Leveraging Aboriginal Tourism Legacy Benefits from the 2010 Olympics: A Case Study of Whistler

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Abstract

This study examines how the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games (the Games) were used as a path creation tool to generate a set of positive tangible and intangible legacies for those First Nations on whose traditional territories this mega-event was hosted. More specifically, it explores the ways in which the Squamish and Lil-wat First Nations leveraged these legacies through a variety of relationships they nurtured with the Resort Municipality of Whistler, the official Host Mountain Resort for the Games. The case study of Whistler is informed by a review of official documentation identifying the more tangible legacies captured, as well as key informant interviews with stakeholders familiar with the evolution and governance relationships prior to, during and after the Games. Specific attention is placed on understanding the factors influencing the evolution and on-going momentum of governance relationships between the First Nations during these phases of the Games.

The research identifies the influence of three path creation forces (i.e. human agency, power and urgency) as being especially influential in shaping the form and extent of First Nations' governance engagement and growth in Whistler. While significant social capital emerged in the ramp up and delivery phases of the Games, this social capital's momentum has been diminished by a lack of institutionalized collaboration frameworks between the affected parties. Without past personal relationships being transferred into more formalized institutional policies and protocols, the sustainability of past gains in collaboration and partnership are not guaranteed. This study's findings suggest that a mutual acknowledgment of legitimacy, a formalization of relations, and cross-cultural training is necessary to embed more collaborative governance relationships.

Recent court rulings have furthered the need for more collaborative governance relations to be re-established, and also signaled that the power the First Nations will likely increase with respect to local and tourism governance within British Columbia. Considerable uncertainty exists as to how this new relationship will evolve, but future acknowledgment and dialogue is necessary to create a mutually beneficial relationship.

Keywords: Aboriginal governance; tourism governance; Olympic legacies; governance and path creation; resort governance.

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Glossary of Acronyms

ATBC   - Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia

CAO   - Chief Administrative Officer

CTC   - Canadian Tourism Commission

FHFN   - Four Host First Nations

FN   - First Nation

HPAIED   - Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development

IOC   - International Olympic Committee

LFN   - Lil'wat First Nation

LRMP   - Land and Resource Management Plan

NCFNG   - National Centre for First Nation Governance

OCOG   - Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games

OCP   - Official Community Plan

RMOW   - Resort Municipality of Whistler

SFN   - Squamish First Nation

SLFN   - Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations

VANOC   - Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee

**"The ultimate legacy will be how we as a government change our
working relationship with outside corporations"
(Chief Bill Williams in Dunn, 2007: 137).**

1 Introduction

1.1 Research Rationale

The idea of creating legacies from hosting mega-events can be traced back to at
least the 1988 Calgary Olympics (Reid, 2008). Since the 2000 Summer Olympics in
Sydney, concerted efforts have been undertaken to leverage the Olympics into short-
and long-term legacies for the host destination (O'Brien, 2006; Reid, 2008; Tian &
Johnston, 2008; Williams & ElKhashab, 2012). Long term benefits, especially for tourism,
are often cited as one of the key legacies stemming from the hosting of mega-events
(Williams & ElKhashab, 2012). Tourism legacies are mostly created during and after the
event, as the event itself draws visitors and the publicity the event creates puts the host
destination on the collective consciousness of potential future tourists.

Because of the Games, as well as other exogenous and endogenous influences,
the Resort Municipality of Whistler, BC (RMOW) has been transforming from its
traditional pro-growth model of development to a more sustainable neo-corporatist
approach (Gill & Williams, 2011; Williams & Gill, 2011). During this transition, the
Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations, on whose traditional territory Whistler is located,
have used the evolution of Aboriginal rights on a provincial, national and global scale,
and the arrival of the Games, to leverage influence and access tangible assets in
Whistler and the area surrounding it (e.g. B. Columbia, 2002; Lands, 2007, 2009;
Ministry of Forests, 2012). This process has profoundly influenced their relationships
with other stakeholders, like the RMOW. The Games were, according to the official
reports, wildly successful for the Four Host First Nations (FHFN), on whose traditional
territories the Games took place. (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011; VanWynsberghe et
al., 2011; Zimmerman, 2010). These Four Host First Nations are the Squamish (SFN),
Lil'wat (LFN), Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam.

One of the key components of this success was the tremendous exposure
Aboriginal tourism received during the Games. Due to a concerted effort by the FHFN
and Aboriginal Tourism BC, the destination marketing organization specializing in
furthering the interests of Aboriginal Tourism in BC, the Games were a great leveraging
vehicle for increasing the growth and awareness of Aboriginal interests, including

tourism. This paper examines how the Games, as a path creation event, influenced the generation of Aboriginal tourism legacies, including destination governance opportunities. The study's results may well inform other municipalities and First Nations across Canada on how to develop more inclusive forms of governance that bring benefits to all stakeholders, and how to leverage path creation mega-events into legacies.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

Earlier discourses on sustainable tourism development favoured a balance of economic, environmental and social development. Critics now assert that this balance may be inappropriate, because the concept of economic growth is in itself unsustainable (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; C. M. Hall, 2011). Partially inspired by Butler's seminal destination lifecycle model (1980), more recent discourses have looked at imposing limits to growth as a path to sustainable tourism resort development (Gill & Williams, 2011; Williams & Gill, 2011; Williams & Ponsford, 2009) and some are proposing more profound management changes based on ideas such as "degrowth", "steady-state tourism" and "slow tourism" (C. M. Hall, 2011).

Gill and Williams (2011) suggest that profound shifts away from traditional top down and path dependent forms of tourism governance to more innovative and inclusive multi-stakeholder approaches frequently happen due to the intervention of path creation events. The 2010 Winter Olympic Games (the Games), shared between Vancouver and Whistler, BC, can be viewed as a path creation event (Williams & Gill, 2012). This research builds on a larger project titled *New Governance Approaches to Resort Destinations* (Williams & Gill, 2011) and it looks specifically at how mega-events, as a path creation tool, can influence changes in resort destination governance and management approaches. To understand First Nations-community governance interactions, the evolving relationships between parties, and the resultant governance transformations within the framework of the legacies of a mega-event, a case study research design was employed. The primary question in this study is:

In what ways were the 2010 Winter Games used as a path creation event to leverage shifts in tourism governance and management towards greater First Nations engagement in the RMOW and the traditional territories of the FHFN?

Specifically, the study addresses the following questions:

1. What were the direct Aboriginal benefits leveraged, and how has that affected tourism governance and general governance?
2. How have governance and management relations changed as a result of the Olympics and other exogenous factors?
3. How can stakeholders use the momentum created by the Games to leverage more inclusive forms of governance that integrate Aboriginal interests and capacities more fully into future tourism governance systems?

1.3 Research Approach

1.3.1 Literature Review

A literature review provided the theoretical foundation and context from which to examine the preceding research questions. It is divided into two sections: Theoretical Foundations, and a second called Contextual Setting Analysis

1.3.2 Case Study

Based on the guiding framework, a case study was undertaken in the traditional territories of the FHFN, including North Vancouver, Squamish, the RMOW and Pemberton/Mount Currie. The primary data collection method employed in this investigation was a semi-structured, 'active' interview, survey. In particular, key informants engaged in leveraging tourism and other Aboriginal legacies from the Games were identified and interviewed. Respondents included relevant members of FHFN, the RMOW, Aboriginal Tourism BC (ATBC) and the Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC). The empirical results of the case study were interpreted in relation to the guiding framework.

1.4 Research Significance

At a theoretical level, this research extends understanding of how critical change events can help leverage opportunities for more inclusive and potentially more sustainable forms of governance for local and First Nations governments. This study's synthesis of management and governance theory can also help inform resorts, municipalities, mega-event planners, Aboriginal tourism organizations, Aboriginal governments and other government bodies about approaches for creating and maintaining more inclusive forms and more effective approaches of Aboriginal engagement in resort destination governance. The research also fosters a greater understanding of the post-Games legacies creation process. It is hoped new

understanding and appreciation for governance integration and cooperation identified in this study will lead to more sustainable forms of tourism governance and development.

At an applied level, this work helps document legacy creation processes employed during the Games, and simultaneously exposes obstacles to be overcome if further cooperation and integration between First Nation governments and local resort municipalities are to increase. As such the research may be instructive for the FHFN and the RMOW to embark on a closer, more integrated relationship.

1.5   Report Structure

This report is divided into six chapters. Chapter Two reviews and discusses literature relevant to the study, while also developing a frame of analysis. Chapter Three describes the design and research methods used in the case study, including a detailed discussion of the *active interview* style employed in the field. Chapter Four presents the research context and findings. A summary reporting of answers to the study's research questions provided by the key informants highlights the chapter's narrative. Chapter Five places the project's findings in the context of the broader literatures and highlights key implications for future Aboriginal engagement in tourism governance. Chapter Six presents the study's conclusions and suggests possible avenues for further research.

2 Literature Review

The following literature helps contextualize and frame this study's research concerning the forces influencing Aboriginal involvement in the Games. In the Theoretical Foundations Section, the review discusses and builds on path dependency and path creation theory (Garud & Karnøe, 2001; Garud, Kumaraswamy, & Karnøe, 2010; Vergne & Durand, 2010), leveraging (Chalip, 2004; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007; Williams & ElKhashab, 2012), as well as a model of forces shaping governance approaches in tourism destinations developed by Gill and Williams (2011).

In the Contextual Setting Analysis, the evolution and clarification of Aboriginal rights and title is reviewed to help inform the research's focus. Recent trends in Aboriginal governance evolution are also examined to provide context to the findings. A framework for assessing governance evolution by using a guiding framework created by the National Centre for First Nation Governance is provided and forces that influenced aboriginal tourism development in BC are discussed. The context setting section concludes with an introduction of the relevant stakeholders in this study.

2.1 Theoretical Foundations

2.1.1 Legacies Defined

For the purposes of this study, legacies are defined as the outcomes that remain after an Olympic event has concluded (Boukas, Ziakas, & Boustras, 2012). They are different from impacts, which are short-term benefits and costs (i.e. consumption by event visitors) (Preuss, 2007). Cashman (2006) observes that Olympic organizing committees refer to legacies entirely in positive terms, ignoring any negative legacies. Furthermore there is an implicit assumption that the benefits automatically flow to the community. Indeed, Preuss (2007) notes such flawed top-down measures of legacies, including benchmarking against previous mega-events and macro-economic measures post-event. These comparisons are flawed as they focus on measuring economic impacts and not actual legacies. In contrast, he proposes a bottom-up approach that provides a comprehensive measure of legacies, which include all intangible (i.e. image and emotions) and tangible (i.e. a sporting facility) changes related to hosting the event.

This study will employ this approach to capture the full dimension of legacy stemming from the Games.

2.1.2 Governance, Leveraging and Path Creation

2.1.2.1 Governance

Tourism governance, planning and management approaches vary according to geographical scale and circumstances (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). The influence in shaping sustainable tourism development action lies within regional and local governance systems (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Ruhanen, 2012). It is at this more localized level that policies and programs associated with spatial planning, infrastructural development, fiscal regimes, transportation issues, labour, and natural resource management occur (Dinica, 2009). Whether it is through a top-down directive from federal and provincial bodies, like in Australia (Ruhanen, 2012), or from a bottom-up approach, as in Whistler, BC, (Gill & Williams, 2011) local governance systems have the most immediate influence on how tourism related development and management unfolds. While localized examples of sustainable forms of tourism development exist, for the most part their achievements have been facilitated and supported by governance systems that provide the conditions needed for action.

