

Roots of Community Growth:

The Policy Dynamics of Heritage and Development in Canadian Municipalities

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INTRODUCTION

London, Ontario, 2008: In the midst of a struggle between the municipal government, advocacy groups and the owner over its heritage value, the 19th century Brunswick Hotel is mysteriously set ablaze in the early hours of a Sunday morning, and an irreplaceable piece of Ontario history is lost (O'Brien 2008, November 9).

Halifax, Nova Scotia, 2008: The owner of a pub on the historic Halifax waterfront is dismayed to learn that council has voted against redeveloping the building. The owner fears he will lose his business because of the demands placed on him by owning and maintaining a “crumbling” heritage property (Jones 2008, August 7).

A municipality's built heritage often serves to provide a common cultural ‘fabric’ on which to weave the past histories of local places and local people, fostering community identity. By contrast, notions of development orient municipalities toward the future and the potential for increased community prosperity. Often, these two ideas can engage in conflicting ways. The designation of a local building as a heritage site, for instance, may be regarded as an impediment to development due to the restrictions placed on architectural modifications to the property. Maintenance requirements for the property often lead to a view of the heritage property as an economic burden.

This paper explores the tension between heritage and development as manifested in municipal heritage policies. In assessing the role of municipal heritage policy in this capacity, the *Prince of Wales Award for Municipal Heritage Leadership*, a juried award issued by

Heritage Canada, has been employed as the principal indicator of municipalities that are ‘getting it right’. By identifying municipal communities that have taken a leadership role in developing effective heritage policies, this paper seeks to identify and assess both the commonalities and particularities of these policies, contextualized within wider provincial and federal heritage policy structures. The objective is to generate an adoptable and adaptable heritage policy model for use in other Canadian municipal communities in the development of their own heritage policies. Extending from this objective, the heritage policy model will seek to address not only the implementation of policy, but also the selection of instruments and assessment of impacts that, taken together, constitute a wider heritage policy strategy.

This paper demonstrates that effective municipal heritage policies need not exist at the expense of other municipal concerns. It will become evident that leading Canadian municipalities do not engage in a balancing act *between* heritage and development, but rather treat heritage property protection as *an important part of* the community’s development through careful and judicious use of policy, with an eye toward multiple trajectories of heritage value. This paper argues that leadership in municipal heritage policy is not simply a means of preserving the past; it can also be a plan for a prosperous future.

MUNICIPAL HERITAGE IN CANADA

Before proceeding with an analysis of the communities demonstrating leadership in heritage policy, it is important to briefly describe local heritage in Canada, beginning first with the acknowledgement that heritage preservation was not always a concern of Canadian municipalities. Fulton (1998: 13) notes that interest in Canada’s built heritage began “in earnest” in the 20th century. It is important to note that the focus was not on the active restoration of properties, but on a more static preservation so as not to “harm the evocative nature of the

historic properties” (Fulton 1998: 13). Indeed, municipal heritage strategies were principally concerned with property designation, for which preservation was the desired end (Fulton 1998: 15).

The provincial context facilitates an understanding of municipal heritage, as heritage in Canadian municipalities falls, in part, under the legislative purview of provincial governments. This paper will demonstrate that provincial heritage legislation informs much of how municipalities proceed with heritage policy implementation, and the ways in which local heritage by-laws and strategies are articulated. Two implications arise from this proposition. The first implication is that in a comparative analysis of municipal heritage policy, the powers and protections provided through provincial legislation must be factored into municipal policy analysis because there is considerable variation from province to province in accordance with the aims of the respective provincial governments (Langois 1986: 48). The second implication is that a study of municipal heritage policy is necessarily a study of intergovernmental affairs. Municipal heritage initiatives are informed by provincial and, in some cases, federal government policy. The heritage strategy outlined by the Canada’s Historic Places (2008) organization, for instance, is a multi-faceted, collaborative initiative involving all levels of government, from municipal to federal, with the objective of establishing a common set of standards and guidelines by which to assess and preserve Canada’s historic places. Going forward, then, it is important to bear in mind that the by-laws and strategies that engage the relatively localized context of municipalities are part of a larger policy discourse on heritage in Canada.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AWARD

The Prince of Wales award is an annual juried award given to the municipal government that demonstrates leadership in Canadian heritage policy (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008). The applicability of the award for the purposes of this essay is obvious: demonstration of “exemplary stewardship”, as judged by a panel of professionals with multiple perspectives and experience in the heritage field, provides a useful litmus test for assessing municipal heritage policies. Because of these professional, Canada-centric perspectives, it is presumed that the jury possesses some skill in assessing municipal heritage leadership. This paper thus begins with the proposition that the award-winning cities under review have achieved effective policy outcomes, and proceeds by identifying common elements in their policy architecture and implementation.

