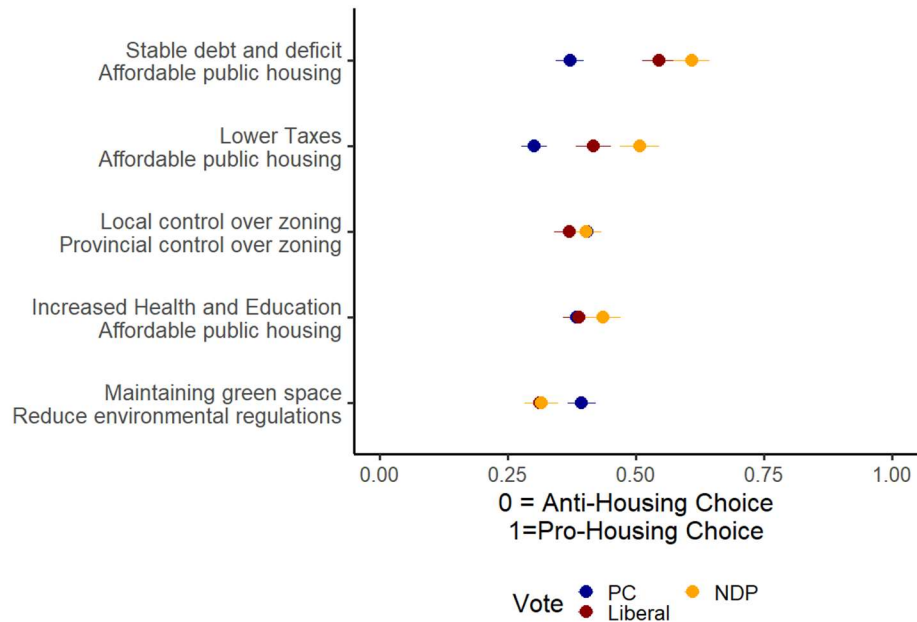
Figure 13. Trade-off by Party Identification

When we examine this by vote intention, we continue to see a tendency to prefer priorities *other* than housing with two exceptions. Liberal and NDP voters preferred investments in affordable public housing at the expense of a stable debt and deficit while NDP voters preferred investments in affordable public housing at the expense of lower taxes. Ontario voters prefer to address priorities other than housing; for those voters, who preferred to address housing at the expense of other priorities, it was primarily investments in affordable housing and not policies that might lead to increased housing supply.

Experiment

As valuable as survey research can be, it is limited because questions and responses are static, but politics and public policy are dynamic. Specifically, people's preferences are rarely stable over time. This opens up some space for people to change preferences through persuasion, although the scholarly literature on this tends to see persuasion as difficult because those citizens most open to changing their attitudes tend to be the ones with the least interest in politics.

To model the possibility of persuasion, we embedded an experiment in the survey to test competing arguments often used to win support for new housing developments. Respondents were divided into four (4) different groups that were provided with a different prompt before being asked a series of questions. All respondents were provided with the same opening statement:

> The population of Ontario is expected to increase by at least 2.1% over the coming year. Continued population growth over the next decade is expected to put pressure on infrastructure, housing and amenities. As a result, Ontario will be faced with choices on how to accommodate this continued population growth.

Then respondents were provided with one of the following four (4) different prompts, which included a neutral control statement and three statements that expressed a different benefit to increasing residential housing supply. Namely, a *public* benefit that adding new housing would be good for a respondent's local neigbhourhood; a *private* benefit that adding new housing would be good for a respondent through reduced taxes; and a *social* benefit that adding new housing would be good for people who need housing!

The text of each prompt is as follows:

Control

Increasing residential housing density offers a number of benefits to citizens. Ongoing research is working towards identifying how to best achieve these benefits to accommodate the increased population growth in Ontario.

Community Benefits

Increasing residential housing density offers a number of public benefits to citizens, including an increase in amenities for your neighbourhood. There may be additional choices and flexibility for transportation options, including the growth of comprehensive and reliable public transportation.

Individual Benefits

Increasing residential housing density offers a number of personal benefits to citizens, including stabilizing property tax rates. Real estate development may also increase the value of your home, allowing you to access additional equity.

National Benefits

Increasing residential housing density offers a number of societal benefits, including increasing availability of housing for low-income families. Affordable housing is an investment in current and future generations of Canadians.

After reading the prompt, respondents were asked to indicate their level of support for a series of hypothetical housing developments in their neighborhood on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly oppose and 10 means strongly support. The options included a 6-storey rental, 15-storey rental, 6-storey condo, 15-storey condo, single detached home and semi-detached home.