2.1.2.2 Path Dependency and Path Creation

Two sets of forces shape the character of governance systems. Vergne & Durand (2010) define path dependence as a property of a stochastic process which exists under two conditions (contingency and self-reinforcement) and causes lock-in in the absence of exogenous shock. This implies that actors become locked in on a path by self-reinforcing mechanisms whose evolution is determined by chance events. Once this lock-in occurs, actors find it difficult to break out of this path unless exogenous shocks occur. Garud et al. (2010) argue that path dependence can be created or destroyed by actors and events exogenous or endogenous to the process. This situation exists as long as initial conditions are strategically constructed, contingency actions are embedded in existing conditions, and ongoing, self-reinforcing actions are strategically manipulated by the actors to create a process of constant structural change (Ibid). There may be temporary stabilizations in the process, but the end result is constant evolution.

2.1.2.3 New Governance Approaches to Resort Destinations

Gill & Williams (2012, 2013) suggest that in order to create governance systems supportive of sustainable tourism development, often path creation events are needed to shake up existing path dependent systems. Based on the concepts of path dependency and path creation (Garud & Karnøe, 2001; Garud et al., 2010; Vergne & Durand, 2010), Gill & Williams have developed a model explaining the evolution of governance approaches - especially those designed to support and enable more sustainable forms of tourism development (Figure 2.1).
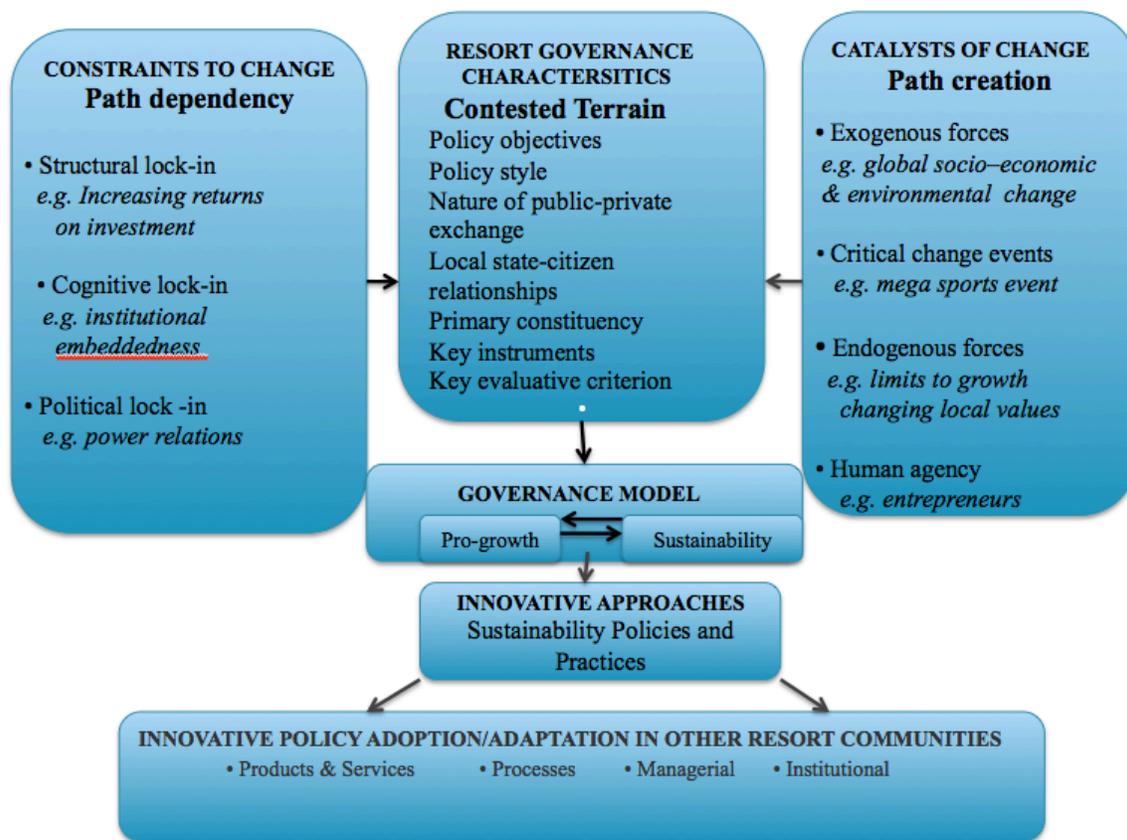
Figure 2.1: Factors that Influence Changes in Resort Governance

(Gill and Williams, 2011)

This model outlines how factors that prevent change from occurring (i.e. constraints to change) and the factors that encourage change to happen (i.e. catalysts of change) influence resort governance approaches and ultimately shape processes and programs that either promote or reduce options for sustainable tourism development. The following sections describe the model in this context. This research will focus on the 2010 Winter Games as a critical change event, and how it influenced the resort's governance characteristics with respect to current and emerging interactions with the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations.

2.1.2.4 Tourism Governance Shaping Forces

Governance encompasses the values, rules, institutions, and processes through which public and private stakeholders seek to achieve common objectives and make decisions (Rhodes, 1997). The public and private stakeholders that shape tourism governance in British Columbia consist not only of the local, provincial and federal

governments, but also include First Nations, advocacy groups and influential private enterprises, like developers and resort operators.

These stakeholders are in turn influenced by existing constraints and catalysts to change (Figure 2.1). From a path creation perspective, exogenous forces are those that are beyond the control of the stakeholders, whereas endogenous forces are within their sphere of influence. Supplementing these forces are critical change events - having major impacts; as well as human agency, which is normally reflected in individual leadership.

Path dependency occurs in three forms in this model: The first is structural or functional lock-in, like those associated with traditional approaches for encouraging continuous economic growth. The second is political lock-in, represented by influential stakeholders who hold power and are unwilling to change the current dynamics. The third is cognitive lock-in, which represents the human tendency to resist change in and of itself (adapted from Martin & Sunley, 2006). These forces hinder path creation from occurring. The relative salience and dynamic interplay of path creation and path dependence forces collectively affect governance characteristics (Williams & Gill, 2012), and in the process influence the value systems of actors shaping the policy creation processes (Bramwell, 2011). These value systems can lead to fundamental shifts in community priorities, and the creation of innovative approaches, and sometimes paradigm shifts in governance focus and style (C. M. Hall, 2011).

2.1.2.5   *The Olympics as a Unique Path Creating Governance Force*

While the beneficial legacies associated with hosting the Olympics have long been a primary rationale for hosting such mega-events, the strategic planning of approaches for capturing these legacies has only recently been implemented (O'Brien, 2006). Leveraging is the term used for the processes of maximizing the benefit of an investment (Chalip, 2004). It has been used extensively by mega-event proponents to justify the hosting of such spectacles to the citizens of the host city, region or country. Such leveraging is an important and contentious topic, as opinions vary on the actual benefit derived for the host destination (Chalip, 2004). The 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney were the first reported mega-event in which the strategic leveraging of post-Olympic benefits was planned and implemented. Subsequent Games have all had strategies designed to ensure that some of the benefits of the Olympics would be transferred into long-term realities (O'Brien, 2006). While common mega-event

leveraging strategies focus on securing beneficial business impacts in the short term, as well as longer term infrastructure and market positioning improvements in the long term (Williams & Elkhashab, 2012), there are other tangible and intangible legacies that can be created (Minnaert, 2011). This study examines how and the extent to which the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations were able to leverage the 2010 Winter Games to further their intergovernmental relations and their own governance and management opportunities in the Resort Municipality of Whistler.

2.1.2.6 *Human Agency as a Factor in Path Creation*

Beritelli (2011) argues the power of human agency is critical to creating the momentum and know-how needed to shift governance paths. Williams and Gill (2013) identify several external and internal entrepreneurs in their case study of Whistler, BC as being essential influencers in Whistler's journey towards being a more sustainable community. As this study deals with a cross-cultural component by studying First Nation Governance, it will utilize a cross-cultural lens to examine the influence of human agency in governance innovation in First Nation interactions. Hofstede's (1984) cultural dimensions and Hall's (E. T. Hall, 1976) cultural descriptors are seminal works in cross-cultural studies, providing descriptions to identify a culture and how it relates with itself and other cultures. They will be used as tools to identify the nature of First Nations culture and to gain an understanding how important human agency and entrepreneurship are to it. While the Olympics can be a catalyst towards path creation, this study will identify the entrepreneurs that used this catalyst to create First Nation and Aboriginal Tourism governance innovation.

2.2 Contextual Setting Analysis

2.2.1 Aboriginal Governance Evolution In BC

Aboriginal Peoples, a Definition

> "Aboriginal peoples is a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants. The Canadian constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal people: Indians (commonly referred to as First Nations), Métis and Inuit. These are three distinct peoples with unique histories, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs. More than one million people in Canada identify themselves as an Aboriginal person, according to the 2006 Census." (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 2009)

2.2.1.1 Rights and Title

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 declared that only the British Crown was authorized to acquire land from the First Nations of Canada, and only by treaty (BC Treaty Commission, 2008b). This was the first formal acknowledgement that the First Nations of Canada had rights and title to the land settled by others. However, the colonial government of British Columbia failed to engage in a formal treaty negotiation process with First Nations when it commenced granting settlers land for development in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This lack of due process effectively denied First Nations' claims to rights and title. This non-treaty based process continued, along with other attempts to intentionally acculturate and/or marginalize First Nations until the 1980s (BC Treaty Commission, 2008b). From that time forward, formal legal processes commenced to rectify this unjust situation. Rulings associated with several landmark Supreme Court of Canada cases ensued that led to decisions formally confirming, re-asserting and reinforcing long standing Aboriginal claims to rights and title in the traditional territories of these First Nation people (Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada, 1997; Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests), Supreme Court of Canada, 2004; R. v. Sparrow, 1990 CanLII 104, Supreme Court of Canada, 1990; Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director), Supreme Court of Canada, 2004; Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada, 2014). These rights are embedded in Section 35 of the Federal Government's Constitution Act of 1982 (BC Treaty Commission, 2008b), and currently apply in traditional territories where treaties were not negotiated and signed. In these places, First Nations hold rights and title to the land, and the Crown has the duty to consult and accommodate First Nations preferences with respect to new developments (BC Treaty Commission, 2008b; Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests), Supreme Court of Canada, 2004; Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada, 2014; Supreme Court of British Columbia, 2004).

Currently, BC municipalities do not have the duty to consult and accommodate (*Neskonlith Indian Band v. Salmon Arm (City), BC Supreme Court*, 2012). However, it is considered prudent to engage in consultation and accommodation to avoid negative publicity, as well as reduce the chances that lawsuits will be laid by First Nations groups (Kyle, Personal Interview, 2012).