This paper undertakes an assessment of the last three municipalities to win the Prince of Wales prize: Aurora, Ontario in 2008; St. John’s, Newfoundland & Labrador in 2007; and, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia in 2006. These municipalities’ policies will be delineated through the model provided by Daniel Mazmanian and Paul Sabatier, discussed below. The selection of the three most recent winners serves three purposes: 1) manageability – three municipalities permit a manageable analysis while still allowing identification of aggregative trends; 2) contemporaneousness – in identifying leadership practices, up-to-date data are desirable; and 3) contrast – Aurora, St. John’s and Annapolis Royal offer differing regional perspectives.

MAZMANIAN AND SABATIER’S POLICY IMPLEMENTATION FRAMEWORK

In the early 1980s, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1981) introduced a policy implementation model that outlined the independent variables that could potentially impact the effectiveness of policy implementation. Though the model is, as of 2008, almost 30 years old, the variables considered are still relevant to the three cities under analysis. The model is quite useful in

assessing potential pitfalls in policy implementation, and needs very little amending to align with current thinking in the craft of policy-making. While Mazmanian and Sabatier establish three broad categories of independent variables – “Tractability of the Problem”, “Ability of Statute to Structure Implementation” and “Nonstatutory Variables Affecting Implementation” – this paper employs Elson’s (2006) more accessible labeling scheme in the framing of the categorical constructs for the independent variables (for Elson’s complete diagrammatic outline, please see Figure A):

1) Material Variables (“Tractability of the Problem”) – the material variables of policy implementation outline the nature and diversity of stakeholder behaviour as well as the degree of behavioural change the policy will need to realize to be successful (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1981: 7-9). For Elson (2006), material variables “reflect the core intent of the policy”; here, the primacy of the normative component of policy is evident to the degree that it seeks to shape stakeholder behaviour – the “degree of change required”.

2) Structural Variables (“Ability of Statute to Structure Implementation”) – structural variables takes as their focus the configuration of the institutions that play a role in policy implementation. It is here that government policy, as an institutional process, impacts policy implementation and, in turn, policy implementation impacts institutional process (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1981: 10). It is also here that recent thinking in organizational design compels the addition of another criterion - horizontality. Though the model importantly highlights the degree of hierarchical integration and accounts for “outsider access”, it is less explicit in the recognition of policy generation as horizontal a collaborative process involving multiple government and non-governmental stakeholders. Elson (2006) notes the increased presence of horizontality in contemporary government, but is reticent to amend the model.

3) Contextual Variables (“Nonstatutory Variables Affecting Implementation”) – contextual variables address the more nebulous, unquantifiable social factors that influence policy implementation, such as leadership capacities and attitudinal climate. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1981: 15) argue that policies need political and popular support among varying interests operating within current socioeconomic and technological frameworks (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1981: 17). Pal (2006: 175) notes that cultivating this ‘attitude of support’ is best accomplished through the use of the information policy instrument, a trend that will become evident through the analysis below.

At this point, a ‘methodological preamble’ is in order. The Mazmanian-Sabatier model will be used to assess the heritage policy instruments and implementations of Aurora, St. John’s and Annapolis Royal. While Mazmanian and Sabatier outline detailed listed criteria for analyzing implementation, this paper seeks to distill the model in order to emphasize key issues and allow for maneuverability by municipalities in its use for generating heritage policies. As such, each city’s heritage policies will be traced largely through the model’s broad categories, with specific references to criteria where applicable. The inevitable result of this process is that some criteria will be highlighted over others. Moreover, many policy features will (as should be expected) cross-cut and inform other categories; it is argued that both ‘issues’ in fact service the goal of understanding the most salient features common to each city. While the emergence of trends is inevitable in the presentation of data, this section is not intended to arrive at a synthesis, but rather to present the information for purposes of comparison.

Because this is an *a posteriori* analysis, this paper gains the benefit of hindsight. Beginning with the premise that the outputs and outcomes of policy implementation were successful in each city, a ‘reverse analysis’ can be performed, tracing policy outputs back to the

input variables on which they were predicated in order to understand the dynamic between socio-political environments and the generation of heritage policy. In so doing, this paper attempts to identify common mechanisms for creating and implementing effective policies that translate into effective policy outcomes.

Aurora

Material Variables

Given that all three cities have demonstrated successful leadership in managing heritage issues, the material variables garnered from the source material (largely the public-facing websites of each municipality) as they relate to social problems tend to be rather benign. However, there is still information to be gleaned for performing stakeholder analysis. The city of Aurora is situated just north of Toronto, Ontario. While the population of 50 000 may be considered small in light of this relationship, Aurora is not so small that one should expect a single homogenous viewpoint on the role of heritage in municipal governance. Indeed, this is not the case, as viewpoints of stakeholders vary considerably. While the city website notes the willingness of heritage owners to engage in heritage-related events (Town of Aurora 2008b), an Aurora heritage district proposal reveals that a group of citizens were opposed to participation in the planned district and their properties were subsequently removed from the district's heritage parameters (Town of Aurora 2006).

