Welcome to the [Growth] Machine:
An Analysis of Heritage Conservation in the Intensifying City

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

As municipalities strive to meet urban intensification targets, developable and redevelopable land has become increasingly scarce. As a result, inter-urban space is consistently under pressure to accommodate new uses. Consequently, properties of built heritage significance can become targeted for such accommodations, via three main intervention types: adaptive reuse, façadism, and demolition. Increasing the complexity of intervention type usage is that heritage valuation is fluid and differs between all actors, adding a social component to decision-making processes. Using the City of Toronto as the case and employing a mixed-methods study design, I sought to address three main inquiries. First, I analyzed how often adaptive reuse, façadism, and demolition are employed, and how their uses correlate with urban intensification. Second, I examined how heritage professionals value heritage conservation, how their valuation has changed over time, and their observations towards how other heritage professionals' valuations have changed over time. Third, I sought to determine how heritage valuation translates into the preference of different intervention types across differing intensification scenarios. Preliminary, archival analysis showed that the number of heritage intervention projects has increased alongside intensification and that façadism has emerged as the most used intervention type. Subsequent social analysis revealed that all heritage professionals value conservation and that many professionals have experienced some level of valuation change throughout their career. Additionally, data revealed that level of experience and professional role/affiliation within the heritage planning domain played the greatest role in determining intervention type preference.

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1.0 Introduction

Urban adaptation for the purpose of sustaining ever-expanding populations is a central component of the professional planning practice (Gunder et al., 2018). This adaptation, and the resulting development, is projected to not only persist, but increase over the coming decades as global populations continue to migrate towards urban environments (United Nations, 2019). To enable these changes while also remaining conscientious of urban growth patterns, various contemporary planning paradigms such as the 'smart', 'sustainable', 'green', 'resilient', and 'just' city, look inward to support new development (Kabisch & Kuhlicke, 2014; Ghavidelfar et al., 2017). A core tenet of these planning approaches is the application of intensification-focused policy, which looks to regulate municipal borders and formulate a compact urban form (Leffers & Ballamingie, 2013). As cities have intensified, however, developable land has become increasingly sparse (Schaerer et al., 2008). These land consumption patterns have been shown to impact heritage conservation, leading to the loss or imminent destruction of culturally significant heritage properties (Dinh & Pham, 2021; Shipley & Reyburn, 2003; Udeaja et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2018). As projections of urban expansion come to fruition, increasing pressure may therefore be placed on urban heritage properties.

The loss of urban heritage properties yields a considerable impact on the contemporary urban form since numerous social and practical values are contained within the heritage conservation practice. From the retention of *genius loci* or 'sense of place' (Lynch, 1981; Mansfield, 2004; Norberg-Schulz, 1980), to the stimulation of local economy (Dinh & Pham, 2021; Udeaja et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2018), to applications of sustainable urban development and the broader circular economy (Fusco Girard & Vecco, 2021; Kee & Chau, 2020; Yoon & Lee, 2019), heritage conservation is consistently proven valuable. However, many challenges – and negative perceptions – also influence the urban heritage conservation (UHC) practice. Most notably, UHC can be misconstrued as the rejection of change (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021; Shipley & McKernan, 2011), be seen as prohibitively expensive (Bullen & Love, 2011; Shipley 2000; Shipley et al., 2006), be organizationally challenging due to project complexity (Azizi et al., 2016; Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016; Mason, 2002), and be legally burdensome (McCarthy, 2012). Furthermore, stakeholders individually assign value to place, leading to inherent inconsistencies in UHC valuation (Janssen et al., 2017). Accordingly, UHC exists in a highly dynamic state that is prone to change (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). These challenges can ultimately provoke questions of the feasibility of UHC (Bullen & Love, 2010; Grant & Leung, 2018).

To remain relevant within the contemporary urban environment, the practice of UHC must remain flexible to change (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021). Several heritage intervention project (HIP) types have been developed to enable such flexibility; however, few of these types encourage interventions that sustain heritage value while also enabling use-altering property modification. Australia ICOMOS (2013) identifies four HIP types: preservation, restoration, reconstruction, and adaptation. Of these four, adaptation (sometimes called rehabilitation, see Parks Canada, 2010), is the sole HIP type that directly welcomes large-scale property modification. Building on Australia ICOMOS's typology, Kalman & Létourneau's (2021) HIP typology identifies three additional use-altering modes: fragmentation, façadism, and renovation. While adaptive reuse, fragmentation, façadism, and renovation retain portions of the culturally significant built fabric and enable heritage properties to remain present through urban evolution, they each display a differing level of sympathy towards heritage fabric and are therefore distinct from one another. In addition, albeit unlisted by Australia ICOMOS (2013) and Kalman & Létourneau (2021), demolition must also be considered due to its significant presence within the intensification-conservation discourse (see Shipley & Reyburn, 2003).

Reflecting on the presence of ongoing urban intensification, the dynamic nature of UHC, and the pressure placed upon heritage properties to evolve while retaining their heritage value, the present article seeks to answer: *How has the valuation of heritage properties by heritage professionals been impacted by the rapid intensification of urban environments? And how has this intensification affected the imposition of various interventions in urban built heritage, namely adaptive reuse, façadism, and demolition?*

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Intensification Among Contemporary Planning Paradigms

Intensification is an urban growth management strategy that operates through establishing a defined, finite boundary within which new development is contained (Allen et al., 2018). As identified by Allen et al. (2018), as well as Forsyth (2018) and Melia et al. (2011), intensification is primarily operationalized through the employment of density targets that often focus on the number of residents, residences, or jobs within a given spatial boundary. Intensification policy first arose during the 1970's and 1980's following the energy conservation movement of the era; however, it was not until the 1990's, alongside the emergence of sustainability-focused planning paradigms such as smart growth, that intensification was widely adopted (de la Cruz, 2009; Searle & Filion, 2011). In practice, smart growth focuses on recentralizing the urban environment through encouraging urban intensification, mixed-use development, minimizing the space between residential and employment land uses, and promoting the implementation and use of a variety of transportation modes (Filion et al., 2010; Grant, 2018; Grant & Bohdanow, 2008). In effect, using intensification, smart growth aims to achieve optimal land use synergy that maximizes the use of pre-existing urban space through a more selective, focused, and targeted approach to development (Artmann et al., 2019; Dierwechter, 2014; Durand et al., 2011).

As with all urban planning matters, political influences are involved. For example, de la Cruz (2009) identified two primary reasons for the application of smart growth: protection against land overconsumption, and the production of favourable outcomes of land development generated within the political arena. Accordingly, and as identified by both Lehrer et al. (2010) and Lehrer & Pantalone (2018), smart growth is intrinsically connected to the neoliberal political economy. Neoliberalism is based on economic deregulation, trade liberalization, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises (see Steger & Roy, 2014). Within the urban planning domain, neoliberalism manifests through market-oriented growth that is perpetrated by the private sector at the expense of public deliberation (Sager, 2011). Ultimately, smart growth policy has legitimized ongoing development and driven the commodification of land to the benefit of the private sector (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Intensification, as vetted through smart growth policy has therefore become an ideal vector for capital generation. This ideology can be further linked to Molotch's (1976) growth machine theory, in that smart growth has the potential to mobilize and perpetuate the agendas of those with a vested interest in urban growth and it's connected land value (Knaap & Talen, 2005). Some academics have found that smart growth is a thinly veiled manner through which growth coalitions can continue to make profit under the guise of sustainable development (Gearin, 2004; McCann & Ward, 2010). Under this regime, public officials become merchants of developable land who retain the power to direct the flow of private sector capital by dictating where development can occur (Feiock, 2002; Feiock et al., 2009; Lubell et al., 2005). To further stimulate development, public officials can also incentivize development, often through the reduction of 'red tape' which speeds up development processes, amplifying the benefits retained by developers (Grant, 2018; Hawkins, 2014). In sum, a dichotomous, political relationship between public sector policy derivation and private sector policy exploitation emerges through the imposition of smart growth.

Constraining developable land through intensification policy can ultimately enable developers to more effectively market and commodify their product, since land supply is limited (Logan & Molotch, 1987). This general land commodification can exacerbate the pre-existing commodification that heritage properties are predisposed to. A notable reason for this is that heritage properties are often unique in physical appearance and social value; they are, in effect, more than the sum of their parts. Consequently, these pre-existing values can be easily leveraged and commodified (Ross, 2017). Alternatively to developer exploitation, heritage buildings can be used to drive tourism and subsequently stimulate a local economy (Pyykkönen, 2012). Oftentimes, however, municipal governments overextend the development of nearby infrastructure, intending to maximize financial gains from a heritage resource, ultimately resulting in the erosion of the heritage fabric – either by directly impacting the heritage resource itself or by substantially altering the context within which the resource resides (Adie et al., 2018; Dupuis & Dixon, 2002). Both Dinh & Pham (2021) and Zhang et al. (2018) found these patterns to be evident when, in an attempt to

attract and provide for cultural tourists, surrounding development was negatively influencing the heritage fabric of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. As stated by Holdsworth (1980: 124), “preservation can become business, but business always comes before preservation”. This highlights that heritage conservation generally comes second to alternative ‘business’ ventures. It is therefore understood that the neoliberal political economy and its legitimizing intensification policy has placed duress on UHC.

2.2 Heritage Conservation and its Valuation in the Contemporary City

As defined by Australia ICOMOS (2013: Article 2.2), “the aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of a place”, whereby cultural significance can be one or multiple of “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value” (Article 1.2). Jokilehto (1999) further articulates that conservation reflects an esteem for past achievement and the desire to experience and learn from historically and/or culturally significant fabrics. UHC can therefore be defined as a practice that looks to retain elements of the urban fabric that bear a degree of value to the society within which they reside (Blake, 2000). Correspondingly, a ‘values-based approach’, acknowledging that differing actors perceive and attribute value differently, has been widely adopted in practice, most notably by ICOMOS, the Getty Conservation Institute, and English Heritage (Orbaşli, 2017). Under this model, institutions adopt a range of possible values against which items of possible cultural significance are measured – for instance, Riegl’s 1902 model considered age, historical, commemorative, use, and newness values. Although functional values of the values-based approach have been widely contested, the ultimate goal of sustaining tangible and intangible elements that reflect the culture of their greater society has remained consistent (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). Often, value typologies consider built heritage through the inclusion of ‘architectural value’, which ties potential value to physical, urban structures (see Gómez Robles, 2010; Fielden, 2003).

Despite the attribution of values and the benefits of UHC, however, several challenges hinder the practice. Primarily, heritage conservation is a matter of public planning policy and is therefore a sub-component of a complex and dynamic urban ecosystem (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021). Under this system, the precedence between differing urban planning objectives can vary. For instance, focusing on recentralizing the urban form through nodal intensification can prove consequential to existing land uses (Schaerer et al., 2008). These differing levels of precedence have been shown to directly impact UHC. Both Shipley & Reyburn (2003) and Shipley & McKernan (2011) found that high-level intensification policy and the subsequent actions thereof have historically prevailed over low-tier objectives of UHC. Within this discourse, policy rigidity is a necessary consideration. As identified by Viñas (2002), there are two predominant policy factors that can lead to the loss of heritage properties: over-protection (i.e., rejecting change) and under-protection (i.e., failing to adequately protect heritage resources). Consequently, the practice of UHC must remain fluid and reactionary towards broader evolutions in urban dynamics. This fluidity characterizes the term ‘change management’ that often defines the practice of UHC (Listokin, 1997). Despite the ‘change management’ truism that has been adopted by conservation professionals and academics, however, quotidian perceptions towards UHC are often divergent, whereby the practice is seen as the wholesale rejection of change. As found by Shipley & McKernan (2011), members of the public, government officials, and public legislators often hold these prejudiced attitudes towards UHC. By positioning heritage conservation as the antithesis of urban evolution, unsympathetic heritage interventions often become preferred, since the alternative is falsely attributed with the rejection of change (Janssen et al., 2017).

In addition to policy and perception challenges, numerous practical, project-level challenges also emerge. UHC can be considered an investment sinkhole (Bullen & Love, 2011; Shipley 2000) and a development mode that is financially outperformed by erecting completely new buildings (Shipley et al., 2006), a risk-laden mode of development that may yield cost and skilled labour uncertainty (Azizi et al., 2016), and an overly technocratic discipline of planning (McCarthy, 2012). The culmination of these challenges often leads to debate regarding the feasibility of conservation projects (Bullen & Love, 2010; Holdsworth, 1980; Newman & Saginor, 2014). As a result, UHC is a balancing act that must consider the retention of attributed values, the broader objectives of urban planning and its dynamic intricacies, policy rigidity, and

project-level practicality. Ultimately, the objective is to determine how much to conserve and how conservation should take place.

2.3 Urban Heritage Conservation Intervention Types

Ensuring effective conservation within the dynamic urban environment is a matter of allowing sensitive alterations – it is about change management. Australia ICOMOS's *Burra Charter* (2013), first published in 1992, clearly identifies four HIP types: preservation, restoration, reconstruction, and adaptation. More recently, Kalman & Létourneau (2021) built upon Australia ICOMOS's framework, adding eight additional HIP types. Between these two typologies, only four conservation types are dedicated towards enabling use-altering interventions, namely adaptation, fragmentation, façadism, and renovation (Table 1). Of these four, the latter three can be grouped due to their similarities. Kalman & Létourneau (2021) identified that façadism is a mode of fragmentation and Oberlander et al. (1989) discerned that the sole retention of a building façade constitutes renovation. This convergence is further substantiated upon analysis of occurrent HIPs within Toronto, whereby project descriptions typically lack direct association with a specific intervention type, making differentiation difficult. In certain cases, the HIP type is clear, such as with the project proposed for 698 Spadina Avenue in Toronto in 2018 where the proposal was for:

> *… a 24-storey (77.8 metres including mechanical penthouse), 242-unit (539-bed), 15,998 square metre student residence with 696 square metres of retail uses on the first floor and a two-storey base building that would incorporate the façade of the existing building at 698 Spadina Avenue as well as a 3-storey (12 metre), 10-unit, 882 square metre stacked townhouse building on the west side of the property at 54 Sussex Avenue* (Walberg, 2018: 3).

In many cases, however, such clarity is not present within project discourse. For instance, alterations proposed for the structure situated at 158 Pearl Street in Toronto were described as:

> *The primary frontage along Pearl Street will be conserved in situ with 12.1 metres of the original portion of the east wall dismantled and reconstructed. The front (south) portion of the reconstructed wall will be unobstructed by the new base building which will be set back three and a half metres from the Pearl Street property line with the remainder of the reconstructed wall featured within the new lobby. The original window openings will be reinstated in the reconstructed wall in their original size, location and configuration but will be bricked in, with a recess, in order to coordinate with the new floor levels* (MacDonald, 2019: 9).

Because of these broad project descriptions therefore, it is challenging to detect when a proposal is seeking a fragmentation versus a renovation approach, or when façadism becomes renovation. Also of note is that, because these three HIP types allow for large scale change, they may also be used in parallel, exacerbating the challenge of differentiating between them in practical settings. Accordingly, the initial four HIP types – adaptive reuse, fragmentation, façadism, and renovation – can be distilled into two: adaptation and façadism. In addition, albeit unlisted on HIP type-defining lists, demolition has also been proven to be common among intensifying urban areas (Shipley & Reyburn, 2003), thereby holding an important position within this discourse. Focus is therefore positioned upon three specific HIP types: adaptation, façadism (as a conjoined representation of minimally sympathetic HIP types that seek nominal fabric retention), and demolition.

Table 1: Australia ICOMOS' (2013) and Kalman & Létourneau's (2021) heritage intervention project typologies. Asterisks identify the use-altering types.

Australia ICOMOS	Kalman & Létourneau	Type Description
Preservation		"Maintaining a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration" (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 1.6).
Restoration		"Returning a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing elements without the introduction of new material" (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 1.7).

Reconstruction		“Returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material” (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 1.8).
Adaptation*		“Changing a place to suit the existing use or a proposed new use” (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 1.9).
	Stabilization	“Undertaking the minimum amount of work needed to safeguard a historic place from the elements and/or collapse, and to protect it from public danger” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 228)
	Consolidation	“[The] reinforcement of a deteriorated feature, often by the application of cement, with a chemical consolidant, or an internal support, in order to give structural integrity” (Weaver, 1997: 80).
	Replication	“…copying a prototype that still exists…” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 228)
	Reassembly	“… the components of a dismantled historic place are put back together again” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 231).
	Moving	“…a building or structure is relocated to another site” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 231).
	Fragmentation*	“Portions of a historic place are retained and reassembled, either on the original site or elsewhere” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 232).
	Façadism*	“…one or more façades of a building are retained and the remainder rebuilt” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 232).
	Renovation*	“Extensive changes and/or additions are made to a historic place through the process of renewal” (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021: 235).