2.2.1.2   The Current BC – First Nation Treaty Process

As a result of the preceding Supreme Court rulings, federal, provincial and regional governments are gradually becoming more engaged in deliberations with First Nations. For instance, in 1992, a uniquely focused BC Treaty Commission was established to mediate treaty processes involving British Columbia, Federal and First Nations governments (BC Treaty Commission, 2008a). By 2012, the Commission was engaged in managing treaty negotiations with 60 First Nations representing 110 Native Bands. However, despite the Commission's original ambitious goals, to date only eight First Nations have progressed through the six-step process that signifies the completion of a treaty (BC Treaty Commission, 2014). As a result, a variety of other interim agreements and programs were established. For instance, in 2005, the BC government entered into a "New Relationship" with First Nations. It was framed by the guiding principles "…respect, recognition and accommodation of Aboriginal title and rights; respect for each other's respective laws and responsibilities; and reconciliation of Aboriginal and Crown titles and jurisdictions" (Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2009 :1; Bicknell, 2008). The result of the new relationship increased dialogue between the BC government and the First Nations. These meetings led to a 2009 discussion paper that proposed the creation of legislation with the purpose of:

- Recognizing that Aboriginal rights and title exist in British Columbia throughout the territory of each Indigenous Nation that is the proper title and rights holder, without requirement of proof or strength of claim
- Enabling and guiding the establishment of mechanisms for shared decision-making in regard to planning, management and tenure decisions over lands and resources
- Enabling and guiding the completion of revenue and benefit sharing agreements between Indigenous Nations and the Province
- Setting out a vision of re-building Indigenous Nations and establish a new institution to support and facilitate the process
- Establishing processes, mechanisms or a new institution to assist in resolving any disputes that may arise regarding the interpretation or implementation of the legislation, regulations or any agreements concluded pursuant to the legislation
(Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2009)

In addition, other interim agreements were formally sanctioned by BC and First Nations. They provided opportunities for First Nations and the BC government to move forward with high priority development opportunities while the treaty processes were in progress (BC Treaty Commission, 2012). For instance, several Olympic Games interim agreements were established. These were between the Canadian Olympic Games Organizing Committee (OCOG), Federal and BC governments, and First Nations

governments, and were designed to help accommodate and complement on-going treaty processes. One of these is the Shared Legacies agreement between the Squamish, the Lil'wat, the RMOW, and the BC government, featured in Section 4 of this study.

2.2.1.3   Aboriginal Governance Evolution

Since 1876, Aboriginals in Canada have been heavily affected by the Indian Act. This federal legislation intended to govern and control the personal and political freedoms of Aboriginals in Canada (Coates, 2008). Including stipulations on band governance and land tenure to the restriction of cultural practices, the Indian Act was created to "civilize, protect and assimilate" the Aboriginal people of Canada into Western Culture (Ibid). Since its inception, Aboriginals have struggled against the Indian Act and have slowly eroded its potency. However, many portions of the original Act still remain in place. It continues to frame governance processes for many First Nations, including the definition of who are subject to the Act as 'Status Indians' and what programs and resources are either available or unavailable to them. The survival of the Indian Act, its scope and programs is not solely due to federal government power. Several attempts to change or even abolish the Act have met resistance by Aboriginal people themselves. Their concern is over the uncertainty of what substitute legislation in the future might bring. For many First Nations, they prefer to deal with a known and familiar problem than create new ones (Ibid). Therefore the process of evolving the First Nations governance landscape is slow and changes seem to occur by a combination of external and internal pressures. This case study explores the extent to which the 2010 Olympic Games, as an externally driven mega-event, generated governance legacies for Aboriginal First Nations in BC. This is examined particularly with respect to how the Games may have helped facilitate legacies furthering First Nations tourism related governance and other related legacies.

Much progress in First Nation Governance in North America is guided by the collective research of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED, 2012). The HPAIED advocates a "nation-building approach", which focuses on self governance and economic independence through the building of effective governance institutions (Cornell & Kalt, 2003). These are defined as those with:

- Stable organizations and policies, including formal constitutions, charters, laws, codes, and procedures, and through informal but established practices and norms

- Fair and effective dispute resolution processes, supported with a genuinely independent judiciary
- Clear separations between political and business management systems, that keep tribal leadership removed from business development
- Competent bureaucracies
- A match between governance institutions and traditional culture that is acknowledged as being legitimate by its constituents

(adapted from Cornell & Kalt, 2003)

While the right to self-government is confirmed in Section 35 of Canada's Constitution Act of 1982, it is not currently acknowledged in case law at the Canadian Supreme Court level; however, it is increasingly recognized in interim policy by the Federal Government of Canada (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 2010b). As a consequence, First Nations across Canada are now entering into negotiations with the Federal Government in efforts to exercise self-government within their territories or reservations. It is generally recognized that as long as these Nations are self-governed by competent leaders and supported by capable, culturally grounded institutions, their chances of economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability will be better than if they were controlled by others (HPAEID, 2012).

The Canadian Centre for First Nation Governance (NCFNG) has adopted and refined the HPAIED approach to governance and actively supports Canadian First Nations in their push towards self-governance (NCFNG, 2008). Its mission is to "support First Nations by providing relevant and innovative knowledge and development of governance services, products and events." (Ibid). The NCFNG identifies five thematic components, along with 17 supporting principles for governance success. These thematic components include the people, the land, laws and jurisdiction, institutions and resources. The principles aligning with these components appear in Table 2.1. First Nations can assess their governance focus, processes and performance by comparing their systems against the intent of these principles.

Table 2.1 – NCFNG Governance Components and Principles

GOVERNANCE COMPONENTS	GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES
THE PEOPLE	• Strategic Vision • Meaningful Information Sharing • Participation in Decision Making
THE LAND	• Territorial Integrity • Economic Realization • Respect for the Spirit of the Land
LAWS and JURISDICTION	• Expansion of Jurisdiction • Rule of Law
INSTITUTIONS	• Transparency and Fairness • Results-Based Organizations • Cultural Alignment of Institutions • Effective Inter-Governmental Relations
RESOURCES	• Human Resource Capacity • Financial Management Capacity • Performance Evaluation • Accountability and Reporting • Diversity of Revenue Sources

(NCFNG, 2008: 2)

2.2.2 Forces Shaping Aboriginal Tourism Development in BC

2.2.2.1 Aboriginal Tourism Development in BC

Aboriginal tourism development has evolved dramatically in recent years. Traditionally, it was promoted and managed by non–native stakeholders who essentially developed and delivered depictions of Aboriginal life in commoditized and inauthentic ways (McKenna, 2010; Notzke, 2006). In addition, few benefits of such ventures were passed on to local Aboriginal groups. This lack of Aboriginal control, as well as frequently inaccurate and/or inappropriate representations of First Nation lifestyles and culture discouraged many native communities from engaging in tourism related ventures (McKenna, 2010). More recently, some components of these depictions have been addressed through planning and management processes that focus on building the capacity of Aboriginal stakeholders to control and promote those aspects of their culture and lifestyle they feel are appropriate to share "on their own terms" (McKenna, 2010;

Notzke, 2006; Williams & O'Neil, 2007). This has led to the proliferation of an increasing variety of Aboriginal products, services, and experiences for visitors. These adjustments have also led to increased visitation and revenues for Aboriginal host communities and their stakeholders (O'Neil & Williams, 2011).

2.2.2.2 Forces Shaping Aboriginal Engagement in the Games

The 2010 Games afforded First Nations significant opportunities to further their quest for greater involvement in tourism in BC. Their engagement exceeded levels of Aboriginal groups participating on other Olympic Games by a wide margin (Dunn, 2007; Kloepper, 2011; McKenna, 2010; Zimmerman, 2010). This engagement was the result of several forces that collectively set the stage for and facilitated involvement. From a socio-political perspective, a series of broader pre-Games Supreme Court of Canada Aboriginal rights rulings gave First Nations enough influence to approach and convince the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation to formally include them as partners in the Games' Bid preparation processes. From a sport event management perspective, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) expressed its desire to increase Aboriginal involvement as part of its push towards greater social and environmental sustainability (IOC, 1999, 2009).

This supportive environment resulted in unprecedented levels of Aboriginal culture and tourism awareness building in key tourist markets reached by Games related media. Approximately 3.5 billion people were exposed to the Games (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011) and First Nations tourism organizations received and capitalized on the media coverage opportunities made available through this communication channel.

2.2.3 Frameworks for Governance Integration

To assess the degree to which the Games engendered governance legacies, it is useful to use criteria employed in other contexts to encourage Aboriginal collaboration and partnerships with other stakeholders. Two cases offer useful examples of approaches used to nurture and manage increased integration and collaboration between Aboriginal and other non-Aboriginal governance organizations.

The first case concerns an effective cooperative governance agreement between a First Nation and a municipality on the Sunshine Coast of BC. The City of Powell River is located on BC's Sunshine Coast, within the traditional territories of the Sliammon First Nation. In 2002, the City decided to build a boardwalk along the seashore and inadvertently desecrated some important Sliammon cultural sites. In an

effort to avoid confrontation, the mayor and council of Powell River approached the Sliammon and sought their advice on an appropriate resolution of the matter (BC Treaty Commission, n.d.). In the two subsequent years, the two parties entered into a process of relationship building. They negotiated and agreed to a community accord, which was the basis for further cooperation.

The second case features a set of recommendations provided by the BC Resort Task Force. In 2003, the BC Resort Task Force was assembled by the Premier of BC to help resorts and resort communities develop to their full potential. The Task Force issued three reports. The third of these documents was called "Best Practices Guide for Creating Resort Partnerships with First Nations" (BC Resort Task Force, 2007). It was created for First Nations and Resort Operators as a guide for developing mutually beneficial partnerships. Current Resort developers and operators, as well as First Nations leaders, that had experience engaging in such relationships were interviewed and their knowledge and advice formed the basis of the Best Practices Guide (Ibid).

By combining these two cases and their accompanying set of recommendations, Table 2.2 presents a select list of recommended actions for building stronger governance relations between First Nations and tourism destinations. These actions are used to help frame research questions explored in this study of Aboriginal governance evolution in the Resort Municipality of Whistler emerging from the destination's hosting of a significant portion of the 2010 Games. Section 3 provides a more detailed description of the study method employed. For a full reference of both sets of recommendations, please refer to Appendix A and B.

Table 2.2 - Criteria for the Evaluation of the Relationship and the Level of Governance Integration Between a Resort Municipality and First Nations

Criteria	Powell River	Resort Task Force
Build a relationship of mutual trust and respect.	X	
Establish and maintain regular meetings.	X	
Involve and inform the public, media, business, other governments.	X	
Establish protocols, agreements or guiding principles.	X	X
Establish and participate in joint committees.	X	
Keep the First Nation members informed and involved; be certain to celebrate successes and milestones with them.	X	X
Design governance models to achieve fair and equal representation from each partner.	X	X
Recognize jurisdictional limits.	X	
Host cross-cultural training sessions in order to understand each partner.		X
Adopt hiring practices that remove barriers and support First Nations and local employment.		X
Prepare strategies for building relationships with First Nations and ensure this strategy is endorsed and enforced in all operations.		X
Utilize the knowledge and wisdom of First Nations Elders to provide guidance on environmental issues and concerns.		X

2.2.4   The Stakeholders

While numerous stakeholders were involved in shaping the governance of the Games, specific groups were central to establishing Aboriginal engagement. These primary actors essentially facilitated that engagement, and are listed as follows.

2.2.4.1   Four Host First Nations

The Four Host First Nations were those Aboriginal groups on whose traditional territory the Games occurred. The Olympic venues were spread out over a relatively large geographical area, with Vancouver and Richmond being the location of the ice sports (e.g hockey, short- and long-track speed skating, figure skating and curling. Freestyle skiing and snowboarding events were held on Cypress Mountain, located just outside Vancouver. The Nordic events like cross-country skiing, biathlon and the ski jump occurred in the Callaghan Valley, about 10 km south of the Resort Municipality of Whistler. Finally, the alpine skiing and bobsleigh/luge events happened in Whistler, 130 km North of Vancouver. Below is a map of the venue locations and the respective territories of the Four Host First Nations.

Figure 2.2 - Map of Olympic Venues and Associated Host Nation Territory
(IOC, 2009: 34)

The Lil'wat Nation

Lil'wat Nation traditional territory covers lands in the Whistler, Pemberton, Lillooet regions and extends over 7,971 square kilometers into the Coastal Mountain Range. Portions of its lands overlap with northern portions of traditional Squamish Nation territory. The Lil'wat Nation is economically poor when compared to its Olympic partners and relies mainly on tourism and traditional arts and crafts production for its income (Zimmerman, 2010) In 2008 the Nation's population was 1,850 people (LFN, 2008). The Nation is governed by a Chief and Council elected every two years (Dunn, 2007).