Structural Variables

To understand the role of institutional structures in Aurora's heritage policy, it is important to examine the 'policy fields' in which policies exist and the legislative powers therein. For

Aurora, this falls under the Ontario Heritage Act, of which two key sections are relevant here. The act states that owners of designated heritage properties cannot “alter the property or permit the alteration of the property if the alteration is likely to affect the property’s heritage attributes” (Government of Ontario 1990: Section 33(1)). As one could make the argument that demolition of a house certainly affects the property’s heritage attributes, the Ontario Heritage Act has also granted municipalities powers to *prevent* demolition in a 2005 amendment (Government of Ontario 1990: Section 42(1:17)). Aurora makes full use of this amendment, noting its potential to help limit the number of heritage buildings that succumb to demolition. This use of provincial legislation reflects the ‘hierarchical integration’ (criterion three) in the model’s “Structural Variables” category.

Aurora has also created a Heritage Advisory Committee that advises council on matters pertaining to the Ontario Heritage Act and municipal heritage, and is identified as a factor in the town winning the Prince of Wales award (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008). The committee reflects a mix of stakeholders and interests, notably including the mayor and town councilors among its members (Town of Aurora 2008a). Here, the involvement of the mayor demonstrates both the importance of heritage to Aurora and the importance of leadership in achieving heritage objectives, while the diversity of stakeholders highlights the use of horizontality in successful heritage policy implementation.

Contextual Variables

In Aurora, stakeholder support is seen not only as desirable, but also as an important precondition for success in developing a heritage strategy (Town of Aurora 2006: 3, 4). Notions of public consultation thus pervade the strategy document. Use of the information instrument in

achieving this end manifests in the focus on public consultation and dialogue as well as information workshops such as the “Old House” restoration workshop for heritage building owners. Previous workshops have been well-received by stakeholders (Town of Aurora 2006: 4, 5), fostering heritage appreciation and a culture of support on the part of the government, identified by the Prince of Wales jury as a “key” to Aurora’s success (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008).

Implementation and Economic Impacts

The municipal government in Aurora is aware that heritage does not exist in a vacuum; rather, heritage actively engages other areas of society, including development. Despite tensions regarding heritage designation, the vision is not to *prevent* change, but rather *guide* it in a way that aligns with the distinct character of the town (Town of Aurora 2008c). The outcome of the above-mentioned dialogue was added flexibility in the guidance of policies, allowing for possible tax incentives for heritage property owners to defray some of the constraints imposed by heritage building ownership (Town of Aurora 2006: 8). The success of Aurora’s emphasis on spending instruments is validated through the Prince of Wales Award jury’s recognition of its financial support (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008). The city is thus committed to assuring the viability of heritage properties by mitigating the financially deleterious aspects of heritage ownership through spending instruments, supported by information instruments.

St. John’s

Material Variables

The key issue for the municipal council of St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador is whether development (and, particularly, oil development) and heritage can co-exist in downtown St.

John's (City of St. John's 2001: 4). The tension between heritage and development is explicitly identified; heritage buildings are often seen as liabilities for business owners, bogged down by bureaucratic red tape and high taxes (City of St. John's 2001). The challenge of 'behavioural modification' in St. John's is more evident than in Aurora, but takes on the same parameters – helping the community see the value of heritage properties and not just the perceived liabilities.

Structural Variables

In setting the provincial framework for St. John's, it is important to note that heritage is integrated into a larger provincial ministry that also includes tourism and culture. The semantics of this ministry betray an organizational interest in the ways in which these three governmental concerns interact, bringing to mind structural notions of horizontality. This paper will return to this interaction in the discussion; it will suffice now to note the integration of tourism as part of the field of heritage.

The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador operates at arm's length from the government, but is still an "agent of the Crown" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2007). While not truly separate from government, the existence of the organization does speak both to horizontality and Mazmanian and Sabatier's 'outsider access' consideration. The vertical integration between provincial and municipal governments is evident in the city's creation of a municipal designation by-law that echoes the foundation's heritage designation responsibilities (City of St. John's 2001). The judicious use of municipal powers in limiting alterations to the designated properties is noted in the city's mandate to not simply reject renovation proposals, but offer counter-proposals. Structural variables, then, need not be rigid, but should embrace flexibility so as to induce dialogue with, and support from, stakeholders.

