

PLACE-BASED PLANNING FOR RESILIENCE:

EVALUATING THE CALLAGHAN VALLEY OLYMPIC INITIATIVE

by

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ABSTRACT

Planning involves changing places, and the process used for planning will determine whether these changes connect with the sense of place established for an area. This was the case in the creation of the Whistler Olympic Park, a venue for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Games. This research evaluates the planning process for the venue using a theoretical framework. The theoretical process aims towards resilience, characterized as the ability for multiple stakeholders to come together in times of crisis to flexibly co-manage change. The findings suggest the Olympic process largely followed the theoretical one. However, there were some evident deviations such as a lack of dialogue in the structured process defined by the environmental assessment process of BC. Future engagements should take advantage of unstructured processes before environmental assessments, creating a space for people to have a sustained conversation around place.

Keywords: sense of place; dialogue; social-ecological systems; complex adaptive systems; resilience; 2010 Winter Olympics; Whistler Olympic Park.

DEDICATION

Mom:

*For your consistent support. For your undying patience.
For your encouragement, which helped me make it this far.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While learning never stops, the excitement of finishing this stage is extraordinary. I thoroughly enjoyed the journey even with its inevitable difficulties. However, I would not have sustained my sanity through this without my amazing friends and family. My Mom and brother are the foundations of support. And everyone needs their foundations. Karin and Teagan are adding to this foundation everyday and I consider myself lucky. To my good friends Matthew, Jennifer and Daniel who have never let me down: through this journey, you have provided me with all the humour, understanding and friendship anybody could ask for. To Vanessa: it would be impossible to acknowledge your role. I would be a completely different person without your companionship and affection. You are truly exceptional. To everyone else too numerous to name: our studies and jobs are simply what we do while enjoying the relationships of life. Thank you all for making life great.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AWARE	Association of Whistler Area Residents for the Environment
BCEAA	British Columbia Environmental Assessment Act
BCEAO	British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office
CATS	Complex adaptive tourism systems
CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Act / Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
CHLRPP	Cultural Heritage Land and Resource Protection Plan
COC	Canadian Olympic Committee
CVMP	Callaghan Valley Master Plan
EA	Environmental assessment
EAO	Environmental Assessment Office
IOC	International Olympic Committee
MOE	Ministry of Environment (BC)
RMOW	Resort Municipality of Whistler
TUS	Traditional Use Study
VANOC	Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games
WNCV	Whistler Nordic Competition Venue

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Planners can play a significant role in creating, shaping and changing places. The planning processes they use help determine how well land use developments mesh with existing landscapes and their sense of place. At best, planning processes engage a wide range of participants whose perspectives contribute meaningfully to the creation of places. At worst, planning processes alienate these same people and create places with little attachment and meaning to stakeholders.

Planning for an Olympic Games is an especially challenging process with potentially significant ramifications for places. International mega-events such as the Olympics act as a catalyst for a wide range of land-use and infrastructure changes associated with venues development and assorted support facilities. All of these developments generate short and long term changes to hosting landscapes and places. This is particularly true in mountain tourism destinations where environments and cultures are particularly vulnerable to external forces. This is the case in Whistler, British Columbia, where a new Olympic venue, the Whistler Olympic Park, is an example of an external force shaping the place.

1.1 Research Significance and Questions

In this research, theories of place, dialogue, social-ecological systems and resilience are combined to inform a proposed place-based planning process designed to bring stakeholders together to create resilient places. This hypothetical planning process

is then used as a framework to assess and understand the planning process that shaped the development of the Whistler Olympic Park. Insights from this assessment are also used to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical framework.

The Whistler Olympic Park was planned to become a world class Nordic facility surrounded by sublime wilderness. Supporting Olympic literature highlights a vision imbued with place meanings and claims of sustainability derived from a collaborative process of stakeholder engagement. The intent has been to create a special and resilient place.

As a result of this context, this research attempts to answer the following question: What components of an idealized place-based planning process (one which has the greatest potential to result in a resilient place) were included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?

Three subcomponents of this question direct the investigation:

1. What are the key components of an idealized place-based planning process?
2. Which of these place-based planning components were included, or not suitably included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?
3. What are the implications of the presence or absence of these components for the resiliency of the place?

1.2 Research Approach

1.2.1 Literature Review

A review of the literature on place, dialogue, social-ecological systems and resilience articulates the foundation and frame for a theoretically-informed ‘place-based planning process’ that guides the investigation. The frame highlights the position that by explicitly identifying place meanings through well-managed dialogic processes, stakeholders can develop the types of mutual understanding and trust needed to create meaningful and more resilient places.

1.2.2 Case Study

Using the previously mentioned ‘place-based resilience framework’ as an assessment tool, the planning process used to shape the development of The Whistler Olympic Park is examined. The planning process is evaluated using two forms of input. The first is publically available documentation emanating from the Whistler Olympic Park planning process. The second, a set of key informant interviews with stakeholders involved in the planning process.

1.2.3 Report Structure

Following this introduction, chapter two reviews the theoretical literature relevant to this study and its research questions. The result is a place-based resilience planning process which provides a framework for evaluation of the case study. Chapter three outlines the research design for this study, including the rationale for the case study selection, the methods of data collection, data analysis, and the limitations of the research. Chapter four reports on the assessment of the Whistler Olympic Park planning

process, and chapter five discusses the implications of the study findings. The final Chapter offers conclusions and provides recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first three sections review the theory that informs the planning process created in the fourth section. The first section (2.1) addresses the current understanding of place theory. Within the social sciences, including tourism, theories on place are becoming areas of increased interest for researchers (Hall, 1997). The goal of place-based planning is the attempt to understand all the nuances that intersect to create a sense of place in order to create/modify that place for a given purpose. In this section, different conceptions of place are discussed along with their implications for this research.

In the second section (2.2), the theory surrounding complex adaptive systems and resilience are outlined, especially as they relate to tourism contexts. Farrell and Twining Ward (2004) suggest that resilience is especially important in tourism settings, which they argue constitute complex adaptive social-ecological systems. These ideas are elaborated upon in section two.

The third section (2.3) reviews the significance of place-based planning in the context of resilience and complex adaptive systems to this research. Resilience is established as the ultimate goal for the place-based planning process that follows in the final section.

This final section (2.5) details the step-by-step process which is used as the assessment framework to evaluate the planning that occurred for the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue. The first three sections discuss the theory of this planning process without actually detailing it. Operationalizing this framework so that managers may use it in real world scenarios needs to occur for the framework to be useful. This is the outcome of the final section.

2.2 Perceptions of Place

The complexity of place has led to a proliferation in theoretically focused literature. While all the theories maintain that place is inherently interdisciplinary, there are still varying mental models of place and how it ought to be studied. Theories of place can be placed along a spectrum. At one end, a person's place meaning is viewed as constructed by many pieces which can be broken down and studied individually. Authors have attempted to understand these pieces through such ideas as place attachment (e.g., Vorkinn and Riese, 2001) and place identity (e.g., Davenport and Anderson, 2005). These theories often stem from individuals in the environmental psychology field. Their work focuses on understanding place as a constructed meaning ensuing from the capacity of humans to make choices at free will and impose those choices on the world. The generated meanings are thus psychological constructions reliant on such interrelated factors as social relationships which include individual experiences within the place mixed with the physical features of the landscape (built and natural; biotic and abiotic). All of these pieces contribute to a symbolic meaning that is ascribed to the place. These individual pieces can be broken down and studied. Once understood, the pieces can then be put together to generate a holistic understanding of an individual's place meaning.

On the other end of the spectrum, place is theorized as a phenomenon that can only be experienced in its whole by an individual. According to Relph (1976, 3), “place is not just the ‘where’ of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon”. Elaboration on this theme comes from Tuan (1977) who suggests that place is a universal human phenomenon. As a phenomenon, place can only be taken as it is given and is often referred to as place experience. Breaking up place into its parts is ill advised because the experience of place is more than the sum of its parts. On this side of the spectrum, place is thought of as already in existence. Thus, place is learned by an individual who then experiences the phenomenon. As a result, it makes little theoretical sense to break down place, since there will be essential components missing once the pieces are put together.

Understanding which model of place is correct is a daunting exercise. The current understanding of place is not dominated by either theory. During a roundtable discussion on the subject at the 2006 International Symposium on Society and Resource Management held in Vancouver, BC, it was stressed that emphasis in the theory should perhaps not be on concluding which model is correct, as that may never happen. Instead, future studies should be clear about which side of the model is being used. This is especially important for this research, which does not attempt to further the theory of place, but instead relies upon the current state of the idea. In this research I establish a place-based planning process for managing change in complex adaptive social-ecological systems. Thus, my considerations of place need to be clear and consistent.

It seems logical that place is derived by the free will of individuals, as the same area is often experienced differently from person to person (Stedman et al, 2004). An

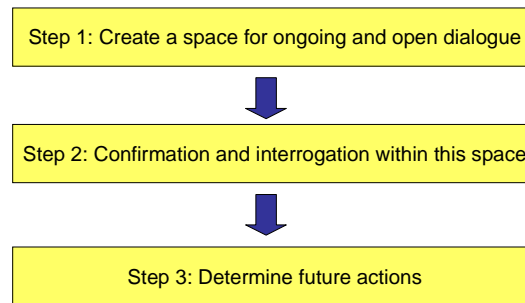
important component of the process established in this research is to understand different people's sense of place. From a practical stance, a process which attempts to understand place is relatively more straightforward if place is broken into components which can be discussed individually. As a result, place in this paper is understood as an occurrence which can be studied through its component parts. These parts include social relationships, which encompasses individual experiences within the place, mixed with the physical landscape- all which contributes to a symbolic meaning that is ascribed to the place.

As a result of this logic, place-based planning in this research is viewed as a process that attempts to understand all these nuances that intersect to create a sense of place in order to create/modify that place for a given purpose. Seemingly straightforward, there is a significant pitfall that can dislodge the process. Place-based planning may actually be harmful when it fails to understand *all* the complex factors that merge to form place. It is for this reason that reductionist views of place-based planning are often criticized. For example, Hall (1997) critiques processes which reduce this planning into a primarily economic exercise. Hall argues that failing to understand the full complexity of place will likely result in a simplistic refashioning of a location's sense of place. This can result, for example, in the marginalization of groups not involved in the process and/or the simplification of historical/cultural experiences within the place (Hall, 1997). In the context of tourism, businesses often brand their destinations to create a sense of place for the purpose of marketing (Kotler, Haider and Rein, 1993; Williams, Gill and Chura, 2004). Economics are often the motivation of these branding exercises. As a result of the potential consequences of this reductionist viewpoint, Williams, Gill and Chura (2004)

cautioned against downplaying social and environmental realities noting that place branding is complex and deserves holistic attention. Unfortunately, reductionist place-based planning may be especially appealing in tourism destinations due to the rapid shifts in global demand for tourism products. Production of tourism destinations for global consumption is happening in an era of flexible specialization (Hall, 1997). This requires producers to be able to adapt their product to rapidly changing external markets. However, genuine places cannot be produced flexibly, nor can they change rapidly. Yet reductionist planning occurs regardless, often due to power relationships that mobilize economically focused stakeholders to lead place-based processes as a means to an economic end. Unfortunately, a forced process driven by a predefined end goal too often results in a specific, rigid, and inaccurate sense of place controlled solely by the intentions of those in power (Hall, 1997). As a result, other place identities, including authentic ones, are more likely to be suppressed and locals may actually experience a 'loss of place' (Ness, 2005). In extreme cases, this loss of place can be so traumatic for local populations that they react with hostility in what Ness (2005) refers to as "locational violence".

Planners and policymakers, especially in tourism contexts, need to be aware of the holistic nature of place and inclusive of all its components when conducting planning processes. When done properly, these processes can yield great benefits to both decision makers and stakeholders. Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) present such a holistic and inclusive process based on a three-step model (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Conception of a holistic and inclusive place-based process.



(Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995)

The three steps are a simplification of their detailed process; however, they form the basic framework of the detailed place-based planning process constructed in section 2.5. In the first step, an open space for dialogue is created. It is here that the process requires inclusiveness, targeting key stakeholders to participate. Schneekloth and Shibley refer to the second step as a process of ‘confirmation and interrogation’. Specific topics related to place are first ‘confirmed’, or discussed, and then ‘interrogated’ through a process of inquiry that breaks down the assumptions and details of each topic.

Elaborating on this step, I deconstruct it into both content (i.e. ‘the what’) and process (i.e. ‘the how’) criteria. The content criteria are drawn from theories surrounding both place and complex adaptive systems/resilience. The process criteria are derived from the well-established ideas on dialogue, a form of mutual inquiry involving many stakeholders in a collaborative effort to reach understanding. The final step involves future action resulting from the first two phases. It is here that consensus is made on how to proceed.

Schneekloth and Shibley’s conceptual model represents the basis of a holistic and inclusive place-based process. Far from complete, this model will be elaborated upon in section 2.5. Here it will be integrated with the theory surrounding both place and complex

adaptive systems/resilience. Once complete, the process will be effectively operationalized as a detailed step by step progression defined by specific criteria.

2.3 Complex Adaptive Systems and Resilience

2.3.1 Tourism as a Complex Adaptive System

Current discourses on sustainability emphasize the need to consider the nature of complex adaptive systems influenced by both social and ecological factors (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003; Bryant and Wilson, 1998; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Gunderson and Holling, 2002). Sustainability in this context is understood as the ability to be resilient through an ability to constantly adapt.

These systems are complex because they come in many forms and are characterized by multiple components interacting on different temporal and spatial scales (Abel and Stepp, 2003; Gunderson and Holling, 2002). “They are adaptive because, together with their component parts, they have the capacity to evolve, learn, and work toward adjusting to their surroundings” (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004, p. 277). In the past, complex adaptive systems were considered largely from an ecological perspective (e.g. Holling, 1973). However, recent studies have looked at these systems as being comprised of interdependent social and ecological components, making them complex adaptive social-ecological systems (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003; Folke et al, 2005; Gunderson and Holling, 2002).

Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) argue that tourism, with its many interconnections, can be explained by the theories of complex adaptive social-ecological systems. Indeed, understanding tourism from a holistic approach is beneficial to planners

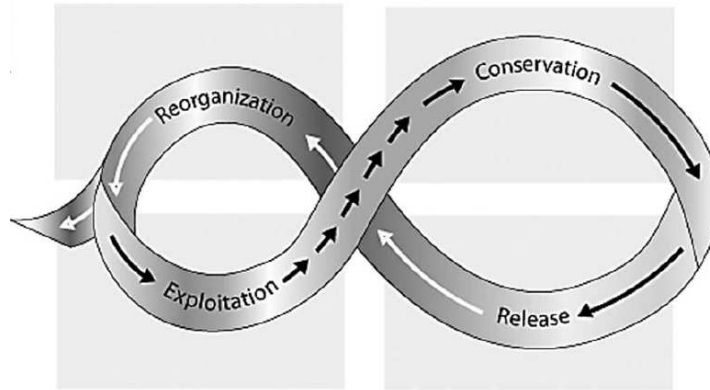
and academics who struggle for ways to comprehend such an interdisciplinary study. Viewing tourism as a complex adaptive system is a relatively new endeavour. However, the complex nature of tourism has been described by many authors, including Mill and Morrison (1985). In their text, tourism is described as a system involving processes that relate to those who consume travel, how they transport themselves, the nature of the destination they travel to, and how one may market the right components of the destination to them in an effective manner. Due to these many interconnected processes, Mill and Morrison describe the importance of planning, policy and regulation. Through this description a picture of social and ecological complexity emerges similar to theories of complex adaptive social-ecological systems. While Mill and Morrison do not specifically describe tourism as a complex adaptive social-ecological system, nor do they discuss any of its theories, they do describe its complex interconnections, which require careful planning and policy. Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) recognized the theoretical connection between tourism and complex adaptive systems, and masterfully integrate the two together referring to the result as complex adaptive tourism systems (CATS). In doing so, the authors have given other researchers an additional tool to study the complexity of tourism systems. To understand how planning processes based on place can help achieve sustainability in complex adaptive social-ecological systems, the characteristics of these systems need to be clarified.

2.3.2 Complex Adaptive Social-Ecological Systems

Complex adaptive systems result from a number of hierarchically nested systems, each with their own adaptive cycle. A full description of adaptive cycles can be found in Holling and Gunderson (2002), but a brief account will follow here. Figure 2 shows a

typical adaptive cycle. As opposed to a system reaching a stable equilibrium state, as is often postulated, the cycle displays a number of predictable phases.

Figure 2: The adaptive cycle.



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In the first phase, systems will slowly mature and build up, demonstrated as the movement from exploitation to conservation above. In a tourism context, this occurs for example when residences and businesses begin to situate themselves in a destination, building links between locals, tourism markets and the environment. The adaptive cycle (Figure 2) depicts this phase with small numerous arrows indicating the process to be relatively slow and deliberate. The conservation phase, once reached, represents great potential in the system, yet ironically it is a state in which the system is severely vulnerable. It is here where systemic links are so numerous and complicated that they tend to become entrenched and rigid. The interconnections between various components of the system may be so set, that they have an inability to adapt to change. The result is vulnerability to unexpected systemic shocks, meaning a catastrophic event could collapse the system entirely, propelling it to re-emerge in a different dynamic state. This is displayed as the movement from conservation to release in Figure 2, with long arrows

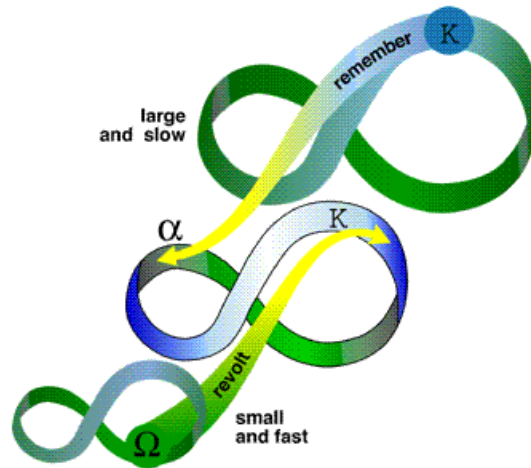
indicating it as a fast and uncontrolled occurrence. Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) argue this rigidity can be seen in the tourism context illustrated by the stagnation stage of Butler's (1980) model of tourist area cycles. In the stagnation stage, tourism visits level off as the destination no longer has a capacity to grow. Interconnections within the tourism system then become entrenched with an inability to adapt to an external shock, such as a SARS scare for example. The likely result is the collapse of the destination. After the collapse, the system will eventually reorganize itself, building up new links and connections that it begins to exploit once again causing it to re-emerge in a state governed by different variables that determine its behaviour. However, if potential from the adaptive cycle leaked out of the system during a collapse – seen as the tail leading away in Figure 2 – the system would then re-emerge in a less desirable state since it has fewer resources from which to draw upon. This may happen if during the SARS scare, for example, the destination generates a negative stigma and no longer has the ability to draw in as many consumers of tourism.

After considering adaptive cycles in multiple settings, Holling and Gunderson (2002) describe notable characteristics relevant to all cycles. These include the existence of multiple equilibrium states¹, unpredictability, and unexpected systemic shocks that may shift the dynamic state of the system, at times catastrophically.

¹ As systems go through their adaptive cycle, they may display multiple equilibrium states. For example, a tourism business that changes its focus based on warm and cold seasons will have two stable equilibrium states. Multiple equilibrium states are also seen in the context of ecological systems; for example, shallow lakes, coral reefs, and kelp beds in oceans (Holling and Gunderson, 2002).

Further elaboration on the model demonstrates how numerous adaptive cycles interact in a nested hierarchy, in what is referred to as a *panarchy* (Gunderson and Holling, 2002). To see the point more clearly, consider a small scale and fast adaptive cycle that may be represented by an individual business in a tourism destination, perhaps a bird watching company. This company will have its ebbs and flows in success resulting from market demand and availability of attractive bird species. This fast cycle will be nested within a larger scale, slower moving cycle represented perhaps by the entire tourism destination, marked by numerous factors such as how popular the destination is. This would in turn be nested within a cycle represented by the regional tourism system, and so on. Each of these adaptive cycles represents their own complex adaptive social-ecological system while simultaneously being part of the larger panarchy, or hierarchy of systems. Interactions within panarchies are described by Holling, Gunderson and Peterson (2002) who suggest that the small scale fast cycles interact with the large scale slow processes in a way suggested by Figure 3. The collapse of small and fast cycles will inevitably affect intermediate sized cycles, which can cause “revolt” in the larger cycles if they are vulnerable, causing their collapse (Figure 3). This may happen, for example, if the larger system was experiencing vulnerabilities perhaps from a degraded environment or an unstable economic situation. Drawing from the previous example, if the larger tourism system was vulnerable, the bankruptcy of the single bird watching company may cause just enough turbulence to collapse the larger system as well.

Figure 3: Interactions between hierarchically nested adaptive cycles: a panarchy.



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However, it is the large and slow cycles that more often create stability in the panarchy. These large and slow cycles accumulate potential as they move towards their “conservation” stage (Figure 2). As small and fast cycles collapse, the potential accumulated in large and slow cycles can be “remembered” (Figure 3) in order to facilitate the orderly re-emergence of the smaller and faster cycles towards their “exploitation” phase (Figure 2). For example, the bird watching business may re-emerge as a whale watching operation, facilitated by the numerous connections and opportunities that have accumulated in the larger system- its accumulated potential (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003). Once systems are understood in this manner, appropriate planning can emerge that attempts to push the panarchy towards a state of increased *resilience*.

2.3.3 Effective Planning within Complex Adaptive Tourism Systems

Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004, 2005) suggest that proper management within complex adaptive environments, such as tourism, should aim to avoid rigidity and

vulnerability in adaptive cycles. In especially vulnerable systems, moving from the conservation to release phase may be so traumatic that potential for the whole system is lost. This loss of potential often occurs when planning and management attempts to stabilize systems within their conservation phase. Unfortunately, resource management has traditionally attempted to do just this. Managers have mistaken this phase as desirable due to a misconception that systems mature into a 'climax equilibrium' when systems are construed as 'at their best' and apparently stable (Gunderson and Holling, 2002).

Assuming that climax stability is desirable, managers have long used command and control techniques to reduce variability in systems to maintain this stability (Holling and Meffe, 1996). The typical result is short term success which reinforces the command and control behaviour. Unfortunately, as natural variability is managed out, the system becomes inflexible to change and maladaptive, resulting in increased potential of systemic collapse from unexpected shocks (Holling and Meffe, 1996). In addition, the natural variability that has been managed out of the system is no longer available to facilitate the re-emergence of the system resulting in a reality with less potential than its previous iteration. Command and control management is especially dangerous since managers rarely change their behaviour due to economic and political realities that reinforce their methods (Clapp, 1998).

Avoiding loss of potential within panarchies can be achieved through management that aims towards a state of *resiliency*, defined as the amount of disturbance that a system can absorb before its structure collapses and re-emerges in a state controlled by *undesirable* variables and processes (Gunderson and Holling, 2002). Resilience occurs when systems are able to adapt to disturbance by either internalizing it or by collapsing

and re-emerging in a state controlled by the same or more *desirable* variables. The release to reorganization phase of the adaptive cycle (Figure 2), also known as ‘the backloop’, form an important process in building resilience because it is in this phases that innovation occurs. Schumpeter (1950) used the term ‘creative destruction’ to refer to the opportunity for innovation that arises when outdated technology caused industries to fail. These collapses would propel innovation so that the industry would re-emerge as a healthy business adapted for the new external conditions. Similarly, when any system enters the release phase, or collapses, reorganization occurs which presents a window of opportunity for novelty and creativity aided by the stability provided by other adaptive loops within the larger panarchy (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003). Suppose our birding business collapses due to a shock, perhaps a changing climate. The business could innovate by targeting a different species such as whales, and healthily re-emerge due to connections within the larger panarchy, perhaps in the form of consumer data from government sponsored research at the regional level suggesting whale-watching has potential in the area.

In this way, many resilient organizations acting within social-ecological systems see disturbance, and indeed even collapse, as an opportunity for improving the resilience of the greater panarchy (for a wide range of examples see Colding, Elmqvist and Olsson, 2003). Building resilience can be accomplished by learning from, and adapting to, the constant changes and feedbacks that complex adaptive systems go through whenever they are disturbed by natural or human causes (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Lachapelle, McCool and Patterson, 2003; Ludwig, Hilborn and Walters, 1993; Mitchell, 2002). It is precisely because we

‘learn by doing’ that management actions should be treated as experiments to test the system. By monitoring the feedback from our decisions, we can then determine if the action taken was appropriate and if not, adapt our decision making accordingly.

Sustainability: our capacity to adapt

A paradigm of sustainability naturally flows from this theory as described by Holling, Gunderson and Peterson (2002) in an untraditional interpretation of ‘sustainable development’. By sustainable development, the authors suggest that that we must *sustain* our capacity to be adaptive in the face of uncertainty, thus becoming resilient, while we *develop* opportunities within this adaptive environment. As a result, themes of sustainability, such as sustainable tourism, are not final destinations. Rather, sustainable tourism should be viewed as a way of thinking aided by processes that sustain adaptive capacity while developing opportunities.