The HIP type that has received the most attention within the contemporary literature is adaptation. Adaptation, or adaptive reuse, is the process of making, often substantial, sympathetic alterations to a property that enable it to sustain a contemporary use (Remøy & van der Voordt, 2007). By reusing the existing fabric and adding as necessary, adaptive reuse projects are highly effective at perpetuating *genius loci* (Bullen & Love, 2011; de la Torre & Mason, 2002). Similarly to HIPs that retain properties in an as-is state (i.e., preservation) or aim to return a property to a former known state (i.e., restoration), adaptive reuse is also highly sympathetic towards UHC (Kalman & Létourneau, 2021). Since adaptive reuse aims to retain historic built fabric while encouraging new uses, it has attracted substantial attention within emerging environmental- and sustainability-centric discourse. In effect, since adaptive reuse retains and recycles much, if not all, of an existing structure, both demolition waste and the requirement for using new material are greatly reduced (Bullen & Love, 2009; Celadyn, 2019; Chan et al., 2020). Adaptive reuse is therefore commonly championed for both its sympathy toward UHC and its capacity to adapt to support evolving urban interests such as sustainability.

Although similar to adaptive reuse in terms of enabling adaptation to suit new, contemporary uses, façadism is often much less sympathetic towards built heritage fabric. This is because façadism entails the sole retention of a property’s external walls (Richards, 1994). As a result, the type commonly attracts criticism, such as Schumacher’s (2010) assertion that façadism is blatant fakery and Rodwell’s (2007) contention that façadism is urban taxidermy. Although façadism has existed within the heritage conservation lexicon for some time (see Highfield, 1991), few empirical studies directly address the HIP type. Nevertheless, Kyriazi (2019) developed a list of characteristics indicative of façadism, which included: the sole retention of one or more of a property’s façades, property demolition aside from the primary façade, creative adaption of the primary façade, postmodern development that includes the heritage façade, modern construction that is erected posterior to the primary façade, the demolition and subsequent re-building of a property, the demolition and reconstruction of an unoriginal, replicated façade, and altering the proportions of a façade. Most commonly, façadism projects are the outcome of municipality-developer compromise; whereby, a municipality wishes to protect a heritage property while a developer wishes to remove it (in-part or fully) (Dushkina, 2008; Kyriazi, 2019). As identified by Highfield (1991), façadism should only be employed as a last resort.

Despite façadism’s unsympathetic nature, demolition is less preferred because it results in the complete loss of urban heritage fabric. Again, despite demolition being absent from HIP typologies, it nonetheless holds a clearly defined position among the UHC discourse. Most notably is Shipley & Reyburn’s (2003) study which directly focused on demolition projects and their causes within Ontario. They found that

(re)development pressure, fire, condemnation, neglect, and vandalism were all contributing factors leading to such losses. Although a suboptimal course of conservation action, in certain cases, demolition is the only feasible approach. Eventually, a property may decay to a point where it is uninhabitable and/or un-refurbishable and is therefore required to be demolished (Newman & Saginor, 2014; Shipley & McKernan, 2011).

3.0 Conceptual Framework

The present study looks to address numerous gaps in the literature that are specifically present in the Canadian context. First, since Shipley & Reyburn's (2003) study, few others have addressed the direct relationship between intensification and UHC. Although similar studies have recently emerged, such as those conducted by Dinh & Pham (2021), Udeaja et al. (2020), and Zhang et al. (2018), all have thus far been conducted in Asia, focused on urbanization as opposed to intensification, solely considered the decay and demolition of heritage sites, and/or typically focused on globally recognized cultural heritage. Second, few studies have analyzed the use of differing HIP types, the spatial context within which each type is typically used, and how the patterns surrounding their uses have changed. Notwithstanding, Khirfan (2010) identified the role the of heritage conservation policies in Aleppo, Syria and Acre, Israel and how their configuration ultimately manifested through the direction of physical heritage intervention. Third, the social-physical nexus that operationalizes UHC has been well researched; however, it remains relatively unclear how differing and/or changing values towards UHC influence the decision-making processes of stakeholders working within the UHC domain and how those values manifest in the preference of various HIP types. Aside from Khirfan's (2014) research that compared the differing values towards UHC held by local residents, tourists, and urban planners in Aleppo, Syria; Acre, Israel; and Al-Salt, Jordan few other international studies – and no Canadian studies – have closed this gap.

Since no previous study has encapsulated the scope of the present article, the conceptual framework drew from identified similar research. The theoretical underpinnings of UHC, its valuation, and its role within the dynamic urban form was drawn from Khirfan (2014) who posited that the convergence of activities, conceptions, and physical attributes derive the social, spatial, and cultural characteristics that distinguish a distinctive place and the values thereof. To further inform the present study's conceptual and methodological approach, five additional studies were consulted. First, the relationship between intensification and UHC was most clearly defined by Shipley & Reyburn (2003). Their study, which consisted of a wide-sweeping archival analysis of demolished heritage structures across municipalities in Southern Ontario, defined the capacity of archival analysis to distinctly connect UHC and its management within dynamic urban settings. Second, both Dinh & Pham (2021) and Zhang et al. (2018), employed GIS-focused mapping methods to gauge the impact that urbanization and tourism gentrification have had on globally recognized UNESCO World Heritage Sites. These studies clearly identified the value that spatial and temporal analysis holds when examining the mutual influence between intensification and UHC. Third, both Udeaja et al. (2020) and Yung et al. (2017) employed social research methods to identify how social actors perceive and value heritage conservation within the evolving city. The present study therefore took a piecemeal approach, drawing from Shipley & Reyburn's (2003) wide-sweeping archival analysis, Dinh & Pham (2021) and Zhang et al.'s (2018) spatial focus, and Udeaja et al. (2020) and Yung et al.'s (2017) social methodologies to formulate and operationalize the present study's strategy.

4.0 The City of Toronto

4.1 Historical Development Patterns

Because urban planning and UHC policies differ between places, a study of this nature requires jurisdictional specificity. Accordingly, the City of Toronto (Toronto) was selected as the present study's case for numerous reasons. Firstly, Shipley & Reyburn (2003) included Toronto within their study, which establishes a level of precedence. Secondly, within Ontario, the dynamics and outcomes of urban planning have been extensively studied in Toronto. Lastly, and as detailed below, Toronto abides by distinct smart growth policies and has an extensive heritage register.

Toronto's development patterns have been well examined within the literature and reveal that the city began implementing intensification initiatives in the mid 20th century. Unlike many other major cities during the post-war, Fordist development era, Toronto undertook two major infrastructural projects that better equipped the city for the forthcoming uptake of intensification: the development of a public rail transit network and an early high-rise boom, occurring during the 1950-1970's (Hulchanski, 1988; Searle & Filion, 2011). By the late 1970's, the growing population coupled with low housing stock led to the formation of the 1977 *Toronto Central Area Plan* and later the 1981 creation of *Metro Toronto*, a second-tier government that oversaw housing and regional planning strategy within the city (Filion et al., 2020; Searle & Filion, 2011). Accordingly, since the 1970's, Toronto has focused on nodal development, enhanced public transportation, and the up zoning of arterial roadways to encourage intensification (Filion, 2003; Filion et al., 2010; Lemon, 1985).

A pivotal moment in Toronto's development history was the loss of federal funding that formerly subsidized residential development after the Canadian government delegated housing supply to provincial jurisdictions in 1973. Such changes left the municipality unable to financially support residential growth, ultimately forcing the city to seek private sector investment. To support developers, the municipality specified growth areas and offered financial subsidies for erecting new housing (Lehrer et al., 2010). Once these policies were inscribed into Toronto's *Official Plan* in 1981, control over development was substantially held by private sector developers – who, most often, were interested in high-density residential development (Rosen & Walks, 2015; Searle & Filion, 2011). The public sector also benefited from this power shift, most notably through tax-base increases that directly resulted from the presence of more dwellings (Chilton & Jung, 2018). Ultimately, Toronto's planning regime degraded into a two-member growth coalition: private sector developers who provided public necessities and public sector officials who directed urban growth and directly benefited from private sector capital (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Hawkins, 2014). Toronto's 'let's make a deal' planning moniker arose from this two-pronged development machine (Lehrer & Pantalone, 2018: 86).

As sustainability became a central urban planning concern during the 1990's, Toronto's planning regime became focused on implementing smart growth policy (Bunce, 2004; Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). Today, smart growth ideals remain. Notably, both overarching provincial planning documents that have jurisdiction in Toronto, the *Provincial Policy Statement* (PPS) and *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe* (GGH), exhibit smart growth ideologies (see Government of Ontario, 2020a, 2020b). Targeted intensification encouraging high density, mixed-use development, and the minimization of transportation distances are each primary objectives (Filion et al., 2010; Grant, 2018; Grant & Bohdanow, 2008). Toronto is therefore not enacting smart growth wholly under its own accord, but rather as a requirement of provincial legislation.

4.2 Public Policy in Toronto: A Brief Analysis

Considering that intensification and urban heritage conservation are both matters of public policy, it is necessary to highlight their individual roles. Both the PPS and GGH define intensification as development that increases density occurring through redevelopment (creating new units, uses, or lots on previously developed land), "development of vacant/underutilized lots", infill development, or the "expansion or conversion of existing buildings" (Government of Ontario, 2020a: 45, 2020b: 73). In addition to the PPS and GGH relaying smart growth principles, Toronto's Official Plan ratifies provincial calls for intensification

through the designation of urban growth centres and specific growth avenues (City of Toronto, 2021). Together, these areas occupy a significant portion of land area, and notably, blanket some of the oldest – and heritage-dense – sections of the city (Figure 1).

Section 3.1.4 of Toronto's Official Plan directly addresses the relationship between intensification and UHC. It states: "As Toronto continues to grow and intensify, this growth must recognize and be balanced with the ongoing conservation of our significant heritage properties, views, natural heritage system, and landscapes" (City of Toronto, 2021: 3-16). Subsequently, various policies explicitly welcome adaptation projects, so long as alterations are consistent with Parks Canada's (2010) *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (Standards and Guidelines). Herein lies a notable challenge; the Standards and Guidelines only identify three HIP types: preservation, rehabilitation (adaptation), and restoration. Of these, rehabilitation is the only intervention that allows for large-scale changes – akin to Australia ICOMOS's (2013) adaptation. This lack of nuance may result in the conflation of distinctly different HIP types. For instance, within this approach, no concrete boundaries are established that discern between interventions such as adaptive reuse and façadism – they are *both* rehabilitation, and per the Toronto Official Plan, both encouraged.

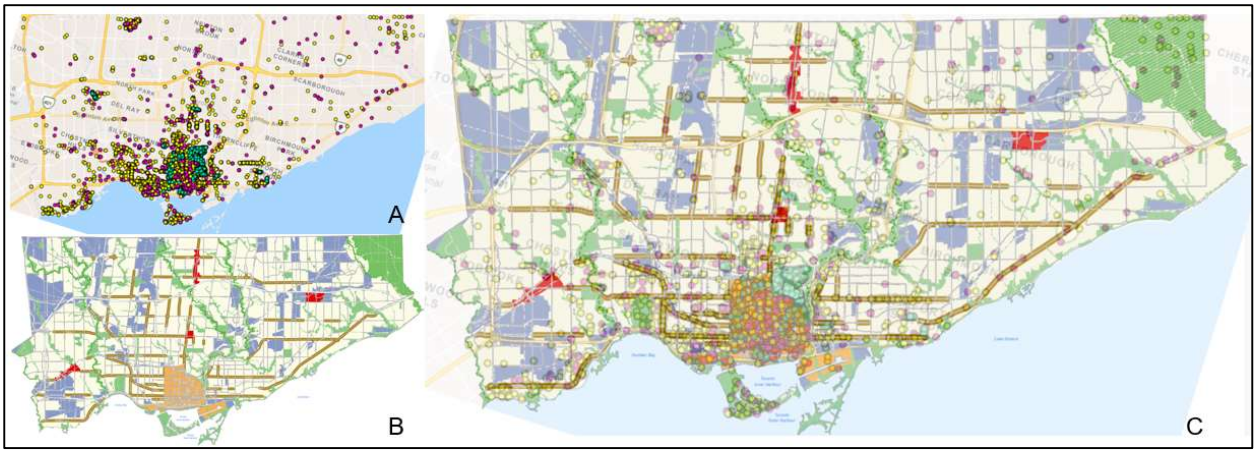

Figure 1: Overlapping Toronto's heritage register (A) and Toronto Official Plan designated intensification areas (B) to highlight their relationship (C).

4.3 The Precedence of Heritage Loss in Toronto

In addition to being one of Canada's largest municipalities (Statistics Canada, 2018) abiding by distinct smart growth and intensity-focused development policies, Toronto has an extensive heritage register consisting of nearly 14,000 properties (City of Toronto, 2021, 2022a). Moreover, Shipley & Reyburn's (2003) study considered Toronto and found that between 1985 and 2003, 34 heritage properties were lost due to demolition within the city. Such losses have been most commonly found to affect Toronto's industrial properties situated along the waterfront (Stinson, 1996). Two reasons for such losses have been identified. First, Bridgman & Bridgman (2000), found that Ontario's heritage conservation legislation, the *Ontario Heritage Act*, lacks authoritative power among Toronto's broader planning institutions, leaving heritage properties prone to unsympathetic alterations. Second, Shipley et al. (2006) found that in many situations, the demolition and redevelopment of a property financially outperforms the retention and reuse of all or part of a heritage property. Financial considerations have also been observed surrounding adaptive reuse and façadism HIPs. According to Ross (2017), heritage properties in Toronto have become favoured by developers because their economic value can help maximize the exchange value of land and development.

5.0 Methods

By using Shipley & Reyburn's (2003) archival research as the basis for the present study and drawing from Dinh & Pham's (2021) and Zhang et al.'s (2018) spatial focus, and Udeaja et al.'s (2020) and Yung et al.'s (2017) social methodologies, a two-phase, mixed-methods research design consisting of archival research, a targeted social survey, and key informant interviews was employed. Archival analysis was first used to analyze neighbourhood-over-neighbourhood intensity change, the number of HIPs that have occurred, and the frequency of use of the different HIP types. Statistics Canada data from the 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 censuses was used to analyze intensity change. Due to data availability and reliability, this study exclusively considered residential intensification measured as the density of residents per square kilometre (population density). This approach served two functions. First, it allowed for temporally sensitive population densification analysis, and second, it enabled the individual review of both Toronto and Toronto's 140 individual neighbourhoods, adding a spatial element. This approach further allowed for Toronto's population density change to be used as a comparative baseline upon which each neighbourhood could be measured.

Archival research was also used to collect HIP data from the *Toronto Meeting Management Information System* (TMMIS), Toronto's public online meeting reporting system that has open access archives dating back to the city's amalgamation in 1998. Embedded within the TMMIS was HIP data that was collected by analyzing all available *Toronto Preservation Board* and *Toronto City Council* meeting minutes. Within these meeting minutes, heritage *alterations* and *demolitions* were identified, and municipal staff reports that included HIP details including architectural drawings and heritage impact assessments were analyzed. For each collected HIP, project review date by the Toronto Preservation Board, date of Toronto City Council approval/rejection, proposed HIP type, project location, and proposed land-use classification was gathered. To ensure data comparability and consistency between HIPs, five qualifying criteria were developed and imposed. Duplicate projects (i.e., those that went through the Toronto Preservation Board or Toronto City Council twice), projects refused by Toronto City Council, non adaptive reuse, façadism, or demolition projects, non-residential HIPs, and non-individually designated heritage properties (i.e., properties within a heritage conservation district) were excluded. Note that, although the TMMIS holds decades worth of data, the quality and availability of project-specific information is incomplete before 2007. Therefore, although the TMMIS was analyzed for projects between 1998 and 2021, only data from between 2007 and 2021 was reliable.

To contextualize and triangulate the data collected during the archival phase of the study, social data was obtained using a targeted, non-probabilistic social survey administered through Qualtrics that was sent to professionals employed in fields that commonly work with urban heritage properties. Three main overarching groups were specifically targeted, including public sector employees (elected officials, urban planners, archaeologists, and heritage committee members), private sector employees (developers, architects, engineers, planners, archaeologists, and heritage conservators), and members of civil society organizations (municipal heritage advocacy group members). Figure 2 below identifies the general role that each of these groups holds in practice. Respondents for each category were recruited by collecting publicly available professional email addresses from pertinent websites. For public sector employees working in Toronto, their data was collected from the *City Planning Telephone Directory* (City of Toronto, n.d.). Likewise, email addresses for private sector employees were collected from their employers websites. Lastly, contact information for members of civil society organization groups was collected from their respective websites as indexed by the *Toronto Historical Association* (see Toronto Historical Association, 2020). In some cases, contact information for specific personnel was not made publicly available. To accommodate for this, the survey recruitment information was sent to a company's general inquiries email asking them to distribute the survey request internally.