Contextual Variables

As is the case with Aurora, analysis of the information policy instrument in cultivating stakeholder support yields insight. Concerns with heritage ‘red tape’ imply a culture in which heritage is regarded as a barrier to development, particularly affecting the business community. In attempting to change the “attitudes and resources of constituency groups” as outlined in the Mazmanian-Sabatier model, the city of St. John’s (2001: 12) recognizes the need for citizen and business consultation. Through its heritage rehabilitation model, St. John’s seeks to help businesses understand the intrinsic cultural value of heritage as well as its potential for economic value, explored in detail later (City of St. John’s 2001: 10). The goal is to “increase investor confidence” (City of St. John’s 2001: 41) by ensuring the government’s commitment to economic viability, by way of the information instrument. This is achieved not simply through instrument content, but the existence of the instrument itself in that it demonstrates the leadership and commitment of the St. John’s government within the context of an “economically sound plan” (City of St. John’s 2001: Introduction (iii)). This combination of leadership, information and spending parallels the traits the Prince of Wales Award jury identified in Aurora’s successful implementation of heritage policy.

Implementation and Economic Impacts

In attempting to address the apparent tension between economic development and heritage in St. John’s, the municipal government stresses the importance of stakeholder consultation. Putting this strategy into practice requires commitment of financial resources by the municipality. This spending imperative is aided by strong provincial support through the provision of spending instruments (e.g. grants and incentives) to property owners for maintaining extant heritage

properties, as well as helping property owners gain heritage status (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008a: 13). The latter necessitates an understanding of the reasons an owner would wish to achieve heritage status, and it is here that municipal heritage policy vis-à-vis local business development is brought to bear.

Heritage does not contrast economic development on St. John's municipal agenda, but is rather part of a broader municipal strategy for local prosperity. The St. John's heritage industry employs a number of city residents: restoration projects on heritage homes employ approximately 200 people (City of St. John's 2001: 15), while the heritage character of the city attracts film studios, injecting 77 million dollars into the local economy over a ten year period (City of St. John's 2001: 17). With these data, the municipal government argues that 'redevelopment' not only results in a loss of community identity, but also negatively impacts the local economy. Thus framed, heritage policies in the form of local by-laws and regulatory reforms have been introduced to "remove disincentives" (City of St. John's 2001: 13, 14) to aid businesses in supporting heritage. Moreover, the city sponsors management training and economic summits to facilitate a shared dialogue on these reforms, cultivating a common vision of downtown development (City of St. John's 2001: 53). Again like Aurora, these economic incentives are listed by the Prince of Wales jury as factors in the receipt of the prize (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008).

Annapolis Royal

Material Variables

The provincial context for Annapolis Royal's heritage policy creation is derived most directly from the Government of Nova Scotia's (1991) Heritage Property Act. As in Newfoundland and

Labrador, provincial heritage is structurally associated with tourism and culture. The Department of Tourism Culture and Heritage (2008a: 10) notes that heritage tourism can be a major economic driver in less populated areas such as Annapolis Royal. An understanding of the community views on heritage tourism is thus useful in determining the diversity of stakeholder behaviour outlined in the Mazmanian-Sabatier model. However, stakeholder ‘issues’ in Annapolis Royal do not appear overtly contentious, at least at the town hall; the municipality touts that “unlike many historic communities, it welcomes visitors” (Annapolis Region Tourism Council 2007: 5).

Structural Variables

There is a clear indication of horizontality in the structural variables in Annapolis Royal. The provincial strategy explicitly stresses the importance of developing horizontal partnerships and stewardship roles for *all* levels and departments of government with a stake in heritage outcomes (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture & Heritage 2008b). These objectives of coordinated effort reflect the first ‘structural’ criterion of policy implementation in the Mazmanian-Sabatier model – clear and consistent objectives. The structure of the Annapolis Royal government is a microcosm of provincial horizontality, yet the city extends the reach of horizontality by calling for external partnerships with stakeholders such as Canadian Geographic, universities and tour operators, among others (Annapolis Region Tourism Council 2007).

Contextual Variables

The above-mentioned trumpeting of Annapolis Royal as a town that welcomes heritage tourism does not mean that heritage policies are enacted without friction. Indeed, the town has made it a

point to disseminate, through a variety of information instruments, materials promoting the integration of economic and development planning with the demands (and benefits) of heritage in order to cultivate popular support (Town of Annapolis Royal 2008). It must be stated that, perhaps given the ‘material’ situation outlined above, the breadth of the information instrument does not approach that found in Aurora and St. John’s. Yet, as has been noted, use of the information instrument is considered conducive to successful heritage policy by the Prince of Wales award jury.