2.4 The Role of Place-Based Planning in Achieving Resilience

Given the interdependence of social and ecological systems, Folke et al (2005) warn against studies that consider only social or ecological components. They point to the example of Belizian coastal fisherman who formed cooperatives which were socially and economically desirable, but which devastated local stocks of lobster and conch. In this example, the strict focus upon the social system had negative consequences for the ecological system. A focus on both social and ecological systems yields a much more complete picture. For example, unregulated whale watching in British Columbia, Canada led to degradation of whale habitat in the Johnstone Strait. This prompted commercial operators to create a code of conduct designed to effectively manage user behaviour (Gjerdalen and Williams, 2000). By recognizing the impacts they were having upon

whale habitat the operators adapted their socially based interactions with the ecological system to have less negative impact.

Place-based planning is an endeavour which can help build resilience in tourism systems, and indeed all complex adaptive social-ecological systems. It incorporates both social and ecological factors and then makes decisions accordingly. Because place-based planning can generate a holistic understanding of a destination, this knowledge can be used to not only affect place, but to also help everyone involved understand the social, ecological and economic interconnections that exist within the destination on multiple spatial and temporal scales. Understanding these interconnections that make up panarchies can help create a management regime which increases adaptive capacity and resilience. Ultimately, to achieve resilience, Folke et al (2005) argue that management should strive towards what they refer to as adaptive co-management systems. They define these as “flexible community-based systems of resource management tailored to specific places and situations... supported by and work[ing] with various organizations at different levels” (Folke et al, 2005, 448).

Folke et al (2005) suggest that an adaptive co-management regime can help achieve resilience because it is a regime which can 1) help systems survive abrupt changes, or collapses, 2) evoke change in undesirable systems and 3) mobilize resources after changes that enable reorganization in an effective and controlled manner. In order to create a regime that meets these goals however, there must first be a detailed knowledge of how the system in question behaves both socially and ecologically. Only once a system is understood, can its strengths and weaknesses be determined and can shifts be made to allow the system to remain in or move towards a desirable state (Farrell and Twinning-

Ward, 2005). Attaining this level of knowledge is difficult however, but can be aided by planning that is conducted through joint management involving stakeholders with a collective knowledge of the whole system in question (Seixas and Berkes, 2003). Because of the holistic and inclusive nature of place-based planning, it has great potential to both inform and result in an adaptive co-management system.

The detailed process established in this research aims towards the creation of a resilient place in a tourism destination. This is accomplished by creating conditions in which an adaptive co-management system can emerge via the place-based planning process. A key to this process is dialogue which helps stakeholders understand each others sense of place, also helping everyone gain a solid understanding of the complex adaptive social-ecological tourism system in question. With this knowledge, an adaptive co-management regime may then emerge with the aim of keeping the tourism system (or place) resilient.

While Figure 1 outlines the basic place-based process outlined from the work of Schneekloth and Shibley (1995), the details within each step are missing. Using the theories on place and complex adaptive social-ecological systems I fill in these details to effectively operationalize the framework. The resultant framework will then provide a checklist by which planning processes that affect place can be evaluated.

2.5 Towards an Evaluative Framework

Currently, no framework suited to guiding the evaluation of place-based resilience planning processes exists. However, separate bodies of research on place and resilience planning are available. The framework emerging in this section combines these two

fields, among others, and focuses attention on the significance of creating an adaptive co-management regime designed to help ensure the resilience of places.

Olsson, Folke and Hahn (2004) studied the decade-long emergence of an adaptive co-management system for the catchment area of the Helgea River near the city of Kristianstad in southern Sweden. The process in Kristianstad contains a number of valuable lessons concerning the emergence of an adaptive co-management regime. A description of the basic process that occurred in Kristianstad follows.

2.5.1 Kristianstad Case Study²

Within the city limits of Kristianstad lies a wetland area that is ecologically diverse, providing a variety of ecosystem services including flood control, habitat supply and high biodiversity. In addition, the area is culturally and historically important. Together with the natural surroundings, these attributes provide a setting for extensive tourism, recreation and education opportunities. Spurred by a changing political culture that emphasized the importance of environmental issues, the municipal government implemented a policy designed to sustain the ecological integrity of the area while also increasing local recreation and tourism in an effort to ‘put the town on the map’. This window of opportunity allowed a key individual to bring together stakeholders who collectively established a municipal organization to help the local government manage the region. This key individual’s role was pivotal.

In response to ecosystem change, he met with other concerned individuals and groups and developed a social network based on trust and dialogue. He

² The case study example that follows is taken from Olsson, Folke and Hahn (2004).

compiled existing ecological knowledge and experience found within the network in a project proposal, and linked people and ongoing projects in the area. He also provided overall goals and vision in an ecosystem approach to wetland management and used a window of opportunity to convince political decision-makers of the need for a new organization and improved management of the wetland landscape (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004, 7).

The individual brought together stakeholders from different organizations. They included people with localized ‘fine-grained’ knowledge, as well as non-local organization representatives with regional, ‘course-grained’ knowledge. Bringing the interested parties together successfully was helped by focusing on the inclusion of strong individuals identified as key players within each stakeholder group. This created a sharing of experience and understanding among key players representing organizations on multiple spatial scales. The resulting generation of knowledge led to the implementation of action-oriented plans that were designed to improve both ecological conditions and management practices. A newly established municipal organization also played a key role. All plans were filtered through this organization, which served as a common link for stakeholders so that collaboration could be achieved on a regular basis. Whenever a crisis occurred, the organization helped mobilize knowledge and stakeholders within the existing social network, to address the challenge.

It is a flexible and dynamic organization, promoting a management... that treats humans as part of ecosystems and includes social, economic, and ecological dimensions... It plays a key role as a facilitator and coordinator in local collaboration processes that involve international associations, national, regional, and local authorities, researchers, non-profit associations, and landowners to maintain and restore the natural and cultural values of the area (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004, 7).

In Kristianstad, an adaptive co-management structure is now in place which helps people flexibly self organize towards social-ecological resilience on a case by case basis.

The place-based process created in this research has a similar goal of creating an adaptive co-management structure for resilience.

The place-based resilience framework outlined next is adapted from Schneekloth and Shibley (1995). Figure 1 highlights key components of the process. It is divided into three parts, coinciding with the three steps in Figure 1. Each step includes criteria which define and operationalize this study's proposed place-based process for resilience.

2.5.2 Step 1: Gathering the Stakeholders

A critical factor identified for the emergence of an adaptive co-management regime is the ability to create opportunities that allow for a diverse set of stakeholders to self-organize towards social-ecological sustainability (Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003). This is especially important in tourism destinations, as they frequently rely upon social and ecological interconnections that require a diversity of viewpoints to be fully understood (Farrell and Twinning-Ward, 2004).

In a place-based process, Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) point out that the involvement of people who inhabit and are affected by the place is paramount. Many of these people will have a strong attachment to the place, characterized by concern developed as a result of personal experiences within the physical environment (Relph, 1976; Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983). In addition, Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) contend that the process should be open to members of the public and the media should they wish to participate. The inclusion of those who are not specifically invited, but still wish to participate is important because people often do not realize how attached they are to a place until it is threatened by changes (Vorkinn and Riese, 2001). Without

wide stakeholder participation, achieving a collectively and socially desirable outcome is difficult. Key information resides in the knowledge of stakeholders (Folke et al, 2005; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995) and without their inclusion, any proposed solution would face a legitimacy problem, lacking a so called ‘social licence to operate’ (Williams et al, 2007).

In tourism destinations, this social licence to operate is paramount. Residents of tourism towns need to be involved in place-based exercises because they require places that allow them some retreat from the ‘tourist town’ mentality- a place to escape and simply be with friends, for example (Stedman et al, 2004).

For those stakeholders who are sought out, the inclusion of individuals identified as strong players within each stakeholder group is essential (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004). ‘Strong players’ can include people who are effective facilitators, leaders, and/or social connectors in addition to having people who can sell ideas to those in power (Folke et al, 2005). Having them engaged is essential, as they can push a process past the ‘tipping point’ that represents the line between failure and success (Gladwell, 2000).

Criterion	References
Key individuals in stakeholder groups identified and included	The process involves strong individuals targeted to participate in the process (i.e., leaders, facilitators, social connectors, etc). The stakeholders include individuals or members of organizations which inhabit and/or are affected by the place. The process should also be open to members of the public and the media should they wish to participate.

In order to understand the social-ecological system in its entirety, stakeholders representing multiple spatial and organizational scales, in addition to those affected by the place, need to be included.

Adaptive co-management focuses on creating functional feedback loops between social and ecological systems. It relies on collaboration among a

diverse set of actors operating at different levels, often in networks, from local users to municipalities to regional and national or supranational organizations (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004).

Additionally, effective management in complex systems involves juggling processes that occur at multiple organizational levels (e.g. political, bureaucratic and community) while using methods that participants understand and trust (Westley, 2002). If stakeholders on these many scales are not included, an adaptive co-management regime will likely not occur. An effective regime requires representation on the multiple scales that represent the complex adaptive tourism system.

Criterion		References
The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial and organizational scales	The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial (e.g. local, regional, national, international) and organizational (e.g. political, bureaucratic, private, community) scales.	Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Westley, 2002

2.5.3 Step 2: Confirmation and Interrogation

Once the stakeholders have been assembled, how they interact is important. Step two has both a process and content component. The entire second step loosely follows what Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) refer to as confirmation and interrogation. Within this process, a number of aspects of place are first ‘confirmed’, or brought before the group (the content). This content component dictates what topics the group ought to cover to increase the chances of creating a resilient place at the end of the process. This content is then ‘interrogated’ in a process known as dialogue. It aims to uncover values and assumptions that may be implicit while also revealing the authenticity of each item.

2.5.3.1 The Process

Dialogue is an important component of place-based planning because a successful process requires open and meaningful discussions which help to build relationships and

establish trust (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). Berkes, Colding and Folke (2003) argue that important components of the process include social capital and social memory.

Social capital refers to networks and interactions between people that help build trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000). Social capital is the lubrication that helps the process run smoothly. It is pervasive in nature, and is built by frequent interactions between people (Putnam, 2000), such as dialoguing, while also helping these interactions run more smoothly (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2003). Open dialogue, aided by social capital, allows participants to mobilize their collective social memory, an important factor in building resilience.

“Social memory” has been defined as the arena in which captured experience with change and successful adaptations, embedded in a deeper level of values, is actualized through community debate and decision-making processes into appropriate strategies for dealing with ongoing change (Folke et al, 2005, p. 453).

To be clear, dialogue is very different from a debate. However, it is a discussion method that can successfully actualize social memory. A number of factors should exist for a true dialogue to exist and be successful. These factors are true no matter the topic being discussed, be it the creation of a tourism destination or another subject matter.

First, dialogue requires a commitment from participants to come together in sustained conversation in order to understand and make their places better (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). It requires that people participate in “purposeful talk that involves openness, listening, making meaning and learning together. The intention of dialogue is to seek understanding on an issue or situation from multiple perspectives” (Ashworth, 2006). Anderson (2006) eloquently sums up the commitment required, “The only implicit

contract is to be there, to stay and listen, and elicit the statements of others, and to speak if so moved.”

Criterion		References
Commitment from participants	Participants commit to come together in an open environment to listen and have a sustained conversation about place and experience with change from multiple perspectives.	Anderson, 2006; Ashworth, 2006; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

Because tourism stakeholders likely represent diverse spatial and organizational scales, they may come to the dialogue with different paradigms of the world, each relying on different assumptions and opinions (Bohm, 1995). Thus, a critical factor for successful dialogue is that participants are able to suspend, and even question, their assumptions (Ashworth, 2006). In doing so, they need to go

into the process of thought *behind* the assumptions, not just the assumptions themselves... And they may not realize it, but they have some tendency to defend their assumptions and opinions reactively against evidence that they are not right, or simply a similar tendency to defend them against somebody who has another opinion. If we defend opinions in this way, we are not going to be able to have a dialogue (Bohm, 1995, 9-11).

In a dialogue, participants must work to reveal their assumptions so they can be evaluated (or re-evaluated) rather than defending their assumptions as though they were truth (Yankelovich, 1999). This is especially important when discussing place. It is important to reveal any differences between the appearance, or perception, of a place and its reality (Sack, 2004). This appearance/reality dynamic specifically deals with the issue of authenticity. A tourism destination may be promoted as inclusive for example, but if one finds only people of higher socioeconomic class or only one culture present, then the reality may suggest otherwise. Suspending ones assumptions, and having the ability to question them are invaluable within a dialogue that aims to generate true understanding of an issue.

Criterion		References
Assumptions suspended and questioned	Participants effectively suspend and evaluate (or re-evaluate) their assumptions about place and experience with change to explore if the appearance or their perceptions of place match up with reality. To do this, people explore the logic, values and/or process of thought behind their assumptions.	Ashworth, 2006; Bohm, 1995; Sack, 2004; Yankelovich, 1999

It is important to note that in the dialogue itself, the idea is not to come to a decision on an issue. Dialogue may lead to a consensus in the future, which forms the basis for a decision, but this is not the point of the actual dialogue (Anderson, 2006). The idea is to seek understanding and requires that people are willing to admit uncertainty; that they are willing to learn and perhaps even change (Ashworth, 2006). This understanding is achieved when people seek to uncover how issues are understood or misunderstood (Anderson, 2006). This criterion flows naturally from the last. People suspend their assumptions because they seek mutual understanding of place through a process of collaborative inquiry (Yankelovich, 1999).

Criterion		References
Participants seek understanding	The dialogue seeks mutual understanding by uncovering how issues are understood or misunderstood by people. Participants effectively make meaning and learn in an atmosphere of collaborative inquiry.	Anderson, 2006; Ashworth, 2006; Yankelovich, 1999

Because dialogue aims for understanding, it should not be framed as a debate. The focus of dialogue is collaboration and inquiry rather than advocacy or debate. Dialogue is not a debate. When you enter into dialogue you are not required to defend or argue your views or to search for flaws in other's views. You are expected, however, to explain your views. Others are invited to ask questions or pick up on a thread of the ideas presented by the previous speaker (Ashworth, 2006).

Aiding the dialogue away from debate, participants should view each other as equals and let go of any hierarchical notions they may have. Instead, they should view each other as individuals with valuable input (Ashworth, 2006). There are a number of differences between dialogue and debate. Highlighting these differences, Yankelovich

(1999, 39-40) gives a number of opposing ideas based on whether one is in a debate or a dialogue (Table 1).

Table 1: Debate versus dialogue.

<i>Debate</i>	<i>Dialogue</i>
Assuming that there is a right answer and you have it	Assuming that many people have pieces of the right answer and that together they can craft a solution
Combative: participants attempt to prove the other side wrong	Collaborative: participants work together toward common understanding
About winning	About exploring common ground
Listening to find flaws and make counterarguments	Listening to understand, find meaning and agreement
Defending assumptions as truth	Revealing assumptions for reevaluation
Critiquing the other side's positions	Reexamining all positions
Defending one's own views against those of others	Admitting that others' thinking can improve on one's own
Searching for flaws and weaknesses in other positions	Searching for strengths and value in others' positions
Seeking a conclusion or vote that ratifies your position	Discovering new options, not seeking closure

(Yankelovich, 1999, 39-40)

By avoiding a debate, participants will be better equipped to mutually understand place and the factors that will make that place resilient.

Criterion	References
Participants are involved in a dialogue as opposed to a debate.	Participants view each other equally and are not required to defend or argue their views- participants are in a dialogue, not a debate. They are, however, required to explain their views.

The final criterion for a good dialogue is the presence of a skilled facilitator. A facilitator will help the group collaboratively learn by helping individuals understand how to express their assumptions and interests, while making sure that people remain open to the perspectives of others (Ashworth, 2006). In addition, a skilled facilitator will encourage people to share their doubts surrounding their own position, without feeling

weak, while helping the group recognize that differences in opinion do not equate to hostility (Ashworth, 2006).

Criterion	References
A skilled facilitator is present to guide participants through the dialogue.	Facilitator helps guide the group to learn by helping participants clarify their motivations and interests, while still remaining open to the contribution of others. There is opportunity for people to share their doubts on a position, without feeling weak and a recognition that differences do not equate to hostility.

Dialoguing is an extremely valuable tool for understanding. It is also valuable to the place-based process being outlined here. In addition to building trust between participants, the dialogue will aid in the understanding of place and the various interconnections of the social-ecological tourism system. In order for this to be the case however, specific factors need to be discussed, outlined in the upcoming content section.

2.5.3.2 The content to discuss

An important aspect to be discussed is who the decision makers are, what motivates them and how they will implement the project (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). “Ethical action also requires knowing who has no access to power or influence but will be affected by an action nonetheless” (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, 9). Even with participants in the process letting go of their job titles and hierarchical positions, the reality is that a specific group or person will likely have control of implementation. However, in a collaborative decision making process, such as this one, significant power imbalances may be present (Frame, 2002). Planning that attempts to embrace place meanings from multiple stakeholders must address power dynamics so that every stakeholder can have meaningful input. Power imbalances can be mitigated by, for example, participant funding, training and professional facilitation if so chosen (Frame, 2002).

While attempts to equalize power are important, it is also critical to determine which groups historically had power, and what effect this has on the place. Often, place meanings are imposed by groups who have the power and resources. For example, tourism destinations are often branded in marketing campaigns, which acts to establish a place meaning defined by those who have the power to perpetuate the brand image (Williams, Gill and Chura, 2004). In addition,

Institutional actors such as land management agencies may play a large role in the creation of place meanings: official mandates that "freeze" a landscape at a particular point in time, interpretative signs directing tourists to particular views (while also telling them what they are supposed to be seeing) directly affect the meanings that National Parks visitors may glean from their visit. Other policies, such as restricting access to certain areas (i.e., camping only in designated backcountry campsites) or specific types of activities (i.e., allowing hunting in National Forests but not National Parks) can indirectly affect the meanings attributed to the setting via influencing the behaviors that support these meanings (Stedman et al, 2004, 583).

As a result, understanding that those with power have an asymmetrical opportunity to shape place and recognizing which groups/individuals have power is of importance. A discussion of past power holders within the planning process may help people understand how a particular sense of place emerged, while identifying present power holders may lead to a decision to even out imbalances.

Criterion		References
A discussion of who the decision makers are.	Participants discuss who has power to make decisions, what their motivations are, and how their past decisions have affected place. Also, participants discuss who does not have power, or if significant power imbalances are present, and if the imbalance should be overcome by, e.g., funding, training or professional facilitation.	Frame, 2002; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams, Gill and Chura, 2004

The next three criteria relate to factors that will affect participants' understanding of place. Davenport and Anderson (2005, 627) clarify why place-based planning is important in all natural resource management. In particular, they describe four interrelated points affecting the relationship between humans and the environment.

1. Places manifest the physical characteristics of a setting, activities and experiences, social phenomena and processes, and individual interpretations.
2. People assign meanings to places and derive meaning in their lives from places.
3. Some place meanings translate into strong emotional bonds that influence attitudes and behaviors within the context of those places.
4. Place meanings are maintained, challenged, and negotiated in natural resource management and planning.

The authors provide a progression that highlights why it is important to understand sense of place in natural resource management. Essentially, any management action will affect the meanings of places to which people have strong emotional bonds.

Discussing place is also important regarding the building of resilience. Dialoguing towards a mutual understanding of place will provide collective knowledge of the factors that make up the complex adaptive tourism system. As demonstrated in the adaptive co-management regime that arose in the Kristianstad example, this collective knowledge was crucial to success.

To effectively cover the factors that create place, a number of topics need to be discussed. These topics include social relationships, including individual experiences, the physical landscape, and the symbolic meaning that is ascribed to the place. From a practical standpoint, it is easiest to talk about these parts individually. However, it is also important to note that all these parts are interrelated. The symbolic meaning attached to a place results from social relationships and individual experiences that occur within a specific landscape, be it human made, natural, biotic or abiotic. Thus, while the three factors of place are separated below and discussed individually, they must be understood as interrelated aspects of place once reassembled.

When identifying place, it is important to determine not only *how much* a place means to people, but also *what* that place means to them. Often the two cannot be separated. Determining both of these factors can be accomplished by eliciting the symbolic meanings people attach to a place by asking question such as: what does this place mean to you? Or, how did you come to know this place? (Davenport and Anderson, 2005). Symbolic meanings manifest in many different forms, but generally refer to “the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life” (Williams and Vaske, 2003, 6). Davenport and Anderson (2005) found that symbolic meanings not only help people identify with place, in either a positive or negative manner, but also underpin how attached they are to the place. Stedman et al (2004, 581) helps explain this finding: “Symbolic meanings underpin place attachment: we attribute meaning to our settings, and in turn become attached to the meanings.” When dialoguing around place, it is useful for participants to not only discuss *what* the place means to them- how they identify with the place- but also *how much* that place means to them- how attached they are to it. This is done by discussing the symbolic meanings that the place holds for people.

Symbolic meanings that people attach to a place are generally individualized and differ from person to person. For example, Stedman et al (2004) conducted a study of place meanings in the popular tourist destination of Jasper National Park in Alberta. They explored the meanings that residents of both Jasper, which is economically tied to the Park, and the nearby town of Hinton, more tied to extractive resource management, attached to the Park. The authors found that residents of Jasper attached positive symbolic meanings to the spectacular areas that help to draw in tourists, places where

they recreated with their friends, or that they enjoyed going to relax. In contrast, the residents of Hinton attached symbolic meaning to the Park as an area where restrictive policies “contribute to ‘nature under glass’ meaning” (Stedman et al, 2004, 603). They go on to explain, “Many of those who live in a cultural context that includes occupations based on cutting trees and digging coal find this meaning off-putting” (p. 603). To the residents of Hinton, the Park was an area where they could not enjoy motorized recreation or be outside the influence of the Park’s regulations.

While specific symbolic meanings may differ by person based on their experiences, broad social categories may be created in which people’s symbolic association can be positioned within (Grieder and Garkovich, 1994). For example, Davenport and Anderson (2005) conducted a study to uncover the place-based meanings that members of gateway communities in north central Nebraska ascribe to the Niobrara National Scenic River, a protected area adjacent to their towns. The authors present the spectrum of place meanings that people attach to the river. They found that the Niobrara River was thought of in many different ways that could be categorized into four symbolic categories: sustenance, tonic, nature and identity. Sustenance refers to people who associate the river as a source of water and economic revenue through, for example, tourism. The tonic category represents people who see the river as a place to rejuvenate themselves mentally and physically, through recreation for example. River as nature represents people who think of the river as an undisturbed ecology and a place with abundant wildlife. Finally, the river contributes to a sense of identity for some, be it as an individual, a family or a member of the community. Furthermore, the authors found that the symbolic meaning many people ascribe to the river evolved, both positively and

negatively, over time. “Two participants explained how learning about the ecological uniqueness of the river had increased their attachment to the river. Three other participants’ comments suggest they had become ‘detached’ from the river as government regulations increased” (Davenport and Anderson, 2005, 638). Perhaps the most relevant finding for natural resource managers and place-based planners was that people’s sense of meaning for the river affected their perceptions and attitudes towards increased tourism and development.

For example, a rental cabin erected in the valley may interfere with tonic meanings related to scenic beauty and escape; nature meanings related to wildlife and habitat; and identity meanings related to the neighborliness or rural character of the community. At the same time, the development may enhance other meanings, such as identity meanings related to individual autonomy (e.g., private property rights) and sustenance meanings related to economic security (Davenport and Anderson, 2005, 638).

A discussion of the symbolic meanings that people ascribe to place is an important factor in not only understanding sense of place, but also how change may affect place and whether the change is positive or negative. It helps clarify what a place means to people, how much that place means to them, and how change may affect these meanings. In addition, the discussion can help the group understand how social meanings are ascribed to natural environments making interconnections within the social-ecological system more clear.

Criterion		References
A discussion of the symbolic meaning that people ascribe to the place	Participants discuss the various symbolic meanings (“a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life” (Williams and Vaske, 2003, 6)) they associate with different locations within the place, i.e., home meanings, nature meanings, sustenance meanings, tonic meanings, identity meanings, etc. They discuss where these meanings originate from and how potential change may affect these meanings.	Davenport and Anderson, 2005; Grieder and Garkovich, 1994; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams and Vaske, 2003

The social relationships and individual experiences that occur within an area help form a significant portion of the place meanings people ascribe to that space (Tuan, 1977). Sack (2004) gives the example of an area containing a person's work or business. The individual's experiences within that space will focus on the creation of wealth and the building of relationships between co-workers and clients. These factors help create similar identity and meaning within that space which will partially generate a sense of place. Similarly, Uzzell, Pol and Badenas (2002) show that a person's psychological construct of their identity as it relates to place and its physical aspects is partly created from social relationships. The authors' also discovered that the social interactions which influence how an individual perceives the people within their community impacts the meanings that they ascribed to the place and their willingness to improve that place. For example, the "extent to which people believe that others are willing to help solve environmental problems is an important influence on their own willingness to change" (Uzzell, Pol and Badenas, 2002, 49).

Also demonstrating the importance of social relationships and individual experiences, Stedman et al (2004) found that these factors were important aspects of place in their research conducted in Jasper National Park. For example, the authors found that while the residents of Jasper were attached to spectacular areas that drew in tourists, they were also significantly attached to the ordinary locations where people socialized with other residents. These places included the local recreation centre and post office, and for one individual, an alleyway outside the home where neighbours met regularly (Stedman et al, 2004). Indeed, in a destination such as Jasper where nature-based tourism is highlighted, the residents "placed particular emphasis on their community being more

than just a ‘tourist town’... [making] the distinction between local and non-local people and how important it is for residents to have sites in the community that are not overrun by visitors” (Stedman, 2004, 592). Their study helped show that place is derived from an interrelated set of factors including social relationships.