At the request of several recipients of the survey and to help bolster the survey findings, the study design was amended to also included semi-structured key informant interviews. The recruitment process for interviews mirrored that used for the social survey, as identified above. Because this amendment to the

study's research methods occurred towards the end of the data collection phase, it was ultimately decided to use the same research instrument as the social survey. Nonetheless, this inclusion yielded two distinct advantages: first, it allowed for more in-depth data to be collected from participants since the researcher was able to prod and ask for more detailed answers to the interview questions, and second, by using the same research instrument as the survey, the findings from both social data collection methods could be analyzed together. Increasing the total number of respondents was important because the survey began to stagnate. By adding key informant interviews, additional interest in the study was stimulated and ultimately helped to reinforce the survey findings.

The survey and key informant interview instruments were organized into five sections. The first section pertained to professional experience in heritage conservation. In addition to providing salient personal data, this section was also used to qualify participants by ensuring that: a) their professional role/affiliation entails involvement in the heritage planning sector, b) they work either fully or in-part in the City of Toronto, and c) that they have direct experience working on urban heritage conservation projects. Sections two, three, and four of the research instruments pertained to locations of adaptation and temporal shifts, heritage values and heritage intervention project types, and the impact of intensification on urban heritage conservation, respectively. The fifth and final section dealt with heritage intervention project type scenarios – whereby respondents were given nine different planning scenarios dealing with population change and/or urban intensity change/targets and were subsequently asked to select which of three heritage intervention projects (adaptive reuse, façadism, and demolition) they would preferably select in each scenario. Responses from sections 1-4 were first analyzed individually and were then used to formulate various criteria upon which the answers from section 5 were grouped and analyzed. Since identical research questions were posed in both the survey and key informant interviews, analysis was based on the cumulative sum of the collected data (refer to Appendix A and Appendix B).

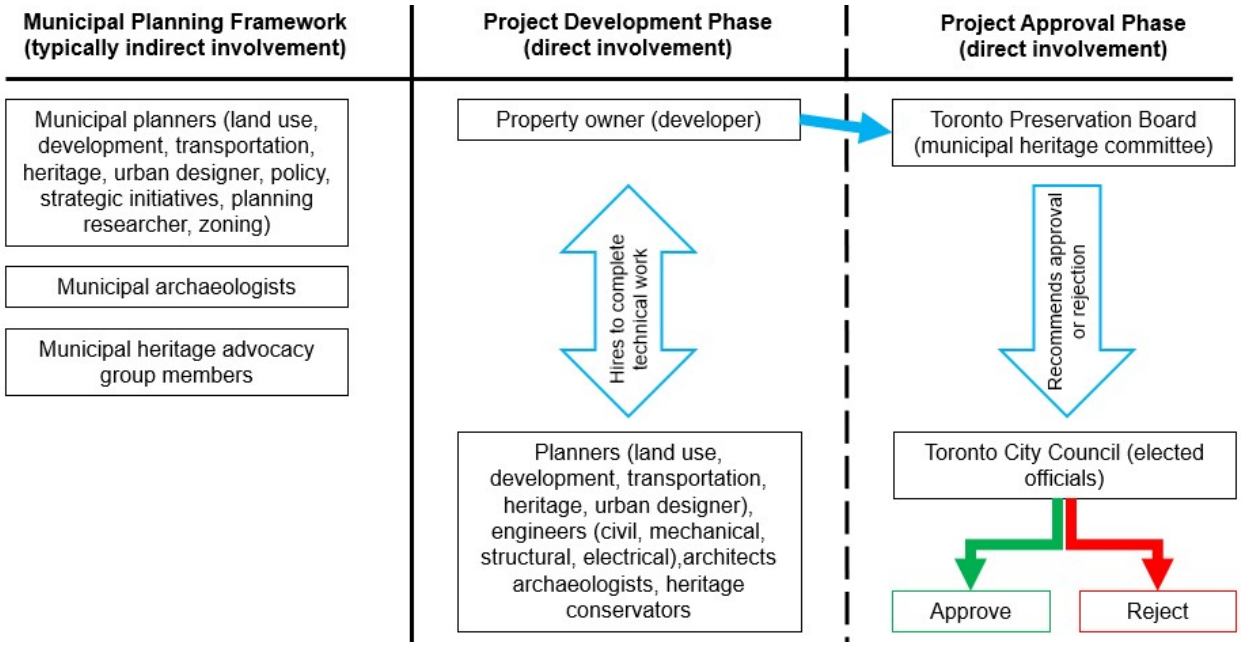

Figure 2: Involvement and general role of each involved professional group.

6.0 Findings

6.1 Archival Analysis: Intensity and Heritage Context

6.1.1 Presence of Urban Intensification

Between 1996 and 2016, Toronto experienced a 9.11% population density increase, expanding from 3,972 to 4,334 residents per square kilometre (Statistics Canada, 2019, 2021). At the neighbourhood level, population density changes were more drastic, ranging from 364.67% to -12.65%. To allow for more nuanced analysis, each of Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods was grouped into one of three intensification classifications that were created by doubling and halving Toronto's total population density change.[1] The first group, which was indicative of high intensification change, consisted of neighbourhoods that experienced a population density change of greater than 18.22% (more than twice that of Toronto). The second group encapsulated neighbourhoods that intensified at a rate similar to that of Toronto and included neighbourhoods that experienced a change in population density between 4.56% and 18.22 (more than half, but less than twice the population density change of Toronto). The third group comprised of neighbourhoods that endured a population density change of less than 4.56% (less than half the rate of Toronto). This approach was taken because it allowed for Toronto's total population density change to anchor neighbourhood-over-neighbourhood analysis and it helped neutralize the high level of population change variance that was observed between neighbourhoods. Within these three groups, 31, 71, and 38 neighbourhoods in the greater than 18.22%, less than 4.56%, and between 18.22% and 4.56% classifications, respectively (see City of Toronto, 2022b). Accordingly, despite Toronto's citywide population densification, such changes in intensity varied considerably across the city's individual neighbourhoods (refer to Appendix C for *Supplementary Material*).

6.1.2 Presence of Urban Heritage Properties

A wide-sweeping scan of Toronto's heritage inventory was conducted to establish a general understanding of where the city's heritage properties are located. As of January 2022, Toronto had 13,678 properties on its municipal heritage register. Of which, 5,255 were individually listed (lowest level of protection), 2,150 were individually designated (highest level of single property protection), and 6,262 were designated within a heritage conservation district. Collectively, the average number of heritage properties per neighbourhood was 97.7. Once again, notable differences were observed between Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods. Despite 24 neighbourhoods harbouring over 100 heritage properties, with three holding over 1,000, 84 neighbourhoods had less than 25 heritage properties, of which 63 had under ten and 12 had zero.

6.1.3 Identifying the Overlap

Although measures of intensification and the presence of urban heritage properties are distinct from one another, in many cases a correlation was observed. Perhaps most notable was the proliferation of intensity within Toronto's *Downtown and Central Waterfront Area* (DCWA) (the city's largest UGC) that coincided with a large sum of the city's heritage properties (Figure 3).

[1] Note that this neighbourhood division did not follow a distinct mathematical equation. The author created these groups under the assumption that a population density change greater than twice or less than half that of Toronto would be reflective of general intensification patterns.

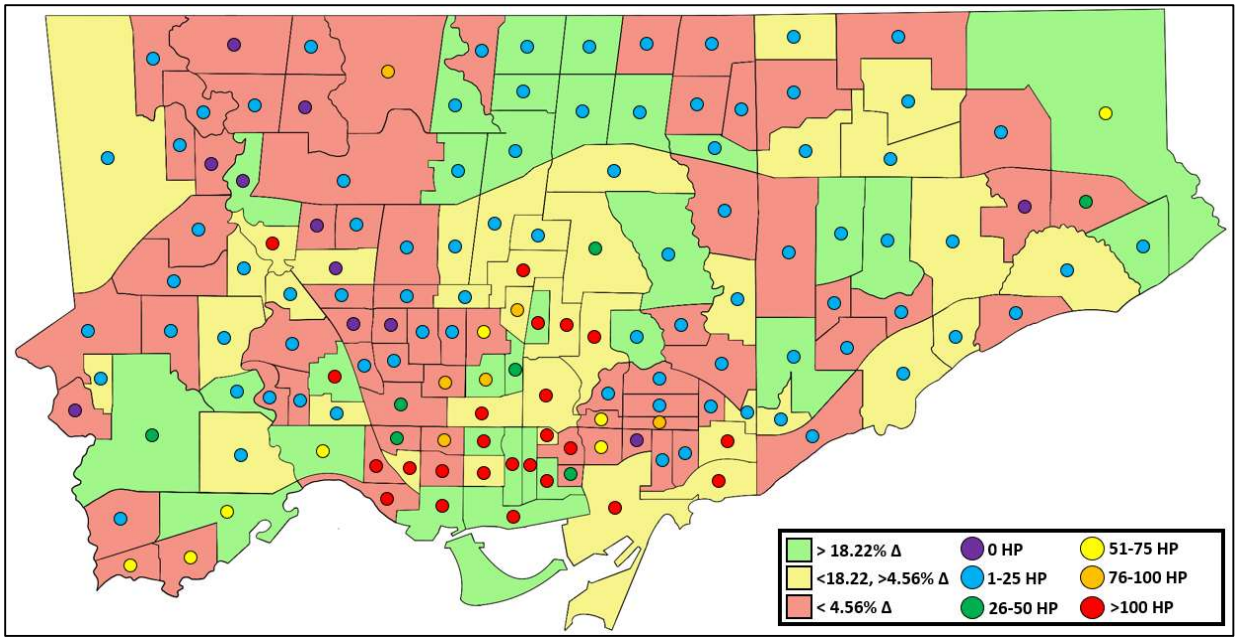

Figure 3: Intensification classification and total number of heritage properties among Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods. "HP" indicates number of heritage properties.

6.2 Archival Analysis: Spatial and Temporal Analysis

Although Toronto has an extensive heritage register, this study focused on a particular subset of properties. Scanning TPB and TCC meeting minutes, a total of 361 HIPs were found. After removing duplicate projects (40), projects refused by TCC (38), non adaptive reuse, façadism, or demolition projects (72), non-residential HIPs (85), and non-individually designated heritage properties (22), 104 projects contained within 26 neighbourhoods remained (Table 2 and Figure 4).

Table 2: HIP containing neighbourhoods in Toronto.

Neighbourhood Info.		Intensity and HIP Data				
#	Name	Intense Δ 96-16	Intensity Class.	# Of HIPs by Type			Total # of HIPs
				Adapt.	Façade	Demo.	
17	Mimico (includes Humber Bay Shores)	55.1%	>18.22	2	0	0	2
41	Bridle Path-Sunnybrook-York Mills	18.0%	<18.22, >4.56	0	0	1	1
42	Banbury-Don Mills	22.8%	>18.22	0	1	0	1
56	Leaside Bennington	14.8%	<18.22, >4.56	0	1	0	1
57	Broadview North	-2.6%	<4.56	1	0	0	1
62	East End-Danforth	9.2%	<18.22, >4.56	1	1	0	2
66	Danforth	-1.5%	<4.56	0	1	0	1
70	South Riverdale	6.8%	<18.22, >4.56	5	0	0	5
73	Moss Park	75.2%	>18.22	2	5	0	7
74	North St. James Town	6.4%	<18.22, >4.56	1	2	0	3
75	Church-Yonge Corridor	54.9%	>18.22	1	9	2	12
76	Bay Street Corridor	102.4%	>18.22	1	5	0	6
77	Waterfront Communities-The Island	364.7%	>18.22	5	19	3	27
79	University	28.8%	>18.22	0	0	1	1
80	Palmerston-Little Italy	-10.1%	<4.56	1	0	0	1
82	Niagara	267.3%	>18.22	2	1	0	3
83	Dufferin Grove	-6.1%	<4.56	0	1	0	1
86	Roncesvalles	-3.8%	<4.56	0	1	0	1
90	Junction Area	19.4%	>18.22	2	3	0	5
93	Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction	2.1%	<4.56	3	0	0	3
95	Annex	14.0%	<18.22, >4.56	4	4	1	9
97	Yonge-St.Clair	22.8%	>18.22	1	2	0	3
98	Rosedale-Moore Park	13.7%	<18.22, >4.56	1	1	0	2
100	Yonge-Eglinton	16.8%	<18.22, >4.56	0	3	0	3
104	Mount Pleasant West	45.3%	>18.22	0	2	0	2
120	Clairlea-Birchmount	43.8%	>18.22	1	0	0	1

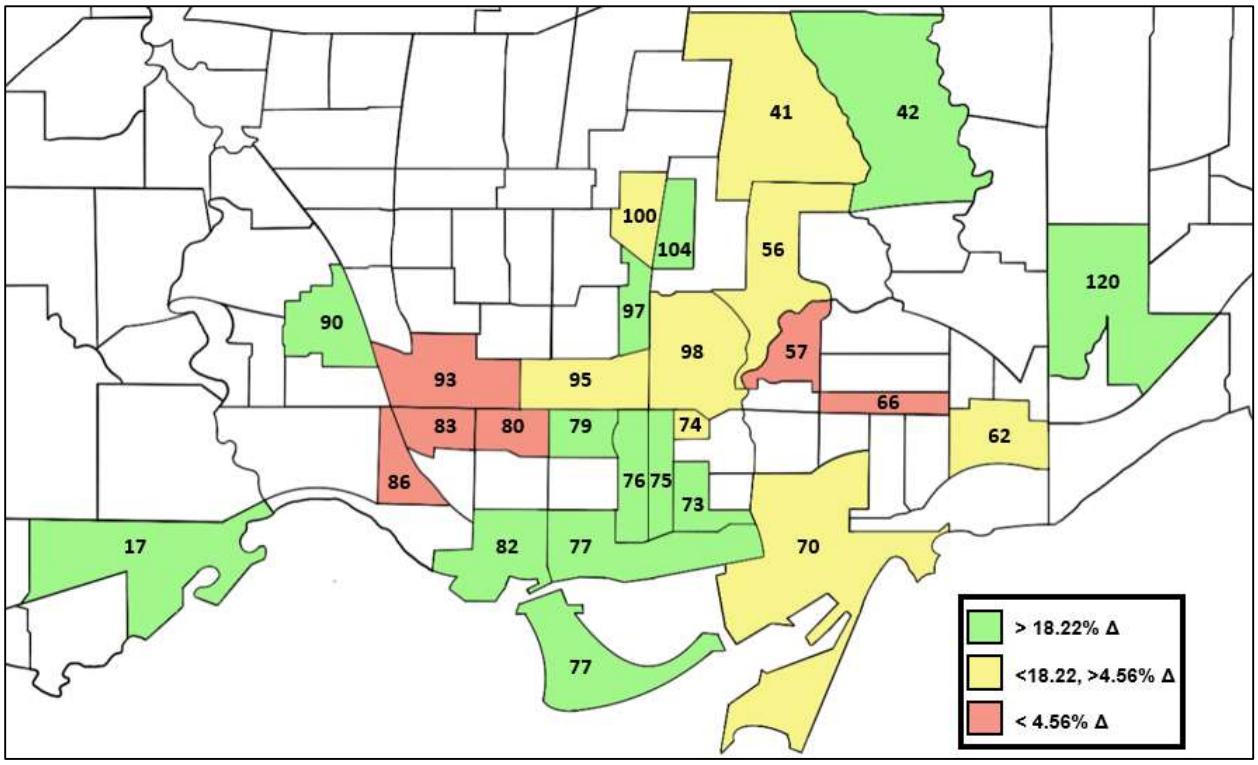

Figure 4: Location of each HIP containing neighbourhood.

6.2.1 Spatial Analysis

To start, it was important to determine where HIPs were located within Toronto. Of the 26 HIP containing neighbourhoods, 25 were directly connected to either an urban growth centre or growth avenue, highlighting the prevalence of intensification policy. This observation was most evident in the DCWA, Toronto's urban core that is under the most pressure to intensify, where 30.8% of the 26 neighbourhoods and the three most highly intensified neighbourhoods were located. At the individual project level, the correlation between high intensity pressure and the presence of HIPs persisted. In fact, 79.8% of recorded HIPs occurred directly within an urban growth centre or growth avenue. Once again, the DCWA provided the clearest example, as it contained 65.4% of the 104 considered HIPs. Interestingly, HIPs were observed to frequently occur in clusters, which often coincided with the location of potential growth coalitions, such as Toronto's *Financial District*, *The University of Toronto*, and *Toronto Metropolitan University* (Figure 5).