Implementation and Economic Impacts

The use of spending instruments shows the same association of economy and heritage noted in the provincial structure. Funding programs such as the Strategic Development Initiative and the Heritage Property Program provide financial assistance for owners of heritage properties, supported by spending on marketing and promotional activities to encourage tourism (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008a). Working within this framework, the town of Annapolis Royal has implemented a series of zoning and building code by-laws that specifically seek to address the restrictions placed on heritage owners, with an eye toward the 1.3 billion dollar provincial heritage tourism industry (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008a). The Prince of Wales jury commends this array of instruments that supports a heritage industry in a town of 444 residents (as of 2006) that attracts more than 100 000 visitors annually (The Heritage Canada Foundation 2008).

DISCUSSION

Though this paper has considered only the last three cities to win the Prince of Wales award, broad parallels begin to emerge despite geographic, historical and demographic differences. Many of these commonalities have already been discussed in order to stress the categorical interconnections of the Mazmanian-Sabatier model. This discussion attempts to address these commonalities, and assesses the potential for extending their applicability toward a more tailored model for municipal heritage policies. This paper will proceed by re-examining the major institutional structures and policy instruments developed by the municipalities, as well as the ways in which these factors address and account for some of the predicating factors of policy implementation listed in the Mazmanian-Sabatier model. It should be noted that the major policy instrument mix used by these leaders in municipal heritage reflects key principles of a ‘new paradigm’ in governance. Information, regulation and, perhaps to a lesser extent, spending instruments reflect a new focus on government as hands-off mediator and coordinator, rather than absolute patron and provider of services (OECD 2001). Note, for example, that the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador’s Historic Resources Act (2007) uses verbs such as ‘stimulate’, ‘support’ and ‘contribute’ to describe some of its objectives. This more hands-off role is succinctly captured by Osborn and Gaebler’s (Telford and Lazar 2002: 14) “steer, don’t row” admonishment.

The first commonality encountered is the structural context in which all Canadian municipalities exist – their provincial governments and the municipal heritage powers derived from them. In all three cities, the provincial governments have organizational structures in place that deal specifically with heritage. While articulated in different ways (e.g. arm’s length groups, ministerial departments, legislation), each city works within the province’s unique capacities of

designation and heritage protection, building from them on a local level. Because each city managed success while employing differing provincial heritage models, it would be incorrect to conclude that a city's heritage success is determined by the provincial context in which it finds itself. This being said, however, municipalities must understand the role and powers of the province in providing the contexts and limitations of municipal heritage governance.

A structural commonality among the cities is a strong emphasis on horizontality. In Aurora, St. John's and Annapolis Royal, the vision statements, governmental and non-governmental committees and myriad consultations that permeate implementation processes indicate that heritage policies benefit from the input of a diversity of stakeholders with committed, broad-based support – both declarative and financial – to achieve heritage outcomes, particularly on the local scale. Indeed, the Central Chambers project in Ottawa notes that public-private collaborations, such as those in Annapolis Royal, may be a good option for municipalities with limited heritage budgets (Fulton 1998: 15).

Horizontal initiatives may also be effective in getting businesses “on board” with heritage. Such attitudinal issues are best promoted through the use of the information policy instrument. Partiality for the information instrument in all three cities is evident, particularly in the contextual variable category. The information instrument takes on two forms in the policies. First, the distribution of promotional pamphlets, conferences and media dissemination cultivates specific attitudes regarding the desirability of heritage, rather than legislatively constraining behaviours. As noted above, Pal argues that the information instrument is particularly useful in this regard, given the complexities of attitudinal change that may not be captured through regulatory behavioural restraints. The second form of information that plays an important role in efficacious heritage policy, given its prevalence in the three cities under study, is information in

the form of stakeholder collaboration (reaffirming the emphasis on horizontality). Information in this understanding is a two-way process; government is provided with an opportunity to present policy objectives, while stakeholders are allowed to respond dialogically to policy strategies. As noted in Aurora, stakeholder collaboration introduced measures of flexibility desired by property owners that were not in the original heritage strategy. Antoft and Novack (1998: 57) argue that this stakeholder collaboration is not simply to achieve horizontality, but to give the community a sense of policy ownership, and therefore a vested interest in its success.

The regulatory instrument outlines the ‘rules of the game’, constraining or affirming behaviour through legislation by setting limits to action, rather than directing action. While one must not discount heritage by-laws that forbid certain architectural modifications, the suite of by-laws enacted by the cities stress *guidance* by establishing limits to the ways in which modification to heritage structures can occur, such as St. John’s’ by-law ensuring appropriate building materials are used for heritage property repairs in order to maintain the overall character of the neighbourhood (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2007). Indeed, this notion of regulation-as-guidance is explicitly set down in Aurora’s strategic vision, in which by-laws “*guide* future changes to the property” (Town of Aurora 2008c, emphasis added). For the Prince of Wales jury, such regulatory by-laws are effective heritage strategies, as the flexibility afforded within regulatory rules facilitates particular development trajectories.