Discussing the social relationships, individual experiences and perceptions of other people that occur within an area are important aspects of place. The discussion will likely help stakeholders understand where certain place meanings originate from and which parts of the location in question hold special meaning for them.

Criterion		References
A discussion of social relationships / individual experiences and their influence on place	Participants discuss how their social relationships and individual experiences affect and are affected by place (e.g. with their peers, business partners/employers, the government, etc). People’s <i>perceptions</i> of their community are also discussed.	Sack, 2004; Stedman et al, 2004; Tuan, 1977; Uzzell, Pol and Badenas, 2002

Any place-based process will have defined geographic boundaries of the area under discussion. This could range from a single building to an entire tourism destination and beyond. Whatever the scale, the physical environment, be it built, natural, abiotic or biotic, will have an impact on place meanings (Stedman, 2003).

The usage of the term *genius loci* is a good example of the natural landscape’s influence on place. In Roman mythology, *genius loci* referred to a protective spirit of a place which was thought to get its unique character from the physical nature of the place itself (Jackson, 1994). The term is now more understood as a metaphorical ‘feeling’ of place that one senses as opposed to an actual spirit. Importantly, its usage suggests that place is at least partly derived from the landscape itself as opposed to just experiences within that landscape. For example, Shumaker and Taylor (1983) suggest that people

partly become attached to places with particularly awe-inspiring landscapes due to its sublime physical features.

In an attempt to understand “the relationship between characteristics of the physical environment and sense of place”, Stedman (2003, 675) conducted a study in the lake-rich landscape of Vilas County, Wisconsin (having 1320 lakes). He found that natural, man-made, abiotic and biotic factors such as shoreline development, water clarity, public access and chlorophyll levels had significant impacts in constructed meanings of place. As a result of these findings, he concluded that “landscape attributes matter a great deal to constructed meanings” (p. 671). Furthermore, photos taken by residents in the previously mentioned Jasper National Park study (Stedman et al, 2004, 595) “made it clear that the physical landscape... is a significant source of attachment.”

There exist a few places where the *natural* environment (versus the *built* environment) plays a very small role in established place meanings. If, during the dialogue on place, it is discovered that the natural environment has little to do with place meanings, it is an important point to note. If the natural features play a small role in people’s attachment to a place, then “there is a wide latitude in which environmental degradation may occur, while leaving attachment intact” (Stedman, 2003, 682). An example of this phenomenon comes from Swan Hills. This Albertan town was the first North American community to willingly vote in the citing of a special waste treatment centre within the town limits; an action which posed significant environmental risk (Bradshaw, 2003). Even after a number of highly publicized plant failures which caused significant environmental impacts, the local support for the facility remained strong due to economic reasons. Bradshaw (2003) attributes this tolerance to a transient population

with little time to form any attachment to the place. Indeed, the main groups in opposition to the facility were the regional First Nations Bands who have lived in the area for generations and are significantly attached to the physical environment surrounding Swan Hills (Bradshaw, 2003).

The final aspect of place to be discussed in order to gain a comprehensive understanding is the influence of the physical landscape (natural and built; biotic and abiotic). In addition, the extent to which the *natural* landscape affects place meanings should be discussed. This will help determine how much environmental degradation can occur without affecting place meanings. If environmental sustainability is a goal, a population with little attachment to the natural landscape will need to be managed more closely than a population with strong attachment to the landscape.

Criterion		References
A discussion of physical landscapes and their influence on place	Participants discuss how the physical landscapes (built, natural, biotic and abiotic) affect place. Also discussed is to what extent the <i>natural</i> landscape affects place.	Jackson, 1994; Sack, 2004; Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Stedman, 2003; Stedman et al, 2004

After a discussion surrounding place, a dialogue regarding people’s experiences with change over time within the place, and how this change was adapted to should occur. An initial discussion of place is an important factor however. As Davidson-Hunt and Berkes (2003) note, identifying sense of place allows people to recognize their everyday activities, their perceptions of ecosystems, and their relational networks in those ecosystems. This awareness helps people gain an understanding of how the system that they act within works, how resilient the system is, and how it may be made to be more resilient (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004).

After this understanding is achieved, a dialogue around social memory can more effectively occur. Social memory is defined as the “arena in which captured experience

with change and successful adaptations, embedded in a deeper level of values, is actualized through community debate and decision-making processes into appropriate strategies for dealing with ongoing change” (Folke et al, 2005, 453). Dialoguing around social memory will help people understand how they may 1) help systems survive abrupt changes, 2) evoke change in undesirable systems and 3) mobilize resources after change that enables reorganization in an effective and controlled manner (Folke et al, 2005). To help achieve these three important abilities, the dialogue should revolve around times of change and how people and the ecosystem reacted both positively and negatively. Dialoguing around social memory plays an important role in developing an adaptive co-management regime. It allows key people to better understand, and therefore effectively use, the multiple scales of knowledge available if a crisis occurs in the future (Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003). In addition, collective understanding of successful and unsuccessful strategies for reorganization after change is promoted by a dialogue around social memory.

An example of actualizing social memory comes from Blann, Light and Musumeci (2003), who conducted a study in Forest Creek, a popular tourism and recreation destination in Minnesota known for its angling opportunities. The creek was historically managed for trophy fishing through habitat improvements that focused solely on enhanced angling opportunities. As cultural and ecological knowledge increased however, people realized that these habitat improvements had negative impacts on the wider social and ecological resources of the area, such as plants, non-fish animals, and archaeological sites/artefacts. The projects rapidly became highly contentious and politicized affairs. As a result of these bad experiences with projects, when additional

habitat improvement was proposed by anglers, state resource managers knew they had to act to avoid conflict. They “created a facilitated process that was fair, open, and flexible. A critical change was devolving the authority and accountability for the final decision making to the local managers and to the process” (Blann, Light and Musumeci, 2003, 215). The new, localized process brought stakeholders together to find solutions through discussions, resource mapping and studies that helped everyone gain an understanding of the collective experiences with past changes that occurred on the river. In addition to producing an agreement that satisfied all stakeholders, the process played an important role for later crises, as it became a source of social memory. For example, when a quarry operation was proposed near the creek, individuals that took part in the process knew that an important recharge area for the creek would be threatened posing wider environmental problems for the ecosystem. They knew this because it was identified in a resource survey they had conducted in the initial process. “Individuals responded quickly through the informal communication network that the Forest Creek project had spawned. They managed to get the property designated fairly rapidly as an important ‘Scientific and Natural Area’, through a state land acquisition and management program” (Blann, Light and Musumeci, 2003, 225). Because social memory was actualized through the Forest Creek project, when proposed change came in the form of the quarry the network of stakeholders came together to effectively and co-operatively come to a solution.

The Forest Creek example demonstrates the usefulness of social memory gained by a process which highlights collective experiences with prior change. As in Forest Creek, this discussion may simply produce information gaps which need to be filled by ecological studies, resource surveys or other means of information gathering. Once the

information is gathered however, and after the stakeholders understand the experiences of others, the result is a stockpile of knowledge. The process can also build social relationships and informal networks, or social capital, that may be accessed in future times of crisis to mobilize the social memory towards effective strategies for change.

Criterion		References
A discussion of experiences with change over time and how this was adapted to (social memory)	Participants discuss how prior times of change, were dealt with to understand, in the future, how people may 1) help systems survive abrupt changes, 2) evoke change in undesirable systems and 3) mobilize resources after changes that enable reorganization in an effective and controlled manner.	Blann, Light and Musumeci, 2003; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Folke et al, 2005

To encourage an all-encompassing dialogue around place, Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) suggest that participants explore the implications if alternate conditions existed. This could be in the past, present or future. This dialogue helps people better understand the current state of conditions through comparing and contrasting alternate visions of reality.

Criterion		References
Participants explore the implications of alternate conditions	Participants discuss the potential implications if another condition existed in order to better understand the current reality.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

Finally, it is important for the process to include an opportunity for the stakeholders to bring up issues that are important to them which may not be on the agenda (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). This gives the dialogic arena legitimacy as a space where participants are truly attempting to understand all the nuances that converge to create place in a manner that is inclusive of everybody.

Criterion		References
Participants have an opportunity to discuss aspects not on the agenda	Participants have an opportunity to bring up issues regarding place or past experience with change not on the agenda, but of importance to them.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

The main purpose of dialogue is to create collective understanding around the issues being discussed. The actual dialogue is not a debate, nor a decision-making

process. The dialogue is a forum to promote understanding surrounding place and experience with prior change and crisis. Through the deliberate process of dialogue, collective understanding is achieved and capacity is built for adaptive co-management by fostering social capital and social memory. While the dialogue is not a decision-making step, a specific shift towards determining future action needs to occur. This happens in step three.

2.5.4 Step 3: Determining Future Actions

The Kristianstad example demonstrates the importance of key leadership which inspires and encourages stakeholders to work together throughout the process (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004). Westley (2002) outlines this importance by telling the story of a particularly successful resource manager who consistently managed stakeholders on multiple organizational levels through determined leadership. Folke et al (2005) similarly argue that in order to effectively mobilize social memory, leadership needs to be present to guide the process and bring a diversity of interests together. Without leadership, the process is likely to become ad hoc and vague.

Criterion	References
Leadership A leader, or leadership, is present who inspires and encourages stakeholders on multiple organizational levels to be involved and work towards a collaboratively decided upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Westley, 2002

The next step towards future action is to come to a consensus on who will be involved. “There are no rules or simple guides for selecting who plays, only values and beliefs” (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, 15). However, the dialogic process, which seeks understanding and clarity, can provide insights into the selection process. Certain stakeholders may feel they have been adequately heard and will not desire future participation, while others may want to continue the process. There is no right way to

select who will participate, but Schneekloth and Shibley, (1995) make it clear that the process needs to be transparent.

Criterion		References
Consensus reached on who will be involved in future action	This process will involve value judgments and belief statements. The dialogic process will offer insight into those who will be included. There is no right way to select those involved, but the process needs to be transparent to all.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

In addition to agreeing upon who will be involved in future action, a transparent and collaborative process needs to determine how to proceed, or whether to proceed at all. The choice of methodology is a not just a technical question, it is also an ethical one. The methods should come from consensus and not be hidden so as to avoid what Schneekloth and Shibley (1995, 16) refer to as “methodological tyranny”. They continue, “If the dialogic space is working, then as the work progresses to decisions about action, all voices can see themselves in the approach, have a higher level of commitment to the decisions, and often be more willing to live with and care for the resultant conditions” (pp.16-17). Because every method will have an ideology that promotes it, that ideology ought to be transparent. For the entire place-based process being outlined here, there is a very specific ideology that should be driving all three steps. The goal of this process is to achieve resilience. “Social-ecological resilience refers to the capacity of a social-ecological system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks” (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004, 2). To complete this goal, as much effort as possible should be made to create an adaptive co-management regime. This ideology follows two assumptions: 1) that social-ecological resilience is desirable and 2) that place-based planning can result in an adaptive co-management regime that increases resilience. Thus, future actions for this process will always, at the least, involve this ideology.

In deciding how to proceed, the methods used, the nature of what needs to get done, and the ideology behind these two things need to be determined in a collaborative and transparent manner. Failure to do so may cast doubt on the process and present a legitimacy issue in the eyes of those affected by the exercise and casual observers alike.

Criterion		References
Transparent decisions on how to proceed	How to proceed (i.e. the methods used and what exactly is to be done) – or whether to proceed at all – need to be determined in a transparent and collaborative manner. In addition, the ideology or logic behind the method needs to be agreed upon. ³	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

A successful place-based process is one that culminates in the building of a resilient tourism destination. The likelihood of a resilient destination increases due to a diverse set of stakeholders acting on many organizational scales dialoguing, collaborating and coming to a transparent decision on how to proceed (Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003). As a result of the process, a social network built on trust emerges where social memory is actualized and used to work towards a vision of place and its maintenance afterwards (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004). An important factor in creating this resilience is that collaboration occurs among the diverse set of actors (Folke et al, 2005). This is especially important in tourism systems where complexity is the norm (Bodega, Cioccarelli and Denicolai, 2004; Farrell and Twinning-Ward, 2004). Every step of the process leading up to this one is intentionally designed to help the actors come together and collaborate. Collaboration cannot be forced, but through a dialogue concerning everyone’s sense of place and prior experiences, trust and collaboration is much more

³ For example, the ideology behind this place-based process is consistent with the assumptions that the three-step process can help build places with adaptive co-management regimes that result in social-ecological resilience.

likely to occur. These factors are then used to cooperatively work towards the creation of a resilient place.

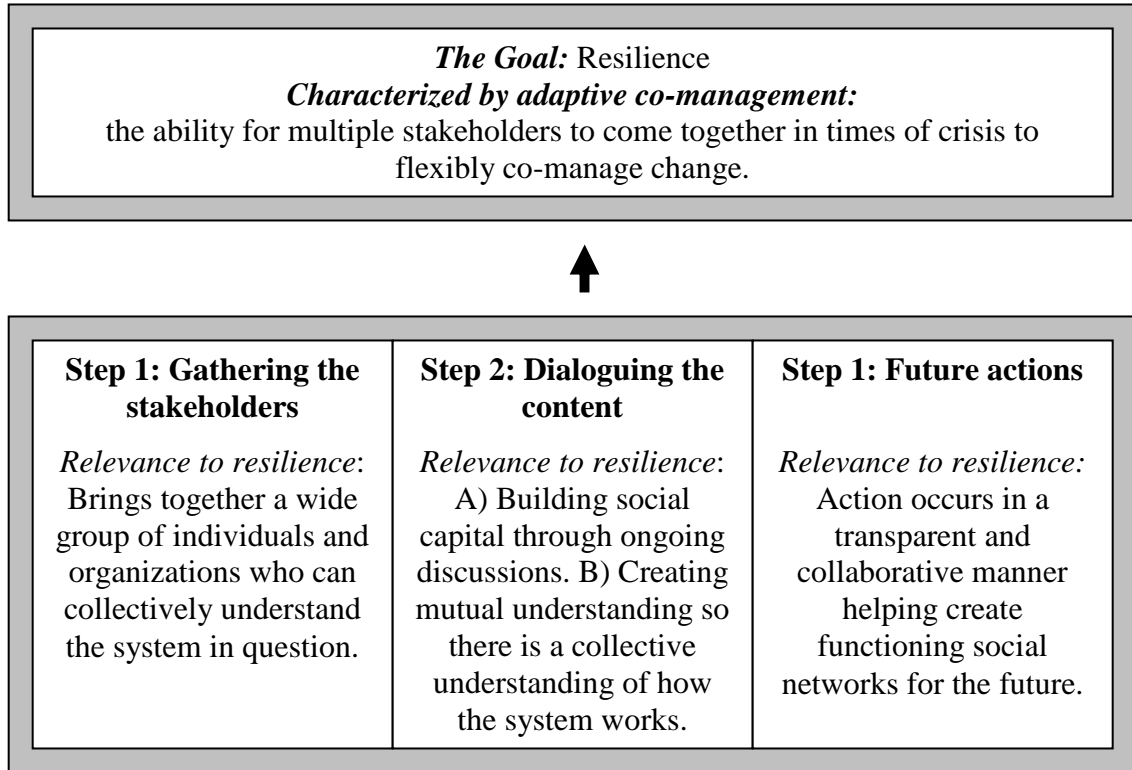
Criterion		References
Collaboration occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple levels	As a result of the dialogue, a social network built on trust is created and social memory is realized among participants. These factors are used to cooperatively work towards the agreed upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004

As stated by numerous authors, social-ecological resilience in complex adaptive systems is essential for sustainability (Farrell and Twinning-Ward, 2004; Farrell and Twinning-Ward, 2005; Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004). Great examples of achieving this resilience come from both Folke et al (2005) and Olsson, Folke and Hahn (2004) in the form of adaptive co-management systems. Unfortunately, creating an adaptive co-management system is not a fast course of action that can be simply mandated. It emerges as the result of a process that encourages social networks, assisted by social capital and equipped with social memory, to flexibly come together in times of crises to effectively adapt to change (Folke et al, 2005).

I believe the three-step process outlined provides a useful framework for adaptive co-management regimes to emerge, thus bringing about resilience. Bringing together a diversity of stakeholders and dialoguing around place can help in two significant ways. First, the dialogic process can help build social capital. Second, the process can enlighten the collective understanding of the social-ecological tourism system and its interconnecting factors, helping to actualize social memory. With the aid of social capital and social memory, people are more likely to flexibly self organize towards social-ecological sustainability (Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004). When a crisis occurs, the

appropriate actors and knowledge will be mobilized through the pre-existing social network to appropriately adapt to the change. As shown in Figure 4, resilience is the result.

Figure 4: The progression towards resilience.



The last criterion emerges from this progression and cannot be measured during the actual process, as it embodies a future state. As such, the final criterion outlines the ultimate goal for the process.

Criterion	References
<p>Future adaptive co-management occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple scales</p>	<p>People flexibly self organize towards social-ecological sustainability on a case by case basis in the future. When a crisis occurs, the appropriate actors and knowledge is mobilized through the pre-existing social network to appropriately adapt to the change.</p>
	<p>Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004</p>

2.5.5 The Evaluative Framework

One of the best case studies outlining the emergence of an effective adaptive co-management regime comes from the Kristianstad example outlined by Olsson, Folke and Hahn (2004). As a result of that study, the authors identified a number of processes and strategies that contribute to maintaining resilience in complex adaptive systems (Table 2). To test the potential effectiveness of the three-step evaluative framework⁴, each of the processes/strategies in Table 2 are considered. After each process/strategy, the step in the process I have outlined which best corresponds is identified in brackets.

Table 2: Strategies for resilience and their inclusion in the place-based process.

Developing motivation and values for ecosystem management

- Envisioning the future together with actors (happen throughout steps 1-3)
- Developing, communicating and building support for the mission (Leadership- step 3)
- Identifying and clarifying objectives (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Developing personal ties (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Establishing a close relationship and trust with key individuals (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Fostering dialogue with actors (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Providing arenas for trust building among actors (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Building trust in times of stability to facilitate conflict resolution (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Developing norms to avoid loss of trust among actors (Dialogic process- step 2)
- Continuously communicating success and progress of projects (Transparency requirements- outlined in step 3)

⁴ The three-step evaluative framework of a place-based process for resilience can be seen in its entirety in Table 3.

Directing the local context through adaptive co-management

- Encouraging and supporting actors to perform monitoring, including inventories (Discussion around prior experience with change, which may include information gathering- step 2. Also contained in the action phase- step 3)
- Encouraging and supporting actors to manage ecosystem processes for biodiversity and ecosystem services (not specifically included)
- Initiating and sustaining social networks of key individuals (happen throughout steps 1-3)
- Mobilizing individuals of social networks in problem-driven projects (Step 3)
- Making sense of and guiding the management process (Facilitation- step 2. Leadership- step 3)
- Synthesizing and mobilizing knowledge for ecosystem management (Step 3)
- Providing coordination of project and arenas for collaboration (Dialogic process- step 2; Leadership- step 3)
- Encouraging and inspiring actors to voluntary participation (Leadership- step 3)
- Initiating projects and selecting problems that can be turned into possibilities (This criterion identifies a future state after the adaptive co-management regime is established not during the process- Not applicable)
- Creating public opinion and involving local media (Step 1)

Navigating the larger environment

- Influencing decision makers at higher levels to maintain governance structures that allow for adaptive co-management of the area (Involving stakeholders from multiple organizational scales- happen throughout steps 1-3)
- Mobilizing new funding when needed (not specifically included)
- Mobilizing external knowledge when needed (not specifically included)
- Exchanging information and collaboration with local steward associations [locally] and internationally (Include key stakeholders- step 1)
- Collaborating with national and international scientists (Include key stakeholders- step 1)
- Collaborating with national and international non-governmental organizations (Include key stakeholders- step 1)
- Participating in international institutional frameworks (Include key stakeholders from multiple organizational scales- step 1)
- Supporting diffusion of the values of [the local area] through social networks (Social capital building- dialogic process- step 2)
- Providing a buffer for external drivers (not specifically included)
- Communicating with national media (Step 1)

(Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004, 15; Table 3)

Evaluating the place-based process against the criteria that contribute to maintaining resilience in complex adaptive systems (Table 2), the results are positive.

Of the 30 processes/strategies identified, the place-based process (Table 3) specifically includes 25 of them (83%). Two of the processes/strategies are not overtly included (mobilizing new funding when needed, and mobilizing external knowledge when needed). However, the process allows for these activities to occur if they are needed through stakeholder collaboration. Including these two criteria, and omitting the

criterion that is labelled ‘not applicable’ (initiating projects and selecting problems that can be turned into possibilities) the place-based process covers 27/29 of the criteria (93%). This suggests that place-based processes may be a sound way to create resilient places. Additionally, the entire process as outlined (Table 3) provides a useful framework for evaluating any project that creates or modifies places.

Table 3: Three-step idealized place-based planning process

Criteria	Reference(s)
Step 1- Gathering the stakeholders⁵	
Key individuals in stakeholder groups identified and included	The process involves strong individuals targeted to participate in the process (i.e., leaders, facilitators, social connectors, etc). The stakeholders include individuals or members of organizations which inhabit and/or are affected by the place. The process should also be open to members of the public and the media should they wish to participate.
The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial and organizational scales	The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial (e.g. local, regional, national, international) and organizational (e.g. political, bureaucratic, private, community) scales.
Step 2- confirmation (content criteria) and interrogation (process criteria)	
<i>Process criteria</i>	
Commitment from participants	Participants commit to come together in an open environment to listen and have a sustained conversation about place and experience with change from multiple perspectives.
Assumptions suspended and questioned	Participants effectively suspend and evaluate (or reevaluate) their assumptions about place and experience with change to explore if the appearance or their perceptions of place match up with reality. To do this, people explore the logic, values and/or process of thought behind their assumptions.
Participants seek understanding	The dialogue seeks mutual understanding by uncovering how issues are understood or misunderstood by people. Participants effectively make meaning and learn in an atmosphere of

⁵ Including the necessary stakeholders (defined by the criteria in this section) increases the social licence to operate (Williams et al, 2007) and helps achieve a collective and socially desirable outcome because it will be informed by the multiple levels of the social-ecological system (Folke et al, 2005; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004).

Criteria		Reference(s)
	collaborative inquiry.	
Participants are involved in a dialogue as opposed to a debate.	Participants view each other equally and are not required to defend or argue their views- participants are in a dialogue, not a debate. They are, however, required to explain their views.	Ashworth, 2006; Yankelovich, 1999
A skilled facilitator is present to guide participants through the dialogue.	Facilitator helps guide the group to learn by helping participants clarify their motivations and interests, while still remaining open to the contribution of others. There is opportunity for people to share their doubts on a position, without feeling weak and a recognition that differences do not equate to hostility.	Ashworth, 2006
<i>Content criteria</i>		
A discussion of who the decision makers are.	Participants discuss who has power to make decisions, what their motivations are, and how their past decisions have affected place. Also, participants discuss who does not have power, or if significant power imbalances are present, and if the imbalance should be overcome by, e.g., funding, training or professional facilitation.	Frame, 2002; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams, Gill and Chura, 2004
A discussion of the symbolic meaning that people ascribe to the place	Participants discuss the various symbolic meanings (“a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life” (Williams and Vaske, 2003, 6)) they associate with different locations within the place, i.e., home meanings, nature meanings, sustenance meanings, tonic meanings, identity meanings, etc. They discuss where these meanings originate from and how potential change may affect these meanings.	Davenport and Anderson, 2005; Grieder and Garkovich, 1994; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams and Vaske, 2003
A discussion of social relationships / individual experiences and their influence on place	Participants discuss how their social relationships and individual experiences affect and are affected by place (e.g. with their peers, business partners/employers, the government, etc). People’s <i>perceptions</i> of their community are also discussed.	Sack, 2004; Stedman et al, 2004; Tuan, 1977; Uzzell, Pol and Badenas, 2002
A discussion of physical landscapes and their influence on place	Participants discuss how the physical landscapes (built, natural, biotic and abiotic) affect place. Also discussed is to what extent the <i>natural</i> landscape affects place.	Jackson, 1994; Sack, 2004; Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Stedman, 2003; Stedman et al, 2004
A discussion of experiences with change over time and how this was adapted	Participants discuss how prior times of change, were dealt with to understand, in the future, how people may 1) help systems survive abrupt changes, 2) evoke change in undesirable systems	Blann, Light and Musumeci, 2003; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Folke et al, 2005

⁶ This discussion should occur after the dialogue on place. As Davidson-Hunt and Berkes (2003) note, identifying sense of place allows people to recognize their everyday activities, their perceptions of ecosystems, and their relational networks in those ecosystems. This awareness helps people gain an understanding of how the system that they act within works, how resilient the system is, and how it may

Criteria	Reference(s)	
to (social memory) ⁶	and 3) mobilize resources after changes that enable reorganization in an effective and controlled manner.	
Participants explore the implications of alternate conditions	Participants discuss the potential implications if another condition existed in order to better understand the current reality.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995
Participants have an opportunity to discuss aspects not on the agenda	Participants have an opportunity to bring up issues regarding place or past experience with change not on the agenda, but of importance to them.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995
Step 3- determining future actions		
Leadership	A leader, or leadership, is present who inspires and encourages stakeholders on multiple organizational levels to be involved and work towards a collaboratively decided upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Westley, 2002
Consensus reached on who will be involved in future action	This process will involve value judgments and belief statements. The dialogic process will offer insight into those who will be included. There is no right way to select those involved, but the process needs to be transparent to all.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995
Transparent decisions on how to proceed	How to proceed (i.e. the methods used and what exactly is to be done) – or whether to proceed at all – need to be determined in a transparent and collaborative manner. In addition, the ideology or logic behind the method needs to be agreed upon. ⁷	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995
Collaboration occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple levels	As a result of the dialogue, a social network built on trust is created and social memory is realized among participants. These factors are used to cooperatively work towards the agreed upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004
Future adaptive co-management occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple scales ⁸	People flexibly self organize towards social-ecological sustainability on a case by case basis in the future. When a crisis occurs, the appropriate actors and knowledge is mobilized through the pre-existing social network to appropriately adapt to the change.	Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004

become more resilient. Discussion of experiences with change over time could possibly be framed as a discussion of a changing sense of place over time and how this was adapted to.

