THE EVOLVING STRUCTURE OF CORPORATE-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS: A CASE STUDY OF THE CYPRESS OLYMPIC VENUE

by

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ABSTRACT

Olympic Games often require organizing committees to construct major sports venues. As private entities not clearly accountable to the public, these 'Olympic Corporations' have been accused of bypassing normal planning and development protocols, transforming the nature of host cities with little stakeholder consultation. This research employs Giddens' theory of social structuration as a lens to understand the evolution of relationships between Vancouver 2010's Olympic Corporation and Cypress Olympic Venue (COV) stakeholders. The project suggests that because a balance of power existed between the Olympic Corporation and stakeholder groups, the relationship structure transformed from an antagonistic to a more amicable configuration through successive interactions. While the Olympic Corporation's stakeholder engagement strategies appear successful at the COV, stakeholder respondents exhibit skepticism about Olympic organizers. The Olympic Corporation must find ways to keep community groups involved in the lead up to the Games if it hopes to maintain its social licence to operate.

Keywords: structuration theory; Cypress Olympic Venue; 2010 Winter Olympics; social responsibility of business; public participation

QUOTATION

"Clinging to 'the geographical', 'the spatial' or even 'the environmental' is one way of managing the anxiety that comes when faced with an essentially un-"masterable" field of cultural theory. This is our ticket to entry, it is what we offer and how we recognize possible interlocutors, but it also enables us to retain a vestige of continued control over the potentially vast areas offered up by interdisciplinary adventures" (Barnett 1998: 390)

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I am deeply indebted to my supervisors - Drs. Peter Williams and Alison Gill - for their professionalism, support and direction. At every turn during the crafting of this project, they encouraged innovative inquiry, facilitated personal growth and professionally marshalled and accommodated my intellectual agenda. Such qualities are surely the hallmarks of only the finest scholarly guides.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Act
CBRL	Cypress Bowl Recreations Limited
COV	Cypress Olympic Venue
EA	Environmental Assessment
ENGO	Environmental non-governmental organization
FoC	Friends of Cypress Provincial Park
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OOC	Olympic Organizing Committee
PCH	Department of Canadian Heritage
RA	Responsible Agency
VANOC	Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games
VEC	Valued Ecological Component
W-B	Whistler-Blackcomb

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Rationale

Cities are using mega-events to promote themselves in hopes of raising their international profile, attracting investment and increasing tourist arrivals. The Olympic Games are widely considered the most prestigious of these hallmark events, drawing global attention to host cities. The manner in which Olympic organizing committees (OOC) go about delivering the Games, however, is intensely criticized both in the academy and the media. As private organizations not clearly accountable to the public, these 'Olympic Corporations' have been accused of bypassing normal planning and development protocols, transforming the nature of host cities with little stakeholder consultation or input (Gordon and Sibson 1998; Roche 2000; Toohey and Veal 2000; Lenskyj 2000a; Burbank et al. 2001). Stakeholder groups whose interests are ignored can create publicly-visible spectacles to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with Olympic development plans. In some cases, they are able to muster sufficient resources to disrupt or even stop an Olympic Corporation's activities. More often than not, antagonistic tensions exist between Olympic organizing committees and their community stakeholders.

A growing literature falling under the discursive banners of stakeholder theory and strategic business management identifies the benefits of including community interests in corporate operations and development plans. A reduction of transaction costs (Harrison and St. John 1996), the creation of credibility within the market and the community (Bendell 2000), as well as the facilitation

of access to resources the firm needs (Svendsen et al. 2002) are just some of the advantages of stakeholder-conscious corporate activity. In practice, the inclusion of community interests may result in corporate-community relationships developing over time in which each party's objectives can be realized in good faith (Williams et al. 2005; Gill and Williams 2005; Ponsford, Williams and Gill 2006). It is argued that positive relationships between Olympic corporations and community stakeholders can achieve similar outcomes.

Using stakeholder theory and strategic business management literature as a backdrop, this research employs Giddens' (1984) theory of social structuration to understand how corporate-community relationships were initiated, evolved and persisted in a specific case study location: the Cypress Olympic Venue for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. By tracing these relationships through time, this work is intended to be instructive for both Olympic organizers and their stakeholders. The study's results might well inform the development of strategies and practices that will enable Olympic corporate objectives to be achieved with due concern for community interests at other Olympic sites.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

This research builds on a larger project entitled "Corporatization and Environmentalism of Places" carried out at Simon Fraser University. The project sought to understand what forces drive corporations to make strategic decisions with communities in mountain resort contexts. Here, the project's key findings (see Gill and Williams 2005; Williams et al. 2005; Ponsford et al. 2006) are applied to assist in the understanding of the dynamics of corporate-community

relationships at the Cypress Olympic Venue. Specifically, the study addresses the following questions:

1. What is the nature of community involvement in the planning and development of the Cypress Olympic Venue?
2. How have relationships between community stakeholders and the Olympic Corporation evolved?
3. What interactional legacies are left behind at Cypress as a result of Olympic stakeholder engagement and its subsequent relationship building?

1.3 Research Approach

1.3.1 Literature Review

A literature review provided the theoretical foundation from which to examine the research questions. The review sought to discuss and build upon stakeholder theory, business management literature and the findings of "Corporatization and Environmentalism of Places" (Gill and Williams 2002) through an application of a seminal sociological theory – specifically Giddens' (1984) theory of social structuration. A survey of Olympic public participation discourses demonstrated the frame's relevance to the Olympic context.

1.3.2 Case Study

Based on the structuration framework, a case study was undertaken in and around West Vancouver and Cypress Provincial Park. The primary survey method employed in this investigation was a semi-structured, 'active' interview

(see Chapter 3). Respondents included members of community stakeholder groups as well as staff from the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC). The empirical results of the case study were interpreted in relation to the structuration frame.

1.4 Research Significance

At the theoretical level, this research extends understanding of strategic business management literatures by drawing on sociological theory to explain how corporate-community relationships may play out *in situ*. The synthesis of business-focused literature and socio-cultural theory ultimately informs Olympic/mega-event discourses associated with public participation, social responsibility and stakeholder engagement. The research also fosters a greater understanding of the post-Games engagement environment – which I refer to as 'interactional legacies'. It is hoped new understandings of and appreciations for the nature of stakeholder engagement in the Olympic context will lead to new directions of fruitful research.

At an applied level, this work documents VANOC's stakeholder engagement strategies at one of Vancouver 2010's Olympic venues. It highlights the importance of corporate-stakeholder relationships at the Cypress Olympic Venue and uncovers some essential prerequisites for their constitution. As such, the research may be instructive for VANOC and its stakeholders, as well as Olympic organizing committees and stakeholders in future Olympic developments.

1.5 Report Structure

This report is divided into six chapters. Chapter Two reviews and discusses literature relevant to the study, while also developing a frame of analysis. Chapter Three describes the design and research methods used in the case study, including a detailed discussion of the 'active interview' style employed in the field. Chapter Four presents research context, findings and begins an analysis of the case study interviews. Chapter Five places the project's findings in the context of the broader literatures and highlights key observations. Chapter Six presents the study's conclusions and suggests possible avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses three distinct bodies of literature. First, stakeholder theory and strategic business management literature are explored as base components of Gill and Williams' (2005) 'Corporate-Community Stakeholder Model' – a theoretical construct that seeks to explain the connections between firms and their stakeholders in the mountain resort context. The model's utility as a theoretical tool is evaluated.

The review then draws upon Giddens' (1984) conceptualization of social structuration to reveal how its insights might animate the model's relational assertions. Power is discussed as it is constituted by and within the recursive structurizing interactions between organizations. For demonstrative purposes, the review applies Giddens' theory as a sensitizing lens through which the evolution of firm/stakeholder relationships may be understood in Whistler, British Columbia.

The last section applies this frame to examine issues of power, public engagement and Olympic organizer/community relationships in host cities. The review culminates in the development of an assessment framework that brings together seemingly divergent literatures, building an evaluative tool for understanding how Olympic corporate-stakeholder relationships initiate, evolve and persist at the Cypress Olympic Venue.

2.2 Legitimizing Stakeholder Engagement: A Survey of Strategic Business Management Discourse

2.2.1 Stakeholder Theory

Stakeholders can be defined as groups or individuals who are affected - or can affect - a corporation's day to day business operation or long-term goals (Freeman 1984). More explicitly, Hillman and Keim (2001) identify primary stakeholders as shareholders and investors, employees, resource suppliers, customers and community residents at large. Public stakeholder groups, writes Clarkson (1995: 6), are "governments and communities that provide infrastructures and markets, whose laws and regulations must be obeyed, and to whom taxes and other obligations may be due". Often, stakeholders groups are seen as the voice of an assemblage of interests; social, environmental or economic. These groups or individuals are inherently part of any social arrangement surrounding a business entity.

Epistemologically, stakeholder theory is a framework through which stakeholders can be identified within a locality, as well as a tool for assessing their ability to influence business and community practices. Because it assumes firms are entrenched within a social network, it attempts to ontologically identify stakeholder groups that can affect, or be affected by a firm's activities. While the former demands an assessment of the power, legitimacy and urgency of a stakeholder group (Mitchel et al. 1997), the latter refers to growing discourses centred on the moral obligations a firm has to its stakeholders and society in general (Phillips 2004).

Stakeholder theory's adherents claim it is methodologically useful to examine firms as players within complex networks of stakeholders. They argue firms are entangled within a web of interdependency (Harrison and St. John 1996) which allows them to conduct business. For example, stakeholders may be seen as gatekeepers to resources the firm requires to operate successfully (Svendsen et al. 2002) that act as watchdogs for the responsible use of resources in the community or region. In return, stakeholder groups offer a 'social licence to operate' (Robson and Robson 1996; see also Williams et al. 2005) to businesses engaging in practices that do (not) compromise or infringe upon stakeholder interests. In practical terms, stakeholder theory seeks to help managers understand their operating environments and manage the nexus of relationships that exists in place (Logsdon and Wood 2005).

2.2.2 Resource Dependence Theory

Closely allied to stakeholder theory, resource dependence theory envisions stakeholder groups themselves as resources (Wernerfelt 1984). Central in this vein of thought is the notion that businesses seek competitive advantage over their peers. To achieve market leverage, they create and maintain good stakeholder relations to gain access to both tangible and intangible resources (Wernerfelt 1984). Again, stakeholders can act like gatekeepers to the tangible resources firms require to operate, but may themselves bear intangible assets like human and intellectual capital. Such assets may become more advantageous for a firm's long-term value creation than accumulation of tangible assets, particularly in a globalized, knowledge-based economy (Svendsen 1998; Svendsen et al.

2002). Social capital – the collected value of social networks (Putnam 1995) – in this light then becomes a resource in and of itself, facilitating the ease with which corporations can do business. In circumstances where the efficiency to access resources cannot be replicated by competitors, a competitive advantage exists (Barney 1991).

2.2.3 Corporate Environmentalism

The corporate environmentalist movement seeks to fix environmental considerations within both the day-to-day business practices and long term goals of companies. In response to changing societal environmental perspectives and growing environmental regulation, together with increasing pressures from environmentally-minded consumer groups, some corporations are integrating environmental sensibilities into their corporate cultures and management processes (Banerjee 2001; Lyon 2003). Advocates of corporate environmentalism maintain that corporate environmental strategies help protect image, satisfy safety concerns of employees and community, avoid government regulation and intervention (Parker 2002), reduce risk of stakeholder conflict potential, and ultimately improve the economic efficiency of production processes (Bannerjee 2001; Berry and Rondinelli 1998).

A common manifestation of corporate commitment to environment is the development of Environmental Management Systems (EMS). These systems, enshrined within the core philosophy of progressive corporations, "set out goals and objectives" while measuring "performance aimed at continuous environmental improvement" (Berry and Rondinelli 1998: 45). Through

monitoring, auditing, reporting and ongoing evaluation (Holliday et al. 2002), firms are able to foresee environmental consequences of day-to-day business practices and react to them proactively, reducing waste and mitigating negative environmental impacts (Todd and Williams 1996). Moreover, these initiatives stress the building of greater communication and understanding between the firm and both its internal and external stakeholders (Williams et al. 2005). Such voluntary activities can propel these corporations beyond simple compliance with government regulation; they may make further environmental regulation redundant.

2.2.4 Corporate Social Responsibility

As an extension of corporate environmentalism, corporate social responsibility (CSR) focuses on preventing both negative environmental and social consequences through meaningful engagement with stakeholders. It seeks to find solutions that benefit both the corporation and society in general (Cragg 1996). Proponents of CSR emphasize collaborative solutions between corporations and stakeholders, asserting group efforts promote cross-fertilization of ideas, leading to more creative and implementable management strategies (Bannerjee 1998; Hart 1995). Furthermore, commentators note corporations that engage in various forms of CSR are more attractive to resourceful and motivated employees and may lead to higher levels of company morale (Willard 2003).

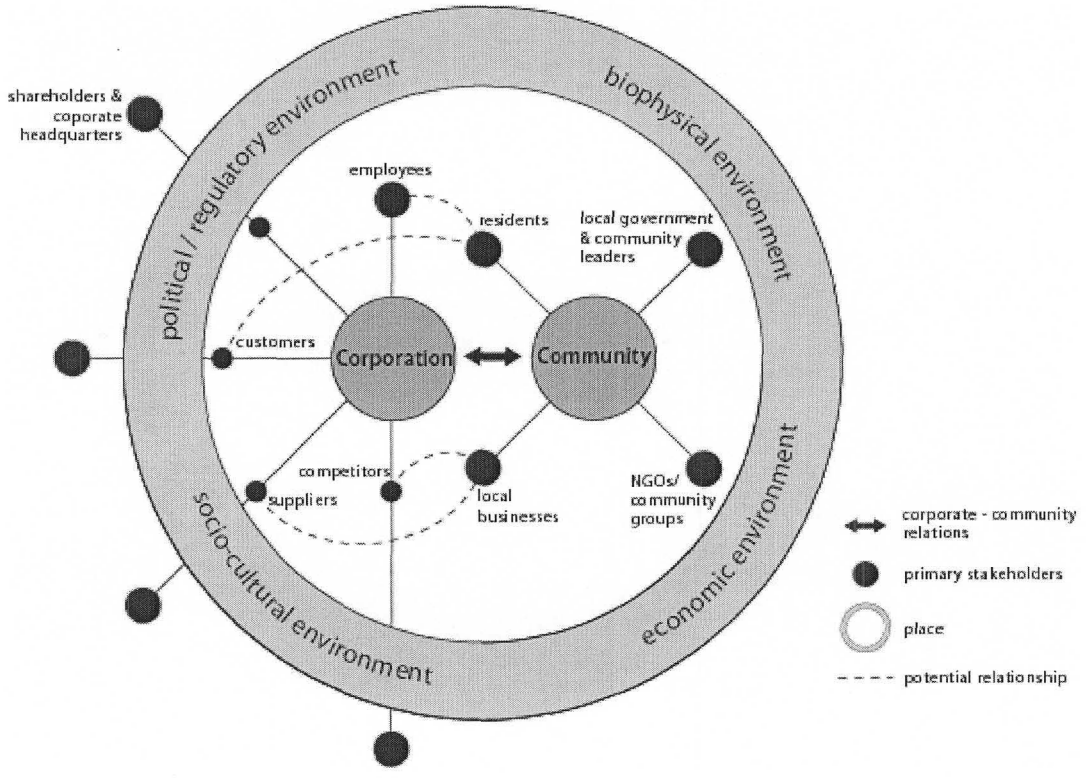
2.3 Modelling Corporate-Community Stakeholder Relationships

A number of models seeking to define the organizational structure of tourism destinations have emerged from the field of strategic business management. These models are ultimately concerned with identifying what kind of organizational structure at tourism destinations lead to superior performance in terms of strategic success (Flagestad and Hope 2001). Pre-eminently, Flagestad and Hope's (2001) 'corporate model' and 'community model' (cf. Bodega, Cioccarelli and Denicolai 2004) provide conceptual frames that characterize two different styles of mountain resort destination management. Drawing on Heath and Wall (1996) and others, the community model of organizational structure identifies politically-driven management, autonomous and un-connected tourism firms operating in policy domains where planning and decisions are based on stakeholder collaboration and numerous compromises. Beiger (1996) suggests the community model is typically found in European mountain resort destinations. The corporate model, on the other hand, posits a single, dominant business entity as the major supplier of tourist services, where political and development decisions are largely influenced by corporate executives. Flagestad and Hope (2001) assert the corporate model is typical of North American destinations.

In the same vein, Gill and Williams' (2005) model of corporate-community stakeholder relations (Fig. 1) posits that both the corporation and a range of community stakeholders operate within the unique political/regulatory, biophysical, economic and socio-cultural components of a destination. Their model identifies the firm's primary stakeholders as customers, employees,

suppliers, competitors and, outside the specificity of place, shareholders and corporate head office. Alternately, the community's primary stakeholders include local government, community leaders, residents, local businesses, NGOs and other community groups.

Figure 1 The Corporate-Community Stakeholder Model



(Gill and Williams 2005, by permission)

At the basic level, the model stresses the interaction between the corporation and the community within 'place'. Groups categorized as community or corporate stakeholders undoubtedly interact with each other, but also share relationships across these analytical boundaries (marked with dashed lines). For instance, local businesses, while holding stake with the community, may become suppliers or even competitors to a larger corporation, thereby assuming multiple

roles as corporate and/or community stakeholder. Such conceptual mapping highlights the complexity of these relationships in place.

The real value of the model lies in its ability to chart the players involved in corporate-community interaction. By drawing upon the strategic business management literature, it makes available the opportunity to envisage and rationalize multiple actors engaging in various interactions simultaneously. Such engagement suggests a great deal of interdependence between corporation and community, which reflects on-the-ground realities revealed by empirical investigations undertaken in the research project "The Corporatization and Environmentalism of Places" (Gill and Williams 2002). The community requires the corporation to act as the main economic driver, while the corporation requires the community to offer a social licence to operate, high quality destination services and environment, and regulatory approval for its developments plans (Williams et al. 2005).

The model presents a generic situation that, for practical purposes, must be understood in terms of the place it describes. In other words, its transferability as a theoretical tool requires modification to encompass the specificities of the studied location. Williams et al. (2005), in their presentation of the model, address this issue by noting a number of distinct features characteristic of North American mountain resort destinations. In their study of engagement processes in Whistler B.C., they are clear to note:

- Skiing activities occur mainly on public land, which is subject to robust environmental regulations. Operations must strictly adhere to such environmental regulation (Todd and Williams 1996)

- A significant number of the area's residents are second-home owners who do not live permanently in the community (Williams and Gill 2004)

- A high percentage of employees commute to work due to a lack of affordable housing (Moore et al. 2005)

- The entire community is commodified as a part of the tourism product (Williams et al. 2005).

Such place-specific clarifications are undoubtedly necessary if the model is to be used as a conceptual device.

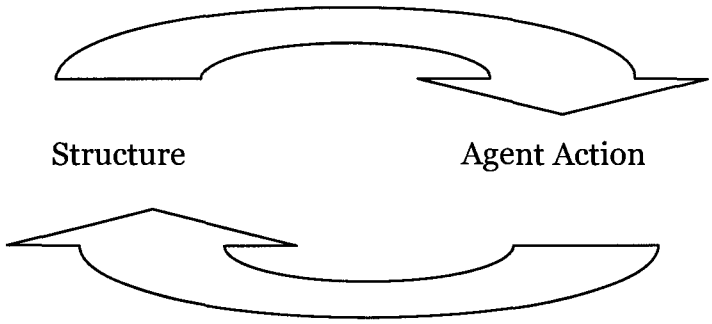
While the model identifies stakeholders and indicates the actual and potential interactions between them, it does not describe the *evolving nature* of relationships between actors – relationships that undoubtedly shape corporate development and operation practices. Indeed the model is presented as a 'flash-frame' of what the interaction arena may look like. Yet interactions between corporations and community stakeholders are in a constant state of evolution. Relationships, therefore, must be seen as the result of interaction through time, and in the case of mountain resort destinations, "relationships can be traced through various stages that represent not only *changing political, economic and social circumstances* within the community, but also *evolving corporate responses* to market demand and *local opportunities and constraints*" (Gill and

Williams 2005, my emphasis). Understanding the evolving nature of stakeholder relationships therefore requires the addition of a time element to animate these engagements and bring to life the dynamism of corporate/community stakeholder interaction. Structuration theory provides such a lens.