The Musqueam Nation

  The Musqueam Nation's traditional territory encompasses most of the Greater Vancouver area, including the Fraser Delta and lands in the City of Vancouver. Their lands are largely developed for urban-based commercial and residential purposes. The Musqueam have a population of over 1000 people, and the Chief and Council are elected every two years (Dunn, 2007).

The Squamish Nation

  The Squamish Nation is comprised of descendants of the Coast Salish Peoples. In 2012 it had a population of 3364 members. Its traditional territory extends over 6,732 square kilometers, spanning from North Vancouver, through West Vancouver, along the coast of Howe Sound and into the Coastal Mountain Range lands beyond Whistler, BC. The Squamish Nation is one of the more economically prosperous First Nations in Canada. A significant part of its income is derived from the leasing of its lands for developments associated with ventures such as shopping malls, a waste sewage treatment plant and an RV Park close to Vancouver (SFN, 2012). Its Chief and Council are elected every four years (Dunn, 2007).

The Tsleil-Waututh Nation

  Related to the Squamish Nation in blood and heritage, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation claim over 1,865 square kilometers as their traditional territory. Centered in North Vancouver along the Burrard Inlet, their claimed lands encompass the coastal areas of Indian Arm, as well as significant portions of Coquitlam, Burnaby, Vancouver and New Westminster. The First Nation's population is over 500 members (Hood, Personal Interview, 2012) and their Chief and Council are elected every two years (Dunn, 2007).

2.2.4.2 The Four Host First Nations Society

   The Four Host First Nations Society was formed through a protocol agreement between the preceding First Nations in 2004. Its Mission was to "represent the Nations and to facilitate engagement between the Nations and the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC)" (Ibid). Their intent was to "ensure that the Games are successful and that the Nations' languages, traditions, protocols and cultures are meaningfully acknowledged, respected, and represented in the planning, staging and hosting of the Games" (Ibid).

The objectives of the Four Host First Nations Society were to

- Work in a cooperative and mutually supportive manner in an environment of respect, cooperation, and mutual recognition;
- Welcome the world to their shared traditional territories;
- Host an outstanding Olympic Games;
- Achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation;
- Take advantage of the social, sport, cultural and economic opportunities and legacies that will arise as a result of the Games;
- Help preserve, revitalize and promote Aboriginal languages and cultures;
- Showcase First Nations cultures to Canadians and the world as a vibrant and integral part of Canada's rich and diverse heritage, and;
- Work with VANOC and other partners to ensure opportunities are provided to other First Nations, Metis, and Inuit to participate in the Games.

                                  (Dunn, 2007)

2.2.4.3 The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC)

   In 1998, the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation was founded to apply for the hosting of the 2010 Winter Games in Vancouver and Whistler, BC. On July 4th, 2003, Vancouver was awarded the Games, and shortly thereafter the Bid Corporation was dissolved and VANOC was created. The Committee's mandate was to support and promote the development of sport in Canada by planning, organizing, financing and staging the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (Ibid). Its mission was to "touch the soul of the nation and inspire the world by creating and delivering an extraordinary Olympic and Paralympic experience with lasting legacies" (Ibid). The vision accompanying this mission was to "build a stronger Canada whose spirit is raised by its passion for sport, culture and sustainability" (Ibid). VANOC was guided by a 20-member board nominated by, and representing, the Provincial Government, the Federal Government, the City of Vancouver, the RMOW, the Canadian Olympic Committee, the Canadian Paralympic Committee and two members of the FHFN. While the Committee's

staff complement varied over time, at its peak during the Games, it had close to 5,000 employees, as well as 25,000 volunteers assisting in the delivery of the Games. It was divided into 53 functional business units, including one for sustainability and one for Aboriginal participation.

2.2.4.4   The Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC (ATBC)

ATBC is a non-profit, stakeholder based organization founded in 1996. It was initially developed to facilitate and nurture information sharing and networking amongst existing and emerging Aboriginal tourism businesses (ATBC, 2011; McKenna, 2010) that were controlled, majority owned and operated primarily by Aboriginals. The overriding aspiration was to help ensure that authentic Aboriginal experiences were available for visitors and that real benefits from such visitor interactions would flow to host Aboriginal communities(ATBC, 2005).

> "ATBC recognized in early 2003 that the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry was falling short of achieving its potential. The industry had little support for its development, had only a small number of Aboriginal market ready companies which were struggling to stay alive, little market profile in one of the fastest growing sectors of the provincial economy, fragmented development at the Aboriginal, Provincial and Federal levels and no clear plan of action." (ATBC, 2005: iii)

As the Association evolved, so did its mission. It eventually became "to contribute to the preservation of Aboriginal culture and advancement of economic development through support, facilitation and promotion of the growth and sustainability of a quality and culturally rich Aboriginal tourism industry in British Columbia"(ATBC, 2012a). ATBC's main functions were to market the products and services of its stakeholders and promote Aboriginal tourism development, as well as provide information and resources for its members designed to support the creation of successful businesses.

In 2005, ATBC developed its Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint Strategy (ATBC, 2005) and received $10 million from a mix of federal and provincial sources to support, develop and enact its various strategies. The Blueprint Strategy was an extensively researched plan that included useful approaches to Aboriginal product development, international and domestic market demand and potential, community readiness to participate, and a comprehensive set of strategic actions needed to create and promote market-ready Aboriginal Tourism Products (ATBC, 2005; Williams & O'Neil, 2007). This Blueprint Strategy emphasized the necessity of having a comprehensive Aboriginal tourism product offering in place for the Games, especially if the FHFN were to benefit

from the exposure of the Games (ATBC, 2005). Recognizing that that the fledgling Aboriginal tourism industry was unable to deliver "…market ready tourism products of the high quality normally associated with Olympic Games or other worldwide sporting events" (ATBC, 2005: 44) on its own, it focused on building the capacity of its stakeholders to provide a select set of exceptional products and services for the Games. In order to achieve this goal, ATBC developed its Aboriginal Cultural Tourism 2010 Winter Games Strategy, as displayed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 - Aboriginal Cultural Tourism 2010 Winter Games Strategy

Management Theme	Develop Games related:	Establish Partnerships with:
1. Product Development (e.g., tours, crafts / handiwork, cuisine, accommodation)	• Jobs related to tours, heritage, cuisine, arts and handicrafts • Procurement policies committed to First Nation cultural integrity for products (goods and services) that are promoted as an Aboriginal product Promotion	• 2010 Aboriginal Training and Apprenticeships Committee (ATAC) • VANOC and Cultural Olympiad • Olympic inbound tour operators • First Nation communities • City of Vancouver and Municipality of Whistler • Federal departments – Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), Western Economic Diversification (WD), Canadian Heritage • Provincial departments – Small Business and Economic Development, Olympic Secretariat, Aboriginal Secretariat • Circles of Opportunity agreement partners
2. Community Physical Infrastructure Development	Promotion of Aboriginal tourism accommodations, restaurants and other service providers to construction and management companies of Olympic infrastructure in traditional territories: • Olympic venues • Transportation corridors, housing • Interpretive and information centres as gateways program	• First Nations – Aboriginal Training Adjustment Committee • Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development • Private sector development companies • Government development agencies (e.g., Aboriginal Secretariat) • Olympic sponsors • Going for Gold • Economic Strategy groups

	• Attractions (cultural interpretive centres)	
3. Community Capacity Building and Human Resources	• Tourism awareness programs for communities • First Nation community development and hospitality program • Customer service training programs • Tourism management education programs • Sport training and venue management education programs • Aboriginal volunteers program • Training programs for business management and partnership • Tourism career promotion • Work with ATAC on developing a hospitality and tourism strategy which would include training and job placement, and promotional activities	• Squamish, Lil'Wat and Musqueam First Nations (and other local First Nations whose territories the Games will take place in) • Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements (AHRDA), 2010 ATAC, Aboriginal Workplace Partnership Initiative (AWPI), Aboriginal Employment Partnership Initiative (AEPI), Aboriginal Business Services Network (ABSN), Aboriginal Careers Training NOW (ACT Now), Métis • Human Resource Development Programs: Native Education Centre FirstHost program, Destinations, Go2 • TBC (community tourism development workshops, SuperHost®) • BC Universities and Colleges • Human Resources Services Development Canada (HRSDC) • Skills and Legacy project partners • Parks Canada for training opportunities and support of Aboriginal Tourism initiatives
4. Marketing	• Branding opportunities • Community signs and names recognition program • Aboriginal Winter Games information website for media and visitors – connected to VANOC and TBC's Olympic sites • Media packages program • Destination advertising program	• TBC, Tourism Vancouver, Tourism Whistler • VANOC • Olympic Games sponsors • Cultural Olympiad organizers (City of Vancouver) • Naming and Recognition Project partners • Regional tourism associations • Individual Aboriginal communities

	• Destination "fam" tours • Travel trade catalogues • Destination public relations program	

<div align="right">(ATBC, 2005: 72-73)</div>

An important legacy of this capacity building process was the creation of an extensive set of training workshops and partnerships focused on enhancing the talents of Aboriginals in areas related to community tourism awareness building, product and business development, as well as marketing and promotion (ATBC, 2011a, 2012b).

3 Methods

3.1 Research Objective and Questions

The overarching goal of this study was to understand the ways and extent to which the 2010 Winter Games were used as a path creation event to leverage shifts in tourism governance and management. This goal was explored particularly with respect to First Nations engagement in the Resort Municipality of Whistler and in broader provincial contexts during and after the Games.

To achieve this purpose, a set of specific primary and secondary research questions were used to guide the investigation. They are as follows:

1. What were the direct Aboriginal benefits leveraged, and how has that affected tourism governance and general governance?
    a. What were the tangible tourism benefits leveraged (e.g. assets, presence, media exposure, market awareness)?
    b. What were the intangible benefits leveraged (e.g. education, self-worth, reputation, capacity building)?
    c. How have these tangible and intangible benefits affected Aboriginal tourism development in general, and in Whistler in particular?
2. How have governance and management relations changed as a result of the Olympics and other exogenous factors?
    a. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between the RMOW and local First Nations changed?
    b. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between Tourism Whistler and local First Nations changed?
    c. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between Tourism Whistler and ATBC been shaped by the Games?
    d. How and to what extent have other exogenous factors shaped Whistler's approach to Aboriginal engagement in governance and management matters?
3. How can stakeholders use the momentum created by the Games to leverage more inclusive forms of governance that integrate Aboriginal interests and capacities more fully into future tourism governance systems?
    a. What are the existing attitudes and perceptions of current Aboriginal engagement in governance in general and tourism in particular?
    b. What are potential incentives and opportunities for enhancing such relationships?
    c. What are potential barriers and constraints hindering opportunities for enhancing these relationships?
    d. What is the vision of an optimal relationship between the parties?

3.2 Qualitative Data Collection Process

To address these questions, a qualitative research design built around social constructivist principles was employed (Creswell 2009). This approach focuses on meanings constructed by participants that are based on their historical and social perspectives (Creswell, 2009). The researcher attempted to understand "the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally", which was then interpreted (Creswell, 2009:8). Therefore, the findings and results presented in this thesis represent the researcher's interpretation of the information garnered from key informant interviews. The researcher acknowledges that his assumptions, beliefs and choices may have influenced the research process and interpretation of the findings. Similarly, participants of this research held their own assumptions, beliefs and choices, ultimately influencing the outcome of the study.

3.3 Case Study

A case study approach was used to provide a manageable and realistic scope for the investigation. As such it was essentially an empirical inquiry that investigated " …a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context" (Yin, 2003:13). It also helped explore in an depth manner a real-life process with which the researcher was not directly involved, but was interested in understanding as a contemporary evolving event (Yin, 2003).