⁷ For example, the ideology behind this place-based process is consistent with the assumptions that the three-step process can help build places with adaptive co-management regimes that result in social-ecological resilience.

⁸ This criterion is an outcome, and may not be able to be assessed until long after the initial process is completed.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Introduction

Two forms of qualitative research were used in this research. The first was a review of the literature, as articulated in Chapter Two. This resulted in the creation of a three-step evaluative framework of assessing the extent to which place-based process factors contribute to resilience. The second is a case study of the planning process that occurred for the Whistler Olympic Park. Marshall and Rossman (2006) emphasize the value of qualitative methods in a variety of research. Of the list provided by Marshall and Rossman (2006, 53), the following research types ideal for qualitative methods apply to this study:

- Research that elicits multiple constructed realities, studied holistically;
- Research that elicits tacit knowledge and subjective understandings and interpretations; and
- Research that delves in depth into complexities and process.

In this case study, a review of the documents that were publically released as a result of the planning process were examined. Afterwards, a qualitative survey method (see section 3.4) collected additional data relevant to identifying and examining the criteria of a place-based planning process established via the literature review. Finally the data collected from both the planning documents and the interviews were analysed using the evaluative framework.

3.2 Research Objective and Questions

The primary objective of this research was to understand which elements of a place-based planning process would have the greatest potential to lead to resilience and to identify and understand the extent to which these elements were used in planning for the Whistler Olympic Park.

3.2.1 Research Questions

To achieve this objective, a primary research question was created: What components of an idealized place-based planning process (one which has the greatest potential to result in a resilient place) were included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?

To help answer this primary research question, three ensuing operational questions were asked:

1. What are the key components of an idealized place-based planning process?
2. Which of these place-based planning components were included, or not suitably included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?
3. What are the implications of the presence or absence of these components for the resiliency of the place?

3.3 Case Study

In addition to a review of the theoretical literature, a case study is used in this research. A ‘case’ is defined by Stake (2000, 2) as “an integrated system.” The author continues, “The parts do not have to be working well, the purposes may be irrational, but

it is a system.” As a method of inquiry, the case study “allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 2008, 4). In this research, the case study is used in the same way Yin (2008, 4) recommends; as a method that will “contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena.” This case study attempts to determine to what extent the different components of a place-based planning process occurred in a real-life event: the planning for the Whistler Olympic Park.

3.3.1 Case Study Selection

The planning process for the Whistler Olympic Park was chosen as a case study for this research because it involved a planning process for a venue that was being created in a location that a) was rich with place meanings, b) was within the boundaries of a tourism destination, and c) would inevitably affect place meanings given its connection to the Olympic Games. The case was also ideal because a great deal of publically available documentation was available to help identify: a) participants in the planning process, b) how these different participants conceptualized the Callaghan Valley as a place and, c) the chronological steps that occurred to plan the venue.

3.4 Data Collection

Primary qualitative data were collected through a number of personal, semi-structured interviews with participants in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process. These interviews took place between May and August, 2008.

Secondary data were obtained from a variety of publically available sources. These include newspapers in addition to the websites of government, VANOC and First Nations.

3.4.1 Primary Data Collection: The Active Interview

Primary data were collected in one-on-one semi-structured interviews using an active interview process (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). The literature review yielded a set of criteria that served as an evaluative framework for an idealized place-based planning process. These criteria and framework shaped and informed the interview process and its questions. In addition, the tenets of the active interview were used.

In any interview, the respondents act as a receptacle of knowledge, and when interviewed, the researcher must be aware of where the knowledge comes from and how it is derived (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Interviews, by their very nature, involve an interaction between two individuals and “narratives... are constructed in situ, a product of the talk between interview participants” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 2). Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggest an active interview is a method of inquiry where respondents are thought of as ‘active’.

Construed as active, the subject behind the respondent not only holds facts and details of experience, but in the very process of offering them up for response, constructively adds to, takes away from, and transforms the facts and details (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 8).

In an active interview, the primary interest in the content of answers lies in “how and what the subject/respondent, in collaboration with an equally active interviewer, produces and conveys about the subject/respondent’s experience under the interpretive circumstances at hand” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 9). In the active interview, the

respondent is seen as having a collaborative role in producing knowledge along with the interviewer. However, this is not to suggest that the interviewer cannot bias the knowledge. Indeed, in an active interview, the interviewer should only ask for clarification or probe an issue when necessary (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). In this way, the knowledge that emits from a respondent is in collaboration with the interviewer, to a limited extent, while being actively created and interpreted in situ.

The active interview method was chosen because the knowledge respondents held came from diverse experiences. A structured interview may inhibit these unique experiences from emerging. By conducting a flexible active interview, using open-ended questions and using the methodological freedom to probe and question, the unique experiences of the interviewees was allowed to more fully emerge.

3.4.2 Respondent Selection

Respondents were selected based on their participation in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process. Participant groups were identified in the publically available literature. Individuals from these groups were identified either through this publically available information or through personal reference.

A total of 15 individuals were interviewed. Table 4 identifies the broad groupings from which these individuals were selected.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by organization/broad grouping.

Organization/broad Grouping	Number of Respondents
BC Environmental Assessment Office	2
Squamish Nation	1
Lil'wat Nation	1
Public Recreationist	1
Mining Sector	1
Commercial Recreation Operator	1

BC Ministry of Environment	1
Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency	1
Environment Canada	1
Resort Municipality of Whistler	1
Squamish Lillooet Regional District	1
Local reporter (to understand the perspective of media and get a sense of the general public)	1
Environmental Non-Governmental Organization	1
VANOC	1
Total Number of Respondents	15

3.4.3 The Interview Process

All interviews, with the exception of one, were conducted in person at a time and location convenient to the respondent. The one exception was an interview conducted over the phone at the respondent's request. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to two hours. Before interviews took place, respondents were emailed a Participant Study Briefing (Appendix A) to introduce the research. Interviews began with a brief discussion on the research, followed by respondents reading and signing an informed consent form (Appendix B). Interviews were semi-structured, using the active interview method. They were directed by a survey instrument with open-ended questions. Two survey instruments were created, one for the VANOC respondent (Appendix C) and another for non-VANOC respondents (Appendix D). The survey instruments were used as a guide to the interview and were approved for use by the Research Ethics Board of Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics on March 5, 2008.

Using the active interview method, questions were, at times, skipped or amended depending on the respondent and the context of the conversation as it unfolded. At the permission of respondents, each interview was recorded and subsequently transcribed for accuracy. Respondents were given the option to review transcriptions; however, no such requests were made.

3.5 Data Analysis

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggest that meaning is constructed within the active interview. “Active interviewing orients to, systematically notices, and gathers data on the simultaneous coding and construction of knowledge within the interview” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 57). Furthermore, the authors suggest that analyzing the data that emerges from such interviews requires the analyst to explore differences, similarities and patterns. Marshall and Rossman (2006) provide a seven step analytical procedure for data. Table 5 outlines these steps as suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2006) and gives an account of how these steps were adhered to in this research.

Table 5: Seven step analytical procedure for data and this research.

Step	Description of Step	How the step was followed in this research
1: Organizing the data	Organize data by , e.g. type, date, names, times, etc.	Data was organized by respondent. In addition, most questions asked within the interview related to specific criterion within the place-based planning process (the evaluative framework, outlined in Table 3) further organizing this data. Secondary data was organized into the evaluative framework by criterion.
2: Immersion in the data	Review the data multiple times to become intimately familiar with the data.	Data from interviews was reviewed within the actual interview, upon transcription, and several times after through sorting data into the relevant sections of the evaluative framework. Secondary data was reviewed multiple times to ensure familiarity.
3: Generating Categories and Themes	Identification of themes, recurring ideas and patterns of belief.	The survey instrument provided the first steps towards identifying such themes as the questions were loosely tied to specific criterion within the evaluative framework. Once the data was reviewed (both primary and secondary), it was sorted into the criterion of the evaluative framework which suited it best. Once here, the data was examined for recurring ideas, themes and patterns of belief.
4: Coding the data	Formally applying some coding scheme to identified categories and themes outlined in step 3. For example, using key words, coloured dots, numbers, etc.	No formal coding scheme was applied to the data in this research. Sorting the data into the relevant sections of the evaluative framework helped group the data in a manageable way.
5: Offering interpretations through analytic memos	Attaching significance to what was said, making sense of the findings, offering explanations and drawing conclusions.	Once data was sorted into the evaluative framework, it was all reviewed for relevance to the criterion in question. Relevant data were noted, and non-relevant data were either not used or moved to a criterion of relevance. Once the data was in the correct place, it was further analyzed by the researcher for meaning.

6: Searching for alternative understandings	Once data has been interpreted, the researcher critically challenges the patterns that seem apparent.	Interpretations of data were critically challenged. Where data corroborated, the criticism was eased. Data that lead to conjecture is identified as such in both Chapter 4 and 5 where it occurs. In an attempt to incorporate the views of all respondents, all were quoted at least once.
7: Writing the report	The researcher writes the report understanding that the writing is part of the analytical process. For example, through the words that are chosen, the researcher is interpreting, shaping and forming meaning.	The Findings and Discussion chapters (4 and 5) were written over a two week period of time better ensuring that interpretations made upon the data were consistent. Report writing will always involve interpretation and meaning making. This understanding was clear during the course of this research

(Adapted from Marshall and Rossman, 2006)

3.6 Study Limitations

The methods used in this research are not without their limitations. Some possible limitations are listed here to provide transparency.

- Case study research is limited in the extent to which generalizations from the case can be extrapolated to other cases. In this research, generalizing results is problematic beyond the case of the planning for the Whistler Olympic Park.
- The active interview involves discussion, questions and probing from the researcher. While the researcher should intercede only when necessary, this decision is subjective. Every attempt was made during interviews to be mindful of the questions asked and how interviewees were asked to elaborate upon themes. However, there is no guarantee this was done in a way that completely unbiased responses.
- Respondents were not chosen at random, nor are there sufficient numbers of them to be certain that their responses are a true representation of the groups which they represent.

- When interpreting qualitative data, this researcher may have mistaken its true intent. While every effort was made to interpret data objectively, there can be no assurance that such misinterpretations didn't happen.
- The researcher was employed for a period of four months by VANOC. While data was retrieved and interpreted by the methods outlined in this chapter, biases resulting from the experiences gained during employment may have affected the findings presented.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS- THE WHISTLER OLYMPIC PARK

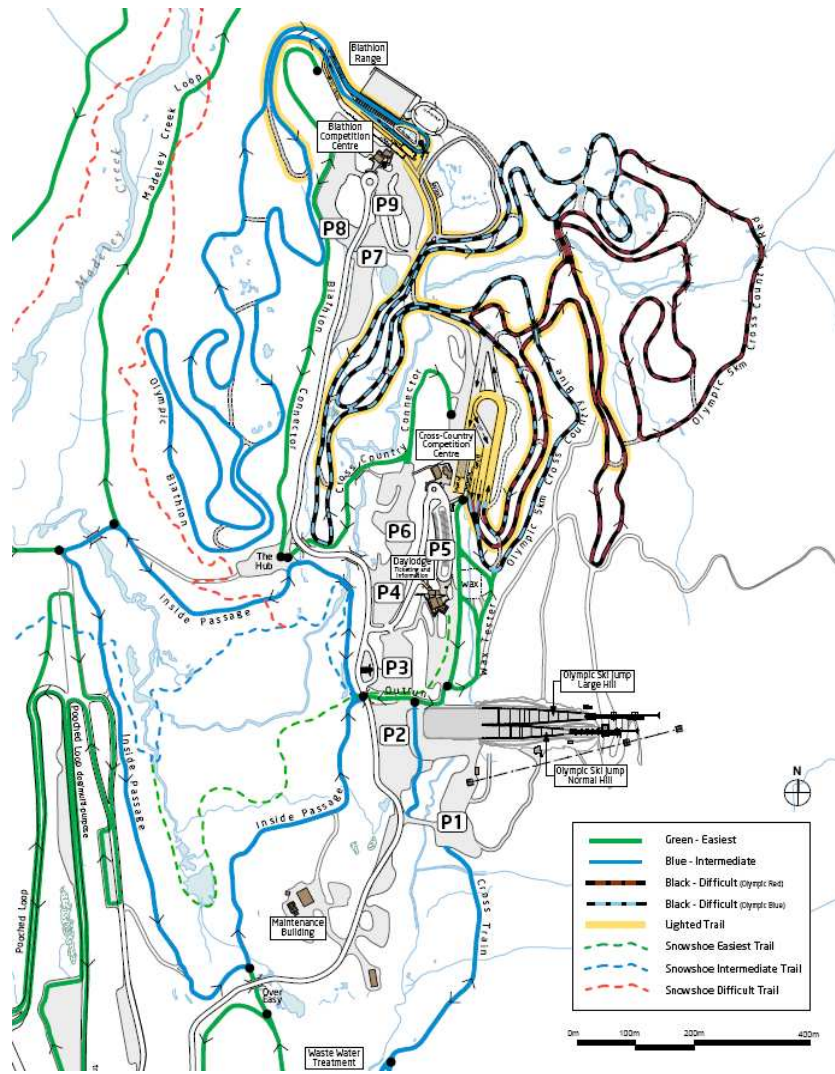
4.1 Introduction: The Whistler Olympic Park

The Whistler Olympic Park⁹ (Figure 5) is the venue that will host a number of the Nordic events for the Games, including the biathlon, cross-country skiing, Nordic combined, and ski jumping. The venue, as built, encompasses a number of facilities and supporting infrastructure, including (List from Whistler Olympic Park, 2009a):

- Three venue stadiums (cross-country skiing, biathlon, and ski jumping)
- Technical sport buildings for each venue stadium
- A day lodge
- 14 kilometres of biathlon and cross-country competition trails
- Two ski jumps (normal hill and large hill)
- 35 kilometres of training and recreational trails
- Sewer, water and power services
- Access roads and parking lots
- Maintenance buildings

⁹ The Whistler Olympic Park was formerly referred to as both the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue and before that the Whistler Nordic Centre. For this reason, some of the quotes and figures refer to the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue or the Whistler Nordic Centre. It is also possible that this name may be once again changed post Olympics.

Figure 5: Whistler Olympic Park and associated facilities.



(Whistler Olympic Park, 2009b. Reproduced with permission.)

Because of its size, the planning process for the Whistler Olympic Park began well before Vancouver was awarded the Games by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on July 2, 2003. The process began in 1997 in response to the original desire to host the 2010 Games. Eleven sites were originally considered for the venue. However, the Callaghan Valley, approximately 14 kilometres away from the heart of the Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW), was eventually chosen (Figure 6). The location was selected “due to the moderate temperatures, absence of wind, abundant dry snow,

established and easy road access, elevation and proximity to the proposed Olympic Village site and Whistler resort” (VANOC, 2003, 154). In the following years, an extensive planning process was implemented culminating with the groundbreaking for the site in April of 2005.

Figure 6: Whistler Olympic Park Location (formerly the Whistler Nordic Centre).



(VANOC, 2004g. Reproduced with permission.)

The original idea of using the Callaghan Valley for the Games came in 1997 from the owner of Callaghan Country, a commercial recreation business operating in the area (VANOC, 2003). Using the Callaghan Valley, the domestic bid committee presented a preliminary facility design to the Canadian Olympic Committee in an effort to win Vancouver the Canadian right to bid for the 2010 Olympics. This domestic bid was

eventually successful. With these rights secured, the process for developing a feasible Nordic venue began in 1999 with the creation of the 2010 Callaghan Nordic Sport Work Group comprised of Canadian and international Nordic sports experts (VANOC, 2003).

While the Nordic Centre was in the same general location as it was for the domestic bid, the above group ultimately created a whole new design... The 2010 Callaghan Nordic Sport Work Group took several walks at the site to determine the proposed location of jumps, stadiums, trails and support infrastructure. The need for a Callaghan Valley master plan became increasingly clear as the site was being designed and it became obvious the location could support a world class Nordic centre (VANOC, 2003, 9).

In 2000, the initial planning process evolved into the Callaghan Valley master plan process. This involved transforming the 2010 Callaghan Nordic Sport Work Group into the Callaghan Valley Master Plan Work Group. “Its goal was to develop operational guidelines for the valley that would allow continued resource use and at the same time maintain the values needed for the Olympics” (VANOC, 2003, 9). The work done by this group is outlined in the Callaghan Valley Master Plan (CVMP) (VANOC, 2003). It also lays out a number of principles and guidelines for the Whistler Olympic Park. Table 6 details these initial planning steps.

Table 6: Sequence and timing of planning process.

Group	Years	Details
Domestic Bid Committee	1997- 1999	Domestic Bid Committee secures Canadian rights to bid for the 2010 Olympics from the Canadian Olympic Committee. <i>Preliminary</i> facility design in Callaghan used as part of this bid.
Callaghan Nordic Sport Work Group	1999-2000	This Work Group works on developing a <i>feasible</i> Olympic Venue in the Callaghan Valley. This process confirms that the Callaghan can support such a facility.
Callaghan Valley Master Plan Work Group	2000-2003	This Work Group develops operational guidelines for the development outlined in the Callaghan Valley Master Plan.

The executive summary of the CVMP states that:

Should the Vancouver 2010 Bid be successful, work will commence immediately on the detailed design of the Whistler Nordic Centre in the Callaghan Valley. The detailed design will be carried out in close

collaboration with the International Sport Federations, International Olympic Committee (IOC) experts, environmental advisers, local communities and First Nations (VANOC, 2003, x).

Furthermore, the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation (Bid Corporation), the organization in charge of the bid for the 2010 Olympic Games, stated that it was “committed to incorporating sustainable economic, social, environmental and inclusive practices in planning and operating the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games” (VANOC, 2003, 2). In accordance with this statement, the Bid Corporation developed a sustainability policy guided by six key principles (Table 7).

Table 7: The Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation’s six key sustainability principles.

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

(Adapted from VANOC, 2003, 2-3)

Further to these six key sustainability principles, the Bid Corporation also stated that it, and its successors, would meet the commitment to sustainable practices through a wide range of strategies (identified in Table 8).

Table 8: Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation Proposed Sustainability Strategies.

Principle	Strategies
Environmental Stewardship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Conserving resources ▪ Preventing pollution

Principle	Strategies
Economic Opportunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Protecting and enhancing natural systems ▪ Maximizing economic opportunity ▪ Supporting international trade and investment ▪ Advancing social equity through economic opportunities ▪ Strengthening community and stakeholder partnerships
Social Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communicating openly and consulting with our stakeholders ▪ Promoting diversity and celebrating cultural heritage ▪ Increasing understanding of sustainability ▪ Hosting inclusive and accessible Games ▪ Contributing to sport development and health promotion

(VANOC, 2003, 3)

Prior to the building of the Whistler Olympic Park, the Callaghan Valley accommodated very little facility development. However, the area was used for resource extraction and recreation. Activities included forestry, mining, and both commercial and public recreation. The Callaghan Valley and Whistler Olympic Park development is also situated within the traditional territory of both the Lil'wat and Squamish Nations. In addition, there are several commercial recreation tenures in the area including the Callaghan Country business. The Bid Corporation stated that it would consult with First Nations, resource companies, and both public and commercial recreation users throughout the planning process (VANOC, 2003). In addition, the Bid Corporation conducted preliminary environmental, social and archaeological impact assessments within the CVMP to identify potential development issues associated with the Whistler Olympic Park. In the preliminary environmental assessment for example,

Issues identified... included concerns with fish and wildlife habitat, water quality, forest cover, habitat loss, increased recreational use and expanded access, settlement, public and commercial recreation conflicts, First Nations

traditional use and economic participation, local government, financial viability and economic sustainability, employee housing, need for best practises, and post-Games facility and operations integration with established valley activities (VANOC, 2003, 68).

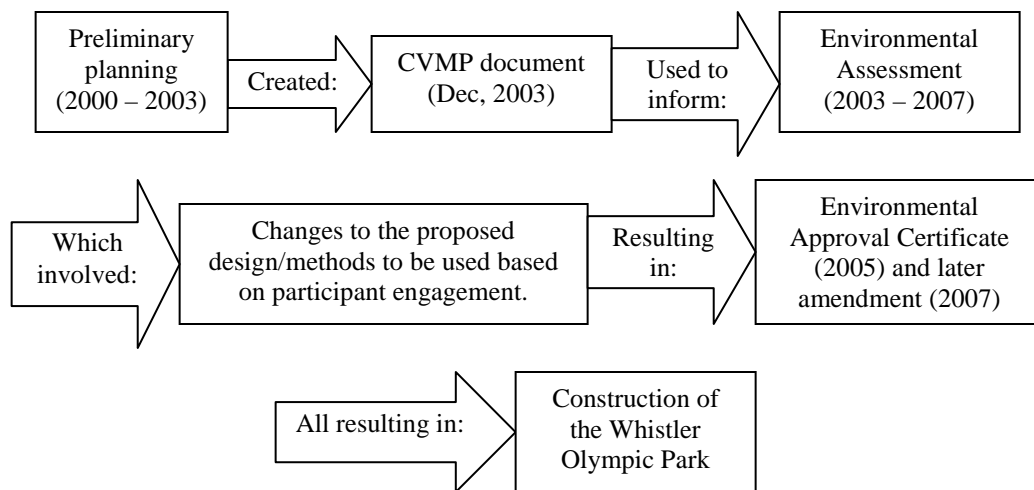
The Callaghan Valley Master Plan (CVMP) also identified the Bid Corporation's desire for legacy projects including economic and cultural benefits to First Nations, commercial and public recreation enhancement, and the creation of Whistler Olympic Park facilities.

In evaluating the planning process used for the Whistler Olympic Park, two main sources of information were used. The first was the CVMP. This document was created in December of 2003 after the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was officially awarded to Vancouver on July 2, 2003. The second source was the plethora of planning documents generated during the environmental assessment process. As soon as the Games were awarded to Vancouver, the planning of the venue commenced. As a result, the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC), the organization that replaced the Bid Corporation after the Games were awarded, began an official environmental assessment for the facility. In February 2004, VANOC requested that the British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office (BCEAO) review the Whistler Olympic Park project under the *BC Environmental Assessment Act* (BCEAA). In response, the BCEAO issued an order pursuant to Section 10 of the BCEAA indicating that the project could not proceed without being granted an Environmental Approval Certificate. In addition, because the Whistler Olympic Park was partially funded by the Federal Government of Canada, the project was also reviewed under the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (CEAA). Through an agreement between the Province and the Federal Government, a single harmonized process headed

by the BCEAO and incorporating both impact assessments was conducted. This process lasted until April, 2005, when the project received an Environmental Approval Certificate. A subsequent amendment to the Environmental Approval Certificate was sought by VANOC because the April, 2005 Certificate did not cover trails that would be used for recreation and training purposes. Because these trails had additional potential impacts that were not resolved, the assessment of them was put off so that trails and facilities needed for the Olympic Games could be built in a timely manner. This subsequent amendment was approved in June, 2007 (EAO, 2007). Since that time, the venue has been fully built and is now open to the public.

For the purpose of this research, the ‘planning process’ for the Whistler Olympic Park specifically relates to the activities outlined in Figure 7.

Figure 7: The Whistler Olympic Park Planning Process, as defined in this research.



The combined literature created by the planning of the CVMP and environmental assessment provide a documented outcome of the planning processes associated with the creation of the Whistler Olympic Park. In addition to this documentation, interviews with

people involved in the planning yielded additional data. The goal of the document and interview evaluation is to determine to what extent processes used helped the creation of a resilient place. In the evaluation, each criterion from the theoretical place-based process (Table 3) is individually assessed using data from both the documents generated by the planning described in Figure 7 and interviews conducted by the author.

4.2 Step 1: Gathering the Stakeholders

Criterion		References
Key individuals in stakeholder groups identified and included	The process involves strong individuals targeted to participate in the process (i.e., leaders, facilitators, social connectors, etc). The stakeholders include individuals or members of organizations which inhabit and/or are affected by the place. The process should also be open to members of the public and the media should they wish to participate.	Folke et al, 2005; Gladwell, 2000; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995; Williams et al, 2007

Inclusion of stakeholders who inhabit and/or are affected by the Callaghan Valley as a place

The literature establishes well who is affected by the Callaghan Valley as a place (Table 9). Historical resource use of the Callaghan Valley included mining, forestry, commercial recreation and public recreation. Recreation in the Callaghan Valley was varied and included “hiking, ski-touring, snowshoeing, mountain biking, kayaking, fishing, cross-country skiing, dirt biking, snowmobiling, as well as ATV and 4X4 usage” (Cascade, 2004). Numerous levels of government have influence over the area including the RMOW, the Squamish Lillooet Regional District, and both the Provincial and Federal governments. The Whistler Olympic Park venue footprint also lies within the traditional territory of the Lil’wat and Squamish Nations. In addition, it was assumed that unspecified members of the general public were also affected by the Callaghan Valley.