It is necessary to clarify that the sheer presence of an urban growth centre or growth avenue does not necessarily entail that a specific neighbourhood has experienced a high amount of population density change or that there have been a high number of HIPs. This is because dedicated growth areas often do not blanket entire neighbourhoods and because it is possible that few heritage properties are located within individual neighbourhoods. For instance, neighbourhood 17, Mimico, has only had two HIPs occur within its boundary, despite having experienced the fifth highest population density increase across the 26 included neighbourhoods. In addition, neighbourhoods 74 and 95, North St. James Town and the Annex, experienced comparatively low levels of population density change, despite their presence within the DCWA. Therefore, regardless of the presence of intensity often coinciding with a higher number of HIPs, the two variables are not directly correlative.

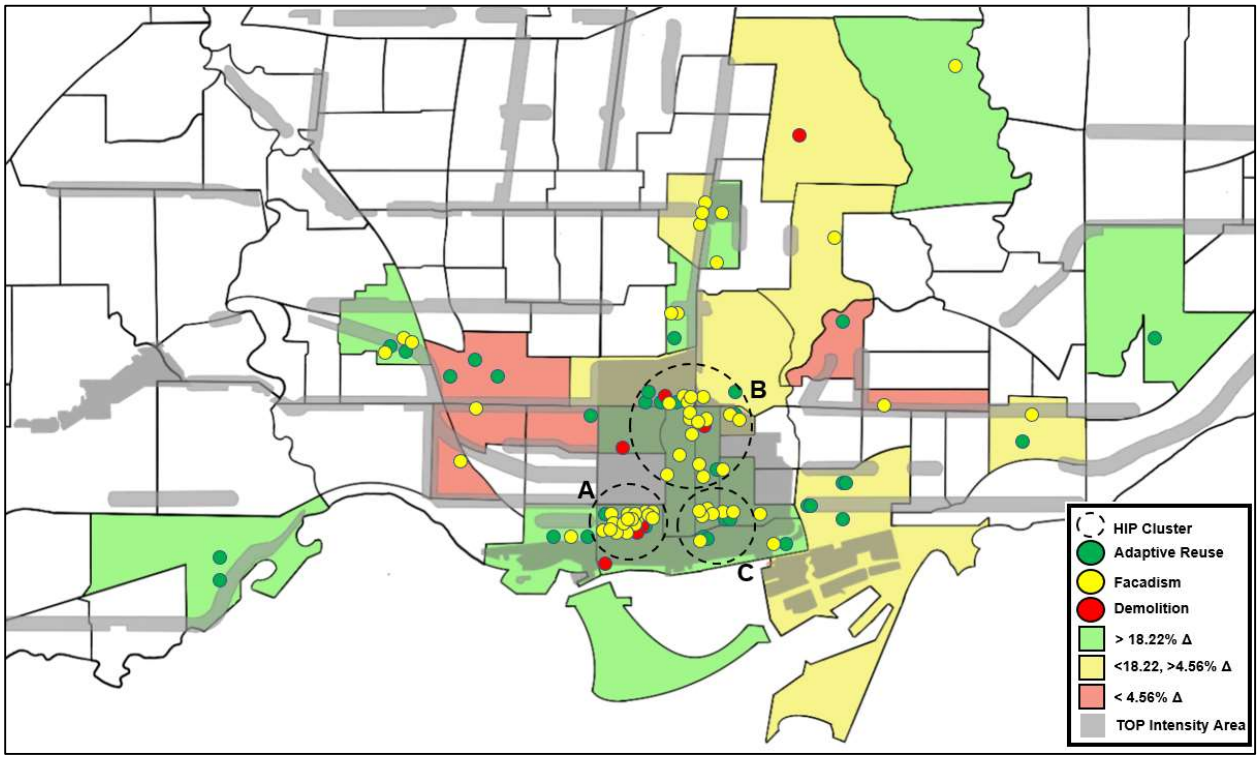

Figure 5: Spatial position of all 104 HIPs. Neighbourhood intensification classifications along with HIP clusters (A. Financial District; B. University of Toronto; C. Toronto Metropolitan University) are shown.

6.2.2 Temporal Analysis

Another salient variable was how the frequency of HIP type use has evolved over time. Between 2007-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2021 (ranges align with Statistics Canada's census data for Toronto) the average number of yearly HIPs was 3.3, 5.8, and 10.3, respectively. Adaptive reuse HIPs were found to be the most consistent on a year-by-year basis. Barring 2007 and 2013 when the HIP type was never used, an adaptive reuse approach was employed between 1 and 6 times annually. An upward trend was also observed in terms of its use over census period spans, whereby 1.5, 1.6, and 3.3 uses were identified between 2007-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2021, respectively. Façadism was employed at a similar consistency; however, its frequency of use increased much more dramatically, being used on average 1.8, 3.2, and 6.5 times annually between 2007-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2021, respectively. Lastly, demolition was seldom employed. It was never used between 2007-2010, used an average of once per year between 2010-2015, and 0.5 times per year between 2016-2021. Adaptive reuse and façadism HIPs are therefore predominant in Toronto and have become increasingly more common (Figure 6).

6.3 Converging the Archival Data

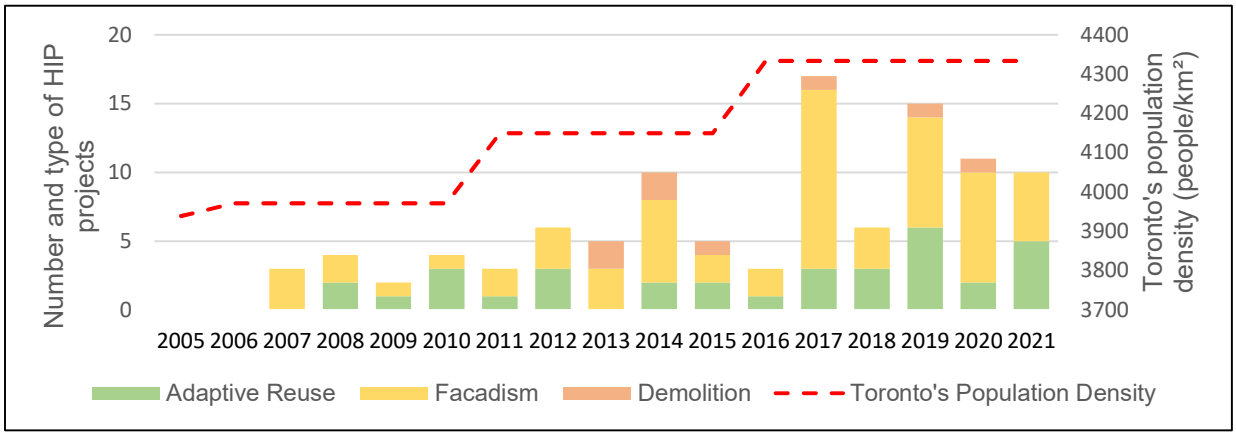

Figure 6: Year vs. number and type of HIPs and Toronto's total population density.

To understand the context surrounding the 104 identified HIPs more precisely, a multi-axial matrix that directly contrasted intensification classification and HIP type was created (Figure 7). First, the two axes were considered individually, beginning with the intensification classification section. It was found that areas that intensified greater than 18.22% contained 67.3% of recorded HIPs. In contrast, areas that experienced intensity change between 18.22% and 4.56% and less than 4.56% contained 25.0% and 7.7% of HIPs, respectively. Accordingly, areas facing high levels of intensification are predisposed to also incur a higher number of HIPs relative to more slowly intensifying neighbourhoods. In terms of HIP type, façadism was found to be the most common, being used in 59.6% of recorded projects. Adaptive reuse was the second most common, holding a 32.7% stake, and demolition was the least common, with only 7.7% of projects using the type.

To address how intensification classification and HIP type interact, the two axes were subsequently converged. Upon analysis, façadism within areas intensifying at a rate greater than 18.22% was the most common HIP type/intensification classification, evident in 45.2% of all considered projects. Also of note is that demolition, albeit seldom used, was most common in highly intensifying neighbourhoods, where six of eight projects of this type occurred. Adaptive reuse was also common in areas that faced considerable intensification; however, it's total share across the three HIP types increased in the other two intensification classifications. In the between 18.22% and 4.56% classification and the less than 4.56% classification, adaptive reuse was used 12 of 26 and 5 of 8 times, respectively. Conversely, among these two intensification classifications, the prevalence of façadism and demolition was reduced. In sum, less sympathetic conservation interventions – façadism and demolition – were most commonly used in areas facing higher levels of intensity pressure. In contrast, despite being commonly used across each

intensification classification, adaptive reuse prevailed in neighbourhoods facing lower levels of intensity pressure.

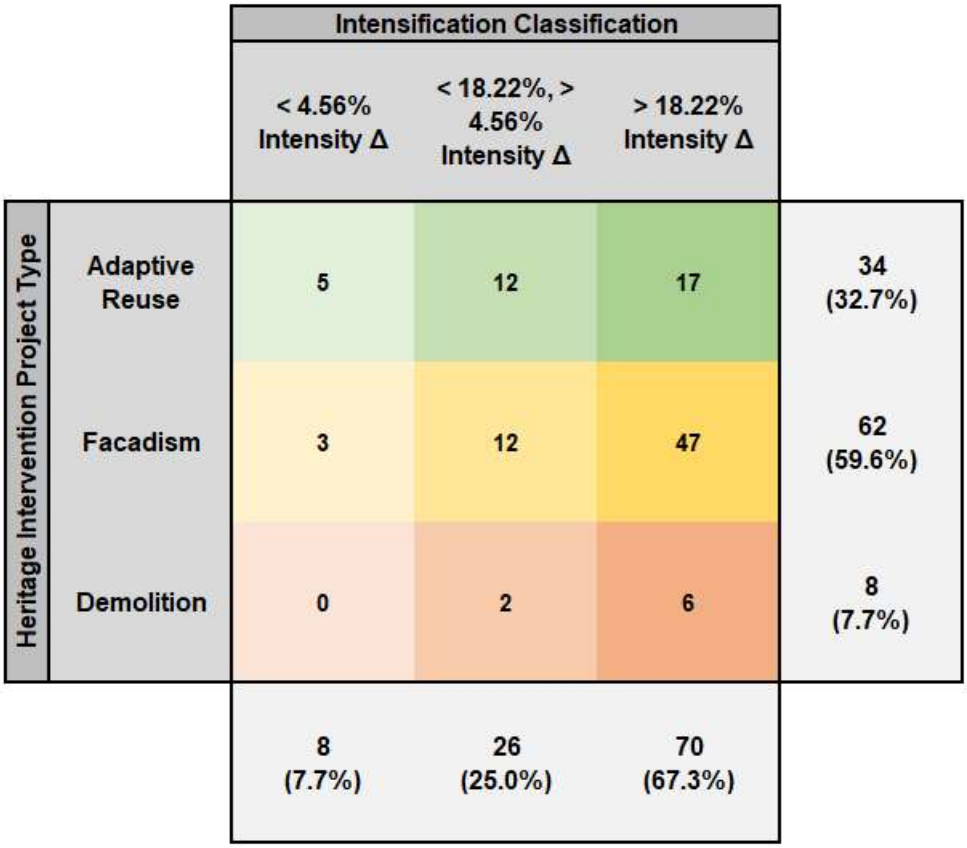

Figure 7: Matrix showing the presence of HIP types in differing intensity classification neighbourhoods (n=104 projects).

6.4 Social Research Findings

Recruitment emails were sent to 923 individuals and corporations that operate within the City of Toronto. Of this total, 357 were public sector professionals, 551 were private sector professionals or corporations, and the remaining 15 were Toronto-based heritage advocacy groups (Figure 8). The cumulative response rate for both social methods was 8.8%, whereby it was 7.3% for public sector professionals, 8.5% for private sector professionals, and 46.7% for heritage advocacy group members. Ultimately, the sample comprised of 33.4% public, 58.0% private, and 8.8% heritage advocacy group actors.

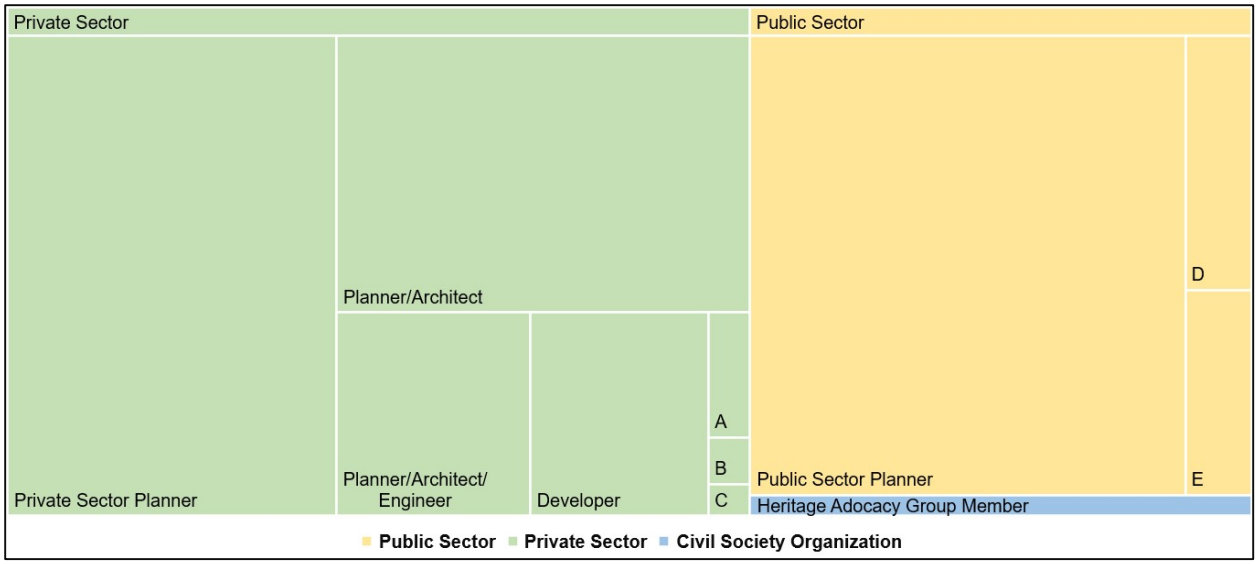

Figure 8: Composition of recruited participants. A represents engineering firms, B represents archaeology/heritage conservator firms, C represents architecture firms, D represents elected officials, and E represents heritage committee members. Note that some companies do not distinguish the professional role of their employees, hence why some groups have more than one profession listed.

6.4.1 Relationship Between Intensification and Heritage Conservation

After quantifying trends in Toronto's intensification and HIP type composition, the gathered social data was analyzed. Primarily, the quantifiable increases in the number of HIPs that have occurred within Toronto were ascertained by those working within the UHC domain. In fact, 84.2% (n=57) of respondents indicated that they had noticed an increase in the number of HIPs occurring in Toronto – most distinctly in the city's DCWA (Figure 9). Increased development pressure and the volume of heritage properties were the most cited reasons for this. These results directly aligned with the archival findings which suggested that the DCWA has faced considerable development pressure (due to its UGC designation), contains a large sum of Toronto's heritage stock, and subsequently has witnessed the highest number of HIPs.

Bolstering this relationship, 95.8% (n=54) of respondents indicated that policy-backed intensification has had a direct influence on UHC. Two detectable response patterns emerged: those revolving around the pervasiveness of intensification, including development pressure and pressure to meet intensity targets; and those focused on the role of UHC in the evolving urban context, comprised of an increased demand for HIP type projects, the increased presence of heritage properties in Toronto, and the limited power available to protect heritage properties. Again, the pervasiveness of intensification was directly connected to the adaptive capacity of UHC.

Albeit less common, land availability was also identified as a factor driving HIP rates. As indicated by interviewee I2 (elected official), "citywide we're actually seeing a significant uptick [of HIPs]. And that's because a lot of the easy, brownfield/greyfield sites have already been built. And so now there's [sic] developers jockeying to find ways to put together projects". In addition to the overlap of intensification pressure and the presence of heritage properties, therefore, the scarcity of developable land has also encouraged HIP implementation. For additional interview comments refer to Appendix D.