A third pervasive and important instrument in successful municipal heritage strategies is the spending instrument. Like regulation, this instrument takes two forms. The first attests to the interconnectedness of policy instruments in creating a ‘policy field’. The dissemination of information through training seminars and workshops for heritage building owners involves spending on educational training (e.g. the aforementioned ‘management training’ sessions in St.

John's). While it is no doubt true that regulation of any kind can involve spending on some level, spending on training is undeniably monetary distribution in this context.

The second trajectory of the spending instrument deserves careful attention as it relates to the discordant heritage/development dichotomy that has framed this paper. The spending instrument, coupled with the information and regulatory instruments noted above, demonstrates a firm commitment to the owners – particularly business owners – of heritage properties in the maintenance and promotion of 'heritage development'. This articulation of heritage is not the static preservation Fulton outlined; rather, it comprises the active structuring of heritage as part of a strategy for the overall economic prosperity of the community. The cross-pollination of information and regulation with spending instruments such as tax incentives and grants comprise a major portion of all three cities' heritage strategies, and together encourage and foster the promulgation of heritage as an economic enterprise.

The 'value' of heritage does not simply arise from its capacity to promote community identity. Nor is heritage merely a social nicety to be tolerated by proponents of economic development. The above-mentioned heritage tourism facts and figures stress heritage *as* an economic practice, particularly in the St. John's and Annapolis Royal communities. The connection of heritage with tourism engages economic notions of a heritage-as-industry, which provides employment for local residents as well as bringing in external economic dollars from visitors seeking an 'authentic' heritage experience. Jamieson (1998: 65-66) advocates "cultural heritage tourism" as part of a broader field of tourism-centric economic development. While heritage can generate personal and community income, Jamieson goes on to note that the value of heritage cannot come at the expense of wider economic conditions, contending that "very few cultural resources can support the majority of a community's economic activity" (Jamieson

1998: 66). Antoft and Novack (1998: 58) further Jamieson's point by arguing for the diversification of economic development; by inference, heritage and development comprise a more diverse strategy for generating prosperity than development alone. To the extent that the above-mentioned policy instruments promote the authentic heritage of the cities while still allowing room for economic development, they succeed in largely bypassing the supposed tensions between heritage and development. As such, this particular instrument mix is prominent in this paper's (re)tailoring of the Mazmanian-Sabatier model for Canadian municipal heritage development (Figure B).

The understanding of the economic value of heritage development necessitates a broader understanding of 'value' as it relates to the municipal community. Three modes of value are addressed; personal, societal and commercial value. These modes of value come from a framework developed by consultants for the Canadian government to assess the "value added" by heritage institutions through examination of outcome impacts (Canadian Heritage 2003). Personal value measures the impact on directly affected stakeholders (in this paper, both business and private heritage property owners). Societal value stresses the impact on the community at large, including 'intangibles' such as community cohesion, identity, and possible health and infrastructural effects, among others. Societal value is considered simultaneously the most inclusive and the most ambiguous component of value measurement in the framework (Canadian Heritage 2003). Finally, the inclusion of commercial value is not 'tacked on' to the other modes; rather, it operates with other values, stressing the interconnectedness of all three value modes. Community economic surpluses, for instance, no doubt impact more nebulous 'quality of life' indicators. This paper argues that this broader understanding of value, while not communicated as explicitly, is manifest in the heritage policies of the recent Prince of Wales prize winners.

To offer a specific example, the ‘personal value’ of heritage ownership for Annapolis Royal businesses can be measured through the policies established that mitigate the negative economic implications of heritage ownership. These policies allow business owners to reap the benefits of heritage tourism, potentially increasing employment in the surrounding communities and contributing to the overall economic value of the region, evincing both personal and economic value modes. The societal benefits for the town are evident in the use of heritage policy to foster community engagement in the development of community identity and a strong sense of place and pride. This paper thus finds the value framework to be efficacious in assessing the impact of heritage policy implementation. An adaptation of the framework as part of the implementation process is included in the Mazmanian-Sabatier-adapted “Municipal Heritage Policy Implementation Model” proposed by this paper, summarized in Figure B.

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored the relationship that exists between notions of heritage and development as they manifest themselves in municipal policy in Canada. Specifically, it outlined the institutional framework in which heritage policies are implemented and the ways in which these policies are often perceived to constrain economic (i.e. ‘business’) development on the local level. An analysis of the policies of three Canadian communities identified as leaders in the heritage sector was undertaken to understand the ways in which their heritage policies were successfully implemented. The analysis then traced the implementations backward to understand the constituent factors behind their successes, with the larger goal of outlining possible commonalities between these factors, *en route* to developing a tailored model for the development and implementation of heritage policies at the municipal level.