Table 9: Groups affected by the Callaghan Valley.

Resource Users:	Mining, Forestry, Commercial Recreation
Public Recreationists:	Hiking, Ski-Touring, Snowshoeing, Mountain Biking, Kayaking, Fishing, Cross-Country Skiing, Dirt Biking, Snowmobiling, ATV, 4X4
Orders of Government:	RMOW, Squamish Lillooet Regional District, BC Provincial Government, Federal Government, Lil'wat Nation, Squamish Nation
General Public:	Unspecified members of the general public

While Table 9 shows which groups used the Callaghan Valley, those actually included in planning are listed in Table 10. The CVMP references the inclusion of a number of stakeholders throughout the master planning process. For example, the CVMP Work Group included, in December of 2003, representatives from the 2010 Bid Corporation, the Lil'wat and Squamish Nations, the BC Provincial Government, the RMOW, the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District, the Federal Government and numerous private companies covering forestry (Western Forest Products Ltd.) and commercial recreation (Callaghan Country) interests (VANOC, 2003). In addition, the CVMP stated that First Nation groups were further involved through a "First Nations Economic Opportunities Assessment" (VANOC, 2003, 82).

Members of the general public and the media were included in information sessions and open houses during the master planning process and the environmental assessment process (VANOC, 2003). In total, VANOC (2004a, 39) claimed that 1700 presentations were given on the Callaghan Valley development. In addition, all plans and venue information were posted on the Bid Corporation and provincial websites and information appeared regularly in local newspapers in the form of articles and advertisements (VANOC, 2004a). Participants were also invited to submit comments to the Bid Corporation via feedback forms at open houses (VANOC, 2004a). Specifically regarding the media,

Vancouver 2010 issued news releases and media advisories to an extensive media list throughout the Vancouver – Whistler region throughout the bid process to regularly update the media on the bid’s latest information and activities. News conferences and media round tables were held on a regular basis throughout the bid process (VANOC, 2004a, 39).

Members of the public and media were included, although not specifically in any formal dialogues. Rather, they were informed and invited to participate via articles and advertising in newspapers, open houses, and other outreach programs. A VANOC respondent commented on the challenge of including unorganized groups such as the general public and recreationists:

People that have a concern or an interest have normal lives, and family and jobs and obligations... It is presumptuous to assume you will have 100% representation of the interests out there... but you have to go ahead and allow for people to join into the process and you allow for them to have access to the information from the process. If it’s of significance, they will generally self-reveal.

Besides the CVMP Work Groups, others were also formed. According to VANOC (2004a, 40), “More than 30 work groups were formed during the bid phase, which had representation from a variety of groups and organizations including government, Crown corporation, tourism, sport, community, business and environment”. In addition, the Bid Corporation conducted speaking engagements with the general public which helped them reach out to over 1,200 people including:

RMOW staff, Village of Pemberton Council, Tourism Whistler members, Whistler Chamber of Commerce members, AWARE (Association of Whistler Area Residents for the Environment), Squamish Chamber of Commerce, conference groups, high-school, college and university students, service clubs and other audiences as requested and required (VANOC, 2004c, 25).

The Bid Corporation also consulted members of numerous professional sport organizations, including the International Skiing Federation, International Biathlon Union, and international Ski jumping experts (VANOC, 2003).

During the environmental assessment process, a number of stakeholders were included as well. To act as a sounding board and to advise the BC Environmental Assessment Office on various aspects of the assessment, the Whistler Nordic Centre Working Group was established. This group included “representatives of federal, provincial and local government agencies and the Squamish and Lil’wat Nations” (VANOC, 2004b, 2). In addition, VANOC claimed to have “engaged the commercial and public recreation stakeholders on an ongoing basis to ensure they are as aware of the [venue] development plans as possible” (VANOC, 2004a, 25). Perhaps as a result of this, memorandums of understanding were signed between VANOC and two of the long-term commercial recreation operators in the area, Callaghan Country and Whistler Heli-Skiing (VANOC, 2004c, 1).

A VANOC respondent discussed the inclusion of stakeholders during the entire planning process with respect to determining who would be contacted:

It was a matter of uncovering who had an interest in the area. That interest would have been reflected by things like tenure, or use, ownership, or legal authority... Their interest is somewhat revealed or registered. Then you have to start poking around and through that public process, you start finding out ... groups that come to you as a result of media and local government.

A mining sector respondent confirmed:

VANOC called us and came in [during the bid phase]... showed us a map and said this is where they were thinking of putting the Nordic Centre... we said fine; we have the mineral rights, and just keep us informed... the process worked very well. [For us] it was very short and sweet.

Table 10 demonstrates which groups were included in the planning process and in which phase of the planning process they were engaged. It is important to recognize that Table 10 does not indicate to what extent these groups were engaged or felt engaged; only that there was evidence of their inclusion.

Table 10: Groups included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process.

	Group	Inclusion in Planning Process
Resource Users:	Mining Forestry Commercial Recreation	Bid phase Bid phase, CVMP Bid phase, CVMP, EA
Public Recreationists:	Hiking, Ski-Touring, Snowshoeing, Mountain Biking, Kayaking, Fishing, Cross-Country Skiing, Dirt Biking, Snowmobiling, ATV, 4X4	Bid phase, CVMP, EA
Orders of Government:	RMOW Squamish Lillooet Regional District BC Provincial Government Federal Government Lil'wat Nation Squamish Nation	Bid phase, CVMP, EA Bid phase, CVMP, EA Bid phase, CVMP, EA Bid phase, CVMP, EA Bid phase, CVMP, EA Bid phase, CVMP, EA
General Public:	Unspecified members of the general public	Bid Phase, CVMP, EA

(The last column indicates which phase they were included in: the bid phase, the Callaghan Valley Master Plan phase (CVMP), and/or the environmental assessment phase (EA) (VANOC, 2003; VANOC, 2004a; VANOC respondent, Mining Sector respondent).

The process involves strong individuals targeted to participate in the process

The documents on the planning for the Whistler Olympic Park help indicate which stakeholders were included in various parts of the process. The reasoning for including specific individuals comes from a VANOC respondent:

It's usually a matter of going to the organization at whatever level- whether its staff or an executive or a public group- and letting them know what you are doing and they nominate and send whoever... We never set boundaries in either process. You don't limit it, you don't preclude people and you don't qualify people. So it's a fairly open process that way.

Specific individuals were not intentionally targeted to participate in the process. Instead the individuals who participated were determined by the stakeholder group the person represented.

Criterion		References
The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial and organizational scales	The stakeholders involved operate on many spatial (e.g. local, regional, national, international) and organizational (e.g. political, bureaucratic, private, community) scales.	Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Westley, 2002

Judging from the stakeholders that were included in the Whistler Olympic Park process, they did operate at multiple spatial and organizational scales. Spatially, the stakeholders operated on local (e.g. First Nations, RMOW), regional (e.g. Squamish-Lillooet Regional District, Provincial government), national (e.g. Federal government), and international (e.g. international sport federations) scales. From an organizational perspective, the stakeholder represented political (e.g. governments), bureaucratic (e.g. government agencies such as Heritage Canada and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans federally, and numerous Provincial ministries), private (e.g. forestry and commercial recreation operators), and community (e.g. participation in work group and open houses) scales. In all, the Whistler Olympic Park project demonstrated the inclusion of stakeholders operating on multiple spatial and organizational scales.

4.3 Step 2: Confirmation and Interrogation

4.3.1 Process Criteria

Criterion		References
Commitment from participants	Participants commit to come together in an open environment to listen and have a sustained conversation about place and experience with change from multiple perspectives.	Anderson, 2006; Ashworth, 2006; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

The only literature-based evidence of commitment from participants to participate in a sustained conversation comes from the CVMP document:

The master plan process took more than 2 years, with meetings about every six to eight weeks. Action was taken to address concerns about the Olympic plans raised by participants at these meetings. Typically, this action involved studies, workshops and planning sessions to revise or refine the plans (VANOC, 2003, 10).

A sustained conversation would have occurred given the frequency of meetings within this two-year period. As a result of these meetings, a number of studies were conducted. These included (VANOC, 2003, 10-11):

- Preliminary Concept Plan
- Nordic Sport Venue(s) Options Study
- An Evaluation of the Economic Feasibility of an All-season Sports Centre in the Callaghan Valley
- Nordic Facility Venue Plans / International Federation Document
- Olympic Village and Athletes' Training Centre plans
- Geotechnical Assessment
- Hydrology Review
- Road Access Evaluation
- Initial Infrastructure Plans
- Venue Preliminary Environmental Impact Assessment
- Athletes' Village Preliminary Environmental Impact Assessment
- First Nations Studies including an Archaeological Impact Assessment of the venue and two Traditional Use Studies (TUS's) of the valley
- First Nations Economic Opportunities study
- Market Research for Commercial Cross-Country Operations
- Preliminary Best Practices Operations Guidelines
- Concept Plan and Long-Term Recreation Vision for the Valley
- Post-Game Ownership and Operation Review
- Recreation and Tourism Plan for the Callaghan Valley

The interviews conducted give a better indication of the extent to which a commitment was elicited from participants during the planning process. During the CVMP process, a VANOC respondent suggested there was no specific commitments elicited from participants, "That was about an open exchange and one of the objectives was generating support for the Games and the bid... We weren't looking for commitments- it was very conceptual- it was all subject to winning the bid."

During the environmental assessment process, commitments were generally elicited by the government agency in charge, specifically the BC Environmental Assessment Office (BCEAO). During this process, VANOC was considered the

proponent seeking an Environmental Approval Certificate from the BCEAO, who administered the process.

When asked if commitments were elicited during the environmental assessment, a BCEAO respondent suggested this was the case for VANOC, First Nations, and Government. When asked about the general public, other dispersed groups like recreationists, or NGO's the response confirmed no explicit commitments were sought.

We don't really have a place at the working group level for NGO's or special interest groups. We rely on their input through the consultation opportunities, such as Open Houses, commenting on applications, terms of reference... All those comments are tracked and responded to.

During the environmental assessment process, government agencies are mandated to participate. For the Federal government, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA) serves as the "Federal Environmental Assessment Coordinator... the one window into the Federal Government, developing the workplan and the timelines; working collaboratively with the [BCEAO]" (CEAA respondent). A CEAA respondent described the process for including the appropriate Federal agencies:

When an entity within the Federal Government determines an environmental assessment is required, there's a fan-out of the project description to all of the potentially involved Federal Departments, a set timeline for them to respond as to... whether they will act as an expert authority providing information which they are obliged under the [legislation] to provide.

An Environment Canada employee confirmed this process from that agency's perspective:

Everybody looks at a federal coordination letter and says, 'oh yeah, it looks like there's something that might be of interest.' For Environment Canada it's water quality, wildlife, migratory birds, and a bunch of things.

For local government agencies, a Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW) respondent suggested there was no commitment explicitly requested of them. "No, it was

more, 'you're invited to participate in the planning process'. If you choose not to come, they're not going to chase you."

First Nations respondents confirmed their informal commitments. A Lil'wat respondent confirmed: "We were very committed to participating. We attended all the working group sessions." VANOC also showed a commitment to having the Lil'wat present. The Lil'wat respondent elaborated: "VANOC threw in the lion's share of the money. So they were very committed to have us participate." A Squamish Nation respondent comments were similar, adding: "We worked with VANOC to define the footprint of the Olympic settings and where the trails are today. We also helped define the Business Plan of what the post-Olympics events are going to be."

This process appeared to leave some groups out of the process however. A commercial recreation respondent explained:

After the games were won, we didn't hear anything for about a year and a half... When we started talking again about land use, I was told very curtly that I was on government land... We had a valid [tenure] licence to 2013, we were in compliance with our management plan, all our fees were paid... this letter said it was under review... very tactfully, [the letter said] be very careful what you do. So that puts a damper on how you're going to talk to these people.

The range of commitments from participants in the planning process was clearly varied. For the CVMP there were no commitments sought at all. The environmental assessment process saw legislated commitments being made from the Federal and Provincial governments and their relevant agencies, as well as commitments being sought from both First Nations and VANOC. These commitments however, were not explicitly around coming together in an open environment to listen and have a sustained conversation about place and experience with change from multiple perspectives, as the

theory suggests they ought to be. Instead, they were commitments to participate in working group meetings for the environmental assessment.

For some groups, such as commercial recreationists, no commitments to participate in the environmental assessment process were sought at all.

Criterion		References
Assumptions suspended and questioned	Participants effectively suspend and evaluate (or reevaluate) their assumptions about place and experience with change to explore if the appearance or their perceptions of place match up with reality. To do this, people explore the logic, values and/or process of thought behind their assumptions.	Ashworth, 2006; Bohm, 1995; Sack, 2004; Yankelovich, 1999

Part of an effective dialogic process is successfully suspending assumptions and questioning the myriad of aspects behind assumptions. The literature on the planning process does not indicate any intentional dialogic process occurred, especially any discussion around assumptions and their role as a barrier to meaningful dialogue.

To determine whether assumptions may have been suspended in the planning activities, interviewees were asked whether any established ground rules were in place. For the environmental assessment process, the responses were varied. As one RMOW respondent noted,

They had ground rules- the usual stuff... respect, and one person speak, and all that. They had all that. But when you get... a special interest group that have a bee in their bonnet about something... with one of the other participants and they get into it, it's pretty hard to pull that back.

The same respondent recalled a different meeting however, where the ground rules were effective,

Other meetings were really good... Those meetings where we... sat there with First Nations and VANOC, and other stakeholders... From a ground rules perspective [those meetings] went just fine because for the most part the people who were there were professionals and quite used to doing meetings, and protocols and all the rest of that.

Indeed, a common theme from respondents was having people at meetings who were familiar with the process. As one BCEAO respondent noted, “most of those people have been on a lot of working groups so they know how it is done.” An Environment Canada respondent confirms, “It’s an environmental assessment and everyone who is involved [behave in a] fairly predictable manner.”

Meetings that occurred outside of working groups appear to be slightly different. During the CVMP process, one commercial recreation respondent suggested there were no ground rules, and even a bit of confusion, “It wasn’t very clear to me what the objective was... [Stakeholders] would comment on how [the proposed development] affected them and whether they supported it.”

During public open houses, which occurred throughout the both the CVMP and the environmental assessment process, ground rules seemed to be established at some meetings and not at others, and those guidelines were never the same. One respondent, an avid recreationist, commented, “There were facilitators to several meetings... I don’t know that there was explicit [ground rules]. There’s lots of implicit stuff because... Whistler has gone through [many planning processes].” Another respondent, a reporter who attended many public open houses suggested there were indeed ground rules, “especially the ones run by VANOC.” However, the respondent’s further comments suggested the ground rules had very little to do with maintaining a meaningful dialogue, and that open houses run by other organizations were different:

[VANOC] know exactly what it is they want to say and that’s exactly what they say... It’s just very controlled. To me, it’s like dealing with a massive corporation. The SLRD meetings are much freer. They are well run, everybody knows the ground rules. People don’t always follow them however. VANOC- it’s not that they don’t listen. You can stand up and talk...

Usually they just say thank you for your comment, or they say that this is not a time to answer that, or we'll get back to you.

In summary, ground rules for both the CVMP and the environmental assessment appear to have been ad hoc at best and were never consistently applied. The purpose of such rules was likely varied and depended on the person running the meeting, rarely the same individual. Questioning assumptions in this environment was simply never an overt concern.

Criterion		References
Participants seek understanding	The dialogue seeks mutual understanding by uncovering how issues are understood or misunderstood by people. Participants effectively make meaning and learn in an atmosphere of collaborative inquiry.	Anderson, 2006; Ashworth, 2006; Yankelovich, 1999

While the literature on the planning process indicates that no dialogue occurred to specifically seek mutual understanding, interviewees indicated the extent to which they gained a shared understanding of the Callaghan Valley as a result of the planning activities from both the CVMP and the environmental assessment. A positive response was the result. A RMOW respondent elaborated: “You get a much better sense of who’s up there, why they’re up there, what do they want to do in the long term, what are their goals... You’ve got different versions from ‘just stay out of it; leave it alone’ to ‘this is a great place for a hotel’.” A CEAA respondent described some shared understandings that were gained from the process:

One of the things that became important was First Nations perspective around the location. [Also] gaining an understanding of what was required in an Olympic Venue. There’s very specific requirements with regards to how it’s laid out, what the facilities have to contain, how it actually has to function... There is the opportunity for exchange of perspective as well as exchange of information.

These understandings came not only from the structured meetings themselves. An important aspect was the time in between structure, or during site visits, where natural discussions were allowed to take place. A RMOW respondent explained:

I learned as much from the head biologist about grizzly bears sitting beside him in the meetings, chatting during the breaks, and chatting at that ten minute preamble where there is no structure to the meetings. That is absolutely critical.

A BC Ministry of Environment respondent elaborated on the value of site visits and its unstructured time:

While you were out there, the guy from the Ministry of Forests would be talking about the interests of the licensee in the area or the historical mine site that was there... or the commercial recreation aspect of it... That was something I didn't understand or have an appreciation for until I really was involved in that process.

A VANOC respondent summed up the experience nicely, and the challenging nature of the work as a result:

You start to feel like you live there, that you become part of the neighbourhood if you will. You get to know people. It's very beneficial. If you're in a position to meet peoples' needs that can be very rewarding, and if you're not it can be very frustrating... You've got one landscape that you're trying to ascribe a number of uses to it and that's a challenge.

The challenge faced from diverse understandings of the Callaghan Valley was also noted from another respondent who frequently writes in local newspapers. When asked if people began to acquire a shared understanding through the process, the response was:

Yes, I think that it became very clear. [However], it became divided between people who had been recreating out there for years and knew kind of what it was about and those people who thought it should all be a parkland and that grizzlies frolicked out there and were frequently seen, which is not my understanding of it at all.

The responses from the interviews suggest that a mutual understanding did begin to emerge as a result of both the CVMP and the environmental assessment. The responses were varied however. Some respondents described a positive experience, while some noted that when participants did share their understandings of the Callaghan Valley, they were often different, such as the extent to which grizzly bears were present in the Valley. It is clear that no formal dialogue to seek mutual understanding occurred. However, informal dialogues did occur during breaks in formal process and during site visits which allowed participant to share their understanding of the Valley.

Criterion	References
Participants are involved in a dialogue as opposed to a debate.	Participants view each other equally and are not required to defend or argue their views- participants are in a dialogue, not a debate. They are, however, required to explain their views. Ashworth, 2006; Yankelovich, 1999

The planning process surrounding the Whistler Olympic Park involved no formal dialogue, in the sense of a purposeful discussion. The literature on the process indicates that the process involved many meetings, but none specifically using the techniques of dialogue. However, this does not suggest that the meetings were therefore a debate by default. Interviewees gave a good indication of the ‘sense in the room’ during meetings. They suggest that different parts of the process had their own ‘sense’, while meetings within those parts were also different. A VANOC respondent explained:

There were clearly distinctions between the different components. In the CVMP it was much easier, less formal. It was really about more preliminary conceptual basis, so you weren’t making decisions... The [environmental assessment] was about making decisions; building roads, dropping trees, creating land tenures, changing land access. This became clear to people that this was real and was going to affect their lives.

Even within the environmental assessment process, different meetings would have their own feel to them. Working group meetings seemed to be fairly amiable, with the occasional meeting or issue bringing up tension. Similarly, public open houses appeared

to consist of both benign information sharing and, at times, slight hostility. A BC Ministry of Environment respondent gave insight into working group meetings:

Because the mandate was clear, it was fairly easy to approach the project in a positive way. Certainly people raised interests and concerns, but it was a reasonably positive setting that that happened in.

A BCEAO respondent suggested there were certain subjects which raised tensions: “In working group meetings where there were issues around engagement... or with respect to elements of the trails, there was some tension. It wasn’t disrespectful, but people were quite clear about sometimes their positions, sometimes their interests.”

The working group meetings for the environmental assessment neither resembled outright debate or dialogue. They appeared to be more iterative approaches to subject matters, occurring over several meetings as described by another BCEAO respondent:

Environment might come back and say, ‘You guys haven’t demonstrated to us that you are really going to reduce the impact on fish, so we think your cross country trails should be three feet wide.’ So it was an iterative process... The proponent might say, ‘Well okay, we can’t reduce the trail because there is an Olympic standard and it has to be four feet wide; however, what we can do is redesign the trail so that the trails will never be ten feet from the stream.’ Then Environment might say, ‘Okay, if you write that in as a mitigative measure, we can live with that.’

Similarly, public open houses for the environmental assessment appeared to differ depending in the meeting, subject at hand, or people in the audience. One CEAA respondent stated simply: “With some people it is antagonistic, and with others it’s information exchange.” A public recreationist had a somewhat different view of the open houses:

Almost always on the heavy side, on the paranoid side... The people that come to these kinds of things were not pro-Olympic and many of them are not pro-development period. So they’re there to make sure this thing doesn’t get any... bigger than it already is... Because VANOC had this set of collars

that you could grab onto and shake, they're an easy fight compared to the [others] who you can't find.

The many meetings that occurred while planning the Whistler Olympic Park appeared to vary in terms of 'the sense in the room'. The tone of the meeting would depend on the subject at hand, the people involved or the part of the process people found themselves within. It is clear however that the tenets of a dialogic process were never followed outright. Interestingly, the comments on the informality of the CVMP suggest that this process would lend itself well to a dialogue where decisions did not need to be made. The environmental assessment had its formal work group meetings and open houses with more of a structured purpose. If a dialogue was to occur, the opportunity to do so would have been during the less formal CVMP process.

Criterion		References
A skilled facilitator is present to guide participants through the dialogue.	Facilitator helps guide the group to learn by helping participants clarify their motivations and interests, while still remaining open to the contribution of others. There is opportunity for people to share their doubts on a position, without feeling weak and a recognition that differences do not equate to hostility.	Ashworth, 2006

The Whistler Olympic Park planning literature does not indicate that a sustained dialogue around place occurred. A facilitator to guide participants through the dialogic process also did not exist. This is not surprising, given that dialogue was not a goal at all. However, the various meetings during the process did have facilitators, or chairs who were responsible for guiding the meetings.

For the CVMP, VANOC representatives chaired the meetings. However as a VANOC respondent noted: "[There was] very little in the way of ground rules and formality- the focus was on openness and accessibility and recording what we were doing."

A BCEAO respondent explained how facilitation occurred for the environmental assessment portion of the process: “EAO would chair and facilitate and make sure everyone worked through the agenda and everyone had an opportunity to participate. In the Open Houses... [an individual from VANOC] chaired that; [they were] the public face.” This arrangement was confirmed by other interviewees.

Even where organizations in charge of facilitation remained the same, the individuals involved would often change. A VANOC respondent commented: “There’s a Project Director [who chairs EA meetings], and we had probably no less than six Project Directors through the EA process... Many people in the process get pretty frustrated with the lack of consistency in the deliver of that.”

No facilitator to lead an intentional process of dialogue was ever present in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process. However, facilitators and chairs did run meetings. Unfortunately, these individuals often changed and the extent to which they formalized meetings was equally varied.

4.3.2 Content Criteria

While the discussions that took place were not in the form of a dialogue, a great deal of information was still generated. The content of the information that is relevant to the evaluative framework follows.

Criterion	References
A discussion of who the decision makers are.	Participants discuss who has power to make decisions, what their motivations are, and how their past decisions have affected place. Also, participants discuss who does not have power, or if significant power imbalances are present, and if the imbalance should be overcome by, e.g., funding, training or professional facilitation.
	Frame, 2002; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams, Gill and Chura, 2004

A discussion of who has power

From the literature there appears to be no explicit discussion of which stakeholder(s) had power to make decisions and what their motivations might be. Interviewees helped inform what did occur. During the environmental assessment, the reality of who had the legislated authority was described by a CEAA respondent:

On the provincial side, they write a recommendation report and that decision is made by the Minister of Environment, and the most involved other Minister... On the Federal side it was a screening level review which means it's a regional decision by the departments. So in that case it would have been Heritage Canada... and DFO... and that would be made at a Director level.

Legislation outlined clearly who had the final decision making authority. Indeed, multiple respondents stated the case bluntly. For instance, an Environment Canada respondent was asked whether any confusion surrounded who had decision making authority. "No, that's how the law works" was the response.

While legislated authority lies with individuals, the reality is that a recommendation to these ultimate decision makers was made through an iterative process during working group meetings (Ministry of Environment respondent). As one First Nations respondent described: "The recommendations from the working group all go to the BC environmental assessment process, and [the government] makes their decision based on that." One First Nations respondent summarized: "It was a group effort. Once [the groups] agreed on what they would be doing... VANOC brought it to the province and the federal government and those two departments basically did what they had to do in terms of federal or provincial legislation."