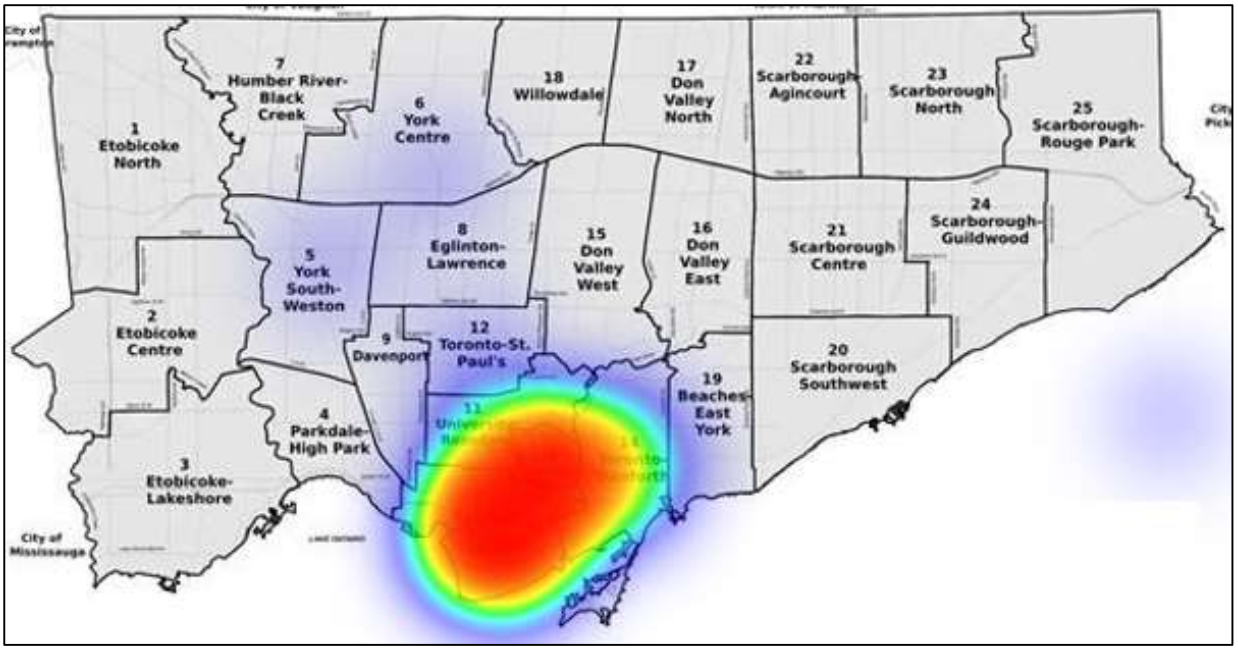

Figure 9: Heat map showing where respondents have noticed the highest number of HIPs (n=50).

6.4.2 The (Shifting) Valuation of Urban Heritage Conservation

After triangulating the relationship between intensification and UHC between the archival and social data, the focus shifted towards how heritage professionals value conservation. Primarily, all survey and key informant interview respondents identified that UHC is a valuable practice in Toronto (n=54). A linear, identity- and value-focused course of reasoning was typically endorsed. Sustaining the *sense of place* and Toronto's identity and character, upholding the historical and cultural values of conserved properties, enabling heritage properties to highlight urban progress and transformation, and helping to display dynamism within the urban morphology were each commonly cited. Therefore, regardless of professional position or affiliation, each respondent attributed some level of value to UHC.

Also observed was that, as heritage professionals accumulate experience, their valuation towards UHC is prone to change. In fact, 72.3% (n=54) of respondents identified that their personal valuation towards heritage conservation has changed. Correspondingly, 71.7% (n=53) of respondents have noticed changes in how other heritage professionals value UHC. The first reason for such valuation change revolved around professional appreciation towards conservation and the multiple truths and cultures that are reflected through the retention of culturally significant urban fabric. The second reason was that heritage professionals frequently identified the adaptive capacity of UHC and the potential that employing HIPs has in supporting the attainment of contemporary development needs. Antithetically, various respondents highlighted that other groups – namely elected officials and local historical committee members – have begun weaponizing heritage conservation to reject change by exploiting the regulations established within the OHA. Thus, despite many becoming more aware of the social and practical value of UHC, negative attitudes towards the practice also emerged.

6.4.3 Translating Professional Dispositions into HIP Preferences

The final section of the survey and key informant interview asked respondents to select which HIP type they would prefer in nine different intensification-based scenarios (Table 3). To establish a baseline and to provide cumulative data across all respondents, the analysis first focused on the aggregated sum of survey and key informant interview responses (Figure 10).

Numerous conclusions prevail from this cumulative total. Firstly, demolition was exceedingly rare in terms of HIP type preference, and secondly, that façadism, on average, tended to be the preferred HIP type,

especially in areas facing high intensification pressure. Conversely, lower-intensity scenarios frequently attained higher levels of adaptive reuse selection. Considering that Figure 10 also reflects those who believe heritage is valuable, the balance and subtle variations between adaptive reuse and façadism may reflect the pragmatism among heritage professionals. Simply, enabling larger-scale changes may be preferred, especially amidst other planning objectives like increasing housing and employment land stock.

Table 3: Intensification-based scenario questions.

Question	Planning Scenario
1	Population density decrease over the past 20 years
2	Population density stagnation over the past 20 years
3	Population density increase over the past 20 years
4	Low intensity pressure
5	High intensity pressure
6	Consistent population growth, external to high intensity area
7	Decrease in population growth, internal to high intensity area
8	Decrease in population growth, external to high intensity area
9	Increase in population growth, internal to high intensity area

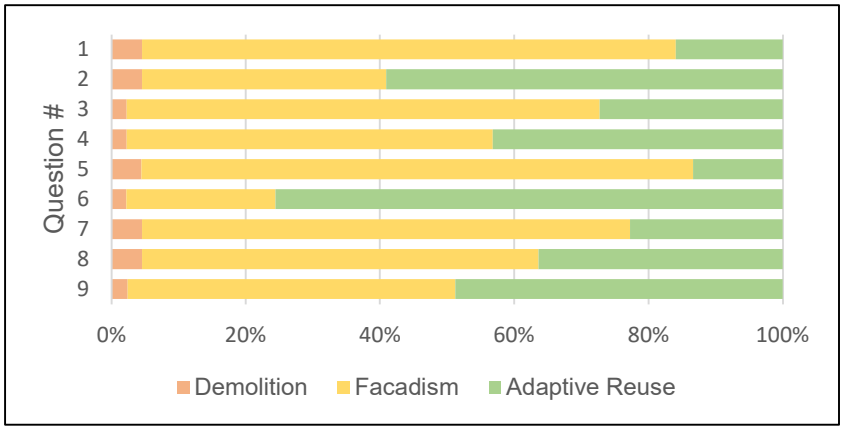

Figure 10: Graph depicting the cumulative total of respondent data for the research instruments' final section (n=42 [question 1], 45 [questions 4 and 5], and 44 [questions 2, 3, 6-9].

To allow for deeper analysis, respondents were grouped by level of experience, professional position/affiliation, description of how their values have changed, and description of how they have perceived changes in other professionals (Figure 11). Level of experience, based solely on total number of HIPs upon which each respondent has been involved, was assessed first.[2] This categorical division was created because it provided a general reflection of involvement and level of knowledge towards UHC. Here, three experience levels, high (40+ projects), medium (10-39 projects), and low (1-9), were formed to create groups with similar respondent numbers. The high- and medium-experience level groups displayed similar trends. In lower- and higher-intensity settings, adaptive reuse and façadism were preferred, respectively. Notably, however, medium-level experienced individuals more commonly selected adaptive reuse (in scenarios six and eight) and demolition in contrast to those with more experience. Patterns within the low-experience group differed significantly. For instance, four of nine scenarios were decided unanimously, and scenario three – which was dominated by façadism in every other comparative graph – only received adaptive reuse votes. Experience level, therefore, appears to have a notable impact in HIP type preference.

[2] This metric only considered the total number of projects that each respondent had worked on. Time spent working within the heritage conservation practice and level of involvement within individual projects was not considered.

Respondents were then grouped by their professional role/affiliation in heritage planning.[3] Four groups consisting of heritage planners (both public and private sector), 'other planners' (all other urban planners aside from heritage planners), built environment professionals (engineers, architects, and developers), and other heritage professionals (civil society organization members, council members, archaeologists, heritage conservators) were formed. It was found that aside from scenario 3, 5, 7, and 9 where façadism was most popular, heritage planners preferred adaptive reuse. Conversely, 'other planners' more frequently selected façadism, with all but scenario 4 and 8 attaining a majority for the HIP type. In direct contrast to heritage planners, 'other planners' were much more likely to prefer façadism over adaptive reuse. The built environment professionals group followed a similar pattern to 'other planners'; however, the typical distribution between votes for façadism and adaptive reuse was less profound. Lastly, other heritage professionals were sporadic, often conclusively preferring adaptive reuse in low-intensity and façadism in high-intensity scenarios (Figure 11). Akin to professional experience, therefore, professional role/affiliation also played a considerable role in HIP type selection preference.

Interestingly, upon analysis of how heritage valuation changes – both personal and perceived among other professionals – had influenced decision-making processes, few discernible patterns emerged. As with previous points of analysis, it was common that façadism dominated, especially in high-intensity scenarios. In lower-intensity settings, adaptive reuse often emerged as more common; however, façadism still most often held a considerable HIP type stake (Figure 11). Accordingly, valuation change appears to have little influence on how heritage professionals approach HIPs.

In sum, despite differences in level of experience, professional role/affiliation, and personal and perceived valuation changes, several universal trends emerged. Firstly, as historical trends in population density change shifted from 'decrease' to 'stagnation' to 'increase' (questions 1, 2, and 3), façadism typically became a more common preference. Conversely, adaptive reuse – which was a common preference within the 'decrease' category – became less preferred in higher intensity settings. Secondly, and similarly, façadism was often preferred in areas facing higher levels of intensification pressure and adaptive reuse was more common in lower intensity settings (questions 4 and 5). Thirdly, when combining population density trends with intensification targets, the latter appeared to have played a more significant role. Typically, in both 'external to high intensity area' settings (questions 6 and 8), adaptive reuse was preferred to façadism. This relationship was inverted in both 'internal to high intensity area' settings (questions 7 and 9), where façadism was typically a more common selection. Population density change characteristics did, however, play a noticeable role, as evidenced by the discrepancies found between the final four questions. For instance, façadism was a more common preference in areas facing high levels of population density increase (question 9) than in areas facing a population density decrease (question 7).

[3] This metric is salient because each of these groups holds a different level of involvement, role, and depth of contribution upon heritage intervention projects. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that each groups valuation towards urban heritage conservation and their preferred approach towards HIP type selection would differ.

Figure 11: Composite showing the results for each of the three main points of analysis, 1. Experience level. 2. Professional role/affiliation. 3. Personal and perceived valuation changes.

7.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Between 1996-2016, the City of Toronto experienced a population density increase of 9.11% that was most notably supported by areas situated within or along specified intensification areas per the city's Official Plan. Alongside these density changes, the number of HIPs that occurred within Toronto also increased, whereby during the 2007-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2021 census periods, 3.3, 5.8, and 10.3 projects occurred on average, annually. Within this general increase, the most notable pattern was the increased popularity of adaptive reuse and – more remarkably – façadism, which increased from 1.5 to 3.3 and 1.8 to 6.5 uses annually between 2007-2010 and 2016-2021, respectively. Upon direct correlation of population density change and the presence if HIPs, it was found that 67.3% of projects in Toronto occurred in neighbourhoods that densified at rate greater than 18.22%. Accordingly, areas that experienced rapid densification were also predisposed to incurring more heritage-based projects. Once again, this correlation was most notable in the DCWA. Historically, the DCWA is the oldest part of Toronto, which is salient for two distinct reasons: first, that the DCWA has continuously been the core of Toronto; and second, that because of the age of the area, it has accrued a significant number of heritage properties.

Heritage professionals have also noticed the uptick in HIP usage and the direct relationship between intensification and urban heritage conservation. Typically, these observations were attributed to the omnipresence of intensification within Toronto, the ever-increasing number of heritage properties that the city chooses to protect, and the decreasing availability of developable land that has driven new development towards pre-developed properties. Regarding the valuation of urban heritage conservation, all respondents indicated that the practice is valuable because it preserves Toronto's sense of place and fosters a dynamic urban environment. Moreover, upon greater exposure to UHC, 72.3% and 71.7% of respondents identified personal shifts in heritage valuation and perceived valuation shifts among other actors, respectively. Predominantly, changes arose due to greater social awareness and enhanced recognition towards the adaptive capacity of HIPs to support ongoing urban evolution.

This study ultimately revealed that heritage conservation and the physical interventions that commonly befall conserved heritage properties cater to policies that shape intensification as evidenced by year-over-year increases in HIP usage and the commonality of HIPs to be used in neighbourhoods facing high levels of population density increase. In addition, of the HIPs that occurred in highly densified neighbourhoods, 75.7% were either façadism or demolition – two conservation types that allow for contemporary development to achieve higher density. This pattern was mirrored when analyzing HIP type preferences among heritage professionals, whereby it was found that in neighbourhoods that have experienced an increase in population density or those that are experiencing high intensification pressure, that façadism was typically preferred. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that retaining less pre-existing fabric can offer greater flexibility for a property to be densified, since there exists less reliance on extant building systems – directly aligning with the emergent pragmatism that was found among heritage professionals.

Since both intensification and heritage conservation are central components of the planning practice, it is unlikely that their observed relationship will relent. In recognition of the current HIP type use trends and professional preferences towards HIPs, to accommodate objectives surrounding both intensification and UHC, policy alterations are necessary. Between intensification and heritage conservation policy, it is perhaps less likely that the former be amended. This is because the city's population is projected to keep growing (see Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2020) and because intensification policy is deeply rooted in both municipal and provincial planning policy (see Government of Ontario, 2020a, 2020b). Accordingly, heritage conservation is a more probable avenue for policy amendment. Previous studies conducted within Ontario further substantiate this direction. The necessity for amendments to occur among heritage conservation policy in Ontario have long been called for within previous studies. Bridgman & Bridgman (2000) and Shipley & Reyburn (2003) highlighted the general weakness of the *Ontario Heritage Act* and,

more recently, Ross (2017) indicated that Ontario lacks acknowledgment of lived cultural practices, thereby highlighting a clear direction for policy upgrades.

Currently, the process for heritage designation within Ontario's municipalities is entirely at the helm of municipal council who are informed by municipal heritage committees and heritage planners (see Government of Ontario, 2021). Accordingly, heritage conservation is a bureaucratic practice typically informed by technocratic knowledge. The inherent challenge with this approach is that decisions are made by the powerful few as opposed to the democratic whole, which ultimately undermines the meaning of the heritage conservation practice – to retain elements of the urban fabric that bear a degree of value to the society within which they reside (Blake, 2000). To reconcile these current challenges, and to align Ontario's approach with that used in other global jurisdictions, collaborating with the public throughout the heritage designation process would be beneficial as it would help ensure that what is being protected is reflective of the values held by the local population. Increasing public participation would align Ontario more closely with other jurisdictions like the United Kingdom where conservation is often spearheaded by public advocacy (Stubbs & Makaš, 2011). Including the voice of the public and broadening the deliberation that surrounds urban heritage conservation may ultimately result in more socially agreeable outcomes for all actors, as proven by Khirfan (2010, 2014). In addition to policy amendments meant to modernize the practice, heritage professionals should be taught that heritage conservation is a practice of change management, not a matter of property crystallization. This common pitfall was found to be pervasive among practitioners by Shipley & McKernan (2011). By ensuring and fostering an awareness towards the capacity for UHC to work in collaboration with intensification, the ability for these two planning objectives to coexist may be enhanced.

8.0 Study Limitations and Future Research Direction

Several notable limitations existed within the present study. First, by imposing qualifying criteria surrounding project use (removal of non-residential properties) and heritage recognition (non-individually designated heritage properties) in the first phase of the study, the number of considered projects was greatly reduced. Although these criteria were established to help ensure data consistency and reliability, they ultimately disqualified a large quantity of the original sample size. Second, project-level data publicly available within the TMMIS was incomplete prior to 2007. As a result, despite the proliferation of intensification within Toronto dating back several decades, the availability of archival data was limited. This once again restricted the sample size of the project. Third, as with the City of Toronto as a whole, it is unlikely that population density change is uniform within individual neighbourhoods. As a result, the neighbourhood-over-neighbourhood measure of population density that was assumed may have been unable to capture property-level nuance in change.

Two additional limitations emerged during the social phase of the present study. First, using direct project participation as a measure of professional experience lacks a degree of nuance. Simply, there are differing levels of involvement within the processes surrounding HIPs between different actors. For instance, a heritage planner who individually wrote heritage impact assessments for five different projects is likely to have a different level of experience than an elected official who has solely reviewed and accepted five different heritage-based projects. In addition, participation does not consider years of experience. This is salient because a heritage professional is likely to have a more robust grasp on how the practice of UHC has changed if they have been exposed to the practice for a longer period. Second, because of the low response rate, that ranged from 81 to 44 respondents between both the survey and interviews, the available avenues for data analysis were constrained. For instance, when grouping respondents by professional disposition in Section 6.4.3. of the study, there were only so many grouping formations that had enough data available to provide robust results.