2.4 Structuration Theory: Conceptualizing the Dynamics of Relationship Change

In one of his seminal monographs, *The Constitution of Society* (1984), Anthony Giddens presents a conceptualization of the nature of human social relationships and networks where behaviour and social structure are inextricably intertwined. Social structures – here defined as the rules, positions and institutional relationships between actors or groups of actors – are both the medium of human agency and simultaneously the result. They are the arenas of human activities (players are acting within the bounds of social structure) as well as the result of those activities (affecting the social structures within which they work) (Gregory 1994). The conceptualization further suggests agents are, in turn, modified by the very structures they themselves modify, implying a recursive reproduction of self and social structure through action. Giddens refers to the reflexive nature of agent and structure as the 'duality of structure' (Fig. 2). "To enquire into the structuration of social practices" Giddens writes, "is to seek to explain how it comes about that structures are constituted through action, and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally" (1976: 161).

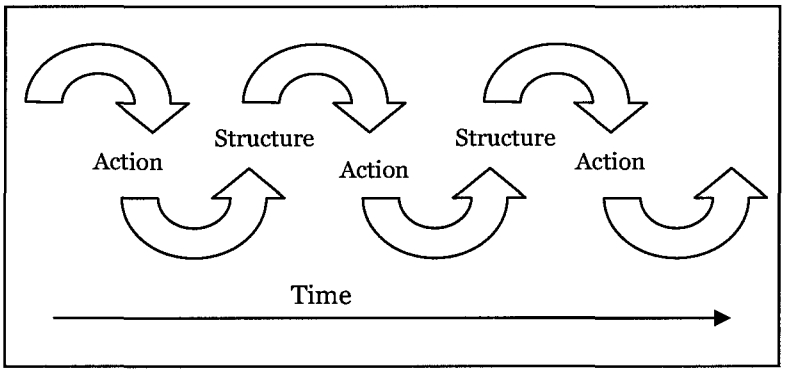
Figure 2 The Duality of Structure: Conceptualizing Social Practice



Central to Giddens' thesis is that actors are knowledgeable about their structural context, drawing on this knowledge when they engage in any sort of purposeful action. Indeed, those who fully recognize the nature of local social structures stand a greater chance of levering them to meet their needs.

The most distinctive aspect of structuration theory is that it goes beyond traditional myopic social theory in which structures or agents are addressed separately (Bryant and Jary 1991; Stones 2005). It emphasizes both structure and agent equality – as mutually constitutive entities – captured within the duality of structure. Therefore, structures cannot be solely conceived of as constraints upon human agency; they must also be seen as enabling (Giddens 1976). The ramification of such a conceptualization, where neither agent nor structure is given primacy in analysis, is a much deeper contextualization of dynamic phenomenon. It provides a more comprehensive framework by which to examine sociological experience through time (Fig. 3) and, some would argue, over space (see Gregory 1994).

Figure 3 Time Conceptualization of Structuration Theory



(Ponsford et al. 2006)

Structuration theory has, however, seen limited application. Relatively few fields - accounting (Macintosh and Scapens 1990), the sociology of technology (Desanctis and Poole 1994), inter-firm and intra-firm relationship management (Schneidewind and Petersen 1998; see also Sydow 1996) - have applied Giddens' theory with any vigour. Scholars of tourism have only dabbled with its concepts (see for instance Jansen-Verbeke and Deitvorst 1987, Ashworth and Dietvorst 1999). This is not to suggest structuration theory has been muted by any means; Giddens' work has been the subject of countless discourses in the humanities – particularly sociology, history and critical human geography. The reason for structuration theory's "uneven fortunes" writes Stones, "are because there have been no concerted efforts to respond to criticisms at the theoretical level" (2005: 2). Giddens himself has hardly defended his own conceptualization of structuration. Another reason for its limited application is the challenge of praxis: applying structuration's abstract and theoretical conceptualizations to the real-world, particularly by means of empirical study. Here too, Giddens does not provide any sort of methodological roadmap for applying his theory. Rather, it seems, Giddens hoped structuration theory would be a tool for 'sensitizing'

researchers to the complexities of human action and social structure (Giddens 1990). Indeed, structuration theory only provides a lens to the researcher, and requires other lenses – social, political, historical and economic – to draw out empirically-informed substantive particulars and specificities.

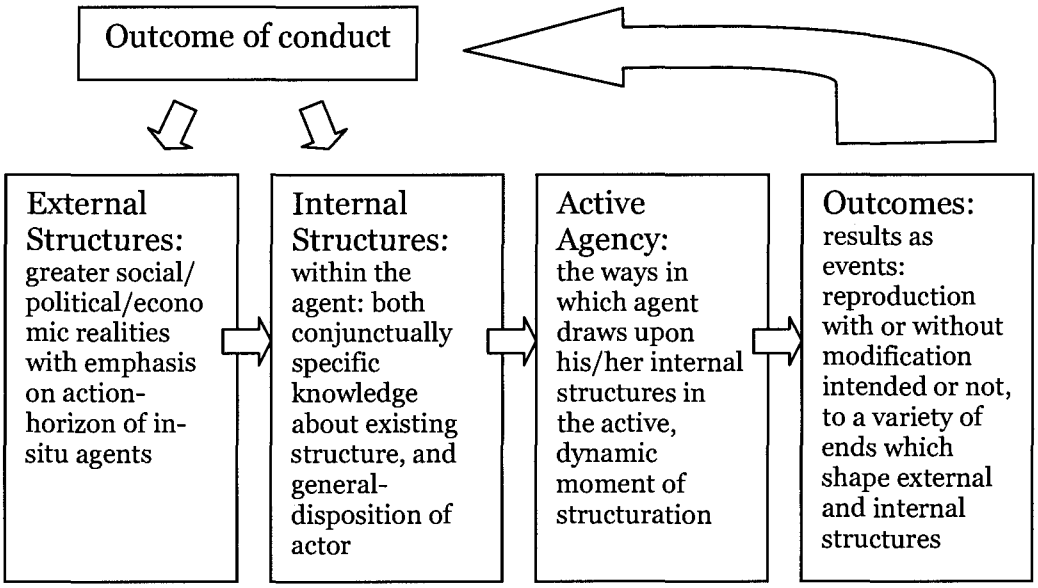
Regardless, any lack of engagement at the theoretical level has not discouraged structuration theory's adherents from attempting to set out categorically a strategic method for connecting theory to practice. For instance, Stones (2005) has attempted to anchor Giddens' theory in empirical reality – a process where he seeks to marshal the transition from what he calls Giddens' 'ontology in general' to 'ontology *in situ*'. At the core of Stones' efforts is his reorganization of structuration theory into the "Quadpartite Nature of Structuration" (Fig. 4), which expands upon – and to be sure, makes more accessible – the duality of structure. Nevertheless, Stones (2005: 116) warns that any use of structuration theory must be attentive to its epistemological roots:

> The research strategy of strong structuration is characterized by a closely attentive reflexivity with respect to logical and methodological consistency of relations between ontology at the abstract level (ontology in general) and this ontology as it looks at the substantive, ontic level (ontology in situ), and with respect to the forces of empirical evidence that are called on to substantiate claims about the latter.

The value in structuration theory for Stones lies in its ability to act as a framework from which entities of varying scales can be identified whilst their inter- and re- actions are made visible over a given time period and within a specific place. Stones' refinements of Giddens' work exposes the components of

structuration to the researcher, who, in turn can begin to use structuration theory empirically as a contextualizing tool.

Figure 4 Stones' Quadpartite Nature of Structuration



(Adapted from text, Stones 2005: 85[1])

As a guide to empirical research, Stones' offering demands scrutiny at all stages of the structuration process. In order for 'strong structuration', he calls for a detailed ontology of existing social structures 'out there' - structures within which the actor can operate. A detailed analysis of the composition of the actor must follow, where Stones divides 'internal structures' into two categories. He presses for an examination of what he calls the actor's 'conjunctionaly-specific knowledge' (positional knowledge and biases) and 'general-disposition'

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[1] Stones presents a far more detailed and complex discussion of the Quadripartite Nature of Structuration, particularly the role of and implications for hermeneutics and phenomenology. See Stones 2005 pg. 84-115 for a more nuanced explanation.

(personality traits or *habitus*). An evaluation of these structures lends itself to a greater understanding of the dynamic moment of structuration, and ultimately the outcomes of action, whether intended or not. Altered external and internal structures are the result of outcomes, whereupon the first structuration is complete and structuration as Time 2 begins.

Despite the more accessible structuration theory presented by Stones, his refinements still leave the researcher with the challenge of sorting through seemingly endless levels of scales. Ontology, even at is simplest, demands a never-ending division of entities and thus presents the researcher with problems of over-complication. Manageability in such research is a real constraint. Therefore, studies engaging the structuration theorem have sought to set boundaries to their empiricism – often by constructing a research question explicitly defining a given time, space or limited number of actors. The critical issue that arises from this strategy, at least from an epistemological stance, is that it neglects the influences of structuration processes outside the researcher's view, which, as Stones (2005) himself suggests, are critical components to understanding the subject at hand.

Instead of segmenting off components of a system for analysis using the structuration theorem, it may be more beneficial to examine structuration processes given a specific theme. Indeed, Kilminster (1991) asserts that the 'bracketing off' of various components of Giddens' work – thereby clearly tracing select elements within a social system – greatly aids in developing a workable structuration methodology. Jorg Sydow (1998), for instance, focuses on trust

between organizations as it is constituted by the processes of structuration. For Sydow (1998), structuration theory is used to conceptualize trust as the medium and outcome of subtle and recursive interplay between action and structure. Using these concepts, his work describes the creation, maintenance and sometimes the dissolution of trust amongst financial service firms in Germany. By focusing on trust, not time/space or actor specificities, Sydow is able to engage structuration theory without spiralling into excessive studies of context.

Understanding the dynamic interactions between community stakeholders and corporations in mountain resort communities using structuration theory would best be served by engaging such a theme, particularly in light of the fragmented and dynamic nature of these destinations. An obvious theme to latch onto in this arena is power, since its manifestation and distribution has been at the forefront of discussions of corporate influence (and resistance to these influences) at destinations (see Hall and Jenkins 1995; Rothman 1998; Horner 2000; Tuppen 2000). Indeed, 'power' has dominated the discourses of stakeholder theory, corporate environmentalism and corporate social responsibility. Similarly, this theme has credence with regards to Olympic corporate power entering the engagement arena. Perhaps more importantly still, power amongst actors marshals the way they interact and underpins the very potential for mutually-beneficial corporate-community relationship (Ponsford et al. 2006).

2.4.1 The Role of Power in Social Structuration

Not surprisingly, the notion of power is central to structuration theory. Power, which Giddens (1982) describes as the ability to 'achieve outcomes', permeates both actors and structures. Giddens suggests that power be seen within the duality of structure as mutually constitutive – that is, actors assert power over structures and structures assert power over actors, each shaping the other. Giddens wants to "deal with structure as implicated in power relations and power relations as implicated in structure" (1986: 91). He does, however, make analytical distinctions between the two. Giddens asserts that the agent's power to influence social practice is derived in large part by their ability to gain access to – and leverage – what he calls allocative and authoritative resources[2]. Allocative resources refer to the ability to control objects (for example money or land) and authoritative resources refer to the ability to command actors (for instance moral suasion or political legitimacy).

For Giddens (1984), power is not an obstacle to freedom or emancipation for the agent; rather it is the essential medium by which the agent structures the social network. On the other hand, structural power – identified by Giddens (1984) as 'structures of domination' - can be seen in light of the perpetuation and reproduction of the status quo. Actors reproduce power relations by the way they interact within given social structures and so are marshalled by their own knowledge of social acceptability. Giddens (1986: 38-9) summarizes power

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[2] Characterizing power as the ability to employ resources has been echoed by studies of actor interaction (Few 2002) and even in multi-stakeholder tourism destinations (Kayat 2002; Reed 1997).

within the duality of structure: "resources are the media whereby power is employed in the routine course of social action; but they are at the same time structural elements of social systems, reconstituted in social interaction".

As power has proven itself an important indicator for analyzing stakeholder relationships (Eden 1996; Mitchell et al. 1997), understanding power within the frame of structuration gives greater clarity as to its dynamic (re)constitution in resort destinations. Power is a key element in understanding the political dimensions of destinations precisely because it governs the interactions between individuals, organizations and agencies influencing the formulation of policy and the manner in which it is implemented (Hall 1994).

2.4.2 Power in the Mountain Resort Sector

Studies engaging the issue of power at tourism destinations identify a common set of actors, each with their own access to greater or lesser reserves of allocative and authoritative resources (see Ashworth and Dietvorst 1999). In mountain resort destinations, principle agents can be classified as *producers* or *non-producers* (see Matthews 1980). Producers are businesses that provide tourists the products and services they demand, whereas non-producers are groups that attempt to assert their own interests – be they social, economic or environmental – onto the decision-making stage.

Mountain resorts can be seen as one-industry towns, where one mega-producer provides the vast majority of tourism goods and services. Because these corporations have vast allocative resources, they occupy an exceptionally powerful position as influencers of policy agendas (Flagestad and Hope 2001).

The ability to control employment, prices, growth and material standards of living gives these producers leverage to influence just how decisions are made. Producers, thus, by virtue of their ability to control such elements, are often given primacy in a political system that heavily favours employment and growth as key measures of community well-being.

Non-producers, such as community groups and non-government organizations (NGO), have only a fraction of the allocative resources of the producers, but often possess a greater degree of authoritative resources. Growing concern for sustainability issues in resort destinations – indeed the escalation of the global environmental lobby – has enlisted the will of many to see more socially and environmentally sustainable engagements with landscapes. Non-producer organizations, which may be seen as beacons of knowledge to the lay person – indeed even as watchdogs and activists fighting for the economically powerless – carry with them a great degree of moral righteousness (Elkington 2005). As such, they have the ability to promote negative public sentiment against those they see as damaging society or environment.

While both producers and non-producers appear to have their own respective fire-power, empirical research at mountain resort destinations suggests a truly lop-sided arena, particularly in emergent tourism destinations (Reed 1997). Tourism corporations undoubtedly wield power 'where it counts' – that is, allocative resources speak volumes more than do authoritative resources; this despite the growing support for public interest, consumer, environmental and community-based organizations (Scholzman and Tierney 1986). The ability

of corporations to act in the name of 'growth, progress and development' – key terms in the rhetoric of contemporary economic theory – often allies public authorities with corporations, a partnership that fetches good report cards for governments and profits for firms. In this circumstance, a small group of elite corporate executives have control of resources and personnel key to the decision-making process (Debbage 1990). Power, it would seem, lies squarely with those who have the ability to bring allocative resources to bear in the existing regulatory environment.

2.4.3 Power, Structuration and the Corporate-Community Stakeholder Model

A structuration approach to understanding corporate – civil-society relationships positions corporations and stakeholder groups as entities bound within a social structure network (made conceptually legible by the Corporate-Community Stakeholder Model), each leveraging their own sources of power through action against others and against the social system (their existing relationship structures) more broadly. Through action – and thus interaction – new social structure configurations take form, which, in turn, shape how agents behave in future interactions.

The possibility of new social structure configurations through action lends itself to a potential departure from the antagonistic and often damaging relationships between corporations and their stakeholders. Based on strategic business management discourses, the development of social capital between firms and communities is advantageous. From the stakeholder perspective, good

relationships with a mega-producer is desirable in light of the decline in the regulatory role of governments due to globalization (Bendell 2000), a growing recognition that radical action focusing on antagonism often does not produce the stakeholder's desired results (Murphy and Bendell 1997; Elkington 2005) and a general realization amongst non-government organizations (NGO) that if indeed their objectives are to be met, business likely must play a role (Elkington and Fennell 1998). Good relationships amongst corporations and stakeholders, as demonstrated below in an examination of Whistler, are precursors to achieving each party's objectives.

2.5 The Whistler Experience

2.5.1 Whistler Background

Located in the coastal mountains 120km north of Vancouver, Whistler is widely considered one of the world's finest mountain ski resorts. The resort was incorporated in 1975, with ski operations beginning in 1980. The Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW) now sees over two million skier visits annually on its two massifs, Whistler and Blackcomb mountains. There is a resident population of around 10,000, with 5,000 seasonal residents added in peak ski periods (RMOW 2005).

2.5.2 Evolving Relationships: From Conflict to Partnership via Structuration

Gill (2002) refers to the 1980s in Whistler as the 'growth machine years'. Indeed, the resort saw unprecedented expansion both in terms of development of physical structures and in the number of visitors. Though regulated, Whistler

rapidly expanded up and down valley as the result of vast sums of corporate capital entering into the community facilitated by a growth-minded municipal council. The resident population at Whistler remained, for the most part, silent in the face of this wild expansion; many property owners stood to benefit financially from the development. By the 1990s, however, the community's residents began showing concern about the geographical expansion of the resort, the lack of affordable housing and accessible recreation, as well as the increasingly obvious affects of development on the surrounding environment. The community eventually demanded a more sensitive institutional response to these issues, fearing the resort would loose its own character should development continue unabated.

It was at this time that residents began to form community interest groups. The most prominent of these was the Association of Whistler Area Residents for the Environment (AWARE). Originally formed as a lobby group aimed at having the municipality initiate a recycling program, the group eventually began to address increasingly evident environmental issues more broadly. AWARE gained a significant amount of public notoriety when it lobbied against a proposed golf course it claimed would significantly damage the ecological integrity of the area. Although the project went ahead after a public participation process, Xu (2004) notes AWARE gained a large degree of credibility in the community as a result of its involvement with this issue. AWARE also gained a degree of acceptance from local government representatives, who realized the group was a legitimate third party in the development process. While still limited by funding, AWARE's actions built a

quantity of authoritative resources – so much so that corporate developers began to recognize that AWARE's endorsement of projects was increasingly important, although not legally essential (Xu 2004). Whereas the Resort Municipality of Whistler was responsible for providing regulatory permits to developers, AWARE was becoming the key figure in providing the development corporations with a 'social licence to operate'.

It became clear through the golf course permitting process that the power to develop in Whistler was increasingly balanced on the one hand by the allocative resources of developers – primarily Intrawest operating under the house name Whistler-Blackcomb (W-B) – and on the other by the authoritative resources of community groups like AWARE. W-B's development plans in the community were increasingly contested by AWARE. Marcoux (2004) notes that Intrawest began to recognize the power of AWARE to sway public opinion and raise negative sentiment not only toward development, but also the organization's day to day operations. Intrawest therefore began to seek ways to engage AWARE.

The structure of W-B's and AWARE's relationship was initially confrontational. Xu (2004) describes early interactions between AWARE and W-B as aggressive and often counterproductive. AWARE was a self-declared outsider to the decision-making sphere, preferring to reactively and forcefully assert itself as a challenger to the development practices of W-B through finger-pointing and publicly visible controversy. W-B also preferred to stay on the fringes, opting to avoid volatile community issues and even public planning

processes. Structurally, a gulf existed between the two organizations: communication between the groups was antagonistic and hostile.

An on-mountain oil spill in 1992 prompted a change in the way W-B related to AWARE. In response to the spill, W-B developed its first Environmental Management System (EMS). This was motivated both by a fear of potential and unpredictable outcry by media and community groups concerning the corporation's attention to environmental due diligence issues, as well as Intrawest's concern about possible future litigation (Todd and Williams 1997). The company's initiative showed that it was clearly concerned about how the community would respond, and followed through with detailed and open reporting on how they were dealing with the spill. Shortly after the spill, W-B appeared to change its position on working in isolation from the community. It began to work more closely with the local government and community groups in developing a destination environmental strategy, as well as entering into – although gingerly at first – public forums and debates about Whistler's issues, environmental and otherwise.

Recognizing W-B's more proactive approaches, AWARE began to change its action strategy for how it would interact with the company. The group took on a more business-like approach and began approaching W-B less as an agitator and more as a collaborator. While many in the organization understood the benefits of interacting with W-B in more formal contexts, AWARE's members recognized the need to maintain their independence. This was required to ensure they retained their ability to pressure W-B should the corporation fail to

incorporate the community's interests in their operation and future development initiatives. Through successive interactions within this less confrontational relationship structure, a degree of social capital developed between AWARE and W-B. Corporate development and operational decisions in the resort were increasingly being made with the input of AWARE. The new alliance symbolically culminated in their mutual signing of the Natural Step Framework (along with other stakeholders), a science-based guide for environmentally-sustainable business. In a more applied sense, a series of interactions in the spirit of collaboration led to the creation of action-oriented environmental taskforces, which involved W-B's funding initiatives and AWARE's providing volunteers.