For respondents who were not involved in the working groups, the understanding of who had decision making authority was often incorrect. Multiple respondents outside the working groups felt that VANOC was the final decision maker. Perhaps this

confusion is not without reason. Even within the legislative framework, there is subtle minutia to understand. While the legislated decisions do ultimately end up with a Minister or a Director, the reality is that multiple decisions need to be made and approved to build something as large as the Whistler Olympic Park. A BCEAO respondent explained these nuances well:

An EA Certificate... is just a strategic level review. You still require the permits and authorizations to do what it is you plan to do. So in some ways, an EA Certificate is a permit to get permits... VANOC still requires DFO's approval for any habitat alteration (for example). The EA just lines up everyone so they are on the same page...I think for a lot of people... they think that if they get an EA Certificate they can start digging holes the next day, and that's just not the case.

Another respondent gave insight as to why many may believe VANOC was the final decision maker:

Only VANOC has the technical expertise to plan and build that sport venue. The Province doesn't have anybody that builds cross-country ski trails or knows how to build the biathlon stadium. So, does the government have to give the final say because of the environmental [assessment] process and the money? Yes. But it's VANOC that comes up with the plan and puts it in place... The reality is that it's got to be both of them because they couldn't possibly operate in isolation from each other.

In an atmosphere as potentially confusing as the reality surrounding the Whistler Olympic Park, an explicit discussion around who has decision making authority is perhaps even more important. Such a discussion does not appear to have occurred in either the CVMP or environmental assessment process. However, multiple respondents felt that the reality was explicit regardless. One CEAA respondent stated the case simply: "It is defined by legislation." All the respondents who were involved in working groups answered similarly. Only a respondent outside the working group process answered differently: "No, I don't think it was ever made explicit... and I was always very comfortable with that." This comfort may not have been shared by all the public;

however, another respondent, a reporter in the area, gives insight as to why this comfort may have existed: “The reality is that people don’t sit on the EA website. They don’t read all of those reports. It’s not their job; they don’t have to do it. So, they read the papers maybe and they go about their daily lives.”

Overcoming power imbalances

While evidence of a formal discussion surrounding power issues is lacking, a number of studies were conducted regarding the Squamish and Lil’wat Nations. These included Traditional Use Studies during the master planning process and Aboriginal Interests and Use Studies during the environmental assessment (VANOC, 2004e). This research resulted in a number of recommendations to mitigate the impact of the Whistler Olympic Park upon the Nations and was outlined as part of the environmental assessment. The recommendations clearly demonstrate a number of factors that would effectively overcome potential power imbalances. For both First Nations groups, the studies recommend that VANOC (VANOC, 2004e):

- acquire formal First Nations support through discussions;
- maintain close communication through regular meetings and correspondence;
- develop a First Nations employment strategy including an employment development liaison, a business development liaison and training to support First Nation businesses;
- consider “direct award arrangements or first right of refusal agreements for construction, operation, and maintenance contracts” for First Nation companies (VANOC, 2004e, 45);
- provide funding for a Lil’wat Nation business manager, and;
- complete the following studies:
 - “Practical study to develop linkage between Squamish Legacy and overall Olympic planning;
 - Squamish economic development strategic plans;
 - Tourism opportunities analysis and strategy;
 - Contracting opportunities analysis and strategy; and
 - Human resource development strategy and recommendations” (VANOC, 2004e, 45).

A BCEAO respondent explained providing funding for First Nations groups:

We purposefully, with the proponent often, provide funding to the First Nations to help them get engaged and provide ethnographic research for us or Traditional Use studies, and the list goes on... It's important that First Nations have the opportunity to meaningfully engage.

A First Nations respondent confirmed: "The Nations were certainly supported financially at meetings: travel costs, time, consultants, etc."

Overcoming power imbalances did occur in the context of the First Nations. However, there is no indication that this occurred for other participants. For example, previous responses from a commercial recreation interviewee indicate a feeling that they had less power to affect decisions than they were comfortable with.

Criterion		References
A discussion of the symbolic meaning that people ascribe to the place	Participants discuss the various symbolic meanings ("a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life" (Williams and Vaske, 2003, 6)) they associate with different locations within the place, i.e., home meanings, nature meanings, sustenance meanings, tonic meanings, identity meanings, etc. They discuss where these meanings originate from and how potential change may affect these meanings.	Davenport and Anderson, 2005; Grieder and Garkovich, 1994; Stedman et al, 2004; Williams and Vaske, 2003

There is no evidence of any discussions specifically framed around the symbolic meaning that people ascribe to the Callaghan Valley. However, a great deal of information was provided in the documentation that loosely demonstrates how the area was symbolically thought of by various stakeholders. A significant portion of this information emanated from a visioning session conducted as part of the CVMP process. At the end of the session, three visions were created. They were entitled 1) "Status Quo Plus Olympic Facilities", 2) "Lower Callaghan Focused Development", and 3) "Minimal Development" (VANOC, 2003, 20). For each vision, the CVMP document first outlined the general vision and then attributed it with strengths and weaknesses. Since the identified strengths and weaknesses are essentially a list of positive or negative value

statements from the participants of the visioning session, I use them to elicit symbolic place meanings.

Recreation meanings

All three visions indicated that the Callaghan Valley was thought by many as a place of recreation. They all included the development of the Whistler Olympic Park and the “maintenance of public access to Crown land for the purposes of self-propelled recreation” (VANOC, 2003, 20). There was a negative association with motorized recreation and industrial resource use in this case. Instead, they saw the Callaghan as a place for self-propelled recreation in a relatively untouched wilderness setting. Stated as a weakness for the ‘Status Quo Plus Olympic facilities’ vision, it was mentioned that:

The lack of focused governance [in this vision] potentially enables resource and motorized public recreation use that could negatively affect the long-term viability, ambiance and character of the facilities and recreation product offered within the Callaghan (VANOC, 2003, 21).

Reinforcing the Callaghan Valley as a place for self-propelled recreation, a strength identified in the ‘Minimal Development’ was:

The elimination of motorized recreation in the valley, preserving it as an enclave of self-propelled commercial and public recreation that complements the recreation facility development in Whistler yet contrasts the motorized commercial and public recreation land use that largely surrounds the Callaghan area (VANOC, 2003, 24).

Regarding resource use, a weakness of the ‘Status Quo Plus Olympic facilities’ vision stated, “Visual impacts of current forestry practices (limited clearcuts) will have negative effects on the necessary aesthetic qualities of the Whistler Nordic Centre” (VANOC, 2003, 21). Under the ‘Lower Callaghan Focused Development’ vision, which included the Whistler Athletes’ Village as part of the development (no longer a reality), an identified weakness was, “Reduction of forest habitat through the development of the

300-acre community land bank” (VANOC, 2003, 23). Identified as a strength was an improved “quality of wilderness experience for public users, as well as the viability of commercial recreation operations – including the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue – through restrictions placed on public motorized recreation access through the valley” (VANOC, 2003, 23). These collective statements suggest that the Callaghan is symbolically seen as a place that ought to have a minimum of extractive resource use and motorized recreation. The area is seen as a place where one should be able to have a high quality wilderness experience. However, the visioning process did not totally eliminate motorized recreation. A proposed solution to include motorized recreation included the creation of a specific snowmobile trail within the Callaghan Valley to separate those who wish to recreate under their own power from those who do not (VANOC, 2003).

Recreation meanings for the Callaghan Valley were also evident in the Environmental Management Program document released by VANOC (2004f) as part of the environmental assessment process. In the document, the RMOW and commercial/public recreationists express interest in maintaining long-term access to recreation opportunities. Two areas in particular are used heavily as a location for recreation. These include Callaghan Provincial Park, established in 1997 at the north end of the valley away from the Whistler Olympic Park footprint, in addition to a forest recreation site at Alexander Falls, which is relatively closer to the Whistler Olympic Park (VANOC, 2004f).

A respondent confirmed the recreation meanings of the area:

I always had a hard time not thinking about cross-county skiing in the Callaghan when I was working on the project; ...The [skiing] opportunities that [the project] was going to hold versus, ‘This area should be protected and we shouldn’t be in here at all’. I never really thought that.

Wilderness meanings

Wilderness values were also confirmed through interviews. However, the interviewees provided an additional level of detail compared to the literature.

Interviewees suggested that while wilderness values were important, many still saw the area as far from pristine. As one respondent commented:

The valley in general, to me, was an area that had a lot of previous industrial type uses so I didn't think of the Callaghan as a sort of pristine wilderness that I think probably some people did. A lot of human modifications to the valley but with some really valuable wildlife and natural values.

Another respondent, a local reporter, confirmed this feeling: "[I've been up to the Callaghan] lots of times... I'd never thought of it as being pristine." When asked how the general public may view the area, the answer was somewhat different:

Pristine wilderness filled with old growth. But they haven't been out there. Public opinion... There's no such thing as 'public opinion' I don't think. There're just people with different levels of knowledge, and people who lobby for different things... There is old growth out there, but there was logging and mining and all kinds of other things."

A respondent for VANOC provides insight as to why this may be the case: "What we found talking with the public at large, that very few people really knew where the Callaghan was and even fewer numbers of people had even been in there."

First Nations meanings

Analyses of the vision statements and other documents also demonstrate that the Callaghan Valley is identified as important First Nations territory. For example, in the "Minimal Development" vision, an identified strength is, "The reduced impact on [Squamish] First Nations Wild Spirits Places and sensitive environment lands due to restriction on motorized recreation" (VANOC, 2003, 24). The Wild Spirit Places refer to areas within the Callaghan Valley that the Squamish Nation identified within the first

draft of their self-released land use plan, titled *X̱ay Temixw* (translated as “sacred land”) (Squamish Nation, 2001, 8). Given the large amount of development over the area, the Squamish Nation identified five areas of wilderness they have designated Wild Spirit Places.

These areas are especially important as natural and cultural sanctuaries for the Nation, and as places to sustain and nurture the Nation’s special relationship to the land... These important areas should be managed to retain their wilderness attributes, to provide places for spiritual and cultural renewal for the Squamish Nation, and for compatible uses (Squamish Nation, 2001, 45)

One of these Wild Spirit Places, *Payakentsut* (West Callaghan), was identified as most affected by the Whistler Olympic Park project. The Squamish Nations’ connection with the Callaghan Valley as a whole is summed up in the final environmental assessment report (EAO, 2005, 45) which quotes the Squamish Nation’s Aboriginal Interest and Use Study:

The interaction between the Squamish and the land and resources of their territory has been, and remains, the defining characteristic of this people. The Squamish Nation people have stewarded the lands and resources of their territory for centuries, and, in return have lived off its bounty and garnered their identity from it. The connection between the Nation and the territory has always been, and remains, integral to defining who the Squamish Nation people are: Their “Squamishness” depends on access to their territory for subsistence, cultural and ceremonial purposes. The ancestors of the present day members of the Nation marked their presence in the Callaghan Valley with their cultural activities and the modern Nation continues to gather plants and berries, hunt deer, pick pine mushrooms, harvest bark, fish, and seek spiritual assistance on the same lands and waters, celebrating their connection to this area.

A Squamish Nation respondent confirmed this attachment to the Callaghan:

It’s fairly simple for Squamish. We looked at a preliminary map of the footprint... we then tabled a detailed map of Payakentsut, the Wild Spirit Place and identified that at least one third of the existing footprint of the Olympics for that time was looking at our Wild Spirit Place. My mandate from the community is simple: no development on our Wild Spirit Place.

The importance of the Callaghan to the First Nations was not lost on other participants in the process, as one BCEAO respondent noted: “The First Nations have held traditional relationship with the land... It was palatable how important that was. And they certainly shared that view in the planning table and made it clear that this was a no go zone.”

In addition to the Squamish, the Lil’wat Nation also have significant attachment to the Callaghan Valley via symbolic place meanings. In multiple documents, (e.g., Cascade, 2004; ENKON, 2004) sacred places, which the Lil’wat Nation considered to be off limits to development, are identified. These areas are ‘high value places’ for reasons identified in the Cultural Heritage Land and Resource Protection Plan (CHLRPP), developed by the Lil’wat First Nations. Stated in the CHLRPP:

these are places that support subsistence activities in habitats that are more rare or sensitive than the moderate value places (e.g., plant harvesting, hunting, fishing) traditional use sites that are not spiritual or highly sensitive, and locations that are critical to the protection of environmental resources. They contribute to the Nation’s connection with the past, and support ongoing traditional activities. The Lil’wat rely on these locations for cultural and subsistence uses (CHLRPP quoted in ENKON, 2004, 44).

Evident in the multiple documents generated for the Whistler Olympic Park, in addition to the Squamish Nation’s Xay Temixw and interviews, it is clear that both the Lil’wat and Squamish Nations attach many symbolic meanings to the Callaghan Valley. These can be grouped into three broad meaning categories: identity (e.g. ‘Squamishness’), cultural/spiritual (e.g. Callaghan as a ceremonial area), and sustenance (e.g. through activities such as hunting, plant gathering, trapping, etc).

Place meanings from the general public

Place meanings that the public attribute to the Callaghan Valley are also evident from comment cards filled out during various open houses. These comments reinforce the meanings already identified. The comments vary in scope, but those especially relevant to place meanings are related to impacts upon wildlife and habitat, access to recreation and conflicts between motorized and self-propelled recreationists, First Nations involvement, and the development of ‘green’ facilities (EAO, 2005).

In all, the literature on the planning process, combined with interviews, demonstrate that there was an understanding of how the Callaghan Valley is symbolically understood by various stakeholders. Conversely, there is no evidence of a dialogue that was specifically framed around the symbolic meaning that people ascribe to the place, or around any of the aspects of place at all.

Criterion		References
A discussion of social relationships / individual experiences and their influence on place	Participants discuss how their social relationships and individual experiences affect and are affected by place (e.g. with their peers, business partners/employers, the government, etc). People’s <i>perceptions</i> of their community are also discussed.	Sack, 2004; Stedman et al, 2004; Tuan, 1977; Uzzell, Pol and Badenas, 2002

As with symbolic meaning, there was no evidence of any discussions specifically framed around the effects of social relationships and individual experiences on the place meanings of the Callaghan Valley. Nor was there a discussion on how people perceived the community of users in the Callaghan valley.

First Nations use of the Callaghan Valley

Information was provided in the documentation and interviews that loosely demonstrates the social relationships and individual experiences that occur within the Valley of significance to place. Most of this information is in regards to First Nations use of the area. As one First Nations respondent pointed out:

A Squamish Nation member can bring ten thousand years worth of history; what's happening with the land, what's happening with the animals, what's happening with the snowfall this year opposed to last year. We can create a story of what happened all around the whole valley since time immemorial to today.

The literature demonstrates that First Nations have had significant personal experiences in the area, with the Squamish Nation identifying the Wild Spirit Places, especially Payakentsut, and the Lil'wat identifying 'high value places'. The CVMP document (VANOC, 2003) also indicates that the Callaghan Valley region was extensively used as a trade route connecting the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations culturally, economically, politically and socially. This indicates the area provided a significant backdrop against which social relationships between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations were built.

Recreational use of the Callaghan Valley

The CVMP document (VANOC, 2003, 159) also indicated that extensive recreation occurs in the area and notes that after the Whistler Olympic Park is built, "Improvement to access and the availability of the venue for services will increase the demand and use of the area for public recreation during summer and winter." Stedman et al (2004) illustrate that recreational use of an area is often done with other people. Significant place meanings are often formed around these social experiences. The literature on the Whistler Olympic Park planning process does include recognition of the extensive use the area receives from recreationists. Likewise, interviewees suggest the area was important for recreation. When asked about recreating in the area, one respondent commented: "Oh sure, [the Callaghan is a place I've visited a lot]. The town [Whistler] has a trail that goes from the Callaghan... practically into my backyard."

While there is a loose understanding of some social relationships and individual experiences that have occurred in the Callaghan Valley, there is no evidence of any specific intention to seek out this information in either process.

Criterion		References
A discussion of physical landscapes and their influence on place	Participants discuss how the physical landscapes (built, natural, biotic and abiotic) affect place. Also discussed is to what extent the <i>natural</i> landscape affects place.	Jackson, 1994; Sack, 2004; Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Stedman, 2003; Stedman et al, 2004

The Callaghan Valley was specifically targeted as the location for the Whistler Olympic Park due to its natural landscape and associated attributes. In promoting the Callaghan Valley as the site for the venue, the CVMP document outlines a sense of idyllic wilderness “surrounded by mountains, glaciers and West Coast coniferous forest” (VANOC, 2003, 27). More practically, the landscape and physical geography of the area influences the place as an ideal one for Nordic events.

The Callaghan is considered to be a very good site for the Nordic facility due to the moderate temperatures, absence of wind, abundant dry snow, established and easy road access, elevation and proximity to the proposed Olympic village site and Whistler resort (VANOC, 2003, 27).

Preserving this wilderness landscape is clearly a priority for VANOC. For example, in the executive summary of the application for an environmental assessment certificate, VANOC (2004a, 55) states that “all timber cutting plans will be reviewed with [VANOC] to maintain visual aesthetics and minimize clearcutting.” In a different document, VANOC (2004d) once again outlines the importance of logging activities being conducive to attractive views from the Whistler Olympic Park location. The literature on the planning process demonstrates that a non-industrialized natural landscape is important for the success of the facility.

Further discussion around the importance of the landscape comes from the literature surrounding First Nations and their attachment to the land itself. In addition, much of the environmental assessment revolved around mitigating potential impact of the Whistler Olympic Park project on the environment including abiotic and biotic factors. However, the core of these ecologically focused documents was on identifying ecological factors of the area from a scientific perspective, not a socially derived sense of place context.

Similar to the other aspects around place, a specific dialogue around the physical landscape of the Callaghan Valley and its effect on sense of place is not present in the literature. However, one can derive from the literature that an important sense of place for the Callaghan Valley in terms of landscape is the natural component. Thus, people are more likely to act as stewards for the environment within the Callaghan Valley (Stedman, 2003).

Criterion		References
A discussion of experiences with change over time and how this was adapted to (social memory)	Participants discuss how prior times of change were dealt with to understand, in the future, how people may 1) help systems survive abrupt changes, 2) evoke change in undesirable systems and 3) mobilize resources after changes that enable reorganization in an effective and controlled manner.	Blann, Light and Musumeci, 2003; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Folke et al, 2005

A specific gathering of stakeholders to dialogue around experiences with past change and how it was adapted to never occurred. However, the CVMP document (VANOC, 2003) does review the history of the areas via a report by the Callaghan Lake Study Team. This was prepared by the BC government in October, 1995 as part of a ‘Protected Areas Strategy’ being conducted at that time. In this review, the forestry and mining history of the area are outlined along with the decline of exploration in the 1960’s when the area was considered for its recreation and park values. A resultant ‘No Staking

Reserve' was given to various parts of the Callaghan Valley. Further studies show the area as containing valuable mineral deposits and valuable geothermal resources.

However, the area is also recognized as a place where non-consumptive wildlife use could thrive. This is due to its unique combination of sublime glacial/volcanic features (e.g. glacial weathering, cirque lakes, alpine meadows, volcanic craters) and accessibility to front country areas such as Whistler. Also mentioned is the current popularity of Callaghan Lake as a recreation spot, drawing approximately 4000 people each summer, despite the lack of proper facilities and the existence of rough road access (VANOC, 2003, 75).

Combining this information with that detailing the First Nations use of the land, an extensive history of the area emerges. This literature indicates that the Callaghan Valley has gone through periods of change. However, there was no discussion during either the CVMP or the environmental assessment surrounding the challenges that emerged due to this history of change. As a result, valuable social memory was not overtly revealed among the stakeholders. This missed opportunity is noted by a commercial recreation respondent, who has a great deal of personal experience in the area:

Not only do I operate a Nordic ski facility here in the Callaghan Valley, but I also have a more than twenty years experience in doing snow studies for the Ministry of Environment [for this area]... Certainly I was not consulted at all in the layout and where I thought the best use of the land lay... I thought the opportunity for cooperation was missed.

Despite this missed opportunity and the lack of formal dialogue around past experiences in the Callaghan, some of these experiences did become revealed. As recounted by a VANOC respondent:

[Opportunities to discuss past knowledge occurred] on a public basis and on a confidential basis. For example, the engagement with the Nations ... We also got some 'old-timers' perspectives... I think that the 'old-timers' had seen a continual drift in the use and the access and the understanding of what the area was.

A First Nations respondent agreed that past experiences with the area were shared: "I think a lot of the non-natives learned a lot from the natives. That relationship building, through going to meetings and not being afraid to speak out- talking, listening."

While past experiences did appear to be shared in some instances, they were missed in others. In addition, the experiences that were shared were not done so explicitly. As a result, the extent to which people will be able to use this information to guide future decisions may be limited.

Criterion		References
Participants explore the implications of alternate conditions	Participants discuss the potential implications if another condition existed in order to better understand the current reality.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

The single indication of a discussion surrounding the implications of alternative conditions comes from the visioning session where three separate visions were created. In addition, the visions were of a future with the Whistler Olympic Park, not alternate conditions of the Callaghan without the facility. However, discussing these alternate visions provides an excellent comparison to help ensure the decision-making process flows towards an ideal future. Indeed, the CVMP document (VANOC, 2003, 18) states that "The [vision] report's value lies in the discussion it promotes around the issues and points it addresses."

Unfortunately, the extent to which these visions were specifically discussed after their creation is quite limited. A VANOC respondent explained:

There were a number of documents prepared in the bid phase that had some influence on the Master Plan. The visioning helped inform us of the longer-

term post game scenario; also a matter of uncovering the issues of the people who had an interest in the future of that valley, and what that interest was, and how that would relate to any potential plan to develop that.

Apart from its initial use to inform the CVMP, the results from the visioning session were no longer overtly used. Still, alternate conditions for the Whistler Olympic Park were discussed, even if only briefly during the CVMP process. There is no indication that any such conversation occurred during the environmental assessment process however.

Criterion		References
Participants have an opportunity to discuss aspects not on the agenda	Participants have an opportunity to bring up issues regarding place or past experience with change not on the agenda, but of importance to them.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

During the multiple open houses for both the CVMP and environmental assessment process, participants were given feedback forms where they could comment or ask questions on any issue related to the Whistler Olympic Park. There was also an ongoing opportunity to contact the Environmental Assessment Office by mail or email to voice concern or support for any issue related to the project during the environmental assessment.

During work group meetings, interviewees all indicated there were opportunities to discuss aspects not on the agenda. A Ministry of Environment respondent stated simply: “We had the opportunity to review the agenda and see if we thought something else should be on it.” Providing more detail as one of the facilitators, a BCEAO respondent elaborated:

As the meeting unfolds, you track interest and create additional agenda items as the time ripens for it. I like to make sure at the end of the meetings that I say, ‘is there anything left unsaid’... It invites people who are on the verge of wanting to put their hand up to just say I guess it’s okay for me to say that.

Opportunities to discuss aspects not on the agenda were available to participants during the Whistler Olympic Park planning process.

4.3.3 The Absence of Deliberate Dialogue

How information was generated during the planning process

The amount of information generated from the planning of the Whistler Olympic Park is extremely large. The manner in which it was generated is often via consulting reports that were spurred by the environmental assessment process, by working group meetings, or during the Callaghan Valley master planning process. Information was not generated via deliberate attempts at dialogue.

However, the opportunity to provide input and comment on aspects of the Callaghan Valley that was important to any individual was present. For the general public, an Environment Canada respondent explains: “That opportunity would have come through in the public consultation.” A VANOC respondent supplied detail:

We provided no end of opportunity for people to comment on why this area was important to them... An example of this is the office in Whistler where anyone from anywhere can walk in and give recorded input; also comment cards, public meetings, open houses, write-in opportunities, the formal EA process, the ongoing access, community updates, [and] involvement with the press.

While there was opportunity for comment from the public, one respondent commented on how many in the public realm may miss the opportunity:

People do have the opportunity... They take out ads in the paper and say, ‘You have until this date to send in your comments about the development in the Callaghan’... Nobody reads those ads, and nobody sends their letters in. So, when you read the letters, very few are actually from the public... they’re lawyers, and they’re people who have vested interests... I just think it’s incredibly difficult to reach the average person. They’re so consumed with just trying to have a place to live in Whistler, with having a job, is their car working properly, are their children fed. Unless the venue was being built in their backyard, they just would not [engage].

For those with a vested interest, a number of opportunities did appear to exist. Indeed a number of meetings occurred for this purpose. As an Environment Canada respondent recalled: “There were a number of meetings with the existing [users]... That would have been an opportunity for them to say this is an [important aspect] for my business.” A commercial recreation respondent who operates in the area agreed:

Yeah, definitely I was given an opportunity to... It was what the business did, what our objectives were, what our programs were, and how we used the land... what the impact would be on my operation definitely... the opportunity was there multiple times.

The same respondent was not convinced however that being given an opportunity to discuss these aspects necessarily equated to meaningful engagement. The respondent continued: “I think they were listening to me, they just didn’t like what they were hearing... I would never be able to say that ‘you didn’t give me the opportunity’. They gave me lots of opportunities and I took advantage of every one.”

The role of working groups in generating information

For members of a working group, the opportunity to provide input seemed to be readily available. Multiple respondents who were members of a working group during the environmental assessment indicated as such. However, these discussions were never place related specifically. Instead, the different agencies would simply bring up aspects relevant to their jurisdiction. As a CEAA respondent explained: “Agencies come forward with specific mandates: DFO is interested in fish, Transport Canada is interested in navigability, Canadian Wildlife Services is interested in migratory birds, and that’s the element that they’re most interested in.” These individuals are generally experts in a specific field, and not necessarily from the place in question at all. As a Squamish-Lillooet Regional District respondent pointed out, the people involved are not from the

Callaghan or surrounding area usually, “The grizzly bear specialist is from Alberta, the bird person from Vancouver, etc.”