To build on this study, there exists three distinct avenues for future research. First, employing a comparative case study research design that analyzes the relationship between intensification, heritage conservation, and the role of heritage professionals in jurisdictions of varying size would allow enhance the generalizability of the present study's findings. Furthermore, by enhancing the number of jurisdictions considered, analysis surrounding the efficacy and influence of municipal and provincial policy may be more precisely elicited. Second, future research could use an embedded case study design to further explore the in-depth intricacies of different heritage intervention projects within Toronto. For instance, research could analyze and compare project details for the nine individual heritage intervention types and intensification classifications identified in the present study. Third, future research could consider the viewpoints and values of a wider range of stakeholders. More specifically, including members of the public would enable for a more complete picture of the role of social valuation.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Social Survey Research Instrument

Section 1: Professional Experience in Heritage Conservation

This section's seven questions seek to gauge your professional experience in heritage planning. For the purposes of this section, please consider the following definitions:

Profession/Role: All heritage planning work conducted by all stakeholder bodies.

Involvement: Direct project work, proposal review/analysis, external heritage project observation.

Question 1: Which of the following best describes your profession/role in heritage planning?

Public Sector

- Elected Official
- Land Use Planner
- Development Planner
- Transportation Planner
- Heritage Planner
- Urban Designer
- Policy Planner
- Strategic Initiatives Planner
- Planning Researcher
- Zoning Planner
- Archaeologist
- Heritage Committee Member

Private Sector

- Developer
- Architect
- Land Use Planner
- Development Planner
- Transportation Planner
- Heritage Planner
- Urban Designer
- Civil Engineer
- Structural Engineer
- Mechanical Engineer
- Electrical Engineer
- Archaeologist
- Heritage Conservator

Civil Society Organization

- Heritage Advocacy Group Member

None of the Above

- Leads to disqualification

Question 2: Does your work take place, either in-part or exclusively, in the City of Toronto?

- Yes
- No
    - Leads to disqualification

Question 3: Does any aspect of your work entail built heritage conservation/planning?

- Yes
- No
    - Leads to disqualification

Question 4: During your time working in Toronto, please identify how many heritage planning projects have you been involved in:

- Open-ended

Section 2: Locations of Adaptation and Temporal Shifts

The four questions of this section address how you perceive the shifts in heritage planning over time. Please limit your answers to your experiences within the City of Toronto. Note: the term 'heritage conservation projects' encapsulates all projects that involve built cultural heritage.

Question 5: Over the course of your career in heritage planning, the number of heritage conservation projects that you encounter in Toronto on a yearly basis has:

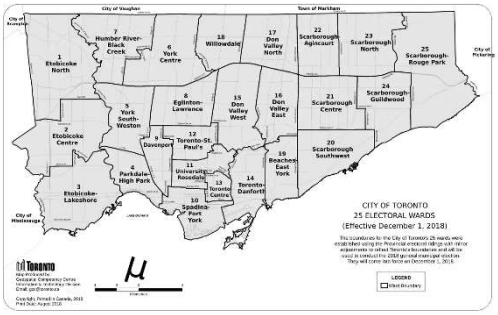
- Increased
- Decreased
- Remained Unchanged
- Unsure

Question 6: In your professional opinion, what factors do you believe have impacted the number of heritage conservation projects that occur on a yearly basis in Toronto?

- Please elaborate

Question 7: In which ward of Toronto have you noticed the highest number of heritage projects?

- Heat map (click an area on the map).



Question 8: In your opinion, why do you believe that this ward has experienced a high number of heritage projects?

- Please elaborate

Section 3: Heritage Values and Management Typologies

This sections seven questions are intended to gauge your personal valuation of heritage, and the value that heritage holds in the contemporary city. It also looks to address your personal definitions of

numerous heritage conservation typologies. As with the previous sections, limit your responses to your time operating within the City of Toronto.

Question 9: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements regarding heritage conservation: Heritage has _____ value.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Heritage has ____ value	Historic					
	Scientific					
	Aesthetic					
	Identity					
	Capital					
	Educational					
	Spiritual					
	Contextual					
	Associative					
	Symbolic					
	Technological					
	Reuse					

Question 10: In your opinion, do you think that heritage conservation is valuable in cities? Please elaborate on your answer.

- Yes
    - Please elaborate
- No
    - Please elaborate

Question 11: Has the importance that you have placed on heritage conservation changed over the course of your career? If yes, please elaborate.

- Yes
    - Please elaborate
- No

Question 12: Have you noticed any changes in the way that other professional/advocacy bodies place importance on heritage conservation? If yes, please elaborate.

- Yes
    - Please elaborate
- No

Question 13: Based on your experience, how would you personally define the term ‘adaptive reuse'?

- Please elaborate

Question 14: Based on your experience, how would you personally define the term ‘façadism’?

- Please elaborate

Section 4: The Impact of Intensification

The two questions of this section address your perceptions of the impact that intensification in Toronto has had on heritage conservation. Note: the term 'policy driven intensification' refers to documents such as Toronto's *Official Plan*, the *Provincial Policy Statement*, and the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe*.

Question 15: Has policy driven intensification had any influence on heritage conservation? Please elaborate.

- Yes
    - Please elaborate
- No
    - Please elaborate
- Unsure
    - Please elaborate

Question 16: Do you consider the presence of heritage to be an opportunity or a challenge when working on a new development? Please elaborate.

- Opportunity
    - Please elaborate
- Challenge
    - Please elaborate
- Unsure
    - Please elaborate

Section 5: Typological Scenarios

This sections nine questions are based on three fictional scenarios that each depict a different heritage conservation typology. Each of the questions provides a historical growth pattern and/or a policy-focused intensification goal. For each question, you will select which of the three scenarios that you personally think would be best. Assume that each of these potential scenarios are being proposed for the same site. A brief explanation of each scenario is noted below:

Scenario A: The former heritage property has been demolished to make way for a completely new build. The new building will support a high density, but has low sympathy for heritage conservation.

Scenario B: The external façade of the heritage property has been retained through redevelopment. The redeveloped building will support a medium-high density, but has moderate sympathy for heritage conservation.

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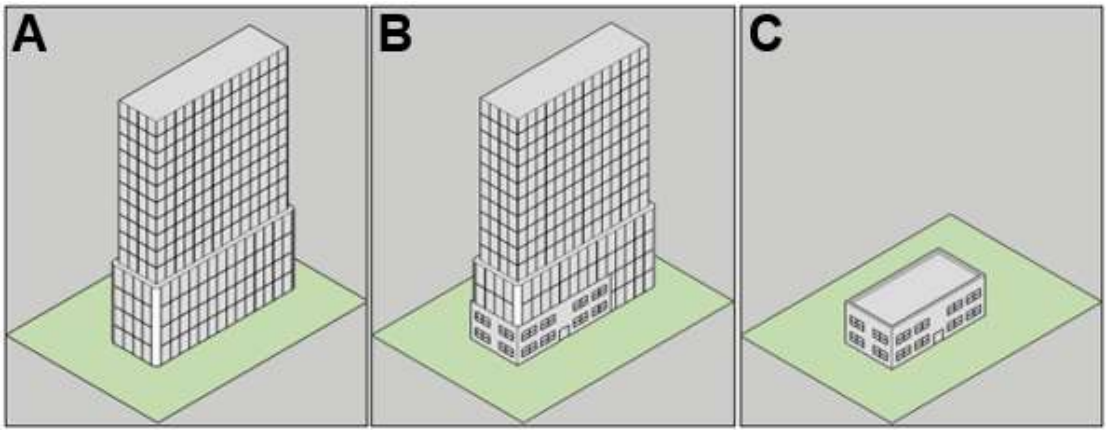

Part 1: The following three questions address historical population (density) change over a 20-year period in the City of Toronto.

S

- Scenario A
- Scenario B
- Scenario C

Question 17: In an area of Toronto that has remained stagnant in terms of population density over the past 20 years, which project would you select?

- Scenario A
- Scenario B
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Question 18: In an area of Toronto that has seen an increase in population density over the past 20 years, which project would you select?

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Part 2: The following two questions address the influence of intensification-based policy.

Question 19: In an area of Toronto that is under little pressure to intensify (urban periphery, exurbs, etc.), which conservation project would you select?

- Scenario A
- Scenario B
- Scenario C

Question 20: In an area of Toronto that is facing rapid intensification pressure (urban growth centre, major transit station areas, etc.), which conservation project would you select?

- Scenario A
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- Scenario C

Part 3: The following four questions address the influence of both historical population (density) change trends and intensification-based policy.

Question 21: In an area of Toronto that has experienced consistent population growth, but that resides external to major intensification areas, which conservation project would you select?

- Scenario A
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Question 22: In an area of Toronto that has experienced a decrease in population, but that resides within an area targeted for intensification, which conservation project would you select?

- Scenario A
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Question 23: In an area of Toronto that has experienced a decrease in population, and that resides external to major intensification areas, which conservation project would you select?

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Question 24: In an area of Toronto that has experienced a rapid increase in population, and which resides within an area facing rapid intensification pressure, which conservation project would you select?

- Scenario A
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- Scenario C

Use of Data Consent

Do you consent to the research team using the data that you submitted?

- Yes
- No

Appendix B: Key Informant Interview Research Instrument

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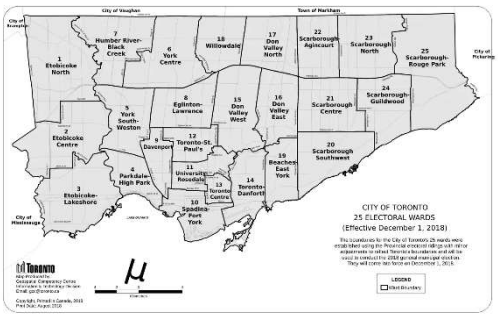

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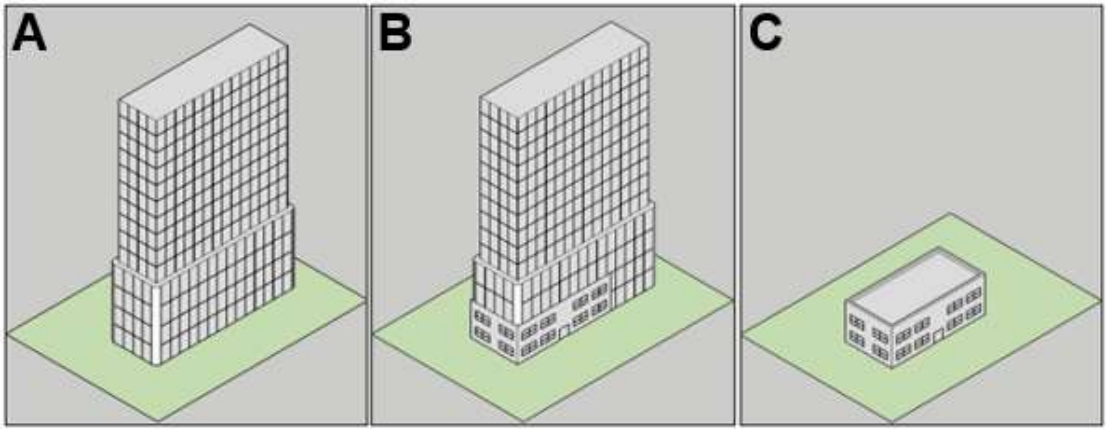

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- Scenario A
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- Scenario C

Use of Data Consent

Do you consent to the research team using the data that you submitted?

- Yes
- No

Appendix C: Supplementary Materials for Archival Research

The archival database can be found at the following DOI: 10.17632/zhzvg48dr4.1

Appendix D: Supplementary Data from Key Informant Interviews

Survey Question No.	Respondent ID (role)	Response (Verbatim Quote)
5	I1 (private sector, planner)	So it's increased in a huge way and depending in this city I would say across the province maybe development has not slowed down and there is to give you an idea, like the company the firm than I was I'm working for era was is has grown. And so when I started with them and doing work with them in 2009, I think I think there was maybe 30 people. Now there have been 120-130 people. So they've grown exponentially but so has development, and this is all for urban density. And there's a really has been pretty well big push to densify and clean up downtown, and it spreads right across. It's fascinating to watch because if you blink it's it's like it just changes. So yeah, it's It's wild. And if you go downtown, you will recognize certain areas because if you've even skipped six four to six months, its entire swaths of neighborhood laid down at Cherry beach. I don't know if you've been down towards the water there. Yeah, no, that's okay. Well, there's like, there's like, actors state of buildings gone. There's more industrial stuff. And what's going on there for planning is fascinating. And I think you are in a really exciting role, in fact, the most the really cool stuff that happens within I think within that era is the planning side. They actually are it's like a big chess move. And they're predicting growth for the next like 10 years. And they actually do have a say in it, as a private company, you know what I mean? Working with the city, and developers, they have their I think it's a real tug and pull. Like I think it's complicated. But I think I just been on like a U of T stuff, and I'm seeing it so you get to see you will get to see the future unfold in a slow process over the like 10 years I think I think that's so fascinating because I didn't have access to that until last like little while because you know that that project is probably going to happen. You know, when I go to Spadina and Bloor I look at that I got this whole neighborhood's gonna change and it's fascinating because you, you get to see the work and slomo whereas everybody else sees it. That fast paced. You know.
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	well, because I'm focused on just in one particular area, and I'm not really involved in the whole conservation, like I'm not I'm not a member, I might at some point, but I'm not a member of the Heritage committees and things like that. So my I'm not sure how useful lands are will you be? It does seem, I think there's there's probably, I know that there's a large backlog of applications to create heritage conservation districts, so there's probably more and it's taken a very long time to get ours and I think it's probably because the city is inundated because it's one of the very few planning tools that the city has to actually protect certain areas. Right. So I have I have no data to back this up. But I would say there probably are more now than there were 10 years ago.
	I4 (heritage advocacy group member)	I would almost say it's stayed the same. Yeah. I haven't noticed any big uptick recently, there's always there's always something on the go, but there's always you know, one or two things not 10 or 15.
	I5 (heritage advocacy group member)	And I think also because we're kind of in suburban area, we have our properties that are that are for preservation have already been listed. A lot of them have already been and it would be hard to uncover a new building that we didn't know about that had a heritage status that was important, at least certainly from an age perspective, but maybe it was associated with someone who was a historical figure we should be. We're less likely to have that here. Whereas I know downtown Toronto, I was just reading something where there are buildings there that that are threatened because they're building so many condos in the downtown core, and, you know, looking to tear down buildings. So it's bigger problem down there, I think.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	I would say that, actually, yes, there has been an increase. There's been an increase both of proactive work on the part of the city like we are our work on heritage. Conservation has has become more robust in the last few years. Also, we have members of the public who are increasingly going to heritage as an argument against specific applications. And third, I would say that the volume of total applications and the total amount of development activity in the city of Toronto has been on on the increase recently.