The current order of engagement, characterized by participation and partnerships, appears to posit W-B and its community stakeholders as collaborators in the development and operation of Whistler. The community still requires W-B to act as the primary economic driver in the region and W-B still requires a social license to operate. Each group's power – be it derived from allocative or authoritative resources – appears to have achieved balance, instead of one posing a threat to the other. Indeed, power resources are increasingly shared by the two groups. The community gains from the funding of community-based programs, whilst W-B benefits from increased recognition of its commitments to community and environmental sustainability.

2.5.3 Analysis: Crafting Corporate–Community Partnerships at Whistler

As a result of a highly mobilized stakeholder group that effectively allied itself with broader Whistler community interests – indeed a group that

positioned itself as 'watchdog' for environmental sensitivities – Intrawest's W-B operation incorporated civil society interests into its planning and operation decision-making processes. While corporate interactions with the environmental NGO were volatile at first, W-B recognized the stakeholder's saliency and voluntarily altered the way it did business. In turn, the stakeholder group became more open to collaborative opportunities being presented to it by the corporation. Through successive interactions in the new engagement environment, trust-based relationships formed between civil-society and the corporation. Each provides the other with some of the desired elements needed to achieve their respective goals. The arrangement has led to a community that is more willing to – and more likely to – provide a higher level of service for visitors, effectively building a competitive advantage for W-B (Marcoux 2004; cf. Pharand 2005).

Marcoux (2004) and Williams et al. (2005) identify key factors that benefit and facilitate the development of relationships between W-B and its community stakeholders. In this partnership, each party has seen the following principles enshrined within its day-to-day practices to ensure a continued mutually-beneficial relationship structure (Table 1).

Table 1 Principles for Mutually-Beneficial Corporate-Community Relationships

Principle	Definition	Results
Accurate Identification of Relevant Stakeholders	Knowing all who have 'stake' in the decision and understanding who has power to affect the decision-making process or results.	Avoidance of litigation in the future, improved decision-making practice, community wide trust built, getting it 'right the first time'
Transparency	Honesty, integrity, and openness in planning and day-to-day operations	Gains community support through trust, keeps stakeholders and decision-makers abreast of activities
Inclusiveness	Level of involvement for stakeholders in the in the decision-making process	Promotes cross-fertilization of thinking, increases chances decision will meet needs of corporation and community alike
Responsiveness	Responsiveness to corporate or community issues in a proactive, timely and appropriate manner	Builds trust between groups, crafts credibility of organizations, demonstrates commitment to partnership
Commitment	The degree to which parties are committed to partnership and collaboration	Shows willingness to cooperate, fosters trust, reinforces loyalty in relationship

(Adapted from text, Williams et al. 2005; Xu 2004; Marcoux 2004)

Strong stakeholder relationships are cultivated over time through successive, trust-building and therefore 'structurizing' interactions in which the ability of actors to leverage resources against others plays a significant role (Ponsford et al. 2006). Where power imbalances exist, both corporation and stakeholder have roles to fulfil. On the one hand, openness and transparency in a corporation's dealings with stakeholders, as well as sustained, voluntary and publicly-visible efforts to incorporate the community's interests are precursors to robust corporate-community partnerships. Communities must, on the other hand, organize to form salient, publicly-backed stakeholder groups under an effective leadership that champions community values. Stakeholder groups must also be accessible to the corporation by presenting themselves as legitimate representatives of the community's interests and further offer solutions-based

and business-oriented resolutions to the community's concerns. Moreover, they must make a strong case for co-operation and collaboration, perhaps even showing directly how the corporation can begin to gain competitive advantage as a result. If these roles are fulfilled, and power can be balanced to form and constitute a healthy tension between community groups and corporations, there exists greater opportunities for mutually beneficial relationships whereby both party's objectives can be achieved in good faith.

Unbalanced power relations effectively breeds distrust between parties (Rohe 2004) and may limit the ability of corporations to acquire a social license to operate. In the absence of power balance, civil-society groups are not likely to be incorporated in the decision-making sphere (Jamal and Getz 1995; Andriof and Waddock 2002; see also Ponsford et al. 2006).

2.5.4 Corporate-Community Relationships: Beyond Whistler

The validity of these assertions, I argue, is not limited to the mountain resort sector. The frame drawn together and applied here to examine W-B's relationship development with its stakeholders can be readily transferred beyond Whistler to inform understandings of other corporate-community relationships. Every firm is embedded amongst stakeholders, and every stakeholder is affected by firms. The extent to which mutually-beneficial relationships develop is wholly determined by the actions and relative power of actors, as well as the present state of their relationship structure.

2.6 The Olympic Corporation

2.6.1 Olympics-as-Corporation

The process by which cities bid, plan and organize to become hosts for either the Summer or Winter Olympic Games is intensely political. In most cases, a small group of local or regional business persons – media executives, hoteliers, industrialists and owners of tourist attractions – come together to make submissions to local governments and tourist bureaus (Lenskyj 2000a). Governments who see development opportunities in hosting the Olympic Games form and bankroll a Bid organization whose sole purpose is to present a business case to the relevant National Olympic Committee (NOC). With approval at this level, Bid organizers spend a number of years developing and refining the specificities of the bid. The NOC then makes a submission to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on behalf of the Bid organizers, whereupon the selection process to become a host city begins. Should the host city be chosen, the Bid group is dissolved and a local Olympic Organizing Committee (OOC) is formed to carry out the plans as presented to the IOC.

In many ways, Bid groups and Organizing committees can be seen as corporations. Indeed Lensky (2000a) has referred to them as part of an 'Olympic industry'. Although they are largely funded by public monies, the vast majority are decidedly private enterprises. They employ members of the business community to staff executive, venue development, communications, human resources, purchasing, operations and marketing positions. They are legal entities that hold business licenses and are bound by the same regulatory frameworks as

other firms. They can even be involved in litigative action. Although Bid groups and OOCs are not embedded within a competitive market, they work within operating budgets and are expected to meet strategic business goals. They are entangled within a 'web of interdependency' (Harrison and St. John 1996) with suppliers and stakeholders in the community and also desire a social license to operate – much like corporations in the mountain resort sector. Bid groups and Organizing committees – which I refer to here as Olympic Corporations – essentially hold monopolies in the planning, organization and delivery of Olympic Games in host cities.

2.6.2 Cui Bono? Power and Structures of Domination in Host Cities

Scholarly Olympic discourses have been sharply critical of how Olympic Corporations cultivate and wield power in Olympic development. Fundamentally, the argument in this vein is that hosting the Olympic Games is essentially elitist; that is, they are run by the urban elite for the urban elite, with little attention paid to others in the community (Hall 1992, 1994; Roche 2000; Lenskyj 2000a; Toohey and Veal 2000; Burbank et al. 2001). Media moguls who stand to see fat contracts, hoteliers who look forward to increased and sustained occupancies, industrialists who seek to boost sales – these individuals can readily see that hosting the Olympic Games is good for their businesses. Indeed, it is because Olympic Corporations are conceived by and comprised of those who benefit most from hosting the Games that concerns are raised about the power individuals have in controlling the direction and level of change that goes on in host communities. Heying et al. (2005) suggest these elites often hide behind IOC

requirements to veil their desire to influence local decisions. Some commentators even go so far as to call hallmark events – like the Olympics – tools to maintain and develop social control over non-elite members of the community (Rydell 1984; see also Roche 2000).

Ironically, the allocative resources Olympic Corporations require to deliver the Games are drawn almost entirely from public coffers. Local and regional governments are serenaded by Olympic Corporations, often with bloated projections of increased employment, infrastructure development/urban rejuvenation, sport/recreational facilities, social legacies and a heightened and expanded post-Games tourism industry (Hiller 1990; Hall 1992; Hodges and Hall 1996; Chalkley and Essex 1999; Lenskyj 2000a). In addition, the Games are often seen by city officials as a source of new funding opportunities from higher levels of government for projects otherwise stalled or unthinkable (Hiller 1990). Wilkinson (1994, in Hodges and Hall 1996) suggests the greatest assumption governments and communities make is that hosting the Games will vastly increase their international exposure resulting in an overall economic gain for the city, even the nation. Indeed, a growing post-Games cost-benefit literature exists that expressly shows the Olympic Games rarely - if ever - breaks even (see for instance Teigland 1999), at least in economic terms, and there is "little evidence that hallmark events have lasting effects on tourist arrivals" (Spurr 1999: 153). Organizers may endure serious cost overruns in the lead up to the Games (Toohey and Veal 2000; see also Auf der Maur 1976), and the yearly expenditures associated with maintaining and managing Olympic facilities after the Games may be exorbitant (Heying et al. 2005). Nevertheless, development-minded civic

and regional governments act as guarantors of the Games, exempting Olympic Corporations and their personnel from any financial risk.

Well timed and dramatic media blitzes are designed by both Olympic Corporations and governments to garner authoritative resources, promoting the benefits of hosting the Games to the public. Lenskyj (2000a) notes the mass media is the key vehicle for the development of a 'social licence to operate' – what she calls (borrowing from Chomsky) a process of 'manufacturing consent' (cf. Gursoy and Kendall 2006). By focusing on pragmatic ideals such as 'Olympism' and a unified world, on 'pure sport' and 'pure athleticism' rather than the economic and social costs associated with the Games, consent is constructed (Lenskyj 2000a). Swells of humanism, patriotism and 'jock sniffing' engulf communities barraged with romantic images of strength, courage and nation, inducing something like a wartime-style groupthink. Concerns about issues like the enormous debts of Montreal, poor attendance in Athens, and unusable sports facilities of Atlanta, while perhaps alarming civic officials (Hiller 1990), are muted by the Olympic Corporation's aggressive marketing strategies (Lenskyj 2000a). In this way, the media-hyped prestige involved in hosting the Games often persuades communities to tolerate the public cost of the event (Hiller 1990).

While the ability of Olympic Corporations to leverage allocative and authoritative resources creates extremely powerful organizations, they rarely are formed or operate without resistance and opposition. International organizations like Greenpeace have publicly berated the IOC and Olympic Corporations on the

global stage, while local community groups have made either significant efforts to stop Olympic bids or demanded formal community participation in their planning or organization. Haxton (1999a) argues that these calls for public participation can be directly traced to growing community concern over the potential benefits/costs of hosting hallmark events: high construction costs for facilities, temporary over crowding problems, general price and rental increases, environmental concerns and general inconvenience to the host community.

The relationships between Olympic Corporations and community groups are often adversarial, with community stakeholder interests being the underdog. Indeed, the ability of community groups to gain the necessary publicity to counter the romanticism disseminated by Olympic Corporations is often a challenge. Lenskyj (2000a) notes that the media itself, which undoubtedly recognizes the Games as big business, may sideline resistance movements to the Games through glaring omissions in reporting, particularly in the bidding phase. Any call for deliberation amounts to sabotage in the eyes of pro-Games individuals or governments (Thorne et al. 1989).

Thus, Andronovich et al. (2001:127) note the manner in which Olympic Corporations operate "raises serious public policy concerns, particularly with respect to the role of access, accountability and responsiveness in the policy making process". Because they are private organizations, they are not clearly accountable to elected officials or citizens even though their activities have substantial on-the-ground effects in communities (Andronovich et al. 2001). Governments and organizers faced with the need to quickly construct event

infrastructure are often unable to respond to criticisms from community groups (Roche 1994). As Hall (1992: 125) suggests, "the importance and prestige attached to hallmark events by government often means a commitment to 'fast track' planning practices which ignore community resistance to either the hosting of the event or the construction of associated infrastructure". In many cases, long-term commitments to communities are lost sight of or denied, and the normal legal safeguards are set aside in the spirit of a state-of-emergency (Thorne et al. 1989, see also Luchuk et al. 2005). Indeed, public consultation for hallmark events may occur through media opinion polls rather than any independent social analysis or formal ongoing process of community participation (Thorne et al. 1989). Even governments, fearing the loss of face associated with protest and civil disobedience, may enact legislation to minimize disturbance to the preparation and hosting of the event (Richie and Hall 1999). Lenskyj (1996: 394) notes that the IOC demands that "no political meeting or demonstration will take place in the stadium or on any other sports ground or in or near the Olympic Village(s) during the Games". Veal (1994) refers to this lack of democratic accountability and process as 'hallmark decision-making', where decisions to move ahead with a project are made without public consent, then justified later. In such a politicized environment, the possibility of good relationships between Olympic Corporations and stakeholder groups appears unlikely.

2.6.3 The Olympic Business Case for Stakeholder Engagement

The benefits of including community stakeholders in the planning of Olympic developments are in many ways similar to those advantages gained by

resort destination corporations. Consultative measures undertaken to encourage residents to shape the event allow the populace to feel as if they 'own' the event (Fredline and Faulkner 1998; cf. Cook 1982). Senses of ownership enable residents to develop pride in their community and are thus more likely present themselves in a positive light. Burr (1997) notes good relationships allow Olympic Corporations to tap into the reservoir of energy and goodwill of residents, facilitating volunteerism. In addition, a measure of credibility is given to the Olympic Corporation (Chernushenko 1994) which serves to reduce future transaction costs and enhance its social licence to operate. Conflict between community groups and Olympic Corporations at various stages in Olympic preparation are for the most part quelled, reducing the chance and cost of potential litigative action. Having themselves worked with Olympic Corporations in the development of the Games, communities develop a higher degree of trust in organizers, leading to probable support for future decision-making. Indeed, studies gauging resident support for hallmark events like the Olympics have shown the degree of public participation in planning and organization strongly influences community acceptance of the event (Fredline and Faulkner 1998).

In practical terms, engaging community stakeholders gives Olympic corporations an opportunity for third party evaluation of their operations. It can also enable a cross-fertilization of thinking through the solicitation of local knowledge, ultimately aiding their own problem-solving abilities. Despite these benefits, Olympic literatures suggest Olympic Corporations have been sluggish to pursue them.

The International Olympic Committee provides little leadership for Olympic Corporations in this regard. The IOC has no formal requirements for Olympic Corporations to conduct authentic community involvement, save for the development of the cultural program which requires vast numbers of volunteers (Lenskyj 2000a). Indeed, the IOC Charter (1994) goes so far as to claim it has 'supreme authority' over any individuals or organizations that play any part whatsoever in the Olympic Movement. In light of such seemingly anti-democratic claims, it has even been widely speculated that the presence of highly mobilized community groups dramatically reduces the chances of being selected as a host city (see for instance Lenskyj 2000a). Nevertheless, growing anti-Olympic activism in the 1980s pushed the IOC to reform its own operations and those of Olympic Corporations (Lenskyj 2000a); particularly in terms of environmental and social responsibility. These policy shifts may have discretely opened the lines of communication between Olympic Corporations and their environmental stakeholders.

2.6.4 'Greening' the Olympics

The IOC introduced the environment as the 3rd pillar – next to sport and culture – of the Olympic movement beginning in 1991. Specifically, it made public statements about new commitments to environmental issues at Olympic sites. During the 1994 Centennial Olympic Congress, IOC members recognized their ability as an international body to encourage and support environmental and social responsibility, while also promoting sustainable development

throughout the world. Reference to these goals was added to the Olympic Charter that same year. One mission and role of the IOC is:

> to encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport and to require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly (IOC 1994: 12).

In 1995, the IOC instituted the Olympic Sport and Environment Commission (OSEC) which began to advise the IOC executive on issues of environment and sport, particularly in policy development and implementation issues. Using the 1992 UN Rio Summit on Environment and Development as impetus, the OSEC began to develop an implementable environmental policy around Agenda 21, the comprehensive action plan to minimize human impact on the environment developed at Rio (see IOC 1999). The IOC's new focuses hinged on three main themes: improved socio-economic conditions, conservation/resource management and strengthening the role of major groups. 'Strengthening the role of major groups' focuses on empowering women, youth and indigenous peoples, not as it were, activist community groups. The OSEC later published the *Manual on Sport and the Environment* (IOC 1997) and *Environmental Requirements for Candidate Cities* (IOC 2005) which sought to minimize or eliminate harm to the environment, as well as to restore damaged areas such as former industrial sites (Lenskyj 2000a). OSEC's chairman announced that a world congress on sport and environment would be held every two years under the joint sponsorship of the IOC and the United Nations Environmental Program.

While such developments appear to be steps toward greater 'green' sensitivity, Lenskyj (1998) is critical of the IOC's stance on the environment. She argues that the IOC has taken a decidedly 'light green' position on environmental issues; that is, 'business and economy' are still the main focus of the IOC and Olympic corporations. Following Beder's (1994: 37) claim that Sydney 2000's Olympic organizers put "a price on the environment unless degrading it was more profitable", Lenskyj (2000b) argues the IOC and Olympic organizations have taken a market-based approach to environmental protection that effectively sidelines a great many 'greener' stakeholders, or at least those with alternate values and interests[3]. Indeed, such an assessment – one that posits market-driven Olympic Corporations against 'outsider' community groups – appears to be consistent with critical Olympic discourses revolving around the power and control capabilities of Olympic Corporations.

These criticisms must be tempered by an acknowledgement that Olympic Corporations are continually trying to 'out-do' their predecessors in terms of spectacle, venue construction as well as organization and management of Games delivery. Arguably a result of the IOC declaration that Sydney's 2000 Games were the 'best Games ever', Olympic Corporations have feverishly endeavoured to inspire similar accolades. Environmental protection and management have also been included in this 'upping of the ante'. MacKenzie (2006) observes a significant paradigm shift in Olympic Corporations from mere 'environmentalism' in the 1990s (with a focus on technical components of

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[3] For a more detailed account of how corporations have discredited environmental groups in this manner, see Beder 1997.

environmental protection) to 'sustainability' in the present day (where more holistic approaches are employed to maintain the social, economic and environmental integrity of host communities). This shift is most clearly manifested in the successive expansion of Olympic Corporations' environmental programs. MacKenzie (2006) effectively demonstrates these extensions by investigating changes since Lillehammer's somewhat myopic waste reduction focus, to those of Vancouver 2010's claims to sustainability.

If indeed sustainability is the new environmental paradigm for Olympic Corporations, stakeholder engagement and public participation – which are widely recognized as integral components of sustainability (see for instance Kasemir et al. 2003) – are likely to be continually bettered, at least theoretically. Nevertheless, because of the IOC's *laissez faire* approach to an Olympic Corporation's engagement of stakeholders, the outcomes of these strategies under the guise of sustainability remain uncertain.

At least part of this uncertainty can be attributed to the fact that few concerted efforts to understand stakeholder engagement in the Olympic context have been made by Olympic Corporations. NOC-funded Olympic reports developed in post-Games contexts focus almost entirely on the successes and failures of the actual event rather than the lead up to the hosting of the Games (Haxton 1999a). Even the IOC-sponsored Olympic Games Knowledge Management Program (OGKM) offers little help in this regard. As an initiative that seeks to transfer the knowledge, experience and opinions of past OOCs to active Olympic Corporations, the program takes the form of face-to-face seminars

and workshops, the dissemination of technical manuals and the Olympic Observer Program. Turner (2006) notes the OGKM program does include information transfer concerning community engagement, but is almost entirely focused on engagement of sectors of the public who are directly involved with the Games (volunteers, athletes, members of the Olympic family). No guidance is given for the engagement of the public generally nor civil society groups specifically.

In the same way, very few academic researchers have shown "sufficient interest at the time to record and analyze events concerning involvement [between community and Olympic Corporations] specifically" (Haxton 1999a: 2). This lack of research, and therefore understanding, significantly limits the ability of Olympic Corporations to better their predecessors and garner the benefits – for themselves and the community – associated with stakeholder engagement. In effect, each successive Olympic Corporation is 'shooting in the dark'.

2.7 Summary: Illuminating Olympic Corporate-Community Relationship Building

Olympic Corporations have traditionally sidelined stakeholder interests both in venue and infrastructure development at host cities. Stakeholder groups whose interests have been ignored may attempt to disrupt the business dealings and development activities of Olympic Corporations through publicly visible and reputationally-damaging activism. In circumstances where stakeholders interests are disregarded and activism against an Olympic Corporation is sustained, both parties suffer consequences. Where antagonism exists, it is more

difficult for stakeholders – who have an intrinsic right to be part of decisions that affect their lives – to have their voice heard and their interests considered. Olympic Corporations may forfeit community buy-in, volunteer recruitment options, or even suffer the costs of litigation or construction delay.

Strategic business management literature legitimizes and encourages corporate engagement with stakeholders. Through the initiation of various forms of stakeholder engagement, the corporation may acquire a social license to operate from the community. Corporations who are successful at incorporating stakeholder interests into the decision-making sphere will garner the strategic benefits of a social license to operate.