The absence of deliberate dialogue

Opportunities to engage and provide input as to how people felt about all sorts of aspects of the Callaghan were available. Through interviews and a review of the literature however, there is no sign that these opportunities took the form of a formalized dialogue. Potential implications of this are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4 Step 3: Determining Future Actions

Criterion	References
Leadership A leader, or leadership, is present who inspires and encourages stakeholders on multiple organizational levels to be involved and work towards a collaboratively decided upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004; Westley, 2002

Leadership is extremely important to inspire and encourage stakeholders to be involved in the many steps of the project. This is especially important in a planning process as large as the one that occurred for the Whistler Olympic Park. During the visioning session, one of the points of agreement among the stakeholders was that “The plans for development and ongoing operational success of the Callaghan should review the need for a single governing body to oversee, coordinate and manage the various user groups” (VANOC, 2003, 1). Even before the Olympics were awarded to Vancouver, there was a desire for leadership.

This desire manifested loosely in reality. There is no indication that a single person or organization took on an effective leadership role solely from the literature on the planning process. Interviewees gave mixed responses; however, the majority of respondents identified an individual within VANOC. When asked why the individual from VANOC was thought of as a leader, one First Nation respondent answered: “[The

individual] made VANOC's vision transparent on how they wanted to move ahead to have a successful end product... So that made things a lot simpler and clear for everybody to see." Another respondent, answering the same question, similarly claimed: "[The individual] really was behind it all... always speaking at the meetings, setting framework guidelines. If you needed information... whatever it was you needed, [the individual] was the go-to person." This individual was not the only person mentioned by respondents however. Many also suggested the government played a large leadership role. As one BCEAO respondent stated:

I have two minds there. One is I think VANOC demonstrated leadership and inspiration, but from an administrative law perspective the leader was probably government through this office and perhaps other offices.

A BC Ministry of Environment respondent also identified the BCEAO as taking a leadership role: "The Environmental Assessment Office Project Leader was also kind of a leader in terms of always trying to balance those pressures that VANOC was putting on the process to keep things moving. The EAO took a role in trying to keep agencies on track."

One respondent, a reporter in the area, when asked if the general public may be able to identify a leader for the process suggested not: "No, I don't think so... From the common man's perspective, most people would say it's completely VANOC and nobody could tell you who was in charge of it."

The criterion on leadership emphasizes the importance of bringing participants together to work towards a collaboratively decided upon vision. While no one leader overwhelmingly emerged, the extent to which collaboration occurred may still be high.

Findings on this are discussed later under the criterion “Collaboration occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple levels”.

Criterion		References
Consensus reached on who will be involved in future action	This process will involve value judgments and belief statements. The dialogic process will offer insight into those who will be included. There is no right way to select those involved, but the process needs to be transparent to all.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

Transparency on who would be involved in future action

The literature on the Whistler Olympic Park provides a transparent medium indicating who will be involved in future action in addition to VANOC as the obvious proponent. While the medium itself is transparent (i.e. it is posted on the EAO website), the process for making these decisions is not always made clear in the literature. For example, the CVMP document lays out who will gain future ownership of the Whistler Olympic Park after the Games, stating that it will be a “not for profit corporation jointly owned by the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC), Canada, British Columbia, the Resort Municipality of Whistler and 2 local First Nations – the Squamish Nation and the Lil’wat” (VANOC, 2003 x). However, how this decision was made is not clear.

Additionally, letters of understanding were signed with both long-term commercial recreation operators, (e.g. Callaghan Country and Whistler Heliskiing). They laid out how these stakeholders would interact with VANOC (VANOC, 2003). These documents provide examples of transparency regarding who will be involved.

However, transparent decision-making did not always occur. For example, Callaghan Country raised concerns when it was told by the Province that, in addition to not receiving an extension on their tenure, it may be expropriated altogether (VANOC, 2004e).

First Nations involvement in future action

With respect to First Nations, the draft of the Callaghan Recreation Plan (Cascade, 2004) identifies the importance of their involvement in the Whistler Olympic Park project, both in its creation, and subsequent operations after the Games. VANOC maintains in all the literature that involvement of First Nations in the Whistler Olympic Park was important.

Government agency involvement in future action

Interviews help reveal how transparent the decisions were regarding who would be involved in implementation. All of the respondents indicated it was clear VANOC would be implementing the project. Many pointed out that implementation was not without its complications however. While VANOC would be in charge of building the facility, there was government agency oversight required, building permits needed, and contractors to actually do the work. As a CEAA respondent explained: “[VANOC is] the one implementing mitigation measures, design measures, those sorts of things... There is also a certain level of follow-up and compliance monitoring that goes on... That’s where [for example] DFO and Environment Canada show up on site occasionally.” Another good example of these oversight responsibilities comes from an SLRD respondent: “We issued building permits... we’ve done spot checks, and we make sure all the paperwork and necessary sign offs have been completed. We’ve had a presence on that site there throughout.” Implementation of the project was not simply a matter of VANOC going in and building the venue. Multiple agencies were involved and through these legal requirements were informed how and when the different phases of implementation occurred.

Other participant involvement in future action

Some participants involved in the process wanted to be involved in implementation, and were. For example, the RMOW and both First Nations respondents confirmed their involvement to their satisfaction. However, this was not the case for all. When asked whether they desired to be involved in implementation of the Whistler Olympic Park, a commercial recreation respondent answered:

Yes... we weren't invited... I would often enquire as to who was leading the trail design and I was introduced to the people and talked with them, but as regards to, 'what do you think about this trail along here or where do you think the topography would lend itself- what sort of special features are there in the valley that would enhance a visitor's experience here'. I was never brought in at that level which would be my preference.

It is clear from the literature and from respondents that the decisions on who would be involved in implementation were made in a transparent manner. As for a consensus on the decision, it appears as though most would agree this was the case. However, some participants indicated a desire to be more involved than they were.

Criterion		References
Transparent decisions on how to proceed	How to proceed (i.e. the methods used and what exactly is to be done) – or whether to proceed at all – need to be determined in a transparent and collaborative manner. In addition, the ideology or logic behind the method needs to be agreed upon.	Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995

The environmental assessment and master planning processes for the Whistler Olympic Park essentially outline the decisions on how the project will proceed; i.e., what is to be done. The ideology, or logic, behind these decisions is not made clear however, and the literature does not indicate a formalized discussion occurred with stakeholders.

Transparency in decision making

The environmental assessment process provided an environment where the final decisions made for the Whistler Olympic Park were transparent. As a result of the many studies, a plethora of mitigation strategies that would be used to reduce the impact of the Whistler Olympic Park were identified and publically released. The final environmental

assessment report (EAO, 2005) identified eighteen components by which VANOC was evaluated, many of which included mitigation strategies. For example, one mitigation strategy VANOC committed to concern the area's aquatic resources. The commitment was to "Provide 30 m setbacks for fish-bearing streams and 15 m for non-fish bearing streams wherever possible" (EAO, 2005, 61). To minimize impacts on wildlife, VANOC, among other things, stated they would "Turn off exterior lights when the facilities are not being used by the public, in order to minimize sensory disturbance to owls and other nocturnal species" (EAO, 2005, 66). The last example relates to socio-community and socio-economic components. VANOC committed to "Construct facilities according to BC Firesmart Principles, particularly to ensure that sprinkler systems are installed in all buildings and that building exteriors are constructed of noncombustible materials" (EAO, 2005, 67).

Collaboration in decision making

While the resulting decisions from the planning process were transparently revealed to anyone with an interest to see them, the extent to which they were made in a collaborative spirit is revealed by interviewees. Collaboration involves a sharing of power to make decisions. As a result, interviewees were asked whether they felt they had power to affect decisions. Interestingly, when respondents who were part of a working group were asked, they all indicated that they did feel they had that power. Not all respondents felt they did have power to affect decision making however. Those not part of a working group answered in the negative. For example, when asked whether they felt they had power to influence the final decisions made, one commercial recreation respondent, who was not part of a working group, answered:

No. All I could do was stay abreast of the process and change my plan to make it less threatening to them so that I wouldn't lose everything... I have a business that's still benefiting from the outcome of the Games. I just believe that... the overall plan could have been better... VANOC's opinion prevailed, and what they thought was best is the way it went down. And we have a difference of opinion... Collaborative input? Yes. Collaborative decision making? No.

A different respondent, when asked whether a member of the general public would have power to affect the final decisions answered similarly: "No, not really." However, the response did deviate from the commercial recreation respondent's: "[But], where people band together and form a common voice they can create influence and change."

A member of such a group, a Non-Governmental Organization in the area, who was not on a working group, was asked whether it was felt that collaboration occurred. The response indicated a feeling that this was not the case:

Everybody felt that they were being consulted, and they felt that their views were being heard, but at the end of the day they were really just being consulted so they could be ticked off on the report. That's my opinion on it... It was very well done, very systematic.

The discussion with a BCEAO respondent suggests that people outside working group meetings have had concerns around decision making in the past. The respondent began: "For an outsider, if you're a member of an NGO [for example], you put your hand up and say, 'Well, I wasn't a member of a working group'. It continues to be a recurring comment about our process... They perceived [working groups] to be where the deals were made." I then asked what the response to this concern would be. The respondent replied:

Well the response would be that the interest of that NGO would come up through a government agency. So, if the interest was around grizzly bears, then the MOE [Ministry of Environment] rep would be the person who would

bring that interest to the table... At the working group level, they weren't part of the working group- but they were totally encouraged and advised to participate as fully as possible with written submissions, phone calls, emails, whatever; and it all counted.

The idea of public interests and values being brought to working groups through the appropriate government representation was not only brought up by this respondent.

Another respondent commented:

When the RMOW did the open houses for development, it became very clear that most people didn't want a village down there [as originally proposed]... I think that the public... did influence what the Olympic Park looks like today, but it was done through the Municipality. So, in that case [the Municipality] were really negotiating for what they understood to be the wishes of the town after their engagement.

A common theme occurred amongst some respondents, who simply pointed to the change that occurred due to the process as an indication that some form of collaborative decision making took place. As one respondent noted: "Just go to those maps; if there had been no stakeholders, no input, I'm sure we would have gazillion miles of trails."

Similarly, a CEAA respondent pointed out: "That project in the end was quite different than how it was initially proposed and a lot of those changes in design and modifications were in response to input from broad sense stakeholders."

Collaborative decision making: is it possible in such a large process?

Whether or not collaborative decision making truly did occur is difficult to claim one way or the other. The reality is that some felt they had power to affect decisions and some felt they did not. In such a large process, perhaps this is unavoidable. As one RMOW respondent remarked: "You're going to find some will say [they were] very engaged, and some you're going to find will suggest they were completely unengaged because they didn't get what they wanted." A CEAA respondent similarly pointed out: "I think there were struggles, but there are always struggles in a process like this."

A VANOC respondent similarly summed up the process as long and, as a result, void of consensus:

It is not an easy process. It is an expensive and time-consuming process; it is a demanding process; it's full of conflicts. It is not, despite what people would like to think, consensus-based at all. It's a matter of managing the many issues to the best of your abilities and hoping that people are satisfied with that. And I think that we have done a good job of building a venue that reflects their values, so we have more consensus than many others.

From our further discussion, the respondent did suggest that there was collaboration, just not consensus reached as a result: "There has been a lot of collaboration; some of it willingly, some of it not so willingly. But there is conflict. Not a bad thing; maybe a stressful thing, but that develops genuine relationships."

In summary, while collaborative decision making occurred in the minds of some, and not others, it can be seen that the decisions made were done in a transparent manner.

Criterion		References
Collaboration occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple levels	As a result of the dialogue, a social network built on trust is created and social memory is realized among participants. These factors are used to cooperatively work towards the agreed upon vision.	Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004

The literature on the Whistler Olympic Park planning process does not indicate that any formal dialogue commenced. Instead, an alternate decision making process took place where VANOC consulted numerous stakeholders to release the CVMP and a report in application for an environmental assessment certificate. This report was then reviewed by the environmental assessment office and stakeholders who made recommendations that VANOC used to create mitigation measures. Deemed adequate by the environmental assessment office, VANOC's mitigation measures were added to the final plans and a certificate was issued. The extent to which this process created an environment of collaboration amongst a diverse set of actors on multiple levels is the point at issue.

There is evidence of agreements between VANOC and various groups suggesting that some form of collaboration may have occurred. During the process, VANOC signed letters of understanding with the Squamish Nation and Lil'wat Nation (EAO, 2005), in addition to both Callaghan Country and Whistler Heli-Skiing (VANOC, 2004c). However, as already shown, a respondent from the commercial recreation sector demonstrated a preference to be more involved in actual implementation than they were.

Collaboration with First Nations

First Nations involvement, on the other hand, appears to have been at a level that all parties were comfortable with. Consultation with First Nations is evidenced in the Executive Summary of VANOC's application for an environmental assessment certificate (VANOC, 2004a, 50), which states:

Before, 'opting-in' to the BC EAA process, the Corporation's extensive First Nations consultation program commenced from 1999 to 2004... The First Nations had representatives on the 2010 Board of Directors, on the Executive Committee and all relevant work groups. In addition, the Corporation, the federal government and the provincial government assisted in the First Nations in establishing the Aboriginal Secretariat to ensure First Nations' interests are accommodated in the Bid process.

Interviews with First Nations respondents confirm that both the Squamish and Lil'wat Nation were involved in implementation. A Squamish Nation respondent commented: "Our building company is building the lodges and building structures up there, and Lil'wat's ground crew are the ones who made the trails."

While implementation did appear to occur in a collaborative manner with the First Nations, some examples of contention to get there exist. As opposed to a truly collaborative process, the literature suggests that First Nations and VANOC would at times negotiate points of contention in a back and forth manner through impersonal

avenues provided by the environmental assessment process (VANOC, 2004h). For example, First Nations would raise a concern based on VANOC's assessment application or surrounding studies. This concern would then be addressed by VANOC as part of the assessment process. This form of communication appeared to, at times, supersede face to face collaboration. Indeed, First Nations at times opted to have lawyers write up letters directed at the Environmental Assessment Office to bring up issues of contention rather than seek a collaborative decision with VANOC (see e.g. Ratcliff and Company, 2004). This seems to indicate that seamless collaboration did not occur at all times. However, another example that follows may indicate that First Nations did participate collaboratively.

One major issue the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations raised was the inclusion of the proposed legacy facilities (e.g. additional non-competitive trails) in the environmental assessment for the Whistler Olympic Park. They felt that the studies done for the environmental assessment certificate did not adequately include these additional trails and the significant impacts they may have on First Nations interests, especially on the high value places identified by the Lil'wat Nation and Payakentsut for the Squamish Nation (EAO, 2006). The final result was the decision to evaluate the legacy facilities under a separate environmental assessment and to issue an environmental assessment certificate to the project "consisting of the Nordic competition facilities, trails and associated infrastructure and internal roads in an area comprising approximately 260 hectares, as well as the two access roads to the facilities" (EAO, 2005, 21). A Lil'wat Nation respondent established that this was indeed an example of the Nation's interests being heeded: "The government listened to that", the respondent confirmed.

Collaboration occurring due to trust between participants

To determine how well the process built meaningful relationships of collaboration and trust, interviewees were also asked to what extent the planning process helped them become more willing to trust and work with others involved. An especially positive response came from a First Nations interviewee:

Yeah, [trust builds] after a while... With all the users of the valley- we've heard of their names or saw their signs, but we've never met them. Now we had a reason to meet them and find out a bit more- where they come from and why are they doing what they are doing. And they also in turn have a better understanding of who we are and why are we doing what we are doing.

Another response from a RMOW respondent indicates that the process helped to build trust amongst participants:

The better you get to know people, the more your sense of whether you trust them. What can you say to them, how will they use it? That all builds up and relationships are kind of everything. You build a good solid relationship with your Provincial people and you just phone them up if you have a concern and they'll take it seriously if they trust you. Everything you do helps increase that.

A common theme that emerged was the idea that while the process helped build trust, it did not just do so randomly. Through the process, groups and individuals would either show themselves as trustworthy or not. A good example comes from the response of a CEAA interviewee:

[Trust is built] to a degree, but... everything is based on track record. If a proponent shows themselves to be efficient and willing to implement things as described and in control of the situation and professional about it, your comfort goes up. If they don't exhibit those tendencies your comfort goes down... There's a certain level of credibility that can be acquired, but it has to be acquired.

This idea of trust being acquired was a common theme amongst respondents. While the process did allow trust to be built, and in many cases it did, that trust needed to be earned.

The Whistler Olympic Park was built in a collaborative manner. First Nations were involved, and satisfied with their inclusion. In addition, government agencies provided oversight of implementation through not only the environmental assessment process but also via permits and authorizations. However, there were some participants, such as affected commercial recreationists, who wanted to be involved more than they were. However, the process did help trust manifest amongst participants when it was earned.

Criterion		References
Future adaptive co-management occurs among a diverse set of actors operating on multiple scales ¹⁰	People flexibly self organize towards social-ecological sustainability on a case by case basis in the future. When a crisis occurs, the appropriate actors and knowledge is mobilized through the pre-existing social network to appropriately adapt to the change.	Folke et al, 2005; Folke, Colding and Berkes, 2003; Olsson, Folke and Hahn, 2004

Given the future state this criterion refers to, it is impossible to fully assess. However, interviewees did give a sense of the extent they felt that the planning process would enable them to work with each other in the future. The answers are enlightening; however, it is important to note that any conclusion made on them would be conjecture.

A good planning process will enable participants to work well with each other in the future. The comments from a BC Ministry of Environment respondent highlights this importance in terms of this project: “Implementation was clear enough in terms of building the Whistler Olympic Park, but some of the subsequent implications that have come to light because of building that venue, it’s not so clear whose lead those things should be... There’s still a lot of question about post 2010.” Unforeseen future issues are

¹⁰ This criterion is an outcome, and may not be able to be assessed until long after the initial process is completed.

inevitable highlighting the importance of a future environment where stakeholders can flexibly self organize when a problem does emerge (as suggested in Figure 4 on page 47).

Comments from a RMOW respondent suggest that the creation of the venue has developed this sense of importance in people to come together if a problem does emerge.

What we have up in the Nordic Centre is an incredible pulling together of Squamish and Whistler...The people of Squamish have adopted that Nordic Centre. They are the backbone of the whole volunteer organization that helps put on these big events, like world cups, ski jumping... The volunteer pool in Whistler is... pretty tapped. Squamish has stepped up. That is so powerful in my mind... I don't feel like I'm going to another town when I go to Squamish because I know so many people there now... I think that builds a lot of resilience. If you have an issue up there, you've got two hundred or three hundred concerned parents and community members... It's like a spider's web, you start in the middle there and the whole thing grows."

A BCEAO respondent commented on the relationships that were built between the government and First Nations that is helping in a totally different project:

Consider the consulting team hired by Squamish and Lil'wat. Because of this experience I got to know them and trust them... There is a level of trust and engagement and respect that is used on another project that we are also working on... in a completely different part of the Province.

It is difficult to assess the future, and to what extent stakeholders will come together if a problem is to emerge. However, a VANOC respondent is cautiously optimistic:

I think there is a legacy there of collaboration and people will be able to go forward and they are definitely better off. But the overhead for individuals to participate and to stay at the table, and just the general evolution of peoples lives- I don't know how long that will go on... I think that people will wake up the next day [after the Olympics] and start to wonder what the future does hold for them in the Callaghan Valley and just how much their interests... will go forward in the future. Different players, same issues. I hope the [future players are] capable of going forward and reflecting those values.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The three step place-based planning process outlined in Table 3 theoretically increases the likelihood of creating resilience (Figure 4). The actual planning process that occurred for the Whistler Olympic Park took place in a specific social, environmental, and legal context that shaped the planning process in ways that theory may simply not be able to address. However, while there are many points of departure, the actual process that occurred for the Whistler Olympic Park loosely followed the three steps. There was still a gathering of stakeholders, followed by a round of discourse, culminating in action.

The sheer power and influence of the Olympics brings its own sense of place and meaning to the Callaghan Valley. Even some interviewees who had mixed responses to their satisfaction with the process were still in favour of the Olympics. “I still support [the Games] now”, one such respondent began somewhat hesitantly, “It’s the notion of athleticism, and the promotion of those values. I still am corny enough to believe that it’s a good thing.” The Olympic movement is imbued with meanings and place-based discussions will happen whether intentionally planned or not. There were certainly differences between the planning for the Whistler Olympic Park and the theoretical process presented in this work. This chapter explores the potential implications of these differences.

5.1 Gathering the Stakeholders

Stakeholders who inhabit and/or are affected by the Callaghan Valley were identified by VANOC. These stakeholders operated at a variety of spatial and organizational scales. However, the process did not specifically target specific individuals who were leaders, facilitators or social connectors. They were selected on the basis of the group they represented. Including strong individuals in the process would better ensure success in the long run. However, this assumes that those in charge of the process could have effectively identified these individuals. While there was some randomness with respect to skill sets of those identified, this does not suggest that the process was less effective.

During the planning process, stakeholder inclusion was limited and engagement was often quite structured, resembling nothing of a true dialogue. A thorough discussion of these implications occurs next.

5.2 The Process and Content of Discourse

5.2.1 The Absence of Dialogue

Any dialogic activities that occurred during the Whistler Olympic Park planning process were piecemeal at best. There was no single forum that allowed stakeholders to come together in a sustained formal dialogue. However, this did not impede informal dialogue between stakeholders during the breaks between structured time, and during site visits. Indeed, much relevant content emerged from these conversations. Through public open houses, consultant reports, working groups and one on one meetings, the planning process unearthed an abundance of content. Implicit place meanings emerged through

these discussions, even if they were not specifically sought or analyzed within the context of place theory. The presence of First Nations activity, resource extraction, as well as commercial and public recreation emerged throughout the process as well. The biophysical elements and their importance for an idyllic Olympic venue, as well as both the Lil'wat and Squamish Nations also emerged. Stakeholders discussed this minutia with each other, and in an unintentional way, were able to unearth the social memory held by the different participants around the planning table.

The absence of a consistent facilitator and a clear leader

In this case study, professional facilitation was inconsistent and was typically provided by either VANOC or the government. Similarly there was a lack of consistency when the process jumped from the CVMP to the environmental assessment. This lack of consistency was noted by multiple respondents. One interviewee suggested a standing advisory committee as a potential way to mitigate this lack of consistency:

One of the things in hindsight if I was advising VANOC as a consultant is, at the very beginning, develop and support and fund a standing advisory committee for the Callaghan Valley including all interests and even if nothing is going on have an information update meeting.

Even though a specific VANOC individual was identified by many as an unofficial leader, many respondents felt that an arms-length facilitator (i.e., not an employee of either VANOC or one of the government agencies in charge of the environmental assessment) would have helped. They would have helped “draw out some of those quiet folks”, as one respondent remarked.

The absence of dialogue: implications

In the absence of dialogue with a consistent facilitator, three important factors were missed. First, dialogue would have helped people clarify what the Callaghan Valley

means to them. While people may intuitively understand place, they may not be able to really express it without guidance. Second, there was a lost opportunity to increase the level of understanding of how the proposed changes in the Callaghan Valley might affect specific stakeholders. Purposeful dialogue would help everyone understand the reasons behind why people felt the way they did about certain aspects of proposed changes. Third, more extensive dialogue may have given planners better insight into the social-ecological system that underlies the area. These limitations may have reduced the level of understanding needed to help stakeholders adapt to future development changes that may emerge in the Valley as its popularity and accessibility increases.

The weaknesses of dialogue

While dialogue may have helped the planning process for the Whistler Olympic Park, it is very difficult to make this claim with certainty. Dialogue can be extremely frustrating to some people as there is often a perception that it replaces decision making and action. In addition, processes of dialogue can take a long time. Planning for an Olympic Games occurs with an immovable date where venues need to be complete. There is a sense of urgency that permeates. Dialogue in this atmosphere may restrict its usefulness. In addition, it is not accurate to suggest that no dialogue occurred during the planning for the Whistler Olympic Park. While no formalized time was set aside to dialogue, people spontaneously and informally dialogued during downtimes and site visits, creating some of the benefits suggested in the theory around dialoguing.

5.2.2 Structured Decision Making: The Environmental Assessment

The environmental assessment portion of the Whistler Olympic Park planning was structured according to formally recognized procedures. Environmental assessments,

for the most part, do not change depending on where they are conducted. As a CEAA respondent put it: “There was a plan that was followed. It’s pretty prescribed and laid out.”

In a permit heavy climate involving multiple regulatory agencies, the environmental assessment process does have its benefits by allowing all stakeholders to come together and review projects in a relatively efficient manner. The interests and requirements of many lines of authority get woven into the process and final decision. It is not a simple process and there is not just one decision maker. However, because of its structure, the process is often characterized as being little more than an administrative checklist with little room for thinking ‘outside the box’. In this atmosphere, purposeful dialogue may simply be off the collective radar. While regulatory agencies are able to do their due diligence in the process, its structure limits engagement between stakeholders. As such, the influence of stakeholders outside the formalities of the environmental assessment process is random and tends to limit more informed decisions to emerge.