6	I1 (private sector, planner)	If you go with the population growth numbers are what they're predicting, but it's it's it's pretty shocking. I didn't know that. I didn't know that like that many people are coming to from immigrating from other countries and then going to the urban centers, like even any urban center, and we continue to but the, but what I what I what we're realizing now, though, is COVID has changed things on a big scale. So it's almost like kind of held back. It's such a unique time around because like, pre COVID There was just an insane amount of people working downtown but now when you go down there, it's kind of like a ghost town in some ways, and I took we have been working on some, some older and store commercial buildings, and you walk through them. They're renovating lots of renovation going. So then interior Reno's, but you realize like, it's like somebody just pressed pause on downtown office culture, and it's, it does throw you off a bit because you wonder okay, well if those people aren't at work when they're at home, and then how many of those people bought condos downtown to work at these places so they can be close to it, but yet now, they're their employees. Their employers are telling them Oh, it's okay. You can work anywhere now you can work from home. You can work in Kitchener Waterloo, and wherever, you know, like Brampton, so I think a lot of people there is a lot of people that are, I think just adopting this new hybrid work culture. It's, and so era has like 130 people in their office, but they on any given day, they might have like seven or eight people in the office.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	I don't know if this is like a well known term. We call it weaponizing heritage, when people try to use heritage as a way of fighting a building and it almost always backfires. Interesting, I don't I don't think I've ever actually seen it succeed. Because either it makes construction a take longer, or in a lot. It limits what you can do with the space to make a more livable building. Like why isn't that 120 years ago? Like they didn't talk about accessibility. They didn't care about sidewalk widths like, they put stairs in the weirdest places like when you wet unnecessarily, like why not just walking on the main floor. You don't need to have eight stairs to get into the lobby of the building. But you know it was a thing. You don't have to like authority over better built buildings.
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	Well, I think there's a certain longing among some people in the city at least to keep parts of the city as recognizable cultural and heritage areas rather than having them just you know, completely eliminated and replaced with modern buildings. So it's a complicated issue. But yeah, and in some cases, it's probably nimbyism that, you know, people are just really anxious to protect their own little, you know, single family story neighbor or neighborhood. But in some cases, like in Queen West and Parkdale and places like that, again, I think it goes a lot deeper than that. I think it goes, it speaks to a real need for people to not to not have everything be new to have something that's relatable that's when you're when you're going down. The street, to have something that's recognizable. It's very disconcerting. I just thought a human level right to be in an area in a place that you know, and not recognize anything. I think it's I think city planners and I think, you know, they do recognize that that need but sometimes it gets overridden by, you know, development and monetary considerations, but I think there as the city grows and it is growing very, very quickly. People feel that they need to exert some control over their built environment. So, that's, I think that's a very basic thing.
	I4 (heritage advocacy group member)	Now there's Islington village as well, which is west on Dundas west of Islington. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, I would say condo development is probably probably one of the driving factors in knocking down heritage buildings
	I5 (heritage advocacy group member)	Now there's Islington village as well, which is west on Dundas west of Islington. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, I would say condo development is probably probably one of the driving factors in knocking down heritage buildings / and the condos being built on the Lakeshore, that replaced the old hotel strip from the 1940s and 50s which were in some ways did have some of them did have does not definitely designated but they were had heritage importance, but they got knocked down anyway. So like that that just happened. So fast, that I think that there wasn't even a chance to preserve some of them. And also the other thing is a lot of that is landfills, so it didn't have heritage value. Going back more than 100 years. It

		wouldn't have been farmland, it would have been marshland and then it was filled in and then they built the motels and then they were torn down very quickly.
	I6 (heritage advocacy group member)	Now there's Islington village as well, which is west on Dundas west of Islington. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, I would say condo development is probably probably one of the driving factors in knocking down heritage buildings
7	I1 (private sector, planner)	Be all Toronto, so Toronto Centre Toronto Danforth Spadina. But I'd say Toronto's. Yeah, it would probably be down here. Spadina Fort-York
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	13, 11, 11, 10, 11 and 13. If I get my ward numbers, right, Councillor Wong-tam's. She's got the oldest part of the city 13 Yeah, right along the waterfront. In that order? Probably like 13, 10, 11.
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	Down in Spadina Fort York along the Lakeshore, okay. That's where, you know, overwhelmingly, I mean, there may be things going on in the north part of the city as well, but I don't I rarely go up there. So certainly is Spadina Fort York has had enormous changes and Toronto Danforth as well. In terms of you know, the, the lakefront is practically unrecognizable, from where it was, say 10 years ago.
	I4 (heritage advocacy group member)	I would say ward two along Dundas Street. It's intensification of land use along the subway. / ward three has had a lot of factories that have disappeared. And they've become townhouses basically.
	I5 (heritage advocacy group member)	And I would say Ward five is kind of the is what they call the triangle between five, four and nine, the old CN Rail yard corridor. That would be all part of Dundas Street. And there have been some buildings there that have been torn down and they're turning them into condos and it follows along DuPont as well. But I think the bulk probably would be probably like number 10. Number 11. But I don't know the East End very well. I'm in the north end I have to be honest.
	I6 (heritage advocacy group member)	I would say ward two along Dundas Street. It's intensification of land use along the subway.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	I would say ward two along Dundas Street. It's intensification of land use along the subway.
8	I1 (private sector, planner)	because of the historic importance that they're in the old town of, of York, and then and how that now impacts main transit line lines and King Street. So the main hubs and King street alone is now I don't think you can drive on it, for instance, during certain hours in that area. Because of the trying to really promote people using that line.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	Oldest part of the city original, like the original core of the city was along the water and so the buildings tend to be the oldest they also tend to have like they were industrial and character for a time. And those industrial buildings are far easier to integrate into, but they were larger sites so they're more likely to have been redeveloped. Like for little for little stuff on houses like Rosedale will have a bunch even even like Mimico will have some North York will have some, but for the really substantial protections of buildings in in redevelopment in those ones.
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	Well, there's a great need for housing, which, which is I really got, I have to admit, I am resentful of the fact that the city has sort of sold off our waterfront. It's really I find it really sad that you know, I live I could probably walk to the waterfront in 20 minutes from my house which I walk a lot so that's not a big deal. But there's no reason why I would do that because there's nothing there. Right? I mean, I have to go significantly, East or west to find you know, a nice place where I could walk or, you know, walk a dog or just walk myself. So the whole sort of downtown part of the waterfront has just been completely taken over with very little. There's very little there for your average citizen. There's a little bit of the harbour front center area, but for the most part, it's it's been taken away because there's really nothing there for your average citizen.
	I6 (heritage advocacy	civic action. So if we go back to the time of mayor Sewell, just before Mayor Sewell there was very conservative mayor, the name just escapes me. If you

	group member)	don't even know that you need to know that city hall was very developed, development centered in sense of muscular being buildings, wipe everything away. So that St. James town - are you familiar with what that is / along Parliament street between Parliament Street and that whole area south of Bloor on parliament, north of Wellesley, and already Sherburn that huge block is one of the densest populated places in Canada. And it was all built in the mid to late 60s and was a lot of high rises that tended to have smaller apartments and they were for at the time smart young lawyers was the way they were. They were selling but that didn't work. And the area the area really didn't take off is that it became more of a landing place for immigrants and then a lot of ways very successful and other ways it has a lot of problems. Notably easy to build the apartments themselves however the city plan wise to build everything south of that way down right to the lake and just wipe everything clean and rebuild these these high rises. The problem is they didn't really include anything other than high rises in the odd store. So you think you know the story of what happens? So Cabbagetown we were next and I don't know that they are actually going to come marching through our area I think to really go more south. But we were very vulnerable. Already the original Cabbage Town, which is the area south of us it became Regent Park so that had already been wiped away, in what at the time seemed like a good idea in the late 40s but turned out to be very insensitive that had already happened. So we were kind of this island and a lot of people were starting to see this area as valuable for the heritage and just for city scale. The streetscape is kind of pretty. If it's if it's not actually falling apart. The scale was wonderful. Neighbors are put together so people really value this. And when a developer came in and was going to demolish three workers cottages that were attached, and they were and was going to build basically a modern sort of mid rise apartment in the middle of Cabbage Town. A lot of the residents gone up in arms. And by that time the city council was reformed Council. They got the city on side they persuaded the developer to save the cottages. And he ended up doing one one of the infills that I was referring to, which was a very sensitive infill is very expensive, or actually was it was a difficult rebuild. But you had these cottages now back to when it was in good shape. The anchor the top of the street of Metcalf Street, and you're standing on Metcalf street now you look you're looking if you remove the cars, you're looking basically what it looked like in 1895. That is that is something that's very very rare in any North American city. So the Cabbagetown preservation Association was formed and other groups were keeping their eye on it. And eventually people people basically got together and pushed to have it made into a heritage conservation district and the law existed. And all of the all of the buildings were enumerated were photographed. The year they were built who lived in them first all those records were found. It was codified and in the around 2002 or so. The first section became a heritage conservation district which has spread to a fairly large area of Cabbage Town and is continuing to spread itself. And that's to preserve it from being built over and to retain the fabric. So the short answer the long answer to your short question, the short answer that people got two people valued it and got together and coordinated
10	I1 (private sector, planner)	It absolutely does. And you'll see that with new construction, a lot of these condos like to have like use a heritage component to ground their buyers into because it provides a link to the past and allows people to have a sense of soul of the city. And you can achieve that without something like a heritage building. And they'll just put that front and center and so sorry, the sale of the condo. We're just using that as using that as an example. It will provide say somebody Sorry, I'm having difficulty. Provide somebody who's coming to say new to the city or the works. The works as an anchor point to to, like Massey Hall. There's Massey Hall. Conservation. They every you know, the Massey towers or the Massey, new theater, everything's kind of based off of that theater but that is seen not having some heritage impacts on that level. Which is which is interesting.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	You know, they tell a story. Like I think they're the physical manifestation of history and like, there's, I think there's a lot better things that in heritage and in history that that we should figure out ways to protect, unfortunately, they're far less tangible and far, far more subject to the impacts of, of, of and I describe it

		they there they have to gentrification, like they're there. They're harder to protect, they're more difficult to pin down. And, and that makes them a challenge to to font and like and we don't have we don't have tools to to purchase properties or businesses and maintain their whatever. So it's, it's a tricky thing to capture. Like, you look at honest Ed's, for instance, like, Did we really want to protect the building? No, like [something] village wasn't defined by $1 store. There was there was a lot more and so it's finding when some of those other things are and then figuring out like that, that's how I think we did a reasonably good job in protecting heritage and in Yorkville in [something] village we protected some of the buildings in their physical form, but we made sure that the new development had other things that were more reflective of the heritage.
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	Oh, yeah, I think they do have value. And I think that the whole building has value. I mean, I guess the idea of retaining a facade is is better than nothing. But I would say that the whole building a whole mass of the building, and its impact on its neighbors around it has has a great deal of value. We're finding that you know, along Spadina Avenue, we're not really able to protect it and there's so much history on Spadina Avenue in terms of the development of the city, especially immigration and that sort of thing. And I I'm really fearful that that those buildings will come down and I it's it's not it's not just just looking at them from across the street. Just the way the whole building interacts with its neighbors the laneways behind it, the transition from from a bigger building to a shorter residential streets. I think that those like, as I was saying earlier, I think that that has a lot to deal with just the psychological needs of human beings to be able to relate to, to their history, to their, to their families, sometimes, in some cases, very personal, in some cases, not personal but just something that you're interested in and I think it's a real mistake, to to, to not value that I think the city will suffer for the for the whole the psyche of the city will suffer if we do not pay attention to some of those some of those things.
	I4 (heritage advocacy group member)	Conservation conserved houses or museums, provide insights into how we got where we are today, how people lived in the past. What kinds of things they were worried about? And it can always the programs and the things that are displayed in the museum's can always reflect current concerns. Now I know like, Montgomery's inn for example, in Etobicoke they're doing Indigenous stories before before 20 years ago. 30 years ago, they were just telling the story of British pioneer settlers. Now they're telling Indigenous stories. They're telling the story of Joshua Glover who is an escaped slave who worked at Montgomery, Sam. Yeah, so it's basically letting us know where we've been and, new insights on to the way we interpret the past.
	I5 (heritage advocacy group member)	And I would add that if you lose the cultural history, whether is a building a site, house, you know, any type of building, whether it's industrial or a house or a school or something like that, you'll lose the you lose a tangible evidence of that cultural history and then what's left. So it's hard to then recreate the story tell stories that make people feel the part of a community so I think by having some of those buildings still mixed into the urban land landscape, people still have a connection to the history. The massive redevelopment of six points was a good one to show people how horrible that cloverleaf was and it was hard when I was reading about the history of the six points area over the years. I couldn't fathom why it looked the way it did. It was just such a destructive way to build a road in Toronto in the 60s. And then with the new redevelopment Finally, you can see the landscape even though it looks nothing like it did before. But you have more of a it's more easy to see the visual lay of the land. If I can put it that way. You can see the hydro fields below return down in a plane. You can see that Dundas Street is higher and it speaks to why Dundas Street followed its path that it does. So there's there's evidence when you keep the the the tangible pieces of history that show you what it was like, even though you don't see it exactly the same way. I don't know if that makes sense.
	I6 (heritage advocacy group member)	I think the full population as a whole is healthy. None of this is necessary, but it's healthy for a population to have connection with its past. In other words, to feel that there's there there is a route to where they're living. And the built environment is it's a lot of that because that's what we see when we're walking around and when we're living. The other thing is that our environment affects us the my background, my background is design and I also have a sort of a minor

		University background in urban stuff. So I mean, this this sort of comes out of that. What the the environment that you're living in affects you. Everything from color to the way things are placed, to massing to light and all of that and a place like a place that is already successful that way, which Cabbagetown is and which most heritage is conservation districts are they have those attributes. Those are things you want to keep for the health. The health of people for for their just just for being just satisfied with where they are. There are other economic things as well. A city that preserves its heritage is also a city that people want to visit. So if you're talking to the BIA, that's where the phone call came from. If you're talking to the BIA, they want people to come in here because it's a cool place to come. And that is that is one thing that attracts people. It also attracts people to buy houses here makes them somewhat more expensive, but that's completely beside the point. The point is, it has it has those advantages. So the routing in history, the the healthy environment and the economic advantages of having something that people want to go to. I'm sure there are others but that's what occurs to me right now. / Two thirds some groups will only accept the economic side and then the other, the other things are completely invisible. So so when you're, you're working on something like that, you always have to put that in because without that there's some politicians influencers that's a new word, influencers, that that that push that if it isn't, doesn't have an economic advantage. It's not worth it. We're totally set on.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	I mean, that's actually like a question we could spend hours on and it's an it's an evolving it's an evolving field of discussion. I mean, at its at its most basic form, you know, the, the, the the march of growth if we put no constraints on it, a real risk you run, is that any sense that the place you're in has a history and a geography and, and a politics is at risk if you just knock everything down and build whatever is going to make the most money. Yeah, so So you know that I think, I think that there is a deep and important value in managing the growth in a place. So that the, the history the culture and the politics of the place, are not erased.
11	I1 (private sector, planner)	It has, we're in a deficit here because as these projects multiply, which they have, we're still operating the same and so there's a real problem with attracting younger people to to craft and trades. And so because I come from that background, we unlike England, and Australia, we have unregulated, mostly for Heritage traits are unregulated in that same heritage Mason can go and work for the unions and get a get a red seal but the red seal for the most part is only for new construction. We don't have any regulatory system to help train and give people the skills to do the work. And so larger projects like Centre Block in Ottawa or big projects they have to go to to England or to Ireland. They actually do that take out and add in Ireland. And then so on Centre Block, you probably see 100 masons there that are right from Ireland, and they just skipped they skip the employment though. The skills and the skill, the lack of skills and the union's just have to take them in because there's such demand and we don't have so the schools can't even keep up there isn't there isn't any school like Algonquin College, closed their heritage masonry, which is absurd because the demand is really high and women in the trades are very low rate. We need to I think in order to keep up with this pace you have I think we have to do more. So that's what I see and I have seen in the past and from my background. It doesn't keep up with pace, basically.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	I serve on a on the Heritage Preservation board now. So I guess I have a little bit more interest in at the same time, like within development applications. I don't think it's changed much. But it's evaluate whether or not this is a building worth saving. Does saving it mean we permanently lose the ability to do something else? And if you can, say yes and no then save the building. If otherwise, then there's going to be some trade offs. So why not try to figure out what that what that means?
	I3 (heritage advocacy group member)	Well, yeah, no, I think I don't really see myself as somebody who's, who I don't want to turn like for instance, Kensington Market, I don't want to turn it into like a theme park so that it's some kind of, you know, Disney version of Kensington Market, I wanted it part of the thing about Kensington market is it is constantly changing, right? It always has and you don't want you don't want to inhibit that you don't want to make it some kind of museum. You want it to be a place where

		people live and enjoy themselves and visit and shop and you know, all the things people do, right. So, those sorts of things have. Like, you know, I guess when I moved there, it seemed to be perfect as it was, but you have to you just have to realize that going through the HCD process. They have a way of of categorizing each individual building. And it was interesting talking to the heritage people because some buildings that I would consider I thought should should actually be identified as something that should stay there way of looking at it was that, well, perhaps somebody could do something that would be even better, right? So I think that you need to keep that kind of thing in mind. Right? That it's not static. Just because it's been there for 50 years or longer doesn't mean that that's some kind of perfection. You have to be able to accommodate the idea of of doing things better. The other thing that that has changed with me over time is that it is the housing I mean, the cost for housing in the city is crazy and we do need more density and so I think we have to be able to sacrifice I guess some some properties in the name of social progress. I don't think anybody I don't think we should slaughter beautiful neighborhoods in order to build high rises, but neither do I think we should exclude new growth in older neighborhoods, just for the sake of doing it just because it's a pretty neighborhood. I don't think that's right. So certainly my understanding of cities and how they grow and the role of heritage within cities has has, you know, become a little more nuanced and sophisticated over time.
	I4 (heritage advocacy group member)	Yeah. I've always been in favor of preserving older buildings. I don't think it's changed.
	I5 (heritage advocacy group member)	Same for me, it's actually increased even more. And maybe 10 years ago, before I got involved with heritage societies I met I said older you gotta cut your losses, you know, gotta go with progress. But I can tell I've changed I've gone the complete 180 now and I would say there's more reason to preserve than ever before. The city is just breaking down stuff so quickly. It's it's scary to see that
	I6 (heritage advocacy group member)	Yeah, it's strengthened to the way it started. I always appreciated all buildings as you could go on the Wayback Machine when I was a kid and we would we would take the street car from Etobicoke to downtown or just drive downtown we go on Queen Street and I found that the most depressing place on Earth. So I was a kid in the 50s and to me good was clean new brick and modern, plain buildings. And I was I was just getting an appreciation as a nine year old for mid century architecture and design. But this is what I liked and what I valued and I thought these old buildings downtown were just horrible. And part of it was because of all the coal that was used coal fired trains and furnaces and everything was black. So later on, I kind of woke up in my 20s and started to see these buildings for more architectural value. And they started cleaning them up and Queen Street became the most interesting Street in the world. They become they became much more more interesting and I began to realize a heritage value. So move up to 25 years ago my partner and I are living in in the West End and we get on our bikes and we ride across the city just to ride through Cabbage town and at the time cabbage towns are 25 years ago 30 years ago, cabbage time was had been discovered by gays artists and real estate agents. And so at first because it was cheap because the buildings were not in good shape. They people started moving into them and cleaning them up real estate agents saw the potential and the rest is history. When we moved when we moved here in 1998 we we got a house completely by accident. It's a long story. We've got a house by accident, and I thought we died and gone to heaven. And I didn't really know that much about heritage conservation or heritage. But I just started walking in the alleyways you use the laneways are amazing. Just keep walking and walking. keep finding new ways. So I started getting this appreciation that's that's part of getting an appreciation is actually being in it. And I'm a graphic designer, and my partner he his companies and he's got an interior design company so we have an old storefront in the middle of the residential area and our singles were on the window and some the chair of the CPA saw it and came in and asked for me and asked could I design your newsletter? Which she just got it? I said sure. I'll do