More specifically, the approach employed was selected to help understand First Nations-community governance interactions, the evolving relationships between parties and the resultant governance transformations within the frame of the legacies of a mega-event. It also helped bring the perspectives and actions of individuals, parties and institutions central to the study plainly into focus (Palys, 2003) within a specific place-context.

The Resort Municipality of Whistler was chosen as the case study focus for this research for several reasons. First, it was formally recognized as the official Host Mountain Resort for the 2010 Winter Games, an unprecedented designation by the International Olympic Committee. Secondly, as a Resort Municipality, its primary function and main source of employment was and continues to be tourism. As such, it requires the cooperative support of a wide-ranging set of stakeholders – none of whom were Aboriginals prior to the Games. Thirdly, it is located in the traditional territories of two of the Four Host First Nations and as a consequence provides a useful environment

in which to explore the evolution of governance and development relationships for Aboriginal groups. Fourth, it is the primary focus of a larger body of research on New Governance Approaches to Resort Destinations instigated by Gill and Williams (2011). Finally, the high profile of the Games and the document disclosure levels of the Resort Municipality of Whistler provided a level of transparency that would be difficult to obtain in, for example, a corporate-First Nations relationship context.

3.4 Data Collection

Data collection took place between January, 2012 and February, 2014. Primary data were collected through a series of qualitative personal interviews with stakeholder representatives. Secondary data were collected from a variety of publicly available sources such as prior scholarly work, websites, newspapers, government documents and public presentations. A semi-structured *active interview* method (see Holstein and Gubrium, 1995) was adopted for the collection process, using a combination of pre-determined questions and spontaneous questions during the interview, which allowed for an ongoing analysis and adaptation of the findings. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that traditional interview methods, guided by structured and rigid question and response categories, view respondents as mere vessels of facts, where 'untainted knowledge' can be mined through strict adherence to a prescribed set of pre-established questions. The validity of results, they argue, is determined by the replicability of the interview from one researcher to the next. However, active interviews are interactional events where narratives are dually constructed in-situ by both subject and interviewer (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) and the interviewer is considered as an instrument of investigation (McCracken, 1988). It is the dialogue between interviewer and respondent that produces knowledge, regardless of how intent on accuracy and replicability the interview procedure. In the active interview process, it is impossible to 'spoil' information, as the respondent is an active participant in the research. Active interviewing is "a form of interpretive practice involving interviewer and respondent as they both articulate ongoing interpretive structures, resources and orientations with practical reasoning" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 9). It recognizes that the interview is "meaning making, where respondents are not treasuries of knowledge, but collaborators in knowledge production with the interviewer" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 3).

The interviewees were current and former representatives of the stakeholder organizations, including the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations, the Resort municipality of

Whistler, Tourism Whistler, Tourism BC (Destination BC), the City of Powell River, the Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC), the Squamish-Lil'wat Cultural Centre, Aboriginal Tourism BC, and Whistler Blackcomb. Overall, 16 people were interviewed, with interviews lasting an average of one hour. The interviewees were selected according to their ability to give insight into the governance relationships and their expertise in the specific field of inquiry.

Table 3.1 - Interviewees and Their Affiliated Stakeholder Organizations

Stakeholder Organization	Number of interviewees
Squamish Nation	2
Current Lil'wat Nation	1
Former Lil'wat Nation	2
Current RMOW	1
Former RMOW	2
SLCC	1
Former VANOC	1
Destination BC	1
Tourism Whistler	2
ATBC	1
The City of Powell River	1
Whistler Blackcomb	1
TOTAL	**16**

While a semi-structured survey instrument was used to guide the interview process, no interviewee was asked the full set of questions. Rather unique subsets of these questions were employed based on the specific position and area of expertise of each respondent. During the interview, additional related questions were explored with interviewees when elaborations on specific aspects of important subject matter emerged from the active interviewing process. Appendix C outlines the overall questionnaire used to guide the interviews

All interviews were recorded digitally and subsequently transcribed. Each interview was then analyzed with respect to its relevance to the primary and secondary research questions. To adhere to prescribed ethics standards, interviewee identities are withheld, and the recordings will be deleted within one year of the publication of this research.

Where appropriate, specific responses and quotations were used to shape the findings reported in this study's findings.

4   Findings

4.1   Aboriginal Involvement in the Olympic Process

4.1.1   First Nations and Games Governance

Rhodes (1997) defines governance as the values, rules, institutions, and processes through which public and private stakeholders seek to achieve common objectives and make decisions. The FHFN were able to leverage their Olympic Games involvement into a much closer relationship with provincial, federal and other related governing bodies. While the Games provided the FHFN with greater influence and assets, they also created a need for a more structured approach to their own governance. The Games' governance model was designed to be inclusive of First Nation's stakeholders and their involvement in the planning and execution initiatives provided an exceptional opportunity to enhance their governance and related social capacities.

According to Dunn (2007), the forces that shaped Aboriginal engagement in the Games were the outcome of a combination of specific events and people coming together at the right time and in the right combination:

> "The FHFN/2010 Bid and VANOC partnership experiences were shaped by several overriding factors. These included: the leadership of specific individuals in each of the parties' organizations; the development of common visions; the unique and powerful leveraging circumstances surrounding unresolved treaties; rights and title legal decisions emerging at the time of the bidding and organizing phases of the Games; negotiating expertise; consistency of players, and the Olympic-driven urgencies associated with showcasing the Province in the most favourable way possible in 2010."
> (Dunn, 2007 : 129)

In 1998, the Games Bid Book identified the Callaghan Valley as the potential site for the Olympic Nordic events (Dunn, 2007). This area was situated on BC crown land in the heart of Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations (SLFN) traditional territories. At that time, Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, a recent Supreme Court decision (Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada, 1997) affirmed the rights and title that First Nations have to their traditional territories. As such it laid the initial legal foundation for

the SLFN to commence positioning in ways to engage in the Games process that would lead to significant benefits for their respective communities. As a result, the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations approached the 2010 Bid Corporation about becoming involved in the planning, developing, hosting and leveraging of benefits from the Games. The 2010 Bid Corporation decided it was strategically important to include them largely because of the recently awarded First Nation's rights and title rulings, as well as the reality that much of the land on which Olympic related venue and supporting infrastructure developments were to occur was in the traditional territory of these Aboriginal groups. The initial relationship was thus established in 1998 (Dunn, 2007). Shortly thereafter (1999), the IOC released its "Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development" guidelines. The guidelines specifically identified the inclusion of Aboriginal people in the Olympic movement (IOC, 1999; Zimmerman, 2010). This meant that once the initial relationship was established, commitments to First Nations involvement would be encouraged by the IOC, and additional efforts would be made to open the doors to deepened relationships.

Human agency played a considerable role in accelerating the creation of these relationships. Jack Poole (CEO of the Vancouver Bid Corporation and subsequent Chair of the VANOC Supervisory Board) was recognized as an early champion of Aboriginal integration into the Games. He not only had Metis roots but also possessed a close connection to Gordon Campbell, the Premier of BC at the time. As well, Chief Gibby Jacob, the Chief Operating Officer of Intergovernmental Relations of the Squamish Nation, was a well respected and influential Aboriginal leader who recognized the invaluable opportunity this relationship might bring for First Nations in the region.

4.1.1.1   *Aboriginal Interests in Games Governance*

By 2003, Aboriginal participation and interests were heavily embedded in the Games Bid (IOC, 2003; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011; Vancouver 2010 Bid Committee, 2003). In July of 2003, the IOC awarded the 2010 Winter Games to Vancouver (and its host destination partners). According to the IOC Evaluation Commission's report, one of the more novel and significant influences in selecting Vancouver was the extent to which First Nations had been engaged in the bid planning process and how their interests would be incorporated into numerous Games' activities (IOC, 2003). George Abbott, BC's Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation at

the time, attributed the success of the bid directly to the inclusion of First Nations in the planning (Zimmerman, 2010).

4.1.1.2 Games Governance Stakeholders

While numerous groups were involved in the development and delivery of the Games, an important subset of these organizations played particularly important roles in shaping Aboriginal participation in governance opportunities. The following stakeholder groups were especially important in this regard.

The Squamish and Lil'wat Nations each held seats on the Board of Directors (BOD) of the Vancouver Olympic Bid Corporation in 1999. The Musqueam and Tsleil'Waututh joined the Board in 2002 (Vadi, 2010). After winning the Olympic Bid in 2003, VANOC assumed responsibility for the delivery of the Games. When its Supervisory Board was established, it included representation from the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations. Subsequent inclusion of the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh nations only occurred after the establishment of the Four Host First Nations (FHFN) organization. Dunn (2007) attributes this representation to the early involvement of the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations in the Bid Process, as well as the emergence of Games' plans for the nordic event venues to be sited on then undeveloped lands in the Callaghan Valley. These lands were situated in the shared territory of the Squamish and Lil'wat, and as such Aboriginal representation from these Nations was essential. Later engagement of Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations was primarily driven by initial plans to employ some of their traditional territories for Games' purposes, as well as a request for involvement by them as they became more aware of the opportunities the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations were leveraging as a result of direct engagement. As such their involvement was more of a reactive than strategic response, especially when compared with the particularly proactive approach taken by the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations.

4.1.2 VANOC's Strategy for Aboriginal Participation

As the IOC designated host organizing committee for the Games, VANOC was intent on engaging Aboriginal stakeholders in the Games via a variety of strategies. Its strategy in this regard involved a five-point program of strategic actions (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 - VANOC's Aboriginal Engagement Themes and Strategic Goals

Engagement Themes	Strategic Actions
Partnerships and Collaboration	Recognize and respect our partners, the FHFN, and directly involve them in key aspects of Games planning hosting and legacies. Encourage Aboriginal peoples across Canada to participate in and benefit from the 2010 Winter Games, together with the FHFN.
Sport and Youth	Encourage greater Aboriginal Participation in sport and sport development; and, demonstrate the connection between sport and healthy living - particularly for youth.
Economic Development	Maximize economic development opportunities for Aboriginal peoples and businesses through Games-related procurement, tourism, branding, employment and training.
Cultural involvement	Celebrate and promote Aboriginal history, arts, culture and languages on the world stage.
Awareness and Education	Raise awareness of the opportunities for Aboriginal people to participate in the 2010 Winter Games; and, promote awareness and understanding of the diversity and contributions of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

(Dunn, 2007)

The following section focuses specifically on the Partnerships and Collaboration aspects of the engagement strategy, and identifies those specifically related to Aboriginal tourism. A more detailed reporting of other legacies leveraged from the Games is provided in Appendix D.

4.1.3   Partnerships and Collaboration

 To help formalize Aboriginal engagement in the Games, in 2007-8, the FHFN developed a Memoranda of Understanding with the Assembly of First Nations, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and the Metis National Council, which VANOC witnessed (FHFN, 2010; Vadi, 2010). In addition, between 2003 and 2010, VANOC also created Memoranda of Intent and Statements of Cooperation with 92 other Aboriginal organizations across Canada (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). These were to formally recognize and encourage VANOC's intent to involve Aboriginal people across Canada in the Games process. This included participation in the pre-Games' torch relay, the sport dimension of the Games; the opening and closing ceremonies, as well as post-Games legacies initiatives, such as the 2010 Legacies Now Project.

For example, in July of 2003, shortly prior to Vancouver's selection as the host city for the Games, the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh Nations signed memoranda of understanding with VANOC (Dunn, 2007). These agreements helped ensure that both First Nations would be included in Games related opportunities such as employment,

expansion of tourism enterprises and the creation of an interpretive centre in Canada Place – an Olympic Games social and business venue. Separate from the preceding agreement, but certainly related to the Games's legacy building process was the provision of $34.5 million to them by the Provincial Government in 2008 in return for their agreement to approve of specific Games related venues to be developed on their Lower Mainland traditional territories (Zimmerman, 2010).