In analyzing the constituent factors of the heritage policies through Mazmanian and Sabatier’s model of policy implementation, commonalities emerge at the institutional and policy level despite the cities’ demographic and geographic differences; for the former, the support of the provinces and the degree of horizontality are identified as key institutional attributes in developing and implementing successful municipal heritage policies. For the latter, information, regulatory and spending instruments work in concert to develop a community engaged in heritage not only at the personal level, but at the economic level as well. Indeed, the support of the business community is integral to the success of heritage policies, a notion which may help to allay some of the too-restrictive heritage policies as they pertain to business and economic development.

By using instruments such as tax incentives and grants to offset some economically negative aspects of heritage ownership as well as creating a strong ‘culture of heritage’, Aurora,

St. John's and Annapolis Royal demonstrate that heritage has a role not only in coalescing community identity, but also in achieving economic prosperity. The capacity of heritage tourism to contribute to economic development is identified as a strong value-added argument for developing protective but flexible municipal heritage policies that account for heritage tourism.

This is not, however, an uncritical call for the commoditization of heritage. The scope of this paper does not permit a full exploration of the important discussion of the dangers of “overtourism”; rather, this paper argues for the judicious integration of cultural and economic heritage value. By adapting the Mazmanian-Sabatier model through a focus on institutional structures, policy instruments and broader notions of value, this paper has attempted to move toward a ‘tailored’ model of municipal heritage policy implementation in Canada. The proposed model is by no means final; given the diverse capacities, cultures and histories of Canadian municipalities, such a contention would not only be a disservice to municipal heritage, it would be impossible in practice. Ultimately, this paper and the accompanying model attempt to create a frame onto which Canadian municipalities can lay their own particular community needs and objectives, allowing ‘heritage development’ to create value in all its forms.

Figure A. Mazmanian & Sabatier’s Policy Implementation Framework (Elson 2006)