		that. So I designed the newsletter when I said you need to have you need to have a masthead. And if you couldn't have a masthead you need a logo. So I kind of volunteered and I treated them like a client so I gave them options and they loved it so much the press came to me on to the board. So suddenly I found myself on the board and it wasn't even a member. And but that was the beginning of my education. So I just started off as that and then I realized what the history was what they had done what happened and began to realize the reason I thought I'd died and gone to heaven was because of the work of life. People in saving buildings. And by that time it was looking pretty good. So we're working on that. So yeah, so So that's that's how it was now since then. I've been leading tours. And I started out within the first few years. So to lead the tours, I had to learn about the history. And so I became fascinated with the history of this and Toronto. And so, the more you learn, the more interesting it is, the more I appreciate it. And the more I feel it's important and the more things are turned down, the more I feel that it's important.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	Yeah, I think that I think, you know, when I first started this be about 16 years ago, the heritage conservation discussion was about, you know, how do we how do we make sure that buildings built by this 19th or 20th century architect, white guy, get preserved? And it's now grown into a much more rich, lively and interesting conversation where we're trying to think through whose history has been preserved and why where issues of colonialism. The history of black the black history, you know, and its ties to slavery, are marked where issues around class are considered so so I've seen a real evolution from you know, this, this just being a way of, of celebrating certain architectural styles, to to very rich conversations. about preserving the actual truth of people who didn't have Oh, who were socially excluded, marginalized and oppressed, and colonized. So that's just been an interesting change in the way we do things.
12	I1 (private sector, planner)	They are, which is great because heritage Toronto, for instance, had their the big awards, there was a so there was there's the ACO awards, Heritage Toronto awards, and I'm going to link you to a paper this will help this will help you understand this. But they're now recognizing the craftsperson and those typically wouldn't be acknowledged for an award they're now giving and trying to validate those people. Those that dont play a central role in the consulting part of the job. So their being recognized, ACO is doing that and so is CAHP. They're all jumping on board and realizing that they have to do a better job at validating and trying to attract a range of people, so planners for instance just get snubbed because architects and the engineers, but the planning phase for that project probably happened 4-5 years prior to the actual beginning, maybe even 10 years, but do we see the planner on the award? No. So they're trying to understand that and its the same firms that are taking, scooping up those - that accolade. SO now they are trying to spread it around. So now they are trying to spread around that praise within your group, you know, so they're doing more you're seeing it more and more. It's great. I think it's good.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	I don't know about change and like developers seem to conflict when they when they recognize that there's a heritage problem they're willing to, they're willing to figure out ways to protect it. They don't always want to, but they're they're certainly they come forward. prepared to for communities. I think communities go through their whole own evolution, that like when they start feeling the pressure of development, and they really do look to stopping it. Then they look to heritage as like they look to weaponize heritage. Then Then I think after after a group goes through the NIMBY to the maybe not quite the YIMBY, but to it's going to happen deal with it. Then there there seems to be far, a little bit less pressure on the heritage aspects of it, although it still does exist. It's just there's a there's an acknowledgement that this isn't gonna stop development. It's about figuring out how these tools can contribute to our influence our local, the local influence over new development so that it's better.
	I3 (Heritage advocacy group member)	Well, I think with like with city councilors, it's always a dance, right? They have to they have to try to please everybody I don't really notice too much difference there. I do notice in some areas, we have a neighborhood just to the north of Kensington Market, that's, I think that they've become much more entrenched in their desire to keep their neighborhood exactly as it as it has always been. And they're not at all speaking in generalities, of course. And I'm sure there's a range

		of opinions but the people who are sort of powerful are seem to be very rigid in their sense of, of what should be there like they really don't like the idea of having any kind of apartment buildings or anything like that. So yeah, I think I think I guess that's the way it goes. People either become very entrenched in their in their and rigid in their position, or they're willing to grow. I don't know so hard to know how it's gonna go.
	I4 (Heritage advocacy group member)	Well, I can say that when I first got involved, I was involved with the city of Etobicoke. This was before amalgamation. And when we were dealing with the city of Etobicoke, there was we always had ears in the local government. And we would know what was happening next. Over the years as the amalgamation took place, and afterwards, when I stepped in five years ago, we had no contacts and we didn't know what was happening in heritage so the City of Toronto is much more remote than the city of Etobicoke ever was from us from from us as heritage societies.
	I5 (Heritage advocacy group member)	And I agree with Richard on that. And now the challenge with in the last four years when they reduced the number of city councilors in Toronto, where you know, they have a huge territory now that I you know, I don't relish the job they do, and to get their ear to tell them to talk about heritage. It's probably the low priority for them when they have to look at things like you know, food banks and school funding and you know, things that are really super critical to day to day living heritage sort of falls to the bottom and and, you know, having counselors that have double duty, size of municipal wards than four years ago, it's even harder now for sure. But I want to say that surprisingly, whenever you do reach out to them, they do have good intentions. They do want to hear about heritage, it's just they don't have the time of day for it.
	I6 (Heritage advocacy group member)	The city's been supportive. The main thing I've noticed is with the city has been supportive, but it's harder and harder for them to keep tabs on things. We keep tabs on things we tell them but they can't always react because they they have too few people working in the heritage departments was an actual department and and so for instance, when Jeffrey and I bought an old house and we fixed it up. We had to get heritage permits for stuff we did outside so it's actually a formal process and it's becoming that's still happening but it's it's just becoming more and more distant, more difficult to get their attention. As far as it's interesting in the city watching what developers do they developers are saving more buildings than they did before. But of course, it's only the face the facade that they're saving. But that's more than what it was before. So we're gonna see more of that. Yeah, that that's about it. That's about all that I would say that I see.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	yeah, so there's been a sort of a better marrying of planning and heritage, as we've done. We've sort of developed a practice of tying secondary plans particularly for main streets. The design guidelines in the heritage conservation piece, have become more more carefully entwined. So So for example, you know, we just recently completed planning study for Queen West, through from Bathurst to Roncesvalles. Where the built form design guidelines, very much evolved out of a conversation about specific heritage characteristics. So you're not just looking at a single site and saying, you know, preserve this building but rather you're looking at how the buildings and the forms and the history that you're trying to somehow Mark dictate how the built form for non contributing buildings will work will work.
15	I1 (private sector, planner)	It's made it more complicated. I've been a part of jobs where we've had to do the cutline heritage, facade, facade and entire street. You there's some careful and complicated engineering that goes on there and supporting loads. There are some there's close proximities to sidewalks and think there's new utilities that have to go in and I also question whether or not the the transit system can handle all these people and how that and then a lot of these buildings are being like intensified or, like brought into one specific area like King Street, and it's clear that King street car cannot and that street couldn't handle it. It was just overwhelmed and that all started in another area where they've done a lot of density and called Liberty Village. And so people would get on the streetcar. There the streetcars and they would ride them in downtown. And then people waiting couldn't get on because they'd already filled it. And so then they go train starting to try to help them out and cheaper rates and I don't think it was properly

		planned out. I don't know that they they understood how many young people will be traveling that line before they put those condos in. And then as you start to wonder as like somebody from not a planning background, are they actually are they prepping this right? Are we moving at a pace it's just so fast that we can handle it? And you do see pre-COVID the subway was almost a certain hours a day and couldn't get on it? Because there were certain certain areas certain lines. You just avoid it or you walk and get there faster. So COVID sort of relieved that. The stress on all of this and I think it might buy planners and designers time to try to it get right so I'm hoping that could take place.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	Well, I think that certainly heritage impacts intensification if you keep the heritage I think that like because of the pace of intensification in Toronto, I think maybe we have been able to protect all the heritage elements that we would like to in the build form. I think certainly it's impacted the non built form heritage and cultural heritage of, of sites like there's Yorkville, for example. went from being a relatively hip and happening place for the low for a lower income bracket 50 years ago, to what it is now and where it's like Chanel and all the expensive fans and Cartier like all the expensive fancy stores and $10 million condos, Queen streets going through the same change. I grew up on Queen and it was a totally different world than with a totally different income level. And, and we've seen that change VIP Liberty Village again, like another good example the tangible piece, the intangible pieces of cultural heritage have been enormously disrupted by intensively by gentrification intensification, whatever you want to call it. And there are a few tools for cities to actually protect those things. So they're lost, or they're not. They're pushed out into other areas.
	I3 (Heritage advocacy group member)	Well, I'm not involved in policymaking but certainly, you know, my micro level certainly has I mean, again, you know, I think the most people who are in a position of leadership and Kensington Market would never suggest that we we sacrifice everything, just for the sake of creating an interesting you know, a heritage place, I think. Yeah, I think certainly in terms of people that I know some of whom are professionally involved in heritage with would wholeheartedly agree that we have to do more to intensify our downtown population. But there are ways of doing that. And there are good and there are ways of doing that that are not so good. Care has to be taken.
	I4 (Heritage advocacy group member)	I think, like along Dundas Street in Islington village, certainly, there's a lot of development happening and a lot of older buildings that aren't necessarily heritage buildings are being threatened by redevelopment and just ridiculous heights, you know, Islington village is like a two storey village and they want to put 27 storey towers in the middle of it. So yeah, I can see more threat but you know, I was thinking about this before the interview. When I got involved in the 80s, there are a lot of threats as well. The old Islington house was torn down, and a building was placed there which is now being threatened with being tear torn down for the for the old age home. But it's a constant struggle, you know, there's very weak heritage legislation, and that does not, it just prevents or delays rather than prevents the demolition of designated buildings. And it's just been a constant struggle. There's been no help coming from the government in terms of preserving things.
	I6 (Heritage advocacy group member)	not yet, but there's a lot of fear. From some people like within within our board, the CPA. I know that our chair is very worried about what they call the march of the high rises. And I'd say much of the board is worried about that and they don't want to see the high rises. I have a totally different views that I haven't really expressed it that much. But we all of us agree that there has to be more intensification. We all agree with that. I guess I guess we're on the same receiving the same, you know, but I'm not as worried about high rises on the periphery, because they will increase traffic but we have to accept that. That's my view. We have to accept intensification we have to accept more traffic. The solution isn't to stop them because you can't stop me to Toronto is a Toronto area GTA is growing by about 100,000 a year and the fastest growing part of the GTA is the downtown. And our area is getting some of that we're not we're not exactly right downtown for our areas, getting some of that. There are high rises going up but I don't think I don't think the horse shouldn't be spooked every time a high rise goes up because there's going to be a limit to that. I'm not afraid of intensification within our heritage area, our heritage, our defined heritage. area. It

		wouldn't make sense it would not be popular with there'd be a mayor we'd be in trouble. And but we can't avoid it. However, intelligent planning that the planning is, is being done partly by the developers which just doesn't make sense, but it's how it's always been done. And I don't I don't know what the attitude or planning stuff is City Hall is. But you have to question some things and yet some other things are quite good in turn in terms of having the services that are needed, the schools that are needed, and all of that, but yeah, it's a question as you can see, I'm stumbling around and because it is a difficult question.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	You know, perversely, I think it's actually forced certain questions and had positive outcomes. I think that the, the work we're doing around conservation is both more robust, and also more thoughtful and deep. than it was 15 years ago, simply because intensification has forced these questions to the surface.
16	I1 (private sector, planner)	We is heritage. taking on a new project? Oftentimes it it depends if that project is in the midst of a bigger new construction, like on a commercial scale, which we were doing for a while, but if it's a residential really two different animals but often the challenges are to Yeah, makes the challenge I guess there's a lot of challenges. So the challenges are to make sure that the work is done in a way that's respects the standards, standards and guidelines and the principles that you sort of, you unerstand in terms of conservation, but then make sure that those principles are held to the end of the project, even though the speed and pace of these projects is faster than you can do the work so when you're expected your expectations for new construction and heritage are too different. So different in terms of speed, production and materials, that it's a there's a real contrast between the two when you're working side by side, to give an example like a concrete they're pouring concrete floors on these projects, one for a week. And those that concrete is hard it sets fast. And then heritage work you're using brick from the 1880s you're using using lime putty and lime mortars that set really slow intentionally brick that's really soft and porous. And guys are taking their time and trying to do good work because that's that's what's anchoring the soul of this big project. You know that's going in behind it. So it you always felt at odds. And yet you were part of something. And it it's I'm fronting the project behind it because of the historic component. So it's interesting and on the side, as a side note, you're often dismissed. So we were wouldn't be invited to trade meetings at the condos because we just like arches don't fit with steel, structural. Like they're just out of different it's like speaking different languages. So we were often dismissed or ignored. But that's what we wanted in some ways. And on a lot of jobs because you just the building methods and materials are so different perfect. So long winded questions. To have to make sure I don't spoil your thing with that. Negative. The industry is rough. It's hard. Yeah. Good work on it, job site.
	I2 (public sector, elected official)	a challenge but not like, which doesn't necessarily have to be a bad thing like it? It almost always depends on how easy it is to work with the existing building around some of the other goals not only how to build the building up, but what's happening around the site that the stuff that really matters in development, the streetscape the the interaction with people, like we've had some buildings in a beautiful building on College Street in Toronto that I they were redeveloping decided it but I had this giant beautiful staircase, but how do you make that accessible? Well, they figured it out, they set the other building back and shoved an elevator in the side of the building that you can't see when you're, you're staring at this beautiful staircase. You have no idea and there's this elevator going up right beside it behind this big block column and like you know what? Well done. You figured it out.
	I3 (Heritage advocacy group member)	Oh, yeah, I guess it is. Certainly my in my role, but I would say that people should look at it as an opportunity. As I've mentioned, a number of times people respond to heritage and so if you want to get if you want to keep a neighborhood, interesting and people you want people to come to it and feel comfortable in it. Maintaining some heritage aspects of it is an opportunity to make people feel more at home and more, more tied to the community.
	I4 (Heritage advocacy group member)	I think there's a lack of I don't know what to call it. A lot of the time, there's a lack of creativity or vision on the part of the developers they're governed by finances rather than aesthetics.

	I5 (Heritage advocacy group member)	Oh, definitely a benefit. And we can see it because, in a small way, the new building developers are obligated through some legislation in Ontario section 37 money to actually put money aside for either plaques or something like that. Or even putting land beside that will be supporting local programming. So in some ways, they're forced to do that. I don't know if they really want to do it, but we've we've seen the benefit of a couple of plaques that have been associated with new building developments, and the most recent one being the Joshua Glover plaque along Dundas Street to just west of the Humber.
	I6 (Heritage advocacy group member)	It's both it's a development can incorporate existing buildings and do it sensitively. Then it's, it's more difficult it's more expensive. It gives a halo to the building in economic terms. It is helpful for the city, even if it's just a facade. And for those reasons, I would say it's a benefit. If they just want to build something cheap or they don't want to bother, build something expensive but don't want to bother adding that to the expense. That's their decision if the city allows it. But if it's listed heritage buildings then they, you pretty well have to do something with it. And some of its pretty bad and some of its really good.
	I7 (public sector, elected official)	I think there's a sort of a horse and barn gate thing here, which is if you get an application on a building and then decide, oh, there's some heritage features here, we should think about, you're too late. The what we have, we very much learned is that the better method is to understand okay, this area seems to be coming under development pressure. Let's do thinking before we got a flood of applications. About what if anything here is worth conserving and why? And having that conversation before you get the application. And that's that's been a that's been a substantial change in the way we do things so that we actually now have got it down to such a science that you know, we we do the how do we do the secondary plan for an area heritage is always involved. And we just at the end of it, series of properties, have flags on them. So if an application comes in the Heritage Department is automatically notified. And similarly, as I was saying, the design guidelines will have been shaped in part by the conversation about heritage that's the frankly, that's the only way you can do it anymore. At least in Toronto because of the volume of applications we're getting.