Another relevant agreement was the Four Host First Nations Protocol Agreement (Dunn, 2007 : Appendix E), signed in 2004. It was designed to provide a collective single voice for the principal First Nations participating in Games related ventures. It led to the creation of a Four Host First Nations Society, comprised of a Council that included members of each of the Host Nations and a Secretariat, which represented the FHFN in relations with other governing bodies. The Secretariat became the essential link between the FHFN and VANOC, as well as other government bodies involved with the Games. The Secretariat was led by Squamish Nation member, Tewanee Joseph, CEO of the FHFN. He became an influential leader in the creation of beneficial Games legacies for the engaged nations.

For a complete timeline of events related to Aboriginal inclusion in the Games, please refer to Appendix E.

4.1.4 Cultural Involvement

Fig. 4.1

Aboriginal cultural presence during the Games was significant. From the First Nations' inspired mascots (Fig. 4.2) and the official logo depicting an Inuit Inukshuk (Fig. 4.3) to the Opening and Closing ceremonies utilizing hundreds of First Nations dancers and artwork, the Games had an Aboriginal cultural flavor. The Olympic medals awarded to the Athletes were all First Nations themed, with each being a one-of-a-kind piece of art created by First Nations artist Corinne Hunt (VANOC, 2010).

Fig. 4.2

Central to the cultural dimension of the Games, a Cultural Olympiad was established and delivered, commencing in early 2008. It featured Canadian artistic talents from across Canada along with other cultures from around the world. It culminated in performances in many host communities during the Games. One program of particular note was *Where the Blood mixes*, a stage play that received the 2009 Governor General's award for its tale of First Nations characters' experiences in the notorious residential school system. The show toured

across Canada as part of the Cultural Olympiad's National Touring Program prior to the Games (Zimmerman, 2010).

During the Games a range of First Nations drumming and dancing performances were featured in the heart of Vancouver at Robson Square, as well as in shows in Whistler at the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre. In addition, several venues were established to promote awareness of First Nation's culture. These included an Aboriginal Pavilion, Kla-how-ya Village in the Pan Pacific Hotel, and an Aboriginal Artisan Village at Vancouver Community College (see Section 4.1.6). In addition, 140 pieces of art from 90 Aboriginal communities across Canada were showcased in a variety of formats across all 15 Olympic and Paralympic venues (Zimmerman, 2010). These and other programs were designed to highlight the diverse nature of Aboriginal culture across Canada, in British Columbia, and most specifically of the Four Host First Nations associated with the Games. For cultural involvement specific to Whistler, please refer to Section 4.2.2.

4.1.5   Awareness and Education

VANOC established an education component on its formal website. It was developed to create awareness of the purpose, components and traditions of the Games. A specific component was designed for Aboriginal students and it included an online program titled *Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Education Resources*. It complemented other VANOC media postings featuring outstanding Aboriginal athletes (Zimmerman, 2010). In addition, an e-legacies website designed to promote discussion concerning Games related issues amongst college and university students was established. It hosted a First Nations portion that featured issues and opportunities arising from Aboriginal involvement in the Games (McKenna, 2010). These and other media tools helped increase coverage and understanding of evolving relationships between the FHFN and VANOC in the months before the Games (McKenna, 2010). Television stations and newspapers ran features regarding Aboriginal participation in the Games, including a six part series in the Vancouver Sun in April of 2009 (Vadi, 2010). Appendix D provides a listing of Policies and initiatives relating to Aboriginal participation in the Games.

4.1.6   Aboriginal Tourism Interests During the Games

The 2010 Winter Games were considered a once in a lifetime opportunity to carry Aboriginal tourism to the world stage (ATBC, 2010). While all of the Aboriginal interests in the Games (see Appendix D) combined to increase awareness and standing of

Aboriginals across Canada, a few of these efforts should be highlighted for their specific benefit to the Aboriginal tourism cause. Most of the efforts at increasing Aboriginal tourism's profile during the Games were targeted at creating a positive presence and attractive image of Aboriginal culture and related authentic products to key travel markets.

ATBC's main on-site presence for the delivery of its programs was Klahowya Village, located in the Pan Pacific Hotel in Downtown Vancouver. The Village provided booths showcasing Aboriginal tourism attractions throughout the province, and twice-daily native performances were conducted to entertain and educate the public and media. Prior to the Games (February 11, 2010), a large media gathering and reception for 800 media representatives was staged at Klahowya Village. Overall, ATBC estimated that the equivalent of $418,560 worth of worldwide public relations was created as a result of information sharing and media story opportunities from this event alone (ATBC, 2010). A total of 95,000 visitors came through the Kla-how-ya Village site during the Games and over 60,000 information brochures about Aboriginal tourism in BC were distributed (Ibid). For a listing of ATBC's strategic goals for the involvement in the 2010 Games, see Table 2.3.

4.1.6.1 Aboriginal Venues

In addition to the Village initiative, The Four Host First Nations Society organized the development and management of the Aboriginal Artisan Village and Business Showcase Pavilion, located in downtown Vancouver during the Games. It profiled Aboriginal culture from across Canada, and presented artistic performances and artwork, clothing and books. Over 242,000 visitors viewed artist displays and performances during the Games (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011; Rose, 2010). ATBC also supported the Aboriginal Pavilion with 29 staff members, who were trained through the Association's "Trailblazer" program. The $150,000 program introduced First Nation members to opportunities for continued hospitality and tourism education programs and related careers (ATBC, 2010).

The Aboriginal Artisan Village and Business Showcase attracted about 85,000 visitors and highlighted the capacities and talents of 30 First Nation businesses, along with about 150 Aboriginal artists. It also included a five-day Aboriginal fashion showcase.

From a communication perspective, the FHFN website was a focal point for media regarding Aboriginal engagement in the Games. Along with providing Aboriginal

videos, photos and programming for the Games. Fourhostfirstnations.com attracted 61,957 visits and 308,864 page views from January 21st, 2010 to March 21st, 2010. Its Official Welcome Video was viewed more than 22,000 times on YouTube. It was estimated that over 10,000 news items were created to cover the FHFN between 2009 and 2010 (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011; Zimmerman, 2010).

Figure 4.4 provides a summary description of the most important Aboriginal tourism related features of the Games. For a full list of all Aboriginal involvement in the Games, refer to Appendix D.

Table 4.2 - FHFN Tourism Related Programs During the Games.

Programs	Summary Characteristics
Aboriginal Pavilion	The pavilion was located in the heart of Olympic activity and highlighted the culture of Canada's Aboriginal people. It included a multi-media sphere to show the business, culture, sport and art of each region. There was also a Trading Post, Reception Hall, and a place to sample traditional venison stew and bannock. The pavilion hosted 'theme days' to celebrate the diverse range of Canada's Aboriginal peoples.
Aboriginal Business Showcase	This program increased economic and business development by showcasing market-ready Aboriginal artisans and businesses to the world.
BC/Canada Pavilion	The pavilion had a daily showcase and demonstrations by Aboriginal artisans related to the theme of BC forest landscapes.
Four Host First Nation Society	The Four Host First Nations Society was formed, marking the first time in history that Aboriginal peoples have been recognized by the International Olympic Committee as Official Partners in the hosting of an Olympic Games.
Pan Pacific Hotel	Kla-how-ya: Welcome to Aboriginal Tourism BC. The Daily Exhibit Showcased Aboriginal Experiences with demonstrations and cultural performances and was coordinated and financed by ATBC.
Robson Square	Daily Aboriginal performances took place between 12:30pm-1pm for the duration of the Games.
Sea to Sky Cultural Journey Naming Recognition Project	The Cultural Journey was a project in partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations to increase the profile of the sea to sky corridor as an Aboriginal tourism experience. It included an interactive map designed to help visitors learn about the traditional First Nations history of the landscape. Highway signage includes place names in the respective language of the host Aboriginal groups. Scenic pullouts with interpretive panels are available throughout the journey.
Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre	The SLCC, a not-for-profit initiative, embodies the spirit of partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations. It highlights the shared values related to preserving, revitalizing and sharing traditional and modern cultures with the world.

(McKenna, 2010)

4.2 The Resort Municipality of Whistler and First Nations Engagement

4.2.1 Whistler's Strategy for Engagement in the Games

The Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW) was the IOC's first formally designated Host Mountain Resort for the Winter Games (RMOW, 2008a). This meant that both Vancouver and Whistler were designated as Host Cities for official Games sport medal ceremonies. In 2008, the RMOW launched its strategy for capitalizing on Games' legacy opportunities, communicated in two formal strategy documents (RMOW, 2008a, 2008b), called *Investing in the Dream* and *Delivering the Dream*. These two documents outlined for all stakeholders how Whistler's Olympic initiatives would be managed in order to ensure that the Games contributed to the Municipality's vision, values, culture and goals (RMOW, 2008a). The strategy documents were informed by Whistler's pioneering vision document, called *Whistler 2020 – Moving towards a sustainable future* (RMOW, 2007). This long-term sustainability strategy was intended to guide Whistler's comprehensive development plan and related activities through to 2020. It was driven by processes and principles based on *the Natural Step*, an environmental sustainability framework originating in Sweden (The Natural Step, 2012). *Delivering the Dream* built on the Whistler 2020 document and introduced 11 strategic objectives related to extracting specific legacies for Whistler. Central to Whistler's Olympic strategy were a set of guiding governance principles that identified how Whistler would conduct its activities with Olympic and community stakeholders. These principles were:

- Be consistent with and guided by Whistler 2020 – Moving towards a sustainable future
- Be proactive in integrating sustainability considerations throughout the planning and staging of the Games
- Be ethical and transparent
- Recognize the municipality as a partner in the planning and staging of the Games
- Operate the Games within a balanced budget
- Ensure that an endowment fund is created that is sufficient to support the ongoing operation of the Nordic and sliding centres post Games
- Ensure limited financial exposure to the municipality
- Respect the character of the Resort community
- Create legacies that are of lasting value to Whistler residents, businesses and the community
- Engage in open and timely communication
- Work collaboratively to create successful Games

(Delivering the Dream, RMOW, Whistler, 2008)

Following the Games, the RMOW published an assessment (RMOW, 2010) that chronicled Whistler's performance with respect to achieving its objectives. Despite the many achievements reported, Aboriginal engagement and related legacies leveraged in Whistler are only mentioned in passing. Indeed, in all three strategy documents published, reference to building Aboriginal legacies is scant. Furthermore, while Whistler 2020 mentioned that stronger relationships with local Aboriginal stakeholders should be fostered, it did not suggest actions beyond supporting the Squamish-Lil'wat Cultural Centre (RMOW, 2007).

4.2.2   Aboriginal Involvement in Whistler During the 2010 Winter Games

While Olympic legacies for the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations are reported elsewhere (Section 4.3), little is reported about First Nations' engagement in Whistler's Games' initiatives. Only a report published by the RMOW concerning the delivery of Whistler's Cultural Olympiad activities (Whistler Arts Council, 2012), as part of the *Whistler Live!* initiative, mentions direct Aboriginal involvement.

Whistler Live! was the Host Mountain Resort's Games cultural festival. Over the duration of the Games it used a network of stages, screens and performance sites throughout Whistler Village to deliver a wide range of music acts, performances, visual arts and films from local, national and international artists. Specific venues featuring Aboriginal artists were the *Art Walk* and *Storytelling at Blackcomb Bridge* projects (Whistler Arts Council, 2012).