Figure 13 shows the raw levels of support for each type of development. The results of the experiment are clear: overall, the persuasive prompts provided to respondents had effectively *no effect* at all. Instead, the level of support was strongly correlated to the height of the development, with single and semi-detached homes garnering the most support and 15-story rentals and condos garnering the least. If there is any hint of any effect that persuasive argumentation, it is that appeals to personal self-interest (e.g., new developments might lead to a reduction in property taxes) actually *lowers* support for some of the proposed developments from the control. There are some theoretical reasons for why this might be the case, but it must be emphasized that this is an extremely small difference.

Respondents were influenced more substantially by the overall physical characteristics of buildings than by normative arguments. Specifically, the respondents *strongly* prefer single and semi-detached homes rather than multiunit apartment or condominium buildings.

Perhaps the one bit of optimism in this experiment is that there is overall no difference in respondents' approval of these hypothetical developments between apartments and condominiums, indicating no evidence of stigma associated with apartments over condominiums.
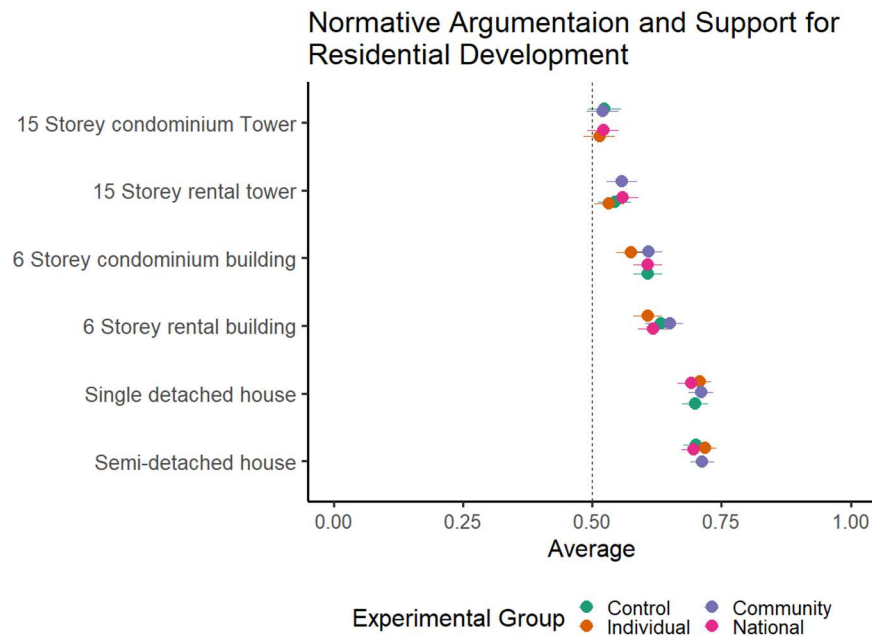

Figure 14. Experiment Results

Conclusion

Overall, there is an appreciation that housing is an important public issue for voters. It is rare for this issue to appear so highly on voters' agenda. Perhaps not surprisingly, voters tend to prefer policies that impose costs on others, rather than embracing potentially difficult reforms that might change the character of local neighborhoods. That said, there is a cross-partisan, moderate level of support for the general policy goal of increasing the policy supply. However, that is an abstract goal. Support for specific measures (e.g., eliminating height and density restrictions, adding units to existing homes, reducing heritage designation laws) are all more unpopular. That said, there is a small cleavage whereby those renters planning to purchase a home are more open to these kinds of policies than others.

Instead, bigger differences in preferences for policies suggest that voters filter their opinions primarily through the left-right structure of most politics. NDP-Liberal voters prefer getting tough on housing speculation, greater rent regulation measures, and investing in public housing; Progressive Conservative voters are less supportive of these initiatives overall.

Overall, it is not clear that public opinion in Ontario demonstrates support for reforms to Ontario's housing policy that might reform zoning and planning. The dream of single detached homes remains popular, and our survey has documented the common impression that people have aversions large buildings. The largest support for policies to address housing is government investments in affordable housing, limiting speculation, increased rent control and financially assisting purchases of new homes.

Citations

Dion, Michelle L., and Vicki Birchfield. "Economic Development, Income Inequality, and Preferences for Redistribution." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2010, pp. 315–34. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40664169. Accessed 9 Feb. 2023.

Forrest, Ray, Alan Murie, and Peter Williams. *Home ownership: Differentiation and fragmentation*. Routledge, 2021.

Arundel, Rowan, and Richard Ronald. "The false promise of homeownership: Homeowner societies in an era of declining access and rising inequality." *Urban Studies* 58.6 (2021): 1120-1140.

Rochefort, David A., and Roger W. Cobb. "Problem definition, agenda access, and policy choice." *Policy studies journal* 21.1 (1993): 56-71.

Stone, Deborah A. "Causal stories and the formation of policy agendas." *Political science quarterly* 104, no. 2 (1989): 281-300.