Williams et al. (2005) and Ponsford et al. (2006) have demonstrated the importance of relationship-building in corporate-community engagements. Where positive relationships between corporations and their stakeholders are formed, both parties are more likely to achieve their respective goals. How these relationships are initiated and evolve over time is a complex and dynamic process, requiring innovative conceptualizing frames.

Giddens' (1984) theory of social structuration provides a basis for understanding the dynamics of corporate-community relationships over time. Although no accepted methodological roadmap for applying the theory in empirical study exists, Giddens' work is effective as a 'sensitizing lens' through which action and social structure can be traced through time. The relative power of actors in a social system – including any corporate-community configuration – figures heavily in any such relationship analysis. Indeed, the ability of actors to

recruit and leverage resources against others in the social system effectively enables structural transformations to take place. Through examinations of Whistler, B.C. in the study "Corporatization and Environmentalism of Places" (Gill and Williams 2002, see also Gill and Williams 2005, Marcoux 2004, Xu 2005), it was revealed that increasingly balanced power relations – derived from authoritative or allocative resources – lead to the cultivation of mutually-beneficial corporate-community interactions. Moreover, the maintenance of a healthy tension between parties sustains the relationship structure (see Ponsford et al. 2006).

This understanding of the dynamics of corporate-community relationship building and maintenance is instructive when examining the Olympic context. If Olympic development is to occur with due concern for community interests, it is important to grasp the complexities of Olympic corporate-stakeholder interaction. This requires a three-pronged inquiry approach. First, an explication of the Olympic Corporation's public engagement efforts is needed. Stakeholder engagement strategies are the mediums through which corporate-community relationships are *initiated*. Second, an appreciation for the relative power of actors allows for a conceptualization of how corporate-community relationship structures *evolve* into circumstances where both the Olympic Corporation and its stakeholders can benefit. Lastly, the resultant relationship structure can be assessed to determine how such interactions will *persist* in the form of 'interactional legacies' in the community.

2.8 Assessment Framework

The following framework incorporates themes and perspectives presented in this chapter into questions and survey instruments that guide this study's primary research activities. The overriding research question – "How do relationships between the Olympic Corporation and its stakeholders initiate, evolve and persist at the Cypress Olympic Venue?" – is examined from the perspectives of VANOC and community stakeholders. Lines of interview questioning – which are reflected in the case study's interview instruments – are offered, and linked with an associated themes derived from the literature review.

Table 2 Assessment Framework for Stakeholders

What is the nature of community involvement in the planning and development of the Cypress Olympic Venue?	
Operational Questions: In what ways do Olympic organizers engage community stakeholders in the planning and development of the COV? What tools are most effective in the facilitation of cross-organizational communication, particularly in terms of community involvement? In what ways have stakeholder interests been incorporated into the planning and development of the COV?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Effective Engagement Strategies (Marcoux 2004) (Williams et.al. 2005) (Xu 2004)	What extent OOC was/is: Inclusive of all stakeholders Committed to stakeholder involvement Responsive to your interests Transparent in their business practices
Olympic Public Participation (Haxton 1999 a/b) (Hall 1992) (Lensky 1992, 1994 1996, 1998, 2000a/b)	Major OOC objectives for public engagement strategy Perceptions of OOC public engagement policy Effectiveness of public participation tools in having voices heard Areas for improvement/missed opportunities Ability to influence the planning and design of COV (with examples) Satisfaction with public participation strategies (with reasons)

(Table continued on next page)

How have relationships between community stakeholders and the Olympic corporation evolved?	
Operational Questions: In initial interactions, what was the nature of stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships? In current interactions, what is the nature of stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships? What factors or key events have driven these relationships to evolve? What are the implications of such relationships for future Olympic corporate activity at Cypress?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Power (Matthews 1980) (Giddens 1982) (Hall 1994)	Stakeholder resource inventory Resource leveragability Consequences for VANOC not to incorporate interests
Structuration of Relationships (Giddens 1990, 1986, 1984, 1982) (Stones 2005) (Sydow 1996)	Initial strategic presentations Changing strategic presentations Factors/events that caused a change in strategic presentations Initial relationship characterizations Changing relationship characterizations Implications of the new relationships structure Best sorts of relationships to meet the organization's needs

What interactional legacies are left behind at Cypress as a result of Olympic stakeholder engagement and its subsequent relationship building?	
Operational Questions: In what ways has the external social or institutional structure been changed as a result of COV public consultation? What are the long-term social and institutional implications for the Olympic corporation, municipal governments and stakeholders of carrying out COV public consultation?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Structuration of Relationships (Giddens 1990, 1986, 1984, 1982) (Stones 2005) (Sydow 1996)	Changing VANOC engagement strategy based on circumstance OCC learning Stakeholder learning New strategies for engagement Internal organizational structure changes
Results of Olympics on interaction arena (Richie and Hall 1999) (Lenskyj 2000a) (Owen 2002) (Burr 1997)	Ability of stakeholder to shape Olympic public participation policy New or modified ways communicating or maintaining relationship New interactional environment

Table 3 Assessment Framework for OOC

What is the nature of community involvement in the planning and development of the Cypress Olympic Venue?	
Operational Questions: In what ways do Olympic organizers engage community stakeholders in the planning and development of the COV? What tools are most effective in the facilitation of cross-organizational communication, particularly in terms of community involvement? In what ways have stakeholder interests been incorporated into the planning and development of the COV?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Effective Engagement Strategies (Marcoux 2004) (Williams et al. 2005) (Xu 2004)	What extent OOC was/is: Inclusive of all stakeholders Committed to stakeholder involvement Responsive to your interests Transparent in their business practices
Olympic Public Participation (Haxton 1999 a/b) (Hall 1992) (Lensky 1992, 1994 1996, 1998, 2000a/b)	Major OOC objectives for public engagement strategy OOC public participation strategy building, with departmental responsibility Effectiveness of public participation tools in engaging the community Areas for improvement/missed opportunities Stakeholder interest incorporation into COV design

How have relationships between community stakeholders and the Olympic corporation evolved at the Cypress Olympic Venue?	
Operational Questions: In initial interactions, what was the nature of stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships? In current interactions, what is the nature of stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships? What factors or key events have driven these relationships to evolve? What are the implications of such relationships for future Olympic corporate activity at Cypress?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Power (Matthews 1980) (Giddens 1982) (Hall 1994)	Stakeholder resource inventory Resource leveragability Consequences for OOC not to incorporate interests
Structuration of Relationships (Giddens 1990, 1986, 1984, 1982) (Stones 2005) (Sydow 1996)	Initial strategic presentations (both stakeholders and OCC) Changing strategic presentations (both stakeholders and OOC) Factors/events that caused a change in strategic presentations Initial relationship characterizations Changing relationship characterizations Implications of the new relationships structure Best sorts of relationships to meet the organization's needs

(Table continued on next page)

What interactional legacies are left behind at Cypress as a result of Olympic stakeholder engagement and its subsequent relationship building?	
Operational Questions: What are the key lessons learned by parties involved in Olympic corporate-sponsored public participation processes and in what ways have these lessons been incorporated into their internal organizational structure? In what ways has the external social or institutional structure been changed as a result of COV public consultation? What are the long-term social and institutional implications for the Olympic corporation, municipal governments and stakeholders of carrying out COV public consultation?	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Structuration of Relationships (Giddens 1990, 1986, 1984, 1982) (Stones 2005) (Sydow 1996)	OOC learning Stakeholder learning New strategies for engagement Internal organizational structure changes
Results of Olympics on interaction arena (Richie and Hall 1999) (Lenskyj 2000a) (Owen 2002) (Burr 1997)	Ability of stakeholder to shape Olympic public participation policy New or modified ways communicating or maintaining relationship New interactional environment Long-term implications of OOC public engagement at the COV

CHAPTER 3: METHODS OF INQUIRY

3.1 Introduction

In addition to the literature review which sought to frame evolving corporate-community relationships within Olympic public participation discourses, a case study of the Cypress Olympic Venue (COV) development – one of the major facility projects for the 2010 Olympics – was undertaken. The case study used primary qualitative survey methods to collect relevant data. The survey instrument employed for this portion of the inquiry was administered in an 'active interview' format. This approach facilitated the collection of qualitative information that elaborated on the relevance of the themes identified in the literature review.

3.2 Research Objective and Questions

The overarching goal of this study was to understand how relationships between an Olympic Corporation and its stakeholders were initiated, evolved and persist (through interactional legacies) at the Cypress Olympic Venue.

3.2.1 Primary and Secondary Research Questions

Associated with this research objective, a set of specific primary and secondary research questions were formulated. They are as follows:

1. What is the nature of community involvement in the planning and development of the Cypress Olympic Venue?

- In what ways do Olympic organizers engage community stakeholders in the planning and development of the COV?

- What tools are most effective in the facilitation of cross-organizational communication, particularly in terms of community involvement?

- In what ways have stakeholder interests been incorporated into the planning and development of the COV?

2. How have relationships between community stakeholders and the Olympic corporation evolved?

- In initial interactions, what was the nature of community stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships?

- In current interactions, what is the nature of community stakeholder/Olympic corporation relationships?

- What factors or key events have driven these relationships to evolve?

- What are the implications of such relationships for future Olympic corporate activity at Cypress?

3. What interactional legacies are left behind at Cypress as a result of Olympic stakeholder engagement and its subsequent relationship building?

- In what ways has the external social or institutional structure been changed as a result of COV public consultation?

- What are the long-term social and institutional implications for the Olympic corporation, municipal governments and stakeholders of carrying out COV public consultation?

3.3 Case Study

To understand corporate-community points of contact, the evolving relationships between parties and the resultant socio-structural transformations within the frame of social structuration, a case study research design was

employed. The case study approach is useful for identifying causal relationships where "the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident" (Yin 1993: 59), thus bringing individuals, parties and institutions central to an investigation plainly into focus. In this research, the case study method contextualized understanding of the interactions and relationships between parties over time. Moreover, it provided the researcher with licence to inquire into the behaviours, perceptions and experience of human subjects (Palys 1997) within a specific place-context.

3.3.1 Case Study Selection

The Cypress Olympic Venue (COV) development was chosen as a case study in this research for several reasons. First, it typified the kind of large-scale Olympic facilities and infrastructure development associated with such mega events. Second, stakeholders associated with the development could be relatively easily identified within the region. Third, the case presented a situation where 2010 Olympic organizers were required to enter into an environmental impact assessment for the COV, jointly reviewed under the guidelines of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act by BC Parks and Heritage Canada (the responsible authority). By nature, these processes require substantial public transparency, thus enabling the collection of research data that would be otherwise inaccessible due to Olympic corporate confidentiality practices.

3.4 Data Collection

Data collection took place between January and August 2006. Primary data were collected through a series of qualitative personal interviews with community stakeholder groups and Vancouver 2010 Olympic organizers. Secondary data were collected from a variety of publicly-available sources such as websites, newspapers, public meeting minutes, government documents and public presentations. Vancouver 2010 documents the results of private VANOC-stakeholder meetings and archives email correspondence, but such secondary data was unavailable to the researcher due to corporate confidentiality. Appendix G of the *Environmental Assessment Report for the Cypress Venue* (VANOC 2006a) outlines VANOC's general consultation activities.

3.4.1 Interview Strategy: The Active Interview

In this study, a semi-structured 'active' interview method (see Holstein and Gubrium 1995) was adopted for primary data collection. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue traditional interview methodologies position respondents as repositories of facts in which 'untainted knowledge' can be mined from a passive subject through strict methodological adherence. The validity of results, they argue, depends on how successful the researcher is in adhering to the accepted interview methods, where reliability and epistemological purity are determined by replicability.

Interviews are, of course, interactional events where narratives are dually constructed in-situ by both subject and interviewer (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). It is the very interaction between interviewer and respondent that

produces knowledge, regardless of how sanitized the interview process is conducted. If the respondent is seen as active, it is impossible to 'spoil' information. 'Active interview' proponents suggest that reliability and replicability can no longer be considered useful measures of interview success (Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) response to the 'active' subject is the 'active interview'. Active interviewing is "a form of interpretive practice involving interviewer and respondent as they both articulate ongoing interpretive structures, resources and orientations with practical reasoning" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 9). It recognizes that the interview is "meaning making, where respondents are not treasuries of knowledge, but collaborators in knowledge production with the interviewer" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 3). In the active interview therefore, understanding how meaning-making unfolds is as important as what is asked (see Sec. 3.5).

3.4.2 Interview Instrument

Primary data collection in this study took the form of active interviews. This method was used to collect qualitative data from both the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee and Cypress Olympic Venue stakeholders. Stakeholders were operationalized as being any group or institution that had a meaningful and legitimate interest in Cypress Provincial Park. Federal or Provincial agencies were excluded from the 'stakeholder' categorization because VANOC recognizes these organizations as 'Olympic partners'. First Nations are also considered by VANOC to be 'Olympic partners'. While First Nations were

encouraged to participate in public processes, they were engaged in the same manner as their Federal or Provincial counterparts: as participants in the EA Working Group (see Sec. 4.3.1). The analytical boundaries were blurred in the case of Cypress Bowl Recreation Limited (CBRL) as it was simultaneously 'stakeholder' and 'business partner' in the COV development (see Sec. 4.2). As a result, CBRL representatives were interviewed as a 'special' stakeholder with a unique position and perspective. Two survey instruments were developed; one for Olympic organizers and one for stakeholders.

Pre-testing of the interview questions was undertaken with a colleague affiliated with the Centre for Tourism Policy and Research. A second round of pre-testing was conducted with a graduate student at UBC's School of Community and Regional Planning. Pre-testing identified difficulties or inconsistencies with potential in-interview wording, the possibility of misinterpretation, and the completeness of the survey instrument to address the research questions. As a result of pre-testing, improvements in question delivery and interviewer responsiveness were made.

Active interview survey instruments are, however, more advisory – "a conversational agenda" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) – than procedural in focus. They may be closely adhered to or entirely abandoned depending on the context of subject/interviewer interaction. What is ultimately sought is the cultivation of an informative narrative. In such interviews, subjects freely communicate their perspectives, but are also lightly guided by the interviewer's thought-provoking and directional prompting. Holstein and Gubrium offer a series of suggestions for

active interviewing. Some of these guidelines are presented below (Table 4) along with actual questions used in the case study interviews:

Table 4 Some Guiding Suggestions for Active Interviewing

Guiding Suggestion	Interview Question Example	Information Sought
Asking a respondent to think about something in a particular way can elicit more thoughtful responses	"Think about if things were different, and VANOC didn't bring your organization to the table. What would you do then?"	Resource leveragability
Orienting statements in a particular way can elicit and legitimize a wide array of responses	"Some people think the EA process is just for show and some people say it's a justifiable and useful practice. What do you think?"	General perceptions of VANOC's public participation strategy
Using contextual knowledge from outside the interview process can elicit new responses	"I saw on your website that you are the voice of Cypress. How has your organization assumed that role?"	Cultivation of authoritative resources
Repeating a language makes a certain vocabulary more salient	"Engagement can be meetings, engagement can be open houses, engagement can be phone calls. Can you talk a bit about what VANOC's engagement with your group was like?"	Tools of engagement used
Multi-vocality makes the respondent think and shows the rounded nature of their knowledge	"So if you were running the public participation processes up at Cypress, would you do differently?"	Failures of engagement
Suggesting time frames cues narratives	"If I were to ask you to write a book about your group's relationship with VANOC to date, what would the chapters be titled?"	Key turning points in relationship structure

(Adapted from text, Holstein and Gubrium 1995)

3.4.3 The Interview Process

Interviews were conducted at locations of the participant's choice and lasted between thirty minutes and three hours. One interview was conducted via telephone at the respondent's request. At the start of each interview, a synopsis of research goals was read aloud and participants were asked to sign a research

consent form[4]. Verbal consent was attained prior to conducting the telephone interview.

The active interviewing technique required the interviewer to elicit narrative, only intervening with directive probing and clarifying questions when necessary (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). During the interview process, the interviewer was particularly 'active' when sensitive issues were raised. In these situations, the interviewer's opinions, perceptions and feelings were declared prior to subject responses. Interviewer actions of this nature aided in developing rapport, which in turn facilitated interviewee narration of opinions, perceptions and feelings of events.

All interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed. Participants were given the opportunity to review a full transcription in order to provide comments and additional insights, but no such requests were made.

3.4.4 Participant Selection and Recruitment

The selection of interview participants was based on their role in the COV public participation process and their availability. Participants were identified through publicly available literature concerning the planning/development of the Cypress Olympic Venue, specifically the final *Environmental Assessment Report for the Cypress Olympic Venue* (VANOC 2006). Additional subjects were

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[4] Reference material, interview guides and consent form frameworks were cleared for use in the study by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics on May 24, 2006.

identified through a 'snowball effect', where supplementary informants were contacted through personal reference.

Ten respondents were interviewed. Table 5 illustrates their organizational affiliation and distribution.

Table 5 Distribution of Organizations Interviewed

Organization Affiliation	# of Interview Respondents
VANOC	3
Friends of Cypress (ENGO)	2
StreamKeepers North Shore (ENGO)	1
Hollyburn Heritage Society (NGO)	1
Cypress Bowl Recreation Ltd. (operator)	1
Municipality of West Vancouver	2

3.5 Data Analysis

3.5.1 Primary (Interview) Data Analysis

An appreciation for the constructive nature of the interview requires that epistemological questions be incorporated into the analysis of data. In other words, an understanding of how meaning is made in the interview context is as important as what is asked. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that data reporting and analysis does not so much summarize what was said, but rather 'deconstructs' (see McQuillan 2000) what was stated.

With these assertions in mind, interview responses from all subjects were reviewed for similarities, differences and patterns in relation to the established theoretical frame. The author then interpreted and analysed possible unspoken and implicit assumptions made visible by the subject's responses. In this way, interview data analysis evaluated responses both at face value and in the spirit of

the 'active interview'. A dual analysis approach of this nature is particularly revealing in a study informed by structuration theory.

Two of the ten interviews involved respondents who maintained a peripheral role in COV stakeholder engagement. These interviews were undertaken after primary data analysis was complete in hopes of triangulating the research findings and gaining additional perspectives of the Olympic Corporation's public engagement strategies. VANOC and the Municipality of West Vancouver represent the organizational affiliations of the two respondents.

3.5.2 Secondary Data Analysis

Secondary data sources were reviewed primarily for fact-finding. Analysis of secondary data sought to bring complementary information to the study for the purposes of drawing connections between what was reported in interviews and the theoretical frame applied.

3.6 Study Limitations

3.6.1 Qualitative Research Limitations

Qualitative research, like any mode of inquiry, makes assumptions that limit the validity of results. This study's possible limitations are documented in order to make the research process transparent.

- In a highly politicized environment such as an Olympic host city, a 'social desirability bias' (see Phillips and Clancy 1972) may lead respondents to self-censor for fear that their interests may be compromised in a rapidly changing and politically-charged business environment.

- It is impossible to draw general conclusions about all Olympic developments and their public participation processes solely based upon this study. This research only makes claims to knowledge about the Vancouver Olympic experience, specifically those surrounding the COV. Comparative studies – using this and other similar research – may be more suited to making generalizations.

- Because informants were not selected randomly, nor was the sample size large enough to represent a wider population, the opinions and perceptions of participants may not be adequately representative of all individuals with a 'stake' in the COV.

- While every effort was made to ensure an understanding of the interview questions, participants may have misinterpreted queries. Similarly, the researcher may have misinterpreted responses.

- The author was engaged for a period of four months as an employee of VANOC. Although efforts were made to objectively evaluate primary and secondary data, biases developed within this period of employment may infiltrate the analysis.

3.6.2 Active Interview Limitations

- Active interview methodologies, if viewed from a conventional perspective, appear to promote unacceptable forms of bias (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). However, as Holstein and Gubrium (1995: 18) suggest, "any interview situation – no matter how formalized, restricted, or standardized – relies on the interaction between interview participants". Embracing the interview as a form of interactive and interpretive practice may produce more 'authentic' results (see Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH CONTEXT, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research context and presents the findings of the case study. First, the technical specifications of VANOC's Olympic project are presented. The subsequent sections address the nature of community involvement in the COV, the evolving structure of relationships between the VANOC and COV stakeholders, and finally the legacies left behind from the stakeholder engagement process.