The opportunity of the CVMP process

The lack of dialogue suggests an opportunity to have more informed conceptions of place was lost. However, as previously discussed, the urgency that permeates Olympic planning may have limited its usefulness. Furthermore, given the structure of the environmental assessment, this part of the process does not lend itself well to ideas such as dialogue. However, there was an opportunity provided by the informal and unstructured nature of the CVMP process. For example, the CVMP process did involve a visioning session. However, the session lasted only a day and was then used to partially inform the plan. These people or ideas were not further used, or elaborated upon. This

unstructured period of planning would have been an ideal time to create an intentional space for dialogue, to discuss visions more thoroughly and help build social capital and mutual understanding through ongoing discussions.

5.3 Determining and Implementing Action

Transparency and collaboration

The CVMP process and the environmental assessment were well documented, leading to transparent decision making. In addition, most respondents indicated they were satisfied with the collaboration that occurred in making decisions. However, there was a clear deviation from this position amongst respondents who were not part of a working group. Many respondents clearly had mixed feelings on the planning process; however, most felt in the end that decision makers did make informed decisions. One in particular stated:

I choke as I say these words, but I honestly believe that they did listen to what the stakeholders had to say and I think that what appears there is a compromise from many people. It's not all the recreation trails that some people wanted. It's more than some people wanted. It's bigger than some people wanted, and smaller than some people wanted... I feel that they did have to listen to other stakeholders, and I think that they did.

The role of conflict

The dissatisfaction expressed by some is perhaps inevitable in such a lengthy process. The theoretical place-based planning process for resilience is partially designed to temper heated conflict through purposeful dialogue. It requires people to look at the assumptions behind their positions and discuss them in an open and safe environment. The end goal is mutual understanding amongst participants. However, the suggestion that conflict is negative was dismissed by a few respondents. For example, A RMOW respondent commented:

If you never get to really heated positioning or really start to understand just how emotionally important is this to a person, then it's hard to necessarily resolve it because you do a lot of surface resolution and everybody talks in the background, or talks outside the meeting.

It is often assumed that consensus is both achievable and positive. One respondent casted doubt upon this:

I don't think a consensus is achievable, and if you do achieve a consensus, my experience in the past has been that it's in a constrained circumstance for a very short period of time. I just think there is such a wide variety of interests and expectations out there, that to go for consensus would compromise a project to the point where it's not really valid.

5.4 The Callaghan Valley: A Resilient Place?

The theoretical place-based process suggested is a means to an end of resilience (Figure 4). The end goal is to create a set of relationships amongst stakeholders where a future crisis would not entirely collapse the system. Instead, stakeholders would self-organize to collectively manage the situation. With the Whistler Olympic Park built, and a new road bringing access to the entire Callaghan Valley, there will be phenomenal pressure for further development. There needs to be trust and an ability to work together in the future so that the overall vision of the area can be maintained; so that the area can be resilient to these inevitable pressures.

Respondents were generally optimistic when asked whether they felt people would be able to come together in the future if a problem did occur. Respondents indicated that trust was built, when people demonstrated themselves to be trustworthy. On the other hand, some respondents suggested discontent with the process, a sense of not being involved to the extent they wished. Others suggested that there would be an element of process fatigue that may discourage future cooperation. Even had the

theoretical process suggested been followed exactly as proposed, a resilient place is only the theoretical end.

It is also important to recognize that the case study chosen presents its own unique attributes. It is a process conducted in the shadow of a mega-event which is the Olympic Games. It is a context where timelines become constrained, venues have to be built, and a sense of urgency dominates. One respondent summarized planning in this context well:

There's no manual for this. [Especially when] you have no choice but to put [venues] in... There are so many things about it that fly in the face of what you think would be the norm. In a way you have to say to yourself, "It's the Olympics; perhaps this is the way it has to be." Do planners and people think they are doing the best job they can? I feel sure they do... Does everybody in town think that's true? Absolutely not. Do some people? Absolutely. But it's very complex. I don't think you would run into half of these things if you were building anything else.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

Whether intentional or not, planning typically involves changing places. Depending on how this planning occurs, these changes will either be welcomed as something that connects well with the already established sense of place for the area, or will generate significant and potentially harmful effects. This is especially pronounced due to the many symbolic meanings that are associated with the Olympic Games. The creation of the Whistler Olympic Park in the Callaghan Valley provides an excellent case of planners modifying an area such that place meanings were affected.

Given this reality, this research sought to answer the following question: ‘what components of an idealized place-based planning process (one which has the greatest potential to result in a resilient place) were included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?’

To answer this question, three subcomponents of the question were posed. The first question was, ‘what are the key components of an idealized place-based planning process?’ The research identified three overriding components or steps. The first involves gathering stakeholders, ensuring they operate on many different scales and include strong individuals capable of participating fully in the process. The second step is partially informed by the theory on dialogue, a form of intentional discussion which brings stakeholders together. Theories on place and complex adaptive social-ecological systems inform the content to be discussed in the dialogic space. In the final step, future actions

are determined through consensus and transparency, which are aided through the mutual understanding gained during the dialogue involved in the second step. As a result of this process, the place would be resilient into the future (Figure 4).

The second research question asked, ‘which of these place-based planning components were included, or not suitably included in the Whistler Olympic Park planning process?’ The planning process used loosely followed the three steps suggested in the theoretical process. Stakeholders were gathered, and involved participants operating on multiple scales. While dialogue did not occur, there was a discourse within the confines of the CVMP and environmental assessment processes. This allowed the components important to sense of place to emerge in a non-intentional fashion. Finally, future actions were determined in a transparent manner. Most believed these decisions were also collaborative, although there was a distinction between those on a work group for the environmental assessment and those not. Individuals not on a work group often felt they had relatively less power to influence decisions than they would have liked.

The final research question asked, ‘what are the implications of the presence or absence of these components for the resiliency of the place?’ Because the theoretical place-based process was largely followed, one would expect that there would be an element of resiliency into the future. While it is conjecture as to what will really happen, respondents are generally optimistic on this point. For the most part, they believe that there is enough trust built in the process to aid people in collaboratively coming together should a future issue arise. However, there was a lack of dialogue in the process and there are implications to this. Some respondents felt that their involvement in the process was not as significant as they would have liked. It is purely speculation to assume that a

dialogic process would have amended this. However, dialogue does set intention around what is discussed and planning without this misses an opportunity to engage people and discuss important aspects around place and peoples' previous experience with change. The inquiry also revealed weaknesses in the theoretical framework however. Because the framework is idealized, its usefulness in reality will depend largely on the context of the planning exercise. For example, dialogue may not be as effective in environments where there is an urgency to move towards implementation, such as the case with the Olympic Games.

Regardless, the Whistler Olympic Park is now a reality. The venue is built and hosting events that bring out large members of nearby community members. Hopefully a crisis will not occur in the future to test the resilience of the place. If unanticipated changes do challenge the resiliency of the Whistler Olympic Park, the extent to which the initial planning for the venue contributes to the response remains to be seen.

6.2 Recommendations for Further Research

The research presented here does not conclusively answer all the questions asked. In addition, the study prompts new areas of inquiry. Together, these provide opportunities for further research. These are outlined below.

- Should unexpected changes create a future crisis for the Whistler Olympic Park, further research could inquire to what extent the original planning for the venue helped overcome the crisis.
- This research used the single case of the Whistler Olympic Park, which was created in an undeveloped and unpopulated context. Future inquiry could

- investigate the applicability of the theoretical place-based resilience framework in developed and populated urban environments.
- The structured nature of environmental assessments in British Columbia may act as a potential barrier to innovative ideas in planning. Future research could investigate the extent to which these barriers truly exist and their implications on planning outcomes.
 - The Whistler Olympic Park will change ownership after the Olympics to a Legacy Society. This transition will involve many of the same players involved in the planning process examined in this work. Further research can explore the extent to which the original planning process built trust and other measures of social capital to facilitate this transition.
 - The place-based planning framework developed in this work is based heavily on theory. Further research to test the effectiveness of the framework would be a valuable endeavour to the practicality of using the framework as a functional tool to better achieve resilience.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT STUDY BRIEFING

Title of Research:
Place-Based Planning for Resilience:
Evaluating the Callaghan Valley Olympic
Initiative

Primary Researcher:
Andrew Stegemann
School of Resource and Environmental
Management- Simon Fraser University

Participant Study Briefing

Dear Respondent,

My name is Andrew Stegemann; I am a student with the School of Resource and Environmental Management at Simon Fraser University. The information gained from this interview will be an important part of my thesis work which is a necessary component to complete my graduate degree.

My research is focused on environmental planning in tourism contexts. I use the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue (WNCV) – recently renamed the Whistler Olympic Park – as a case study. After reviewing a wide body of literature, I have established an idealized theoretical planning process involving participants dialoguing around sense of place to guide the development of resilient places. My evaluation of the WNCV aims to discover which components of the theoretical planning process were included in actual planning. I would like to interview you because of your participation in the planning process for the WNCV. Your input will greatly improve the quality and depth of my research.

The interview is designed to be conducted in person and involves a number of semi-structured questions. Attached is a sample of the range of questions I will be using. The questions are derived from the literature on sense of place, dialogue and resilience. With your permission, the conversation would be recorded and copies of the transcription will be made available to you upon request. All transcripts will be kept strictly confidential and will be destroyed upon completion of the research.

I would be very grateful to gain your input at a time and location that is convenient for you. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any questions, or require any clarification. Thank you for taking part in this interview!

Researcher and Supervisor Contact Information

If you have any comments or questions please feel free to contact me or my supervisor at:

Primary Researcher
Andrew Stegemann
Phone: (phone number)
Email: (email)

Senior Supervisor
Dr. Peter Williams (Professor, School of
Resource and Environmental Management)
Phone: (phone number)
Email: (email)

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent by Participants in a Research Study

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 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Title: Place-based Planning for Resilience: Evaluating the Callaghan Valley Olympic Initiative
Investigator Name: Andrew Stegemann
Investigator Department: School of Resource and Environmental Management

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Purpose and goals of this study:

This study is designed to investigate topics surrounding environmental planning, building sense of place, and creating more resilient tourism places. The research uses the Whistler Nordic Competition Venue (WNCV) – recently renamed the Whistler Olympic Park – as a case study. The thesis research looks at how, and to what extent, stakeholders were involved in dialogues about the area's sense of place and how their collective information guided the area's development as a more resilient place. It aims to discover which components of a theorized planning process were included in actual planning for the WNCV.

What the participants will be required to do:

This study requires willing participants to be interviewed regarding their participation in the planning process for the WNCV. Their input will greatly improve the quality and depth of this research.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:
There are no reasonably foreseeable risks associated with this study.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:
This study will contribute to the literature on environmental planning, building sense of place, and creating more resilient tourism places.

Statement of confidentiality:
The data of this study will maintain confidentiality of your name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

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.

Dr. Hal Weinberg
Director, Office of Research Ethics
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive
Multi-Tenant Facility
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting:
Andrew Stegemann
Mobile: (phone number)
Email: (email)

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

The participant and witness shall fill in this area. Please print legibly.

Participant Last Name:

Participant First Name:

Participant Contact Information:

Participant Signature:

Witness:

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY):

2010 Bid Corporation / VANOC Interview Guide

Personal Information

1. Within the 2010 Bid Corporation/VANOC, which departments/sections are you associated with? Were you seconded for this position?
2. What positions have you held within the 2010 Bid Corporation/VANOC between 2000 and now?

General Questions

Preamble: When I refer to the ‘planning process’ in this questionnaire, I mean those planning activities associated with the Callaghan Valley Master Plan and the Environmental Impact Assessment for the WNCV (now the Whistler Olympic Park). For example, these activities might include any one-on-one meetings, workgroup sessions, VANOC open houses, comment card programs involving VANOC or the EAO, as well as any other public participation activities.

1. To what extent were the Callaghan Valley Master Plan (CVMP) and the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process linked? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
2. Describe what relationships, if any, exist between the WNCV planning process and other pre-existing processes such as the Backcountry Forum or the Land and Resource Management Planning (LRMP) process.
3. *Preamble: Within the WNCV planning process, engagement can mean a variety of things. For example, engagement can mean one on one meetings, engagement can mean work group meetings, engagement can mean VANOC open houses and comment cards to VANOC or the EAO, engagement can mean public meetings, and so on.*

In what ways did VANOC engage stakeholders during the planning process for the WNCV?

Gathering the Stakeholders

1. How were stakeholders identified and chosen to participate in the process?
2. How did VANOC gather input from and reach out to ‘unorganized’ groups such as the general public and recreationists in the planning process?

Preamble: The Individuals representing different stakeholder groups in a planning process may be chosen because:

- *they are the groups President/Chair/leader,*

- *they are the only one with time*
 - *they have a large amount of connections, etc.*
4. Within the WNCV planning process, how were individuals that represented different stakeholder groups selected to participate?

Process

1. *Preamble: For the WNCV planning process, commitment could mean:*
- *membership in a WNCV working group that met regularly,*
 - *participation in a multi-day visioning session or a dialogue around your experiences in the Callaghan Valley,*
 - *being available to share your expertise in activities linked to the planning process for the Callaghan Valley.*

For each example above, during the WNCV planning process, did VANOC elicit any commitments from participants? If yes, how were these commitments made? (e.g. verbally, contract, etc).

2. *Preamble: Planning processes are typically guided by various types of operating ‘ground rules.’ These could be in the form of a terms of reference, or a mutually agreed upon way of behaving within a group setting.*

During the CVMP planning process, what ‘ground rules’ were established in the different planning activities?

3. *Preamble: A skilled facilitator can play a significant role in shaping the way in which meetings and/or group planning processes evolve. For example, they can help participants clarify what they are trying to state, help people remain open to the contribution of others, and help stakeholders share the strengths and weaknesses of their own positions without feeling threatened.*

Was such a person used in the various process components of the WNCV planning process? If yes, what was their role?

4. *Preamble: The way in which planning process activities are ‘set up’ can create a ‘sense in the room’. Such senses can vary between collaboration and antagonism, between debate and dialogue.*

What ‘sense’ did you get from the different components of the WNCV planning process?

5. *Preamble: Some people believe that well prepared engagement will not only help an organization like VANOC understand the nuances of development in places like the Callaghan Valley, but also build greater shared understanding amongst those participating in the process.*

During the planning activities in which you participated, did you gain greater shared understanding of the Callaghan Valley from other participants? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

Content within Process

1. From your perspective, who made the final decisions regarding the WNCV?
2. In the planning activities in which you participated, was it made explicit to you (and the other participants) at the start who had final decision-making power? i.e. was there any confusion around this point? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
3. ***Preamble: Sometimes if significant imbalances in terms of whose views really count in planning processes are evident, specific interventions are made to even out these situations. Such interventions can be dealt with through such tactics as providing additional funding, training, or professional facilitation.***

Based on the planning processes in which you participated, to what extent do you agree with each of the following statements: – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

A.	Significant imbalances were present; however, no attempt to even out these imbalances occurred.
B.	Significant imbalances were present at one point; however, these imbalances were evened out through purposeful interventions.
C.	Significant imbalances were never present.

Preamble: Some places have specific symbolic and/or practical meaning for people. For instance they may think of it as being a special place of recreational, spiritual, or ecological importance.

4. During the WNCV planning process, were there opportunities for stakeholders to express any such meanings that the Callaghan Valley held for them?¹¹ – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
5. During the WNCV planning process, were there opportunities for stakeholders to discuss how these meanings may be affected by the construction of the WNCV?¹
6. With respect to the visioning sessions¹², were the results from this exercise used to inform planning decisions for the Olympic Venue in the Callaghan Valley? If yes, in what ways?
7. ***Preamble: Often the meanings people attach to a place are influenced by previous personal or group experiences within the area. For example, some people may regard the Callaghan Valley***

¹¹ This opportunity could be presented in a number of ways; for example, by being directly asked, through comment cards, through studies that were conducted on the Callaghan, and so on.

¹² The visioning sessions referred to were conducted by Brent Harley and Associates (in association with Cascade Environmental Group, C.J. Anderson Civil Engineers and Michel Beaudry) and are included in the WNCV Master Plan.

as a place of exceptional natural resources because they previously worked in the area as a forester, or perhaps as a place for family since they frequented it with their relatives in the past.

During the WNCV planning process, were there opportunities for stakeholders to discuss how social relationships and/or individual experiences within the Callaghan Valley affect how they regard the area or a part of the area?¹ – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

8. ***Preamble: People may attach meanings to places based solely on their perceptions of the physical landscape by itself. Factors that may influence these meanings include the landscape's form, buildings, flora, fauna, or a combination of these and other physical factors. For example, some people may regard an area with awe because of a particularly inspiring waterfall that exists, or with fear because of the area's wildlife.***

During the WNCV planning process, were there opportunities for stakeholders to discuss how these physical landscapes affect how they regard the Valley?¹³ – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

9. ***Preamble: People may have much experience with an area that gives them extensive knowledge about changes, significant events, and responses to those events that have shaped the area's character, etc.***

During the WNCV planning process, were there opportunities for stakeholders to discuss any such knowledge they have regarding the Callaghan Valley?³ – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

10. From your perspective, during the WNCV planning process, did stakeholders have an opportunity to discuss aspects of concern that were not on the agenda? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

Determining Future Implementation Actions

1. Did Non-VANOC participants in the WNCV planning process have opportunities to be involved in the ***implementation*** stage of the project? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

If yes or somewhat, what was their role?

2. In implementing the decisions made during the planning process, did you contact any other groups that were involved to help you work towards implementation? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

If yes or somewhat, how did you determine which participants to contact?

3. Do you feel the WNCV planning process helped you become more willing to trust and work with others involved in this activity and/or other activities? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

¹³ This opportunity could be presented in a number of ways; for example, by being directly asked, through comment cards, through studies that were conducted on the Callaghan, and so on.

4. *Preamble: Planning processes have the potential to help build on-going connections and networks amongst participants, especially with respect to areas of common interest.*

From your perspective, did the WNCV planning process help you to build such connections for immediate activities? Future activities? If yes, what types of collaborations have happened to date? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

End of Interview: General Question

1. As a result of the WNCV planning process, do you feel the stakeholders are in a better or worse position to work with each other in the future on matters relating to the WNCV (i.e., did the process create/increase: social capital, collective knowledge, connections amongst the actors, etc)? How about future matters not relating to the WNCV? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

— **Thank you for taking part in this interview!** —

Non-VANOC Interview Guide

Personal Information

3. With what organization are you associated?
4. How long have you been involved with this organization?
5. What positions have you held within this organization between 2000 and now?

Process

Preamble: When I refer to the ‘planning process’ in this questionnaire, I mean those planning activities associated with the Callaghan Valley Master Plan and the Environmental Assessment for the WNCV (now the Whistler Olympic Park). For example, these activities might include any one-on-one meetings, workgroup sessions, VANOC open houses, comment card programs involving VANOC or the EAO, as well as any other public participation activities.

2. In which of these various planning activities did you participate?
3. *Preamble: For the WNCV planning process, commitment could mean:*
 - *membership in a WNCV working group that met regularly,*
 - *participation in a multi-day visioning session or a dialogue around your experiences in the Callaghan Valley,*
 - *being available to share your expertise in activities linked to the planning process for the Callaghan Valley.*

Did you or your organization have any commitments to the WNCV planning process? If yes, what was the nature of these commitments?

4. *Preamble: Planning processes are typically guided by various types of operating ‘ground rules.’ These could be in the form of a terms of reference, or a mutually agreed upon way of behaving within a group setting.*

Did any of the planning activities in which you participated have established ‘ground rules’ in place?

5. *Preamble: A skilled facilitator can play a significant role in shaping the way in which meetings and/or group planning processes evolve. For example, they can help participants clarify what they are trying to state, help people remain open to the contribution of others, and help stakeholders share the strengths and weaknesses of their own positions without feeling threatened.*

Did any of the planning activities in which you participated have a facilitator? If so, how did she/he do?

6. *Preamble: The way in which planning process activities are 'set up' can create a 'sense in the room'. Such senses can vary between collaboration and antagonism, between debate and dialogue.*

What 'sense' did you get from the processes in which you were involved?

7. *Preamble: Some people believe that well prepared engagement will not only help an organization like VANOC understand the nuances of development in places like the Callaghan Valley, but also build greater shared understanding amongst those participating in the process.*

During the planning activities in which you participated, did you gain greater shared understanding of the Callaghan Valley from other participants?

Content within Process

2. From your perspective, who made the final decisions regarding the WNCV?
3. In the planning activities in which you participated, was it made explicit to you (and the other participants) at the start who had final decision-making power? i.e. was there any confusion around this point? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
4. In the planning process in which you participated, do you feel you had power to influence the final decisions made? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
5. *Preamble: Sometimes if significant imbalances in terms of whose views really count in planning processes are evident, specific interventions are made to even out these situations. Such interventions can be dealt with through such tactics as providing additional funding, training, or professional facilitation.*

Based on the planning processes in which you participated, to what extent do you agree with each of the following statements: – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

A.	Significant imbalances were present; however, no attempt to even out these imbalances occurred.
B.	Significant imbalances were present at one point; however, these imbalances were evened out through purposeful interventions.
C.	Significant imbalances were never present.

Preamble: Some places have specific symbolic and/or practical meaning for people. For instance they may think of it as being a special place of recreational, spiritual, or ecological importance.

6. During the WNCV planning process, did you have an opportunity to provide your perspectives concerning any special meaning the Callaghan Valley held for you?¹⁴
– A great deal, somewhat, not at all?
7. If yes or somewhat, did you have an opportunity to discuss how these special meanings might be affected by the construction of the WNCV?¹ – A great deal, somewhat, not at all?
8. *Preamble: Often the meanings people attach to a place are influenced by previous personal or group experiences within the area. For example, some people may regard the Callaghan Valley as a place of exceptional natural resources because they previously worked in the area as a forester, or perhaps as a place for family since they frequented it with their relatives in the past.*

Had you had previous social or personal experiences with the Callaghan Valley, prior to participating in the WNCV planning process? If yes, did you have opportunities during the process to discuss how those experiences affected how you felt about the area?¹⁵ – A great deal, somewhat, not at all?

9. *Preamble: People may attach meanings to places based solely on their perceptions of the physical landscape by itself. Factors that may influence these meanings include the landscape's form, buildings, flora, fauna, or a combination of these and other physical factors. For example, some people may regard an area with awe because of a particularly inspiring waterfall that exists, or with fear because of the area's wildlife.*

During the WNCV planning process, did you have an opportunity to discuss how these physical landscapes affected how you regarded the Valley?² – A great deal, somewhat, not at all?

10. *Preamble: People may have much experience with an area that gives them extensive knowledge about changes, significant events, and responses to those events that have shaped the area's character, etc.*

Prior to the planning process, did you have previous experience and/or knowledge of the Callaghan Valley? – A great deal, somewhat, not at all?

If yes or somewhat, during the WNCV planning process, did you have an opportunity to share and discuss this knowledge with the other participants?²

11. During the WNCV planning process, did you have an opportunity to discuss issues or present your viewpoint on issues you felt were important but were not on the formal agenda? – A great deal, somewhat, not at all?

¹⁴ This opportunity could be presented in a number of ways; for example, by being directly asked, through comment cards, through studies that were conducted on the Callaghan, and so on.

¹⁵ This opportunity could be presented in a number of ways; for example, by being directly asked, through comment cards, through studies that were conducted on the Callaghan, and so on.

If yes or somewhat, how did you do this (e.g. by comment card, by oral presentation, through the help of a facilitator, by email etc?)

Determining Future Implementation Actions

5. **Preamble:** *A leader may help bring stakeholders together in planning processes. They may do this by providing inspiration, a common vision for participants, or taking responsibility for guiding the process in a clear manner.*

In your opinion, for the WNCV planning process, was there a leader? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

If yes or somewhat, what made them a leader? In what ways did they help shape the process?

6. Was it clear during the planning process who would be responsible for **implementing** the decisions made? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

If yes or somewhat, who was responsible for implementation?

- a. *(If interviewee is involved in implementation):* did you contact any other stakeholders in the planning process to help you implement the decisions made?
- b. *(If interviewee is NOT involved in implementation):* did you want to be involved in implementing the planning process decisions?

7. Do you feel the way in which actions to be implemented as a result of the planning process was decided in a transparent manner to all who participated in the process? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
8. Do you feel the WNCV planning process helped you become more willing to trust and work with others involved in this activity and/or other activities? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
9. **Preamble:** *Planning processes have the potential to help build on-going connections and networks amongst participants, especially with respect to areas of common interest.*

From your perspective, did the WNCV planning process help you to build such connections for immediate activities? Future activities? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

If yes or somewhat, what types of collaborations have happened to date?

End of Interview: General Questions

2. Based on your experience, to what extent do you believe stakeholders were able to make a valuable contribution to the WNCV planning process? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*
3. Based on your experience, indicate the extent to which you believe participants in the WNCV planning process felt truly engaged? – *A great deal, somewhat, not at all?*

4. If you were in charge of engaging stakeholders for VANOC, what would you do to make the planning process better?
5. As a result of the WNCV planning process, do you feel the stakeholders are in a better or worse position to work with each other in the future on matters relating to the WNCV (i.e., did the process create/increase: social capital, collective knowledge, connections amongst the actors, etc)? How about future matters not relating to the WNCV?

— Thank you for taking part in this interview! —

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