The art walk project featured over 60 artists in 43 galleries distributed around Whistler Village. The two definitive exhibits featuring Aboriginal Art were the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre programs highlighting the talents of a mix of Aboriginal artists, and the Black Tusk Gallery's profiling of Darren Joseph's artworks (Ibid).

Every evening from 4-6pm between February 13-27th, 2010, First Nation storytellers and long-time locals from the sea-to-sky corridor told tales of the area by firelight (Ibid). "Fiction and non-fiction writers, First Nations storytellers and long-time locals provide tales of the Corridor, urban myths of Whistler and traditional Aboriginal legends while the sun sets by the warm glow of a winter fire." (Whistler Live!, 2010). Actual attendance and reception of these features were not available.

4.3 Dimensions of Legacy Remaining for Aboriginal Tourism in Whistler

Tourism related legacies in Whistler are strongly centered around those benefits arising from the Shared Legacies agreement. The only other relationship of significance is the continuing engagement of Whistler-Blackcomb with the SLFN. This relationship is independent of the Games engagement process and arises mostly from the fact that the ski area tenure resides on Crown Land and they therefore have the duty to consult and accommodate with First Nations on any ongoing development. They have hence created a positive working relationship with the First Nations largely independent of the Games process. The following section now focuses on the tourism benefits arising out of the Shared Legacies agreement.

4.3.1 The Squamish-Lil'wat Shared Legacies Agreement

In 2001, the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations (SLFN) signed a historic Protocol Agreement (Squamish & Lil'wat Nation, 2001) to resolve overlapping territory land claims issues and cooperate in the sharing of Games related opportunities. Within their shared territory lay the RMOW and the Callaghan Valley. Both were planned venues for Games and other future tourism related developments. The agreement essentially recognized that any future opportunities occurring in their shared territories would involve equal opportunities for participation for both Nations in the sharing of legacies.

In 2002, the SLFN entered into an extensive Shared Legacies agreement with the Government of BC (Government of British Columbia, 2002). It identified a set of benefits that would accrue to them for participating in the Games. The agreement was later supplemented by the First Nation Legacy Land Agreement in 2007 (Barratt, 2007a, 2007b), which further specified the lands negotiated and the fact that the acquired lands are subject to Whistler's Zoning bylaws and OCP's. The Shared Legacies agreement was a particularly important legacy because it helped embed the SLFN in the future governance practices of Whistler.

Dunn (2007) attributes the Agreement breadth and relatively efficient creation to early engagement of the SLFN in the Games development process, as well as the powerful leveraging position the SLFN possessed at the time the agreement was negotiated. Even before the Games were on the horizon, Hugh O'Reilly, Whistler's mayor from 1996 to 2005, was interested in increasing Aboriginal presence in Whistler. Consequently, a relationship between the Lil'wat and the RMOW was established, with

both parties agreeing to the need to designate land and resources for the development of a Cultural Centre within Whistler even before the Games planning process got underway. This initial development of a relationship based on good will and mutual respect was a good launching platform for further relations, and most importantly the Shared Legacies agreement. The key leveraging point the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations had in the negotiation of the subsequent Legacies agreement was the reality that the proposed Olympic venue was to be built on undeveloped land in the shared traditional territory of the SLFNs. A list of key tourism related legacies that stemmed from this agreement follows.

4.3.1.1 300 Acres of RMOW Land and 452 Bed Units

The agreement provided the SLFN with a 300-acre parcel of mixed zoning land, along with 452 bed units (Barratt, 2007a; Dunn, 2007; RMOW, 2011), within the newly expanded boundaries of the Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW). These benefits were estimated to be worth $13.5 million at the time of the agreement's establishment (Zimmerman, 2010). The BC government and VANOC also provided three million dollars towards the creation of a Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre in Whistler. (Dunn, 2007; Columbia, 2002) In keeping with efforts for greater inclusion, the Shared Legacies Agreement also provided the SLFN with a position on the steering committee of the Games' Legacies Society, an organization set up to manage a $110 million endowment fund designed to manage athletic facilities remaining after the Games (Columbia, 2002). In a separate agreement with the RMOW in 2007, the actual location of this land was identified, and 452 bed units were allocated for development (Barratt, 2007a; Dunn, 2007; RMOW, 2011) . These plots were valued at $13.5 million at the time (Zimmerman, 2010). The following table lists areas and their designation for use.

Table 4.3 - Zoning Designations for First Nations Lands Within the RMOW

Area	Type of Zoning	Size (ac)
Alpine North Block 2	Medium density residential	22
Function Junction	Light industrial/commercial	5
Callaghan Valley Area Lands	Rural resource usage	100.6
Callaghan Valley Entrance Lands	Rural resource usage	65.7
Green Lake Area	Rural resource usage	N/A
Cougar Pit lands	Rural resource usage/gravel mining	N/A

(RMOW, 2011)
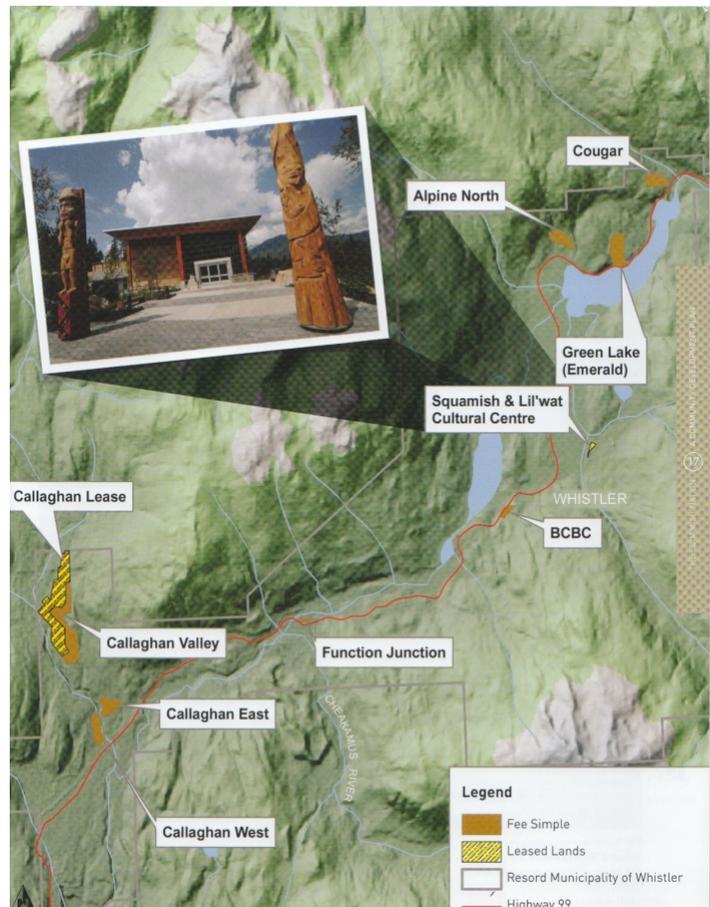
(Jacob, Campbell, & Williams, 2010)

Figure 4.3 Map of Lands Associated with the Shared Legacies Agreement

The Lil'wat have since capitalized on several of the pieces of land allotted to them by selling their Alpine North parcel to a developer, while retaining a 25% partnership on the development that has ensued. They are also planning to use the same developer for their 5-acre plot in Function Junction to build a light industrial complex, including a gas station. The Squamish Nation have sold their share of the Function Junction Site to the Lil'wat. The land designated *BCBC* in Figure 4.3 was exchanged with the RMOW in a straight land swap arrangement for more land in the valuable Alpine North development. The lands in the Callaghan Valley are yet undeveloped, with preliminary discussions mentioning a future golf resort.

4.3.1.2 The Cultural Journey

In addition, the Shared Legacies agreement provided $500,000 to develop and install an Aboriginal place name and interpretive signage along the Sea-to-Sky highway, which travels through traditional SLFN territory (B. Columbia, 2002). All the highway

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signage, including route markers and waterway crossings, are now written in the languages of the Squamish or Lil'wat First Nations, as well as in English. At seven culturally significant sites along the highway, interpretive signage sharing the stories and significance of the region to the SLFN has been created. This project, according to the interviews conducted, was especially meaningful to the First Nations and signifies their claim of ownership and sovereignty over the region. According to SFN key informant #2, for those First Nations members that grew up on Reserve, this creates a sense of their growing control and comfort about their traditional 'off-reserve' lands, and, according to the SLCC website, also helps build local and visitor awareness of the significance of this region to Aboriginal cultures (Baudisch, 2012).

4.3.1.3   *The Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre*

The SLCC, with a reported construction cost of $32 million (Baudisch, 2012), was possibly the most significant tourism legacy for the SLFN. Situated in close proximity to the Four Seasons Resort in Whistler, it is a modern building built to resemble a traditional Squamish 'long house'. It includes 30,400 square feet of exhibition and meeting space, a Lil'wat pit house, a gallery and an 80-seat theatre (Baudisch, 2012).

The SLCC has won numerous awards and has much to offer for First Nations people and other visitors. The Centre is a source of pride and prestige, a place to collect and celebrate the Cultural heritage of the SLFN, to educate their own membership and those that are interested. It also provides a presence in Whistler, reinforcing First Nations' claim to rights and title of the area.

From a social and political perspective, it provides a key contact point for the RMOW to engage with the First Nations. In this context, it signals that a growing relationship has been established between the management of the SLCC and especially the Cultural Planning Department of the RMOW.

> "It wasn't until SLCC was built and started operating that there was actually a permanent presence – a kind of First Nations 'head office' – in Whistler." RMOW Key Informant #1, August 2013)

There are currently negotiations underway to expand cultural programming in Whistler. Central to this initiative is the development of a privately funded museum, as well as an increased role for the SLCC in the positioning of Whistler as a cultural destination. For instance, stakeholders from the SLCC, RMOW and the broader arts community are engaged in shaping a collaborative plan to create an Art Walk, which links various cultural venues in Whistler including the new museum and the SLCC.

In contrast to these positive events, commercial and financial success for Aboriginal interests in Whistler has been traditionally hard to realize. As Drew Leathem, the former General Manager of the SLCC noted:

> "Currently, the centre features 32 front line Aboriginal employees that help create an authentic, culturally rich and personal experience. However, this is also expensive and the centre needs to be economically self-sufficient. Ultimately, tourism experiences are businesses that require visitors in order to be successful. What the culture is willing to share must match what the consumer is willing to purchase." (Leathem in McKenna, 2010 : 55)

The original SLCC plan was to be self-sufficient within 2 years of its opening, Leathem indicated that "There needs to be a compromise between [economic] self-sufficiency and traditional representation, authenticity and community stipulations" (Leathem in McKenna, 2010: 58). In the past three years the SLCC has shifted its focus towards and advertises itself as a hosting venue for events, conventions and weddings to supplement the income from tourism. The current deficit has decreased from over $2 million annually in 2009 to approximately $500,000 in 2013. The cost of the deficit is shared evenly by the two Nations and in the case of the Lil'wat, the funding comes from their general revenues, which could be used for other essential services, like elder care or education. The RMOW continues to support the SLCC by waiving the approximately $90,000 annual property tax.

One interviewee (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013) mentioned that the project was, from the outset, too ambitious and focused on becoming a world-class facility. A more modest facility like the 'Ksan Cultural Center in Hazelton, BC, would have sufficed. This experience has made especially the Lil'wat reluctant to further invest in cultural tourism products for the time being.
The Lil'wat expected that the SLCC would serve as a hub for other Aboriginal tourism related enterprises, like horseback riding or cultural hiking tours, creating a growth in tourism towards the Pemberton area, but that has not transpired to date.