4.2 A Technical Overview: The Cypress Olympic Venue

In July, 2003, the City of Vancouver and the Resort Municipality of Whistler won the right to host the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. The preparation of the Bid-book started four years earlier with an extensive evaluation of what resources and facilities were available to host the Games. Olympic organizers recognized an existing private ski facility in Cypress Provincial Park (Cypress) as a relatively low cost upgrade option for freestyle skiing and snowboard events. Consequently, in their formal submission to the IOC, the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation included Cypress as a potential Olympic venue due to its established access, proximity to the proposed Vancouver Olympic Village, ski area characteristics (e.g., snowfall/quality, weather, aspect and elevation), and the site's other merits (VANOC 2006a).

Cypress Provincial Park is a heavily used nature reserve located adjacent to the District of West Vancouver in the North Shore Mountains. At just over 3000 ha, the park offers visitors a wide variety of recreational experiences including hiking, wildlife viewing, snowshoeing, snowboarding, as well as downhill and cross-country skiing. While BC Parks is responsible for managing the entire park, Cypress Bowl Recreation Limited (CBRL) operates and maintains snowboard, snowshoe and ski infrastructure under a Park Use Permit that applies within the park's boundaries.

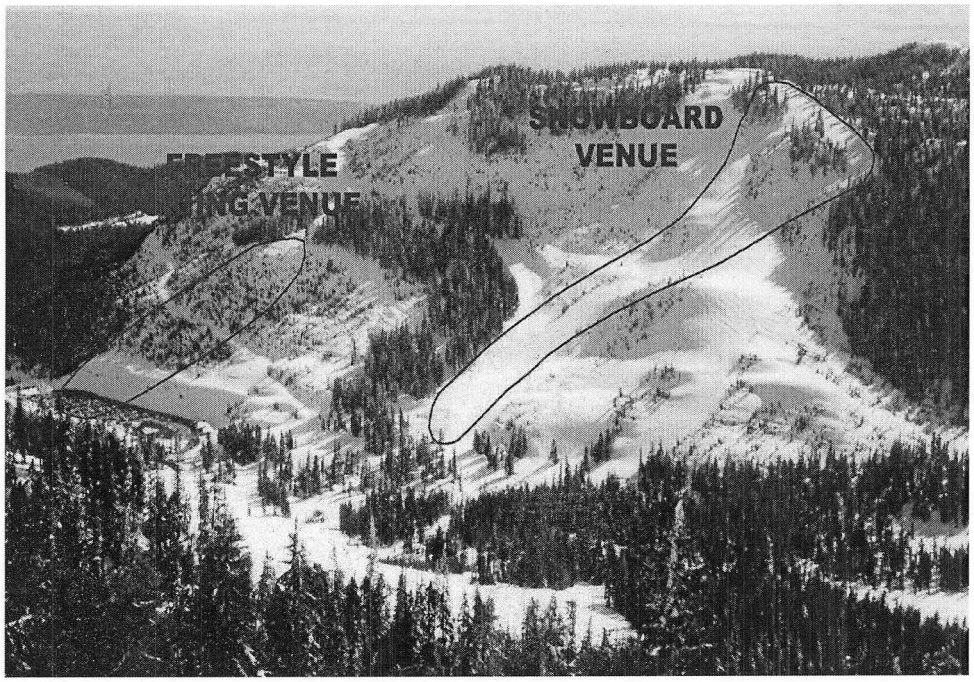
The Cypress Olympic Venue development is expected to occupy 4.9 ha of land in CBRL's tenure on which temporary and permanent facilities will be constructed. Temporary infrastructure will provide a service area, spectator seating, broadcast compounds and weather protection. Permanent developments include:

- regrading of the parallel giant slalom snowboard course;
- a new in-ground snowboard halfpipe;
- additional lighting for evening events;
- a snowmaking system including a water reservoir and pump houses;
- a new Freestyle facility for aerial and moguls; and
- the rerouting of the Baden-Powell recreational trail (VANOC 2006a).

CBRL and BC Parks have committed to operating the permanent Olympic facilities after the Games (VANOC 2006a).

Figures 5 and 6 show the location and terrain on which the freestyle and snowboard venues are to be constructed on Black Mountain. Clearing, grubbing and other site preparations started in Spring 2006, with construction scheduled for completion in November 2007. In 2002, the project's budget was estimated at $11 million[5].

Figure 5 Skiing and Snowboard Venues on Black Mountain



(VANOC 2006a, by permission)

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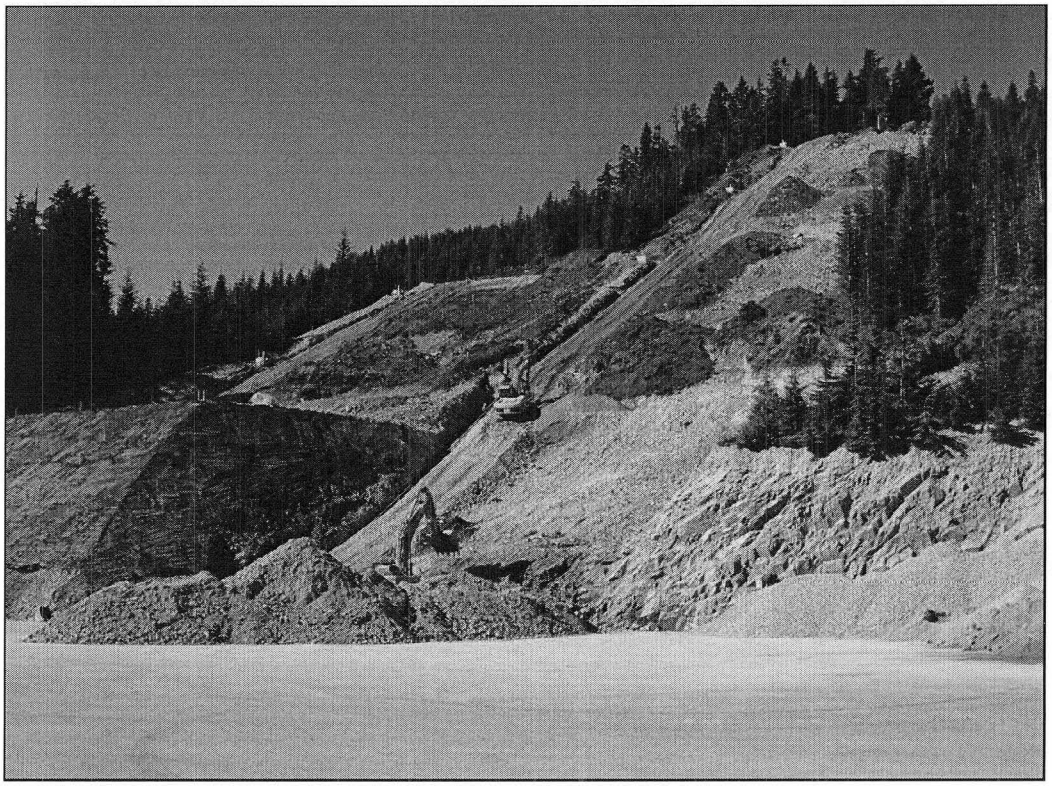
[5] In February 2006, VANOC indicated Bid-book venue development budgets were insufficient, and requested that Federal and Provincial governments increase its capital budget by $110 million CDN (see VANOC 2006b). At the time of writing, the actual cost of the COV was unknown.

Figure 6 Freestyle Skiing Venue In Construction



(Photo credit: Alex Sartori, by permission. August 2006)

4.3 Community Involvement at the Cypress Olympic Venue

4.3.1 The Regulatory Context for 2010 Olympic Venue Development

As 2010 venues are at least partially paid for with government funds, many Olympic venues require some form of environmental assessment be undertaken before construction begins. Federal funding is funnelled through Heritage Canada (PCH), a federal department responsible for national programs and policies that promote Canadiana. Heritage Canada, therefore, is the responsible authority (RA) for overseeing federally-funded Olympic development. PCH is further charged with evaluating proponent-developed environmental assessments for Olympic venues. Where the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA) is triggered by federal funding, PCH

evaluates a venue's significance (cost, area, on-site ecological sensitivity) and determines the detail of environmental assessment to be conducted – anywhere from a simple screening through to review panels (see http://www.pch.gc.ca). Terms of reference are then developed by a venue-specific EA Working Group made up of the proponent, PCH, First Nations and other relevant provincial and federal agencies.

Venues that do not meet 'major project' thresholds as specified by the CEAA are exempt from the process. In circumstances where a venue project does not trigger an environmental assessment, VANOC develops smaller-scale assessments in the CEAA format for itself. VANOC's goals in this regard are to provide homogeneity in venue-development processes, identify potential environmental or social challenges in construction and operation phases, and demonstrate due-diligence should environmental auditing ever occur. Non-obligatory environmental assessments are not subject to approval by the RA.

Development works within BC Provincial Park boundaries are subject to the BC Parks Impact Assessment Process under the provincial Parks Act. The process is used to identify impacts of a development on protected area values, evaluate the significance of those impacts, determine mitigation measures, and assist with making decisions on whether or not an action should proceed (BC Parks, 1999). BC Parks has outlined a series of levels of assessment: Preliminary Screen (Level 1), Detailed Screen (Level 2), and Full Impact Assessment Report (Level 3). Depending on the nature of the proposed activity, BC Parks determines the level of assessment required. In this process, BC Parks acts as the RA.

The Cypress Olympic Venue development was subject to both a screening review environmental assessment under CEAA and a Level 2 (detailed screen) under the BC Parks Impact Assessment Process. In this sense, the COV was exceptional because no other venue faced both Parks and Federal assessment requirements[6]. While PCH and BC Parks agreed to a cooperative environmental assessment review in which each agency would make separate determinations, PCH took on the position of assessment coordinator. In this scenario, VANOC was able to develop a single environmental assessment report provided it met the requirements of both federal and provincial legislation simultaneously. The resulting *Environmental Assessment Report for the Cypress Olympic Venue* includes a detailed study of the venue site, a compilation of identified Valued Ecological Components (VECs), an assessment of the COV's impacts, a number of environmental management plans, and a series of proponent-made commitments and assurances to mitigate development consequences (see VANOC 2006a).

Proponent-led public participation and stakeholder engagement is a required component of both CEAA assessments and BC Parks Impact Assessment Processes. Because CEAA and the BC Parks Impact Assessment Process do not explicitly state how a proponent should carry out public participation nor specify how much involvement is sufficient for approval, the proponent is responsible for

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[6]The Whistler Nordic Centre Project near Whistler, B.C. required a harmonized provincial/federal environmental assessment as outlined in British Columbia's Environmental Assessment Act. The COV was exceptional because it was subject to both Park and Federal assessment requirements. No other 2010 venue is located in a Provincial Park.

developing its own stakeholder engagement strategy. The responsible authorities are, nevertheless, charged with qualitatively assessing the proponent's public participation activities for adequacy given the site's context.

VANOC uses environmental assessment processes as the primary vehicle for stakeholder engagement surrounding Olympic venue development[7]. The Environmental Approvals Section is the business function at VANOC responsible for initiating, co-ordinating and completing the environmental assessment process for each Olympic venue. As such, Environmental Approvals coordinates VANOC's engagement of public stakeholders for venue-development.

4.3.2 Beyond Regulation: VANOC's Recognition of the Benefits of Stakeholder Inclusion

In the Olympic bidding phase, before being required to initiate stakeholder engagement in the EA process, Olympic organizers declared 'sustainability' as one of their key business objectives. To guide their efforts, a series of principles were developed and approved by senior OOC management (Table 6). Inclusiveness – defined by VANOC as 'participation by all people must be promoted and decisions must be based on input from key stakeholders' – is included in 2010's sustainability principles. That 'inclusiveness' is built into VANOC's vision of sustainability suggests Olympic organizers are proactive in

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[7] The 2010 Bid Corporation had conducted some stakeholder engagement prior to winning the Games. A VANOC respondent noted that during the Bid phase "we weren't looking for an approval from [stakeholders], it was only after, when we won and got into the regulatory process that we got into the issues". Pre-regulatory engagement therefore provided a "soft entry way" into the EA process.

their commitment to public participation and recognize the implicit right of the community to be part of the decision-making process.

Table 6 VANOC's Sustainability Principles

Principle	Explanation
Ecological Limits	Society must live within the earth's capacity to sustain life
Interdependence	Economic and social prosperity are dependent upon the natural environment
Long-term View	Today's decision and actions must not compromise the choices available to future generations
Inclusiveness	Participation by all people must be promoted and decisions must be based on input from key stakeholders
Equity	People must be empowered to live sustainably and resources must be used fairly and efficiently to meet basic human needs worldwide.
Healthy Communities	Community health and quality of life is integral to global sustainability

(VANOC 2005)

VANOC also recognizes the business value of including stakeholders. Cost savings were identified by VANOC respondents as one of the most prevalent justification for engaging stakeholders beyond regulatory necessity. Because stakeholders are often so familiar with the development sites – "sometimes more knowledgeable than [government] employees" – their local knowledge can provide a "fantastic gauge for what's realistic and what's not" in the planning phase (VANOC respondent). VANOC seeks to vet proposals through stakeholders who act as "initial indicators" of feasibility for project components. Stakeholders may also identify potential stumbling blocks in the building phase otherwise unforeseen by VANOC's construction experts. In these circumstances,

stakeholder knowledge would assist in developing solutions by providing Olympic organizers with options and alternatives. Alternately, stakeholders may instruct VANOC in where not to focus their efforts: "[stakeholders] may say you don't need to go that far, or here's where you need to put your resources" (VANOC respondent). Stakeholder clarifications of this nature allow Olympic organizers to avoid expensive initiatives that achieve little in terms of community buy-in.

Gaining the support of the community for its development projects is another key business value for VANOC. Stakeholder engagement, according to one VANOC respondent, "provides a level of respect...and that goes a long way in terms of gaining support". If the community supports Olympic organizers, "they've got a reason to stay on the same side with you as you go through the [unexpected] issues you know are going to come – like Eagle Ridge[8] or traffic concerns". Engagement of the public can "keep our [business] deals together because the community understands what we're doing". VANOC respondents also pointed to the benefits of community support for Games delivery, identifying community ownership of the event and increased volunteerism as trends that will enhance the final product. By acknowledging stakeholder support as a business value, VANOC recognizes the importance of a community-issued social license to operate.

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[8] Eagle Ridge Bluffs was an extremely controversial highway expansion project undertaken by the BC Ministry of Transportation. The Eagle Ridge Bluffs Coalition (a stakeholder group) received extensive media coverage primarily because they drew connections between the expansion and the Olympics. While unsuccessful in their efforts to alter the expansion plan, the experience is widely considered a 'black eye' for the Provincial government.

4.3.3 Consequences of Meaningless Participation

Perhaps even more remarkable than the benefits of stakeholder engagement are the costs of not doing so. VANOC demonstrates a clear understanding of the consequences of not engaging the public effectively. "I don't think we'd be successful in having the regulators sign off [on the EA report] first of all", which would cause expensive delays in venue construction. Also, VANOC would not be "successful in managing public opinion about what we're trying to do", compromising their abilities to create and maintain public support for the venue project, which may in turn complicate their business dealings.

One VANOC respondent suggested poorly-conducted stakeholder engagement would create significant inefficiencies within the Olympic Corporation:

> If you don't provide [stakeholders] with an avenue to express themselves, they will find an avenue to express themselves. That makes it someone else's problem [like Communications], and they'll just bring that problem back to you and you'll have to deal with it anyway.

Addressing stakeholder concerns effectively through stakeholder engagement is perceived to save time, workload redundancies and funds.

While meaningless participation may result in additional financial costs, the ability of stakeholder groups to leverage authoritative resources against the Olympic Corporation can be far more destructive. In specific reference to the COV, one VANOC respondent speculated on the chain of events that might have come about if Olympic organizers had conducted a sub-par process:

> I think [stakeholders] would be extremely dissatisfied. I mean they're users of the Park, and when another user or proposed use comes up and they're not engaged, I'm sure they'd be extremely unhappy. They would have probably started off with protests – to ourselves, then to government, and if we failed after these initial concerns, then it could have gone all the way up to real problems [like the extensive media coverage]. Right now we could have serious problems like the Eagle Ridge Bluff issue. People saying there's no public engagement. So it could have gone sadly off the tracks.

Stakeholder respondents too noted that weak engagement processes might lead to reputationally damaging activism for the Olympic Corporation. If VANOC ignored stakeholder interests, "people could have gone up there and chained themselves to trees and equipment" (ENGO respondent). Moreover, stakeholders could have attracted the news media "to get things done right in some areas". Given the perils of poor stakeholder engagement, VANOC noted "it's highly unlikely we would have ignored stakeholder involvement" (VANOC respondent).

4.3.4 Effective Engagement Tools

Accurate stakeholder identification at the venue is a pre-requisite for VANOC's engagement strategy (VANOC respondent). Environmental Approvals sought out relevant community groups primarily by soliciting CBRL and BC Parks, both of whom had extensive experience working with interested parties in Cypress Provincial Park. In addition, VANOC's Communications department – which regularly assesses community sentiment around development sites – was useful in identifying groups the Olympic Corporation should engage. VANOC was focused on ensuring they had a comprehensive list of stakeholders as early as

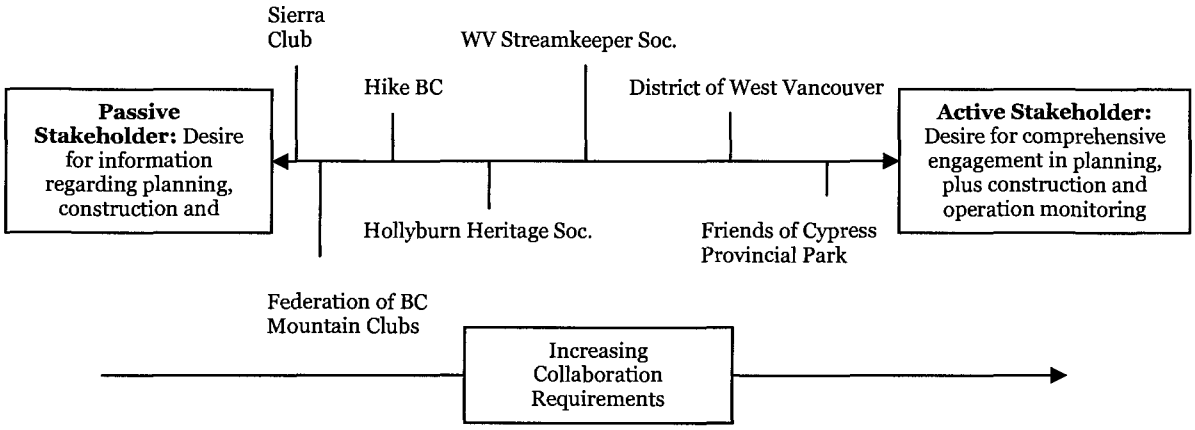
possible to avoid any group's exclusion from the formal process. Noting that excluded groups could affect the legitimacy of the EA process, one VANOC respondent noted that "latecomers [to the process] are always something you want to avoid...So that front-end research about who should be involved is quite critical". Having identified the relevant parties, VANOC evaluated stakeholders' potential interest in the project based on groups' primary goals, their historic role in Park planning processes and capacity for participation. In addition, VANOC made contact with as many stakeholders as possible, asking that their groups decide upon and submit to VANOC their greatest concerns and priorities regarding the venue (VANOC respondent).

Such an assessment of stakeholder characteristics revealed COV stakeholders are not a uniform group of organizations. In the Bid phase, when Olympic organizers had made initial contacts with community groups, it became apparent the bulk of stakeholders had "some interest, but they were not passionate about being involved" (VANOC respondent). Other stakeholders simply "want[ed] knowledge and information about what's going on" and still others were "passionate – to be polite about it – driven, and had an objective of their own" (VANOC respondent).

When the Bid was won and planning for the COV began, recognizing a spectrum of stakeholder interest significance became increasingly important (see Figure 7). VANOC respondents noted that a stakeholder's interest significance is an indicator of what degree of participation they require. Perhaps more importantly, interest significance points to the willingness of a stakeholder group

to leverage resources to meet their needs (VANOC respondent). Figure 7 uses interview data to situate various COV stakeholders along an interest significance spectrum.

Figure 7 Spectrum of Stakeholder Interest Significance[9]



To address the interests of a diverse stakeholder population, it was necessary for VANOC to employ a wide variety of engagement tools – each selected to meet individual group requirements. Which engagement tool was employed for which stakeholder group was determined on the basis of their interest significance. VANOC respondents assert some engagement tools were effective for stakeholders with a peripheral interest in the COV, while others were useful for addressing the needs of more active stakeholders.