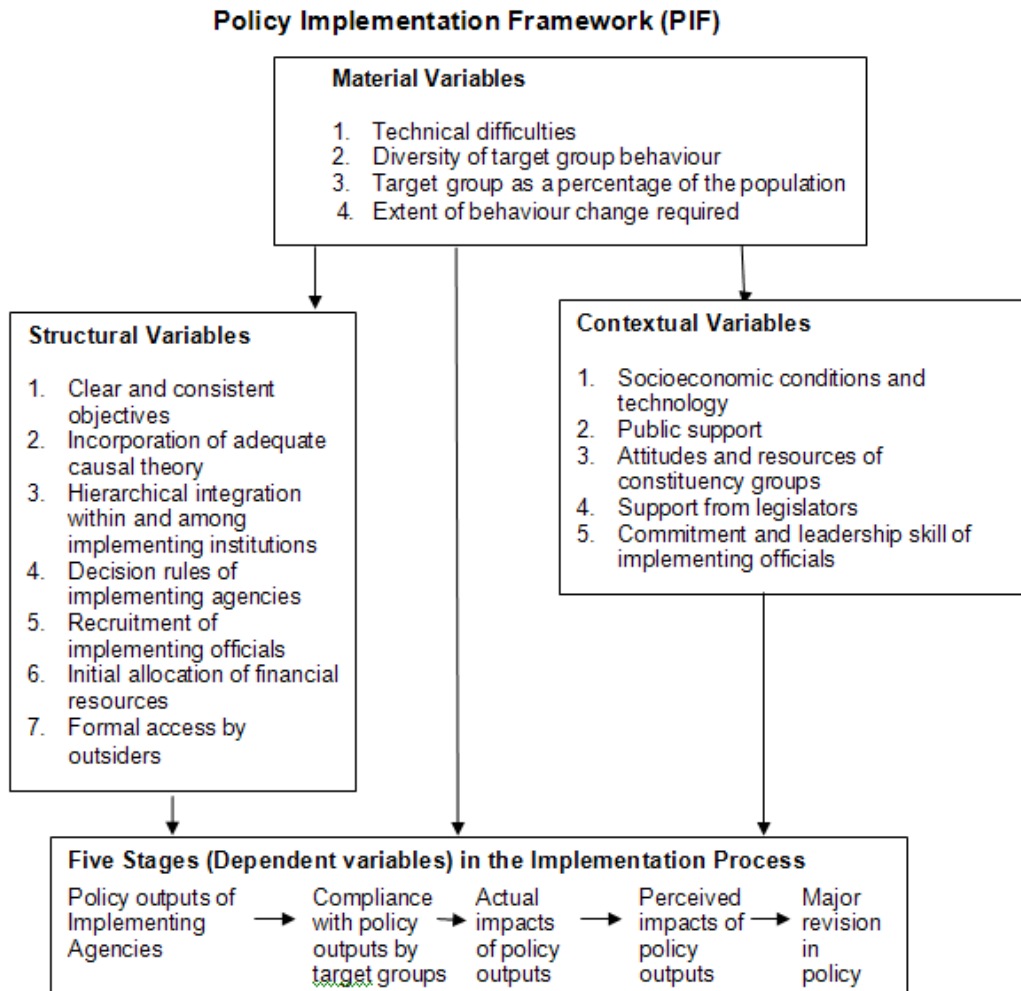
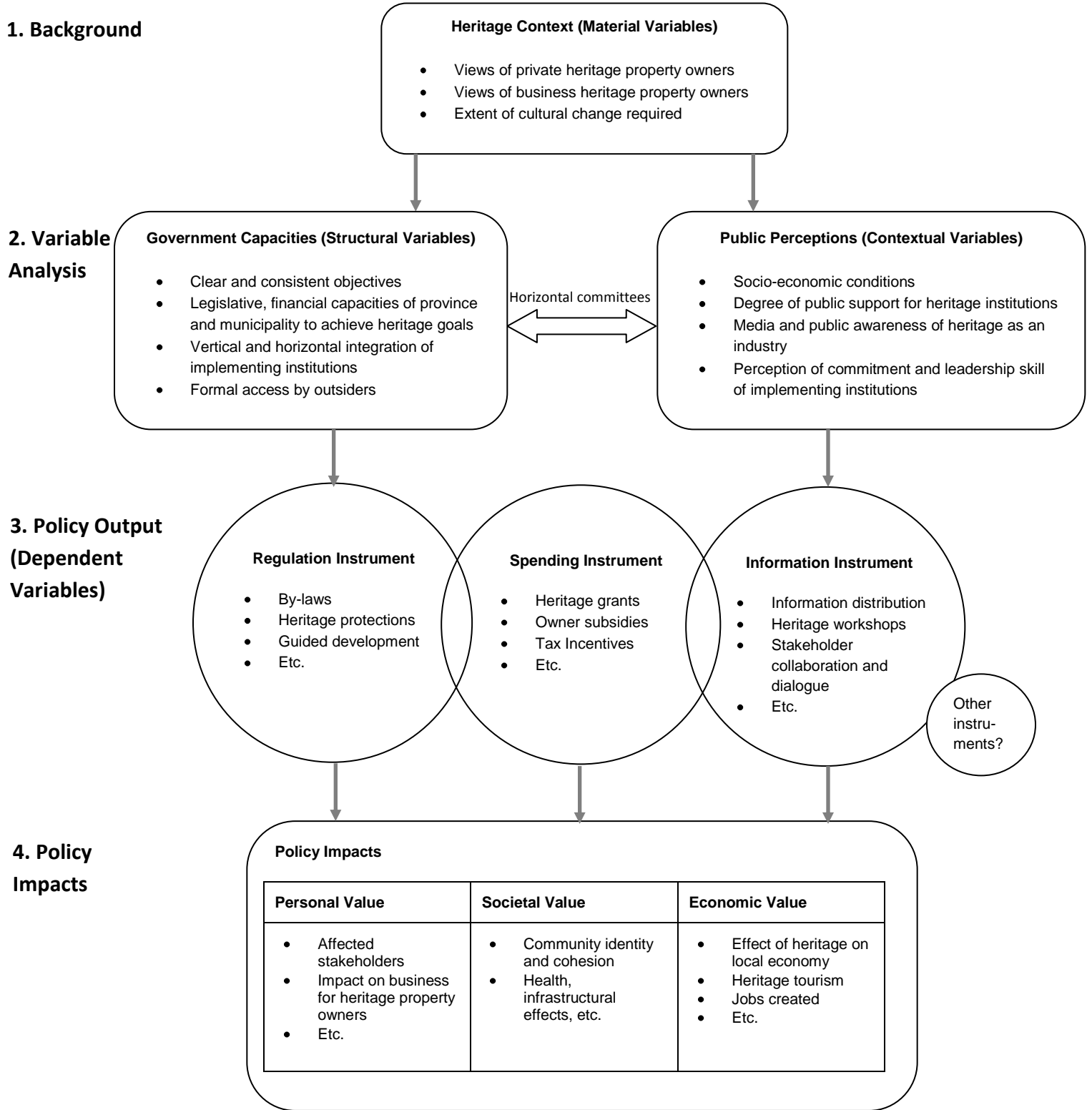


Figure B. Municipal Heritage Policy Implementation Model



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