In general terms, 'passive' stakeholders sought basic, non-technical information about venue specifications, construction, operations management,

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[9] This figure is not a fully comprehensive listing of all COV stakeholders. See VANOC (2006a) for a full record. Stakeholder groups not included in this figure would be undoubtedly situated at the 'passive stakeholder' end of the spectrum.

and legacy use. Both VANOC and stakeholder respondents indicated that open forums, public meetings, displays in public spaces, and VANOC-led presentations at centrally-located sites were the most successful engagement tools to meet this need. These engagement tools were employed both before and during the EA process. A range of VANOC employees – representing various corporate business functions with different expertise – were present at these events: Environmental Approvals, Communications, Venue Development, and Sport Consultants. VANOC also encouraged representatives from Federal and Provincial Agencies to attend. When stakeholders posed a question vocally in public meetings or presentations, VANOC staff would attempt to answer the question directly using their knowledge of the venue. Where appropriate, VANOC drew upon the Agencies to compliment their responses. If an answer was not immediately available, VANOC would exchange contact information with the stakeholder representative so as to deliver a response when it was available. A system of comment cards was also employed at open houses. VANOC support staff would collect completed cards at the end of the meetings, then provide a document of collated comments and responses that addressed the stakeholder's issues at the next open house.

The success of these engagement tools is captured by a VANOC respondent:

> We got comments that we were very transparent, we did engage, we did consult the community effectively and listened to the community. People said that compared to other processes that were going on, *this* is truly consultative. People would stand up and say 'You're listening to us, we asked a question, you came back with an answer, and you showed us how you got there, then you asked us

> for our opinion'. So to me this is an indication that there's satisfaction there from community stakeholders.

'Active' stakeholders attended as many public meetings as possible, but held far deeper concerns and thus required more complex and detailed information. Recognizing the needs of this group of stakeholders, Environmental Approvals met with individual groups on several occasions in informal meetings to discuss the venue plan, layout and characteristics. During these meetings, it was not uncommon for maps and venue blueprints to be laid out and discussed at length. VANOC indicated informal meetings were most effective because there is a "lower risk of miscommunicating in those kinds of environments". Moreover, VANOC's meetings with individual stakeholder groups "helped foster trust and the understanding that you're being listened to as a stakeholder, your input is valued and it's materializing at the other end" (VANOC respondent). Another VANOC respondent suggested that:

> In-face, in-person opportunities to say 'I don't understand what you're trying to achieve here' and then for VANOC staff to be able to say 'here's our thinking, here's our rationale', why we are where we are with that particular issue, I think that's really important. It may not come out in formal communications or reports, and it's important to show the thought that went into it. 'Here's the options we chose and we contemplated this option, this option and this option and we chose to go in this direction'.

VANOC also held informal meetings with the most active stakeholders in group settings. Parks staff, VANOC's environmental consultants and CBRL were on hand to answer questions and address issues as they came up.

Realizing that not all issues could be dealt with in meetings, VANOC also maintained an 'open-door policy' for active stakeholders. VANOC iterated on

several occasions to the stakeholders that they could phone or email Environmental Approvals with their concerns and questions at any time. This policy was made use of on several occasions. "Detailed emails with sharp criticisms were most effective [for us]" according to one 'active' stakeholder, "we'd make points and we'd see what the development changes they would make [for the next meeting]".

4.3.5 Incorporating Stakeholder Interests into the Cypress Olympic Venue

As a result of engagement processes with 'active' stakeholders, a number of major planning and operation changes were made to the COV. Table 7 highlights the COV's major alterations and presents their resolution.

Table 7 Major COV Alterations in Response to Stakeholder Concerns, as Identified by Respondents

COV Alteration	Major Concern	Resolution
Baden Powell Trail Relocation	COV impact on an important recreational trail	Relocation of trail around COV was designed and laid out by FoC, CBRL and VANOC representatives in collaboration.
Snowboard Half-pipe Alteration	Half-pipe construction would require clearing Old growth	VANOC and CBRL reworked snowboard venue location, moving the project further downhill to avoid old growth
Planned Operating Hours	Park users and cabin owners would be impacted at Games time	VANOC recognizes impact of Games on cabin owners and alters its operation plan so as to not inconvenience park users at Games time
Snowmaking Reservoir Relocation	Concern about water flow from Cypress Creek	VANOC moves reservoir to more agreeable location

As part of the CEAA assessment process, VANOC made a series of commitments and assurances in response to issues and concerns raised by stakeholders and the EA Working Group. Commitments to protect or conserve water quality/quantity, fish resources, vegetation, sensitive sites, terrestrial wildlife and their habitat, avifauna, air quality, noise, viewshed, recreation access and use, and the cultural environment were made. In addition, VANOC committed to developing contingency plans for accidents, malfunctions and unplanned events (see VANOC 2006a for a comprehensive list of specific commitments).

4.4 Evolving Relationships at Cypress

While these apparent successes demonstrate the results of the EA process, the development of corporate-community relationships played a significant part in their formulation.

4.4.1 Initial Interactions

Initial interactions between Olympic organizers and most 'active' stakeholders were decidedly acrimonious. For instance, the first meeting between the Bid organization and a major ENGO was fraught with disagreements about the very possibility of Cypress becoming an Olympic venue site. As one stakeholder pointed out: "our position was that we had no interest in what VANOC was proposing because it was just adding on [to Park development]". Moreover, the group passionately opposed the Bid Corporation's proposal of locating the venue on Mt. Strachen, a partially developed mountainside on which

exists significant old growth forest. As a result of the meeting, a stalemate quickly formed.

> After 2 or 3 hours, we didn't agree on anything. Then they said 'we're going to do the 2010 Bid and that's how it is'...We thought to ourselves 'how could this get any worse?' We didn't meet with them for a while after that. Looking back, the only thing we got VANOC to agree upon was that there was no Cypress Mountain in Cypress Park (ENGO respondent).

Also speaking in hindsight, a VANOC respondent agreed that "first meeting was a bit off-side".

Other stakeholders sensed that Olympic organizers were uncertain of where the project was going. Indeed, initial gatherings took place when the COV was in very much a conceptual stage. "We were disappointed in the initial meetings because they appeared unsure about what they wanted to do" one stakeholder respondent noted. Another stakeholder respondent suggested:

> It didn't take many meetings to realize that [Olympic organizers] were flying by the seat of their pants. You scratch the veneer and you see behind the set, and you see that it's just a bunch of people trying to put on a show. It's no different from putting on Cirque du Soleil.

Clearly it was difficult for Olympic organizers to garner support without firm and detailed development plans. This frustration was aggravated by the perception that Olympic organizers were focusing on Games promotion in place of addressing the environmental or social issues surrounding the development. "It was a bit of a sales job in the early days" one stakeholder respondent noted, adding that:

> VANOC was in their own little world at that time. They had their figures and were out to do the political IOC thing. That's where

> their focus was. I mean I think their position was 'let's present it to the local stakeholders and then just see'.

As it turned out, stakeholder responses to the Olympic proposals were largely negative. It became increasingly apparent that the promotion of the 'Olympic Spirit' would not be a satisfactory surrogate for addressing stakeholder concerns. "One group accused us of murdering trees" a VANOC respondent noted, "and it was at that time that we realized that being on Cypress could be difficult".

Negative reactions from stakeholders to the Bid-phase development proposal prompted a perceivable shift in VANOC's approach according to some stakeholders. After a number of meetings with individual groups, "[an Environmental Approvals staffer] picked up on the presentation style and recognized that the group [of stakeholders] wasn't responding well to the way [they] were doing it, and they started treating the COV as an environmental project rather than a sports venue configuration process" (Stakeholder respondent). In practice, 'treating the COV as an environmental project' took the form of a VANOC assurance that the project would be subject to the formalized process of an EA. A VANOC respondent suggested that the first major turning point in the relationships between Olympic organizers and COV stakeholders "was the moment [stakeholders] realized that we were going to have an organized process, and they would have an opportunity to be heard". At the very least, this assurance laid the groundwork for more productive interaction in which working relationships were to become increasingly important.

VANOC understood that building professional relationships with 'active' COV stakeholders was likely the most effective way to address community concerns and satisfy their desire for higher levels of collaboration. VANOC staff were increasingly concerned with "cultivating relationships and getting people to know us and understand what we were trying to do". The assumption was that "stakeholder interests would be met if we could just find some common ground with them". On the other side of the fence, active stakeholders began to see VANOC had a "desire for positive, not confrontational relationships" which, in their eyes, "opened the door for negotiation" (ENGO respondent).

4.4.2 Relationship Evolution: The Dynamics of Change

Despite a more focused VANOC, some stakeholder groups were still radically opposed to the development. In 1997, CBRL received approval from BC Parks to build a gondola, ski runs and a mountaintop restaurant on Mt. Strachen – one of the hills within their Park Use Permit. Friends of Cypress (FoC), a principle environmental stakeholder for Cypress Provincial Park, fought the approval of CBRL's development proposal citing a study that identified significant old growth in the area. The proposal quickly became a controversial topic in West Vancouver as a result of a great deal of media attention and public outcry – largely voiced by Friends of Cypress, who had rallied the community in support of their cause. An increasingly hostile relationship between CBRL and FoC put the ski operation "under the stakeholder microscope" (Stakeholder respondent), even complicating CBRL's day-to-day functionings. However, after

failing to invalidate BC Parks' decision with a series of legal manoeuvres, FoC was left with few options.

In February 2001 – before development on Strachen took place – Cypress Bowl Recreations Limited was sold to Boyne USA. Soon after, the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation selected Cypress as a potential venue for freestyle and snowboard events. Boyne, who recognized the benefits of hosting Olympic events because of their Utah operations (Salt Lake Games in 2002), agreed to site the venues within their Park Use Permit. The Bid Corporation suggested building the venues on Black Mountain and developed schematics to that effect. After deliberation, Boyne executives realized that attaining additional permits for Olympic venues would be extremely difficult given the stiff resistance they faced from FoC. They also concluded that with some minor alterations to the Bid Corporation's plan, it would be operationally more efficient to move their Strachen development plans to Black Mountain. CBRL developed a new plan for Black which included Olympic facilities and approximately 8 additional runs. The change still required a significant amendment to the Park's Masterplan (see MELP 1997), but plans to build the gondola and the mountaintop restaurant on Strachen were abandoned.

CBRL, who had assumed a partnership role with VANOC, presented the new development plan to the Cypress Liaison Committee, a collection of stakeholder groups brought together by staff at District of West Vancouver. The response from stakeholders – particularly Friends of Cypress – was instantaneous. "I don't think words like ecstatic would understate it" remarked a

VANOC respondent, "it was a major win for them, an emotional win". To be sure, all stakeholder respondents recognized this meeting as an important one that changed the course of VANOC-stakeholder relationships, while also mending some of the scars between themselves and CBRL. A CBRL respondent noted that "everyone jumped onboard immediately" and a new enthusiasm emerged. Reflecting on the meeting, a stakeholder respondent commented:

> Our strategy initially was to oppose [the Olympics] because we simply didn't agree that there should be more development in the Bowl. Then when CBRL essentially gave us what we wanted, we agreed. What we then tried to do was help VANOC achieve their goal of sustainability. We made it clear that we weren't going to be boosting 2010, but from that point on, we weren't going to be opposing it.

Indeed, stakeholders were more open to working with VANOC. A VANOC respondent suggested stakeholders "were much more conciliatory", and began working more closely with both VANOC and CBRL.

While the change in development plans did ease tensions between VANOC and the COV stakeholders, the relationship configuration was not such that all issues could be dealt with in the spirit of camaraderie. A CBRL respondent observed that amongst stakeholders, "there was still a lot of mistrust [even after the move to Black], so we still had to build on things". Nevertheless, one VANOC responded noted the stakeholders were

> onside with it and as a result of that shift, it made life a lot easier for us. We were able to get down to the details of it, not the issue. The deal was going to happen, now we were negotiating the terms.

A series of informal meetings that sought to draw out important 'active' stakeholder concerns for the new development plan were held in the lead up to

the Environmental Assessment process. VANOC respondents noted that these meetings were vital in terms of understanding the COV's potential issues. Indeed, it was at these meetings that VANOC really drew upon stakeholder knowledge of the venue development site. "VANOC tended to see us as a resource then" one stakeholder noted, and because of that "we stopped trying to be reactive and become more proactive". Friends of Cypress specifically would "go up the hill and do surveys and the like, inventories and so on, to try to stay ahead of the game" (Stakeholder respondent).

CBRL increasingly played a significant role in working out operational concerns with stakeholders by conducting walkabouts on the hill with mountain staff, stakeholders and VANOC's environmental consultants. Stakeholders who participated in these CBRL-led initiatives suggested these were important meetings in which understandings were reached. VANOC, on the other hand, implemented their 'open door' policy in hopes of soliciting social and environmental concerns from stakeholders. Because of this strategy, stakeholder respondents unanimously agreed that VANOC demonstrated they were at least listening prior to the EA process.

When the EA process did commence, the results of assembling stakeholder issues began to materialize in the presentation of more detailed venue development plans. In a September 8, 2005 meeting at Cypress, led by VANOC and attended by a range of COV stakeholders, the individuals began to see the kind of stakeholder engagement VANOC had assured them would occur. Set up as a round table, a stakeholder noted that "it was a very important meeting...in

which all parties had a great opportunity to speak and be heard, to exchange information freely, without hesitation". A VANOC respondent noted that because they created an open environment in which standing was given to all groups and individuals, the stakeholder's "tone was completely different". VANOC continued:

> It became a matter of not lobbying issues from left to right, but more a case of what are *we* going to do about this. You know when you start hearing that, you know you're doing alright.

The meeting was instrumental in further clarifying stakeholder issues discussed in earlier meetings, but it also drew out additional concerns raised by less 'active' stakeholders.

Another EA public open house in December of 2005 revealed that a level of distrust amongst stakeholders persisted. Held at the District of West Vancouver municipal chambers, it was heavily attended by interest groups and the general public. "There were a lot of people requesting information [in a hostile, accusatory manner], so there were evidently some misunderstandings" a VANOC respondent noted. While VANOC staff recorded all stakeholder comments and questions, FoC presented their own prepared manuscript, *Friends of Cypress Provincial Park's Expectations and Questions Regarding 2010 Winter Olympic Events at Cypress*. Environmental Approvals staff were careful in their handling of the document.

> We told them we'd look at it, and that we welcomed that kind of input...and we did it in front of a lot of people. So we acknowledged them and gave them standing in that process, and it showed recognition of all the volunteer hard work they'd been putting into this (VANOC respondent).

FoC's written offering proved to be incredibly valuable to VANOC in terms of clearly laying out the stakeholder's position and interests.

> So that document became the list of things we needed to address, and it was really a turning point for them – it was the first time that they had really articulated in a written format their terms – what it would take for them to get there (VANOC respondent).

VANOC saw the document as an opportunity to show corporate responsiveness to stakeholder concerns and to develop a level of credibility.

> The spin-off from all that was that we took all those questions and did try to provide in-depth and detailed responses. [VANOC therefore] acknowledged that they knew what they were talking about and that these were real issues that weren't going to be brushed aside. We were going to try to find solutions to these issues....When they saw that we weren't just some sort of, as we were perceived before, some sort of large hocus-pocus event driven entity with political support that's going to role over everybody, then it was different.

VANOC responded in writing to FoC's document a month later, answering the questions they could and outlining their plans to address ongoing concerns.

The second EA open house meeting in February 2006 was a great deal calmer than the first. The draft EA report had been available online and in West Vancouver's public library a short while prior to the meeting and relevant environmental reports (for example bird nesting surveys) had been circulated. Continued interactions between VANOC and the stakeholders had pushed the relationship forward and portions of the COV's layout and design had been obviously shaped by stakeholder input. VANOC had also made a large number of commitments and assurances about how they would construct, operate and decommission the COV in response to additional stakeholder concerns. After a

brief presentation of design changes and additions to the EA report, VANOC accepted comments, answered questions and handed out a document that highlighted the last meeting's concerns and VANOC's responses. A number of attendees vocally praised VANOC for their "transparent and open process", but asked for one additional public meeting so other members of the community could study the EA report. A final meeting never took place.

4.4.3 New Relationship Structures

The relationship structure between VANOC and the COV stakeholders departed from the initial confrontational characterization. All the stakeholder respondents interviewed agreed that "a reasonable relationship is maintained" (ENGO respondent), but some significant concerns retard its further development. Most stakeholders still harbour a residual skepticism about the Olympic Corporation.

One issue identified by stakeholders was the general sense that "VANOC will not lay their cards on the table" (Stakeholder respondent) until it is absolutely necessary. While most stakeholders felt that the Olympic Corporation was transparent about the issues they themselves raised, VANOC was not proactive in demonstrating diligence on issues beyond. One stakeholder commented:

> We're aware of things that are going on that we were not enough informed of at the beginning – things that we don't fully know the impact of just as the process proceeds. Like the snowmaking reservoir – what's really going to go on up there? What final design decisions have been made? For example I don't think in the final EA document that there's mention of a fence [around the facility], but I haven't had the opportunity to see it.

As a result of this omission of information, some stakeholders suggested 'information sharing' was a one-way street; that is, from stakeholder to VANOC.

Stakeholders also expressed concerns about the ability of a single, small staff at VANOC working to attain all 2010's environmental assessment approvals. Many suggested that Environmental Approvals was ill-equipped to deal with the vastness of information generated in the process. One stakeholder lamented VANOC's inability to keep up:

> We don't have a lot of confidence in the level of expertise of people involved in certain things – their level of knowledge is not up to the task. But that's going to happen when people are working on three or four venues, where as [we] are intimately involved in every aspect of the Park (Stakeholder respondent).

Noting that "we're only dealing with one layer of VANOC", one stakeholder group was puzzled by the lack of support for the Environmental Approvals staff. Indeed, the Environmental Approvals section at VANOC comprises of only three individuals.

Perhaps one manifestation of this understaffing, according to stakeholders, was that VANOC "tends to pass us on to other agencies" (Stakeholder respondent). Recognizing that "everyone is struggling with a budget", one stakeholder group suggested that wherever possible, VANOC staff would divert a group's questions and concerns to the provincial or federal agencies involved in the EA Working Group. These referrals were a source of aggravation for stakeholders, as they felt that many government agencies were largely inaccessible, faceless entities. One result of VANOC's "hands off approach" (Stakeholder respondent) to some issues was a closer relationship

between CBRL and the stakeholders. One group particularly felt that CBRL staff were more likely to "get things done" than VANOC. As such, they felt "uneasy with VANOC and confident with [CBRL]". This observation will likely hold true throughout the construction phase as CBRL has been positioned as the 'project manager' of the development.

Another concern raised by stakeholders was the lack of perceivable follow through on the commitments made throughout the stakeholder engagement process. Indeed, a significant number of promises were made to stakeholders about how VANOC would proceed with the venue development. Many groups were assured they would be 'kept in the loop'. "We think we've been dropped from the email list now" remarked one stakeholder, "I hope to see the final EA report one day". Another respondent provided an example of how VANOC's limited follow-through was having an impact:

> VANOC said they'd have an information sign, you know for park visitors, so that the public can understand what's going on. I just got an email this morning from [another stakeholder] wondering about the sign, because we're halfway through the construction season and there's nothing there. Things like that tend to erode the relationship because you're just not following up with the things you say you're going to do, so the level of trust drops and that's what the main thing is.

Stakeholders also expressed uneasiness about the steps following the EA report's approval. Some groups suggested there were a great many more issues that require attention, particularly during operation and decommissioning phases. It is clear that stakeholders harbour some doubt about VANOC's commitment to post-approval engagement. As one stakeholder put it:

> The EA process deals with 'the venue' – the construction of the venue, the layout of the venue, but has very little to do with the operations of the venue. While the Games are on, the EA doesn't deal with waste...Similarly, how are they going to deal with all of the greenhouse gas emissions from the vehicles going up there? There are what I call secondary impacts from the operations that weren't part of the EA process. And, a credit to [VANOC staff], there didn't need to be. That's not a CEAA legislated component....And we never had any discussions as a group about these issues, nor did we talk to anyone at VANOC about these secondary operations impacts. Maybe it's too early. Maybe that kind of planning hasn't happened yet. Maybe by next year, we'll be talking about you know, this is how we're going to stage transport to reduce emissions, this is how we're going to encourage recycling. It could be that in the sequence of logistics planning, we're just not there yet.

These issues are particularly salient for stakeholders given their sense that VANOC's interest in further engagement has dropped significantly. One stakeholder noted that there is little indication that VANOC will continue engaging stakeholders because the interest groups "can't do anything to them anymore". VANOC is, however, in tune with this stakeholder sentiment. In response to an inquiry about residual stakeholder skepticism, a VANOC respondent noted:

> Well its all well and good to have the jovial feelings of 'now we've succeeded' [in getting the EA report approved], but now we're into construction, [stakeholders] are probably very skeptical about whether or not we'll honour the regulations that we have to abide by. And that's a function of past history – other sites where things get agreed to but the enforcement and the follow up is lacking. If we do as [CBRL] does, get them out on site and continue to involve them, show them around, take the plant survey information to them and consult with them over the dragonfly, if we stay out of the old growth, and we show them these things, then that [skepticism] will go away. So that involves an ongoing commitment and resources.

Despite reservations about the process to date and uncertainty regarding the next steps, all of the interview respondents agreed that working relationships

have been developed between VANOC and the COV stakeholders. This new relationship structure has assisted VANOC achieve its corporate objectives while also facilitating the incorporation of stakeholder interests at the COV. The events to date "demonstrate how important relationships are" a CBRL respondent noted, "everyday would be a battle up here if the relationships weren't built". Indeed, VANOC-community relationships will be increasingly relied upon as stakeholders and the Olympic Corporation begin discussing Olympic legacy options[10], which according to one stakeholder has the potential to "create fractious results".

4.5 Interactional Legacies

As both stakeholders and VANOC enter into less formalized negotiations for Olympic legacy infrastructure and facilities, the effects of the EA process and its subsequent relationship building is increasingly coming into focus. Public engagement at the COV has drawn together a diverse group of individuals and organizations, whose interactions through time have created new social structures. As a result of the process, new relationship configurations have taken shape that will outlast VANOC's existence. As such, the interface of VANOC and its COV stakeholders within the EA frame leaves behind a number of possible 'interactional legacies' for participants. Indeed, one of VANOC's major goals was to provide the community these sorts of legacies. "I think that the most important thing for us in this organization is that when the Games are done"

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[10] Recognizing many in the community would be unable to use elite athlete sports venues, VANOC set aside funds to upgrade infrastructure or facilities in Cypress Provincial Park to provide a Games legacy to Park users.

explained a VANOC respondent, "there will be positive changes in West Vancouver because of what we did and how people were involved".

4.5.1 Altered External Relationship Structures

Prior to the CBRL's decision to move their development plans to Black mountain, the ski operator was seen by many in West Vancouver as a corporate pariah. FoC's battle with CBRL over the Strachen development had successfully tarnished the mountain's public image, forcing executives to constantly evaluate the possibility of public 'fall out' resulting from their operational decisions. A CBRL respondent described the situation's grim reality:

> I went through the 15 years of fighting and saw how much it costs you to get paper work done – like getting consulting reports done that are just generating paper. And with all the media and having your construction cost go through the roof because you have to do so much overkill on anything you build.

Other stakeholders in the area, while perhaps not acting as publicly as FoC, were equally concerned about CBRL's activities. "Prior to the [EA] process, we were not well informed about what they were doing up there on the mountain" explained a stakeholder "and we were worried that they'd just do something irreversible". CBRL was also at odds with the District of West Vancouver. As a significant business just adjacent to the District, but under BC Parks authority, West Vancouver's lack of jurisdiction in the area frustrated officials (Stakeholder respondent).

VANOC's entrance onto the scene serendipitously positioned the OOC as a relationship facilitator. "The catalyst of the new CBRL development was the VANOC bid" noted a stakeholder respondent, "it was their presence up there that

helped turn [the CBRL] bosses around". CBRL's about face was perceived to be a shift that significantly eased the tensions between some stakeholder groups and the ski operator. After this important move, VANOC's pre-EA meetings brought together CBRL and the stakeholders, sitting them down at the same table and creating an environment where interests could be presented openly and freely. These discussions effectively initiated communication between CBRL and the stakeholders. When the EA process formally began, stakeholders and CBRL found themselves increasingly working together on the project. Greater understanding between the parties and demonstrated commitments to working through both stakeholder and CBRL issues within the EA framework began to generate trust. Indeed, some stakeholder respondents suggested that the level of trust between themselves and CBRL eclipses that of their group and VANOC. Olympic Corporation respondents recognized that in the post-EA environment, CBRL was likely the organization stakeholders would go to first with their concerns. Nevertheless, VANOC respondents still expressed the desire to play a significant role in stakeholder engagement and be available to stakeholders.

The external social structure around the COV specifically, and Cypress Provincial Park more generally, has changed notably as result of VANOC's engagement strategies. All parties agree they are in a better position to work with CBRL in the future. One stakeholder group noted:

> Our relationship with CBRL is a primary value to us...We have a much better relationship with them now and along with that comes better communication...We feel that the EA cemented that relationship.

West Vancouver's position as an Olympic venue host city has also eased tensions between the ski operator and the District according to a CBRL respondent:

> West Vancouver has taken more of an ownership and pride that Cypress is in the area, and the Olympics is what's creating that. That's an important relationship for us as we'll likely be working together more in the future.

Some individuals noted that while most parties are in a better position to work with one another, BC Parks' role was largely diminished because of the process. "I think Parks will be seen to not have contributed to the solution...and will be left in a deficit position" a VANOC respondent noted, "they're kind of a faceless entity because players [employees] just keep moving through". Moreover, a lack of resources and the leadership role taken on by PCH in this case made the provincial organization ineffectual (Stakeholder respondent). Most respondents suggested Parks' inability to play a meaningful role in the process will compromise their ability to work effectively there in the future.

4.5.2 Beyond 2010: Long-Term Implications of New Relationship Structures

Altered external social structures will likely have long-term implications for all parties involved in the COV public participation process – and perhaps even for those that were not. To be sure, the process will be considered a major event that shaped how development is conducted both in the Park Use Permit area and Provincial Park more broadly.

A significant implication of the process is a new standard for the incorporation of civil-society interests into park use planning at Cypress. One

VANOC respondent suggested "I think you're going to find that stakeholders who were involved here will, in the future, demand to be engaged – and so they should". During the course of the project, "stakeholders won some major victories" (CBRL respondent) that have recharged and reaffirmed their sense of empowerment and *raison d'etre*. While it can be expected that CBRL – recognizing the importance of their relationships with stakeholders and understanding further engagement is required for their maintenance – will continue to work closely with interest groups, BC Parks will likely be required to manage the area with closer consideration for stakeholder concerns. Part of this new engagement requirement, according to a VANOC respondent, can be attributed to the EA process equipping groups for future planning practices:

> [The process] certainly gave [stakeholders] the knowledge and experience that when, and it is just a matter of when, the Cypress Master Plan gets amended or changed, they will have the knowledge behind them. They'll say 'we looked at this issue back in 2006, and how will this proposal impact a particular issue?' So it gives them a knowledge base that they can take to a process within BC Parks.

One stakeholder respondent noted that when their organization gets involved in future processes, they know to "set out our priorities up front...being aggressive but professional". This kind of stakeholder capacity building effectively boosts their negotiating position.

Such lessons are not limited to the Park context. If stakeholders are "involved in a process outside the park, or in similar areas, those skills are transferable so they can take those there" (VANOC respondent). Indeed, another respondent observed that for development plans within the District of West

Vancouver, the municipal government too are "on notice that there will be higher expectations [for engagement] from FoC".

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Responding to intense criticisms about the effects of Olympic Games, the IOC has called upon Olympic Corporations to conduct Games with greater environmental sensitivity, largely under the banner of 'sustainable development'. Despite the ambiguity of the IOC's leadership in this regard – which might suggest a level of 'green-wash' – OOCs have increasingly sought to incorporate various forms of environmental management into their planning and operation strategies. VANOC's effort to insert 'environment' into their hallmark sporting event has taken the form of claims to 'sustainability' - a significant leap from the limited efforts of their predecessors to be sure. To this end, VANOC has touted itself as the first to deliver a 'sustainable Games'.

In many ways, it is not surprising that an Olympic Corporation working in British Columbia should set such lofty goals for itself. B.C. has a decidedly active environmental/sustainability consciousness, with many high profile environmental groups having formed in the province (e.g. Greenpeace and the David Suzuki Foundation). On several occasions in recent history, environmental activists have forcibly asserted themselves in efforts to disrupt what they claim is a destructive status quo (see Wilson 1998). With the events of Clayoquot Sound still resonating in the ears of both the public and government officials, British Columbia continues to be at the forefront of sustainability discourses if not initiatives that make sustainability actionable.

Working in this environment and understanding that the Games would generate a veritable media firestorm, 2010 Bid organizers were all but required to follow suit. The integration of sustainability – however abstract the term is– into 2010's Olympic corporate philosophy was likely a strategy to quell public concern about the effects of the Olympics on Vancouver. Indeed, during the Bid phase, a number of well-organized anti-Olympic groups were relatively successful in promulgating the negative effects the Games would have on Vancouver and Whistler. These organizations specifically emphasized the tendency of Olympic Corporations to 'steamroll' stakeholders and create an environment in which Olympic corporate objectives would trump the greater community's interest – to the long-term detriment of the region.

Given these specific concerns, it might be expected that VANOC would integrate 'inclusiveness' as one of its guiding sustainability principles. While many anti-Olympic groups may have interpreted 2010's philosophic adherence to corporate environmentalism and social responsibility as an exercise in window dressing, this research suggests VANOC did indeed express a deeper appreciation for what including stakeholders in Olympic planning can do for their corporate enterprise, specifically in terms of venue development[11]. VANOC's willingness to include stakeholders goes further than a simple philanthropic recognition of the community's right to be part of decisions that affect their lives. In this case, it

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[11] Stakeholder engagement in venue development is only one aspect of VANOC's efforts to host an 'inclusive' Games. VANOC has programs that focus on including the inner city, First Nations and other groups. While equally important and worthy of study, these efforts fall outside the scope of this project.

offered a more complex than banal response to BC Parks' or CEAA's vague requirement for public consultation within the environmental assessment framework. For VANOC, it made business sense to orient itself as such.

Conceptualizing stakeholders as resources that submit unique knowledge of the venue development site enabled VANOC to identify some potential construction and operational problems. Where issues were identified, stakeholders offered alternatives for Olympic planners, not only providing VANOC with a critical sense about the venue, but approaches that may not have been considered before. Greater corporate efficiencies were also declared as important business-case reasons to include stakeholders in Olympic venue development. That stakeholder engagement was perceived to save cost in the eyes of Olympic organizers serves to affirm the assertions made in strategic business management literatures that community involvement can better the bottom line.

Perhaps the most significant driving force behind VANOC's stakeholder inclusion in venue development planning is the OOC's unquenchable desire for community support. The association of public participation and community acceptance of the event is well documented in mega-event discourses (see for instance Fredline and Faulkner 1998), and acquiring a 'social licence to operate' is a principle concern for VANOC. Olympic Corporation respondent's assertions that a 'successful Games' would not take place without community buy-in is convincing. Not only would community backlash make VANOC's business activities in the lead up to the Games more challenging, problems with the

recruitment of scores of volunteers might prove operationally debilitating. Soured perceptions of VANOC could devastate ticket sales, many of which are expected to be sold to locals. More worryingly, community attitudes toward the Games may adversely affect how the region's image is presented to the world. Seen in this light, the ability of Vancouver and Whistler to leverage the Games as an economic catalyst may be compromised without community buy-in. The battle for the 'hearts and minds' of Vancouver and Whistler residents therefore is critical.

One distressing outcome of this popularity contest, however, is an Olympic *culture of promises*. Even before the Bid-book was compiled, Olympic organizers readily made commitments to many segments of the public and continued doing so well after the Games were awarded. Following through on numerous promises has, however, proven difficult due to unforeseen budgetary challenges and a lack of concrete implementation strategies. The general perception amongst interview respondents in this study is that VANOC is 'flying by the seat of their pants', doing what it can to live up to its pledges in an ad hoc manner. Indeed, it is only recently that the Olympic Corporation has begun compiling, implementing and monitoring its list of promises.

The environmental assessment process represents one of the more concrete strategies to implement VANOC's support-generating commitments. Whether EA is the most effective way to gain stakeholder support and address the 'inclusivity' commitment in venue development – at the COV or elsewhere – is debatable. The vagueness of CEAA and BC Parks Impact Assessment Process

with regards to stakeholder involvement in EA left VANOC plenty of room to move. Nevertheless, its mandatory employment at the COV as VANOC's primary vehicle for community engagement provided a formal, institutionalized and recognizable process in which the public *must* be heard. Stakeholder respondents clearly took comfort in the fact that VANOC was required to undertake the assessment and were generally content with the manner in which the Olympic Corporation carried out its public participation component. No stakeholder felt maligned and most agreed their interests were adequately considered. Nevertheless, as stakeholder interests and concerns were drawn out, the process produced yet more promises in the form of EA Commitments and Assurances. Effectively, VANOC has exchanged their commitments of stakeholder inclusion for commitments to build, operate and decommission the COV in a manner stakeholders are comfortable with.

This may be the natural, operationalizing progression for a development proponent undertaking stakeholder engagement, but it is also the most tenuous and volatile period. Stakeholder trust that the Olympic Corporation will carry out the project to the letter emerges as the most important factor in maintaining the community support VANOC so plainly desires. It is at this intersection that building relationships with stakeholders in Olympic development becomes so obviously essential. Clearly relationship-formulation is vital to building support in the immediate sense, but it also serves as the basis for sustaining it into the future. Yet exactly how corporate-community relationships are developed is difficult to pin down.

The frame outlined in Chapter 2 is a useful sensitizing lens through which the complexities of dynamic relationships at the COV are made more legible. Using the Corporate-Community Stakeholder Model (Gill and Williams 2005) as a conceptual device to illustrate the interactional environment around the COV, relevant actors – both corporate and community – are envisaged as operating in a unique political/regulatory, biophysical, economic and socio-cultural setting. VANOC's links to the community are indispensable. The firm requires the community to fund its enterprise, provide volunteers, buy event tickets, and issue a social licence to operate. On the other hand – and perhaps in an uneasy way – the community requires the Olympic Corporation to deliver the Games. Firm and community are effectively linked by necessity.

Social structures at the COV are both the arenas for individual or organizational action and the result of that action. Through action – and thus interaction – new social structure configurations take form, which ultimately shape how agents behave in future exchanges. This interplay is driven by actor power – defined by the structuration theorem as the ability to recruit either allocative or authoritative resources. VANOC can be conceptualized as a significant corporate player with relatively large quantities of allocative resources. Stakeholder groups – who represent the community and its interests – bear significant authoritative resources. The degree to which any group is able to recruit either sort of resource ultimately determines their ability to alter the social structure to achieve their desired ends.

Seen in this light, it is not surprising that Olympic Corporations have worked tirelessly to gain authoritative resources through promotion of the 'Olympic Spirit'. Olympic literatures would suggest they have been largely successful, the result being the so-called 'steamroller effect'. Even with mandatory EA processes in front of them and a self-proclaimed commitment to 'inclusiveness', VANOC might have been able to largely disregard stakeholder concerns had it not been for a number of well-known, organized and respected stakeholder groups operating in West Vancouver. Stakeholder respondents were clear about their willingness to draw in the media if they were overlooked; VANOC understood that if the media became involved, it would likely lessen their support in West Vancouver and complicate their construction operations. At the Cypress Olympic Venue, a balance of power between VANOC and its stakeholders is evident.

Williams et al. (2005) and Ponsford et al. (2006) suggest that where a power balance exists to form a healthy tension between a corporation and its stakeholders, mutually agreeable outcomes are more likely. Underpinning this assertion is a recognition that because no group in the interactional environment has a clear advantage in resources, the social structure is shaped over time in such a fashion that each party's interests are addressed. Put in less abstract terms, with a balance of power the association between actors in a location will take the shape of working relationships where all groups' objectives are dealt with.

This transition to a more harmonious social structure at the COV is made visible by the action/structure succession hypothesis suggested by structuration theory (see Fig. 3). In initial interactions at the COV, the social structure was such that there was little agreement about any issue. Indeed, VANOC and the stakeholders were very much at odds with the other's objectives. VANOC's realization that their strategy of Games promotion was proving largely ineffective prompted a shift in the way they interacted with COV stakeholders. Their modified strategy (or action) to deal with the development plan as an environmental project altered the social structure, such that stakeholders began to communicate with the Olympic Corporation in less adversarial ways. The pivotal action of relocating the CBRL and Olympic development to Black Mountain again altered the relationship structure, which in turn impelled stakeholders – particularly FoC – to change their approach. FoC engaged VANOC more proactively, which the Olympic Corporation welcomed. VANOC then instituted an 'open door policy' which included telephone calls and emails. This increasingly collaborative social structure was again altered when VANOC's open house meeting at Cypress Mountain was staged in such a manner that comments were freely solicited and dialogue began. Recognizing a degree of commitment from the Olympic Corporation, stakeholders increasingly worked to assist VANOC in providing knowledge and objective analysis of their development plans. As the EA process began, FoC delivered a document outlining their concerns, marking yet another transition in its approach to the project. VANOC's public acceptance of the document demonstrated a clear desire to incorporate stakeholder concerns at the COV. Because of this VANOC /stakeholder

interaction, the relationship structure has effectively changed from adversarial to one that is more collaborative. The fresh relationship structure is now the medium of future actions.

Speculation about VANOC's future actions is the source of skepticisms that has slowed – or even halted – the further development of VANOC-stakeholder relationships. The relationship structure around the COV is not as developed – nor as amicable – as that of Intrawest and the Whistler community. Lingering perceptions about VANOC's 'fly by the seat of your pants' approach, continual changes to the Olympic budget and venue's design, as well as anxiety about fixed construction start dates have existed with stakeholders since the beginning. Many stakeholder respondents now express a more significant doubt about the Olympic Corporation's commitments to the 'next steps' – specifically implementation of the EA report. Citing cases of poor follow-through immediately after the EA was approved, stakeholders even express feelings that VANOC might have only been concerned with having the agencies sign off. Compounded by CBRL's increasing role in the COV development – which might make relationships with VANOC redundant – it is clear that the relationship structure between VANOC and the COV stakeholders is in a critical phase and will require continued action on the Olympic Corporation's part.

It is evident that any development of the relationship structure toward more amicable configurations was the result of action. With each collaborative victory, greater trust was created and the strength of OOC-stakeholder relationships increased. The importance of 'wins' for stakeholders therefore

cannot be understated as they laid the foundation for continued positive interaction. They also served to provide a degree of validation – of standing – to stakeholders which, ultimately, every group requires. VANOC's implementation actions – actions that would undoubtedly be perceived as 'wins' for stakeholders – will at the very least help to maintain the established relationship structure and contribute to VANOC's desired image of 'inclusive' and 'sustainable'.

Interestingly, it may not be in VANOC's best interest to seek more collaborative relationships than have already been established. While this work has sought to understand evolving VANOC-stakeholder relationships at the COV, a parallel relationship has been developing between CBRL and the stakeholders. VANOC's hands-off approach to some issues – whereby allowing CBRL and stakeholders to work out COV issues themselves – arguably has led to a circumstance in which CBRL-stakeholder relationships have eclipsed the importance of relationships with VANOC. Stakeholder respondents indicated that, should they want something done on the mountain, they would likely approach (what many consider) a more trustworthy CBRL. The ski operator's new position as project manager likely contributes to this trend, but stakeholders also suggest that their relationships with CBRL are far more important because the firm will continue to operate at Cypress long after the Games are delivered and VANOC is dissolved. The strategic advantage to VANOC in this scenario comes in the form of a simpler venue portfolio, where the Olympic Corporation would not be required to expend additional resources to continually nurture relationships. Partially absolving themselves from the project by encouraging CBRL and stakeholders to address issues in isolation might lower the risk of

media attention for the Olympic Corporation – a prospect VANOC would likely jump at. If, however, the relationship structure between VANOC and the COV stakeholders were to somehow regress significantly, VANOC could be faced with a dangerous situation.

That CBRL and its stakeholders are in a more positive relationship configuration will serve the ski operator in the future. While VANOC might not have intended to facilitate CBRL-stakeholder relationships, closer ties between the parties puts the operator in a position of advantage in a competitive ski market. The formation of social capital between the parties will likely further reduce transaction costs, generate credibility within the market and the community, and enable the cross-fertilization of thinking when future developments are considered. As demonstrated by a CBRL respondent, Cypress is increasingly enjoying the benefits of a community-issued 'social licence to operate' in Cypress Provincial Park. To be sure, an Olympic Corporation's ability to facilitate relationships between parties in a particular location is one of the more promising business legacies the Games might bring.

COV stakeholders too are in a better position than at the outset of the process. Their relationship with the ski operator all but guarantees their further participation in CBRL's future development and operational activities. They are now equipped with additional knowledge about Cypress, have added experience in a park planning process and have likely developed a level of credibility in the community, all bolstering their stock of authoritative resources. Perhaps more

importantly, the COV process has set a new standard for stakeholder engagement in West Vancouver. Civil-society groups will likely be called upon more regularly.

It must be noted that while the COV process demonstrates a relative success of stakeholder engagement in the Olympic context – particularly when contrasted with critical Olympic literatures that document numerous slights against community groups – the observations made here are not clearly applicable to other venue sites. Each 2010 venue is embedded within its own unique social, economic, cultural and political history whereby stakeholder groups bear various degrees of power and legitimacy. It cannot be said with any certainty – even with pan-venue environmental assessments – that VANOC will nurture relationships in the same fashion at other locations. Moreover, it is unclear how they will be 'inclusive' outside of the venue development sphere. This fact does not, however, detract from the case-study's demonstrative and pedagogic value.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

Drawing on stakeholder theory and strategic business management literature as one theoretical base and Giddens' (1984) theory of social structuration as another, this research sought to understand how corporate-community relationships initiate, evolve and persist at the Cypress Olympic Venue. Informed by a literature review and key informant interviews, a case study was undertaken to illustrate VANOC's stakeholder engagement strategies, the manner in which relationships between parties evolved, and the longer-term implications of the process.

VANOC's efforts to 'out-do' their predecessors include strategic initiatives to create a more sustainable Games, in which 'inclusivity' is a key component. This philosophical direction is in marked contrast to previous OOCs and even aligns VANOC with other progressive organizations that subscribe to corporate environmentalism and corporate social responsibility. VANOC's conviction that including stakeholders in development planning reduces costs appears to be paying off at the COV.

In terms of venue development, VANOC has employed the environmental assessment process as its primary vehicle for stakeholder engagement. Respondents in this study suggested that conducting an institutionalized process like EA for a venue development was reassuring, even if the public participation

element is normally left to the proponent. Recognizing a wide range of stakeholder interest significance, VANOC employed a combination of formal engagement tools (presentations, public open houses) and informal strategies (meetings, phone calls, emails), as well as an 'open-door policy' that successfully enabled stakeholders to voice their concerns. The process ultimately facilitated the incorporation of stakeholder interests into the COV development plan. Moreover, engaging stakeholders in West Vancouver likely served to buttress VANOC's social license to operate.

To date, the building of VANOC-stakeholder relationships played a significant role in the success of VANOC's engagement strategy. Giddens' (1984) conceptualization of social structuration is a useful sensitizing lens through which the complexities of dynamic relationships at the COV are made more legible. Through action – and thus interaction – new social structure configurations took form at the COV. These ultimately shaped how agents behaved in subsequent exchanges. Because stakeholder authoritative resources were balanced by OOC allocative resources, both party's actions transformed the initial antagonistic social structure to a more amicable configuration. Stakeholder's offerings of solutions-based and business-oriented resolutions to the community's concerns facilitated their inclusion, as did VANOC's recognition that they were valuable resources. These observations support Ponsford et al.'s (2006) assertion that strong stakeholder relationships are cultivated over time through successive, trust-building interactions in which the ability of actors to leverage resources against others plays a significant role. Where power can be balanced to form and constitute a healthy tension between community groups

and corporations, there exists greater opportunities for mutually beneficial relationships.

Despite such progress, a residual stakeholder angst rooted in concerns about VANOC's implementation strategies has tainted further relationship development. The general perception of VANOC's 'fly by the seat of your pants' approach, continual changes to the Olympic budget and venue's design, as well as anxiety about fixed construction start dates, have existed with stakeholders since the beginning. As VANOC enters the critical implementation and monitoring phase of the COV project, the extent to which it fulfils its commitments to stakeholders will determine whether relationships are bettered, maintained or degraded.

If VANOC seeks to build stronger relationships, the OOC will likely need to assert itself more as a player at Cypress than it has to date. It will also be required to develop engagement strategies outside of the EA process to keep stakeholders involved in the lead up to the Games. Providing opportunities for stakeholders to play a part in the actual events – be that in a specialized volunteer capacity or simply as spectators – might also assist in maintaining support until Games time. Should VANOC wish to simply maintain their relationships with COV stakeholders, visible implementation of their past and present promises will be necessary. Continued efforts to track and monitor the success of implementation will undoubtedly serve to reinforce the public's perception that VANOC is a credible organization. Should the Olympic Corporation fail to

demonstrate its further commitment to the project, VANOC-stakeholder relationships will degrade. Reputationally-damaging activism might be the result.

Regardless of the next steps, a series of 'interactional legacies' have emerged from the COV process. One legacy is a closer relationship between CBRL and stakeholder groups. VANOC serendipitously acted as a relationship facilitator in the COV process, drawing together the ski operator and civil-society groups – who to that point had had a tenuous relationship. Through the process of working together on issues within the EA context, greater degrees of social capital have formed. CBRL will undoubtedly enjoy the benefits of their social licence to operate, while stakeholders will value their continued role as collaborator in CBRL's operations and future developments. Civil-society groups will also benefit from a new standard of public participation in West Vancouver.

6.2 Recommendations for Further Research

This study prompts new lines of inquiry. Possible avenues for further research, both theoretical and empirical, are outlined below.

6.2.1 Theoretical Works

- While it was only lightly addressed here, further exploration of the social, political and historical contexts in which VANOC has claimed 'sustainability' is a worthwhile theoretical endeavour.
- The Olympics-as-relationship-facilitator concept is a promising prospect, worthy of investigation particularly if framed within strategic business management literatures and Games legacy discourses.

6.2.2 Empirical Works

- A follow-through assessment of VANOC's relationship with COV stakeholders using this frame would be useful. It could explore the role of implementation in corporate-community relationship building in the Olympic context. Moreover, it is worthwhile to evaluate the extent to which VANOC addresses its promises at the venue site.

- While this project touched on the EA process as a means to engage stakeholders around venue development, a more comprehensive evaluation of whether EA is an effective tool for stakeholder engagement would be useful. Assessments of both the effectiveness of EA to create a sustainable venue development and stakeholder satisfaction with the process are two obvious avenues to explore.

- The results presented in this monograph are limited to one of VANOC's venues. Empirical studies of relationships between the Olympic Corporation and stakeholders at other 2010 venues – each with their own social, economic, cultural and political history – might yield new insights into the role of power in social structuration surrounding Olympic development.

- This study was clearly focused on relationships between community stakeholders and VANOC. An exploration of relationships between VANOC and the regulatory agencies or the four Host First Nations might provide new understandings of how venue developments take shape.

- Other manifestations of VANOC's corporate environmentalism and corporate social responsibility should be brought to light. Venue development is only one aspect of the Games; transportation, accommodation, event management are but a few other areas worthy of analysis in this frame.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Stakeholder Interview Guide

The Evolving Structure of Corporate-Community Relationships: A Case Study of the Cypress Olympic Venue

Survey Instrument for Cypress Olympic Venue Stakeholders

A. About You

1. Where is your organization based?

2. What is the name of the organization you are involved with?

3. What is your position with your organization?

4. How long have you been a member/employee of your organization?

B. Your Organization

1. Do you or your organization identify itself as a stakeholder in the development of the Cypress Olympic Venue? Yes ☐ No ☐

1.a) If so, what 'stake' do you have at Cypress?

2. I saw on your website that you are the voice of Cypress. How has your organization assumed that role?

3. Think about if things were different, and VANOC didn't bring your organization to the table. What would you do then?

C. General Olympic Stakeholder Engagement

1. Speaking generally now about the Bid Corporation and VANOC, what do you think were the major objectives of Olympic organizers in their public engagement strategy?

2. Would you say that overall, Olympic organizers want to: (please mark which best apply)

Scenario	
Educate, persuade, advise citizens	
Provide citizens information with no opportunity for feedback	
Actively seek input from you / your organization on planning issues	
Negotiate to produce a consensus decision	
Assign decision-making power to you / your organization	
Other:	

3. In terms of public engagement, what are the best things Olympic organizers are doing/ have done?

4. What things needed improvement or were simply missed opportunities?

D. Cypress Olympic Venue

1. Olympic organizers promoted an array of public participation processes for the Cypress Olympic Venue. *Why do you think Olympic organizers were so careful to institute formal public* engagement processes?

2. Engagement can be meetings, engagement can be open houses, engagement can be phone calls. Can you talk a bit about what VANOC's engagement with your group was like?

2.b) Overall, which process best met your needs?
2.c) If you were an Olympic organizer, what would you have done differently?

3. Do you feel like your presence in the formal process(es) influenced how the COV was planned and developed? Yes ☐ No ☐
(if yes, please answer **only** 3.a/b; if no, continue to question 3.c/d)

3.a) In what ways were your interests incorporated?
3.b) How did the COV plan/design change as a result?
3.c) Why?
3.d) What are your organization's future strategies?

4. Can you think of any ways Olympic organizers could be better attentive to your organization's interests/position?

5. Some people think the EA process is just for show and some people say it's a justifiable and useful practice. What do you think?

6. Do you think other Olympic developments will receive the same degree of public participation? Why or why not?

E. Relationships with Olympic Organizers

1. Approximately what date was the first interaction you had with Olympic organizers?

2. How did you strategically present yourself in your **initial** contacts with Olympic organizers? (Please mark which best describes your strategy)

Strategy	
Outspoken activist, prepared to fight proposals that you didn't agree with	
Neutral observer, collecting information but not raising issues	
Active observer, demanding clarification on issues and assuring your interests are met	
Reserved collaborator, warily working with Olympic organizers to find solutions to issues	
Business partner, working as equals to find solutions that benefit both parties	
Other	

2.a) Has your strategy changed since your first interactions with Olympic organizers?
Yes ☐ (go on to 2b/c) No ☐ (go to question 3)
2.b) If yes, how?
2.c) Why did your strategy change?

3. In your opinion, how did Olympic organizers present themselves in their **initial** interactions with you? (Please mark which best describes their strategy)

Strategy	
Disregarding corporate entity, prepared to steamroll anyone who got in their way	
Corporation prepared to meet basic requirements of public participation; doing so because of regulations	
Corporation interested in working with only stakeholders who can hurt them in the long-term if they are not listened to	
Progressive corporation, genuinely concerned with the welfare of all stakeholders in the development area and committed to incorporating stakeholder interests into the plan	
Business partner, working as equals to find solutions that benefit both parties	
Other	

3.a) Has their strategy changed since your first interactions?
Yes ☐ (go on to 3b/c) No ☐ (go to question 4)
3.b) If yes, how?
3.c) Why did their strategy change?

4. If I were to ask you to write a book about your group's relationship with VANOC to date, what would the chapters be titled?

5. How would you characterize your organization's current relationship with Olympic organizers?

6. In your opinion, what sort of relationships best enable you to have your interests incorporated into the planning/design of the COV? Why?

7. Now that the COV is under construction, do Olympic organizers continue to actively engage you? Yes ☐ No ☐

6.a) If yes, in what ways?

6b) If no, how should they proceed?

F. Public Engagement Legacies

1. So if you were running the public participation processes up at Cypress, would you do differently?

2. Looking back, what do you think your organization has learned as a result of these processes with Olympic organizers?

3. In what ways have these experiences with Olympic organizers changed the way your organization functions?

4. Can you think of ways your organization interacts differently with other institutions or businesses in and around Cypress because of your experiences with Olympic organizers?

4.a) Is this a positive or negative change? Why?

---- Thank you for your participation in this questionnaire ----

Should you have any further comments about the your interactions with the 2010 Bid Corporation or VANOC, the public participation process involved in the development of the COV, or how the Olympics have changed the way your organization operates, please use the back of this sheet. Your comments are greatly welcomed.

In addition, should you know additional community stakeholders that have knowledge of the COV's public participation process and may be willing to participate in this study, I would be appreciative for your assistance in contacting them.

Regards,

Ian Ponsford, BA (Hons.)
Master's Candidate, Centre for Tourism Policy and Research
School of Resource and Environmental Management
Simon Fraser University

Appendix B – OOC Interview Guide

The Evolving Structure of Corporate-Community Relationships: A Case Study of the Cypress Olympic Venue

Survey Instrument for the OOC

A. About You

1. What is the name of the organization you are/were involved with?

2. What is/was your position within the organization?

3. How long have/had you been a member/employee of your organization?

4. Were you or your department actively involved in the public participation processes instituted for the Cypress Olympic Venue? Yes ☐ No ☐

B. Bid Corporation / VANOC Public Participation Policy

1. What are some of the reasons VANOC engages stakeholders at Venues?

2. How did Olympic organizers develop their plans to engage the community? (for example, what premise did they use, or whom did they contract to outline engagement strategies?)

3. In your opinion, what internal (for example operating procedures) and external factors (for example growing public concern for the environment) have driven 2010 Olympic organizers to produce a comprehensive sustainability plan, particularly one that values public participation?

4. In general terms, which section of VANOC is responsible for ongoing stakeholder engagement with the public? (Please assign a percentage responsibility)

Section	% Responsible
Environmental Approvals	
Communications	
Venue Development (Project Manager)	
Sustainability	
Senior Executive	

5. Speaking in general terms, which scenario best describes the way Olympic organizers addressed stakeholder concerns? (please mark which bests reflects on-the-ground realities)

Scenario	
Did not allow stakeholders to raise issues	
Allowed stakeholders to raise issues, but did not address them	
Allowed stakeholders to raise issues, took no action, but recognized them	
Allowed stakeholders to raise issues, then worked independently to find solutions	
Allowed stakeholders to raise issues, then sought local stakeholder unique knowledge to develop plans	
Allowed you to raise issues, then partnered with you to develop a collaborative, consensus-based solutions	

C. The Cypress Olympic Venue

1. What, in your opinion, would be the consequences of not engaging community stakeholders in the planning and development of the COV?

2. What were the most effective means of communication for Olympic organizers in their dialogues with community stakeholders?

Mean of Communication	Very Successful	Successful	Marginally Successful	Not at all Successful
Formal Town Hall Meetings in conjunction with municipal councils				
Formal Town Hall Meetings hosted by 2010				
Informal Question and Answer meetings (eg. Fireside Chats)				
Information Centre Comment Sheets				
Formalized workgroups (eg. Bid-book work groups)				
2010 Website				
CRA Master Plan amendment process				
Open House/Public Meeting (Dec. 8)				
Open House/Public Meeting (Feb. 8)				
Private meetings with VANOC staff				
Other				

2.a) Of the most successful you have indicated above, why were these most effective?
2.b) What were the least effective parts of these processes? Why?

3. Can you provide examples of how community stakeholder interests were directly incorporated into the design of the Cypress Venue?
3.a) Which mean of communication best facilitated this?

4. In your opinion, what did the community stakeholders think about the process? (ie. were they content, frustrated etc.)

5. From your perspective, what did community stakeholders learn from being involved in the process?

6. Do you feel that other Olympic developments receive the same degree of public participation?
6.a) If not, why?

D. Bid Corporation/VANOC Relationships with Stakeholders

1. Approximately what date was the first interaction between Olympic organizers and community stakeholders in reference to the COV?

2. How did Olympic organizers strategically present themselves in their **initial** contacts with community stakeholders? (Please place a check mark beside one statement which best describes your strategy)

Strategy	
Disregarding corporate entity; avoiding contact with stakeholders to speed up planning and dodging the costs associated with public participation processes	
Corporation prepared to meet basic requirements of public participation; doing so because of regulations	
Corporation interested in working with only stakeholders who can hamper the long-term objectives of the Olympics if they are not listened to	
Progressive corporation, genuinely concerned with the welfare of all stakeholders in the development area and committed to incorporating stakeholder interests into the plan	
Business partner, working as equals to find solutions that benefit both parties	
Other:	

2.a) Have Olympic organizer's strategy changed since their first interactions with community stakeholders? Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐
2.b) If yes, how?

3. In your opinion, what percentage of community stakeholders employed the following strategies in their **initial** contacts with Olympic organizers? (Please mark the percentage of all stakeholders engaged)

Strategy	%
Outspoken activist, prepared to fight proposals that they didn't agree with	
Neutral observer, collecting information but not raising issues	
Active observer, demanding clarification on issues and assuring their interests are met	
Reserved collaborator, warily working with Olympic organizers to find solutions to issues	
Business partner, working as equals to find solutions that benefit both parties	
Other	

3.a) On balance, have stakeholder strategies changed since their first interactions with Olympic organizers? Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐

3.b) If yes, how?

4. If I were to ask you to write a book about your group's relationship with VANOC to date, what would the chapters be titled?

5. In your opinion, what sorts of relationships best enable Olympic organizers to both meet Olympic interests and the concerns of community stakeholders?

6. What, in your opinion, are the long-term benefits or pitfalls of your current relationship with community stakeholders? (For example: if you have developed significant social capital, transaction costs will be reduced in the future)

E. Public Engagement Legacies

1. What do you feel Olympic organizers learned most about engaging the public in this venue development?

2. Based on what you have learned from the Cypress development process to date, if you could go back in time and start the process again, what would you change or how would you go about it differently?

3. In what ways, if any, have 2010 Olympic organizers applied the lessons they learned from the Cypress public participation processes at other venues?

4. What, if any, mechanisms are now in place as a result of the public participation processes to allow the lessons learned to be disseminated internally and externally?

5. In what ways, if any, have Olympic organizers altered the way they interact with community stakeholders as a result of their experiences in Cypress? (For example: public processes highlighted the need to build strong personal relationships with individual stakeholders, so developing inter-personal bonds with stakeholders now commonplace for Olympic organizers)

6. Is it possible to characterize, from your standpoint, what implications the Cypress Olympic Venue development will have for the future of Cypress Provincial Park?

7. From your perspective, what effects will these public processes have on the way stakeholders interact with institutions and businesses in the future?

---- Thank you for your participation in this questionnaire ----

Appendix C – Typical Respondent Solicitation and Project Description

Dear Respondent,

My name is Ian Ponsford, a graduate student at SFU's Center for Tourism Policy and Research. Two weeks ago, (VANOC) sent you an email introducing both me and my thesis work - a project that uses the Cypress Olympic Venue as its case study.

My thesis is focused on how Olympic organizations can best engage community stakeholders like yourselves, how relationships are built between stakeholders and Olympic organizations and what the lasting implications of those relationships are. I believe the Cypress Olympic Venue is an excellent laboratory for this study - and (your organization) figures heavily in it. For me, your organization's participation in this investigation will greatly improve its depth and quality. For you and your organization, this study is a wonderful outlet for your thoughts and may be instructive to VANOC. It is my hope that this research will be a learning experience for both (your organization) and VANOC, as well as other parties involved at Cypress.

Therefore, I ask for your participation as a respondent to a survey designed to be administered in person and comprised of a series of both closed and open-ended questions. With your permission, our conversation would be recorded and eventually transcribed (copies can be made available for your review and, if needed, clarification). All transcripts will be kept strictly confidential and destroyed upon the completion of the study. The survey should take less than 30 minutes. Further information is below.

I would be thankful to sit down with you at a time and location of your choosing. Please don't hesitate to call should you have questions.

My thanks,

Ian Ponsford
Master's Candidate, Center for Tourism Policy and Research
School of Resource and Environmental Management
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby BC V5A 1S6
Cell: 604-619-XXXX http://www.sfu.ca/~dossa/

Beyond other stakeholder groups, other participants include VANOC staff members and municipal government representatives.

The project will be completed by December, 2006. Electronic copies of the research will be made available to your organization upon request.

This research has been approved by the Director, Office of Research Ethics, on behalf of the SFU Research Ethics Board in accordance with University policy R20.0, www.sfu.ca/policies/research/r20-01.htm.

Should you have any questions about the project, I can be reached at: (email address)

Appendix D – Consent Form

Informed Consent By Participants In a Research Study

"The Evolving Structure of Corporate-Community Relationships:
A Case Study of the Cypress Olympic Venue"
Primary Researcher – Ian Ponsford, Master's Candidate, SFU

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants. Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 604-268-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received information which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study. Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Materials will be maintained in a secure location.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics or the researcher named above or with the Chair, Director or Dean of the Department, School or Faculty as shown below.
Dr. Peter Williams, Director, Centre for Tourism Policy and Research
8888 University Way, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, V5A 1S6,

Name	
E-mail address	
Signature	Witness
Date	

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