> "People thought that if we build this cultural center in Whistler the tourism industry will also flourish in the Pemberton Valley. That doesn't just magically happen and some of those things just weren't really thought out." (LFN, Key informant #1, September 2013)

Initially, the Aboriginal animosity towards the development of the SLCC was high. Many members of especially the Lil'wat community were bitter at the beautiful monument

that was built in Whistler, while they lived in poverty on the reserve in Pemberton, 30 minutes drive away. However, SLCC management has reduced the animosity considerably through the outreach programs they have initiated. For instance, their *Aboriginal youth ambassador* program has been attended by several hundred First Nation members and offers an effective introduction to the tourism industry in general and Whistler's tourism economy in particular. Students learn how to host and guide people through General Tourism Initiation Courses, like the FirstHost and WorldHost certifications (Baudisch, 2013).

It also provides an easy means of communication with First Nations on matters related to cultural programming and events management.

> "We do not reach out to the Chiefs at either Lil'wat Nation or Squamish Nation regarding programming; it's so easy for us to deal with [the SLCC]. Through [the General Manager] and his team at SLCC we accomplish everything we need to accomplish regarding First Nations programming as part of the resort-wide Festivals, Events and Animation initiative and cultural tourism." (RMOW, key informant #1, August 2013)

4.3.1.4 Benefits Arising for the RMOW out of the Legacies Agreement

The Legacies Agreement was a three-way agreement between the Province of BC, the RMOW and the SLFN. With 300 acres of land in the RMOW and 452 bed units, the SLFN became the largest owners of undeveloped land in the RMOW. In return for agreeing to the Legacies Agreement and having to concede some land within their boundaries, the RMOW also negotiated some benefits from the Province, like the ownership of the day parking lots along Fitzsimmons Creek, and the expansion of RMOW boundaries by 300 acres, among other items (Barratt, 2007a).

However, many planned legacies for the partners to the Legacies Agreement were not fully met. According to the First Nation respondents, the shared legacies agreement's potential benefits were lessened by several factors:

1. Most of the actors that originally negotiated the agreement either went on to other duties, or retired when the Games ended. This diminished the valuable social capital built between the parties. Unfortunately the agreement was not specific enough to clarify the intricate details of each legacy and this ambiguity has led to inaction and misinterpretations about what was to transpire for each party.
2. Once the Games were over, much of the urgency and political leverage the SLFN had gained for the anticipated legacy project disappeared, which meant that the incentive to cooperate also lessened. Anything that was not specifically spelled out in the initial contract was no longer a priority that had to be addressed.

3. The First Nations had assumed that they would eventually be able to develop the land they acquired within the boundaries of the RMOW; however, the RMOW never shared that assumption and intends to stand by its zoning bylaws and bed limits. Only a few of the parcels in the agreement are currently zoned for development, most notably Alpine North and Function Junction.

4.4 Other First Nations Legacies Stemming from the Games Process

4.4.1 Klahowya Village in Stanley Park

A direct tourism legacy of the Games is the existence of Klahowya Village in Stanley Park, Vancouver's major city park and key attraction. The original Klahowya Village was located in the Pan Pacific Hotel during the 2010 Games, and the village has since been recreated in Stanley Park on an annual basis during the main tourist season. Open from mid-June to early September, it is an attraction that features Aboriginal products, a First Nations themed miniature train and cultural workshops and performances. Organized and coordinated by ATBC, it hosted 34,665 visitors in 2013 and employed 15 youth from the local First Nations (Squamish, Musqueam and Tsleil Waututh) (ATBC, 2013). It also provided a venue and some income to First Nation Artists and Cultural Performers.

4.4.2 Sport and Youth

The Sport and Youth development focused on getting Aboriginal youth involved in sports and giving them opportunities to see Olympic events, as well as participating in the opening and closing ceremonies. Some of the Legacies include a First Nations Snowboard Team, and the creation of the BC Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy Fund, which supports developing First Nations Athletes (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011).

4.4.3 Economic Development

Numerous First Nations focused economic development initiatives were established to provide opportunities for Aboriginal participation in Games related business opportunities. Through initiatives like the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Recruitment and Procurement Symposium, the 2010 Aboriginal Business Summit and several business opportunity workshops hosted by the 2010 Commerce Centre (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011), Aboriginal businesses bid on several Games-related projects. As a result more than $59 million in Games related contracts were awarded to First Nations business between 2003 and 2010 (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011).

There were also concerted efforts to employ First Nations in Games related jobs. While most of the employment happened during the construction phase of Games preparations, Aboriginals eventually represented about 1% of VANOC staff in 2010, 3% of VANOC staff from 2007 to 2009. About 2% of VANOC volunteers self-identified as Aboriginal and an estimated 2,000 jobs were created for Aboriginal individuals during the preparation and delivery phases of the Games.

4.4.4   The Sea-to-Sky Highway Upgrade

Zimmerman (2010) argues that the $600 million Sea-to-Sky highway upgrade is Whistler's greatest Olympic legacy. While dramatically increasing the region's accessibility, it has also made it easier for Vancouver visitors to forego hotel stays in Whistler and instead simply visit on a day-use basis. The whole construction project was subject to another agreement between the Squamish, the Lil'wat, the Province and the Contractor, called the Sea-to-Sky Highway Agreement (Jacob et al., 2010). It included the employment of First Nations workers and a contract for the manufacturing of the concrete highway barriers in Pemberton. Numerous non-tourism related legacies were created due to the project, including a trades training program, a skills training institution in North Vancouver run by the Squamish Nation, and especially the creation of an employable labour force for the Lil'wat Nation.

According to LFN key informants, some of the negotiated agreements, like the Concrete Batch Plant in Pemberton and the joint venture with Kiewit Construction, the company that was in charge of the Highway 99 upgrades, ended with the conclusion of the Olympics. The informants suggested that a more lasting arrangement could have been negotiated had the SLFN been more aggressive in their dealings (LFN, key informants 1 & 2, September & October, 2013).

4.5   Intangible Legacies of the Games

The tangible legacies of the 2010 Winter Games, and their impact on the governance evolution of the SLFN, is the well-documented side of the legacies package. Arguably more important and more impactful were the intangible legacies created in all the stakeholders involved. The shifts in competency, self-assurance, confidence, and the relationships between the parties is documented in the following section.

> "It's amazing what a common goal can do in terms of bringing people together, especially one that has a measureable timeline like that (the Olympics) . It had to be done in time for 2010. So, everybody had to

come together, and in this case something wonderful resulted from it."
(RMOW, key informant #2, September, 2013)

The intangible legacies stemming from the Games Process were a significant component of the whole legacy package. For the purpose of this study, they are related to four overriding themes: Skills and Training, Pride and Self-Esteem, Legitimization and Assertion of Rights and Title, and Governance Legacies. Many of these legacies overlap between categories, especially with respect to governance implications, and in some cases have tangible dimensions.

4.5.1 Skills and Training

For the Lil'wat, the Games created employment for over 300 of their members. For many, this was their first opportunity to be gainfully employed, be accountable to employers, and learn the skills required to conduct specific types of work. This capacity building went beyond training to fulfill specific tasks to include aspects of time management, accountability, priority setting and an appreciation of the benefits associated with earning an income. These 300+ people came out of the Games process with this new knowledge and renewed readiness to work, thereby creating an employable workforce and role-models for other youth in their community.

> "We have another major infrastructure project occurring right now with the Upper Lilloet Hydro Project and we had about 110 people through the door for 25 jobs at the first job fair that was hosted. Seven or eight years ago that would not have been the case. You would have had 25 jobs and two or three people would have showed up. " (LFN, key informant #2, October, 2013)

For the Squamish, the Sea-to-Sky Highway upgrade provided an especially helpful venue for enhancing the skills and training of its members. By 2010, 110 person years of work had been created for the Squamish Nation alone. (Jacob et al., 2010) Like the Lil'wat, for many members this was the first exposure to paid employment. To aid in the transition, and as part of the employment process with Kiewit Construction, the company in charge of the upgrade, the Squamish Nation provided liaison workers that helped the First Nation employees enter into more structured work environments. For instance, they tracked workers if they were late or absent, problem-solved and provided perspective on why reliability was important. Several Squamish Nation members found permanent employment with Kiewit and other construction companies after the road improvements were completed. In another Games initiative, a skills training center was

established in North Vancouver. Open to all First Nations, it enabled them to gain credits towards certification in a number of trades.

For both Nations, tourism related training programs were developed. This was provided through the innovative *Trailblazer* program implemented through ATBC (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2010). 29 Aboriginal individuals attained work experience programs associated with the Trailblazers program involving a partnership between FHFN and Aboriginal Tourism BC. It taught Aboriginals the initial skills needed to work in entry level positions in tourism operations, and to be hosts in the Aboriginal Pavilion, designed to showcase Canada's Aboriginals to the world (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). Those skills were also suited to other service jobs:

> "You do see some of the people who took the program ending up as cashiers here in the grocery store and some of them have now gone off to university. Is that a failure? I don't think so. Before the program they were not employed." (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013)

In addition, a more comprehensive two-year Aboriginal Tourism Diploma program was developed and delivered by Capilano University. It generated one cohort of graduates, but was then subsequently cancelled. Since the Games, the SLCC has assumed a greater role in the delivery of entry-level training programs. It has provided hundreds of Squamish and Lil'wat members with tourism training through its *Tourism Youth Ambassador*, *WorldHost* and *FirstHost* training programs and certification processes (Baudisch, 2013).

4.5.2   Pride and Self-Esteem

> "During the Olympics Canada was looking for a national identity and the First Nations provided that." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

> "The Olympics were an unprecedented acknowledgement and celebration of our existence." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

> "I think that one of the intangible legacies is probably all of Canada knows more about First Nations, now, than they did before the Games." (RMOW, key informant #2, September 2013)

In a diverse country full of immigrants of varying backgrounds and few uniting characteristics, the Aboriginal people of Canada represent a unique and diverse set of cultures. VANOC highlighted these cultures in many Games related initiatives. First Nations art was profiled and celebrated in the form of Olympic medals, mascots, and

other symbology. These were complemented with unprecedented levels of First Nations presence in the Games' Opening and Closing ceremonies. As a consequence, First Nations cultures were celebrated rather than belittled, persecuted and pushed aside. The FHFN Chiefs were treated like heads of state; extensive media coverage was afforded to the Games' Aboriginal pavilion and the Klahowya Village during the lead up and execution of the mega-event. As such it increased awareness and appreciation of Aboriginal presence not only across Canada, but around the globe. This instilled increased pride and self-esteem particularly amongst the FHFN (SLCC, SFN, LFN, key informants, August-September 2013), and also across Canada (SLCC, SFN, key informants #1, August 2013).

For the Lil'wat this pride and confidence seems to have persisted after the Games. One of the legacies specifically mentioned in interviews conducted for this study was the cultural revival that happened for the Mount Currie people. There were many workshops leading up to the Olympics including "Make your own regalia, basket weaving, carving and drum making". There were so many events where an opening song and drumming was requested in the period up to and including the Olympics that anyone interested in representing the Nation could do so (LFN, key informant #2, October 2013). The SLCC certainly was a focal point and beneficiary of all this activity, and now is a repository and museum of cultural heirlooms for the mutual benefit of visitors and the members of the First Nations alike.

The Squamish are a relatively large Nation, and after the Games some resentment arose amongst its members over perceptions that engagement had been quite exclusive. A feeling existed that only a few people from the Squamish Nation got to be part of it, experience it, see it, while the rest of the Nation was left wondering why they were left out. While the Chiefs were part of it, the benefits were perceived to be limited for most members.

> "There was an exclusivity to the Olympic Process, where only a few people came to be closely involved. The band is so stratified - you have very impoverished people and you have very high functioning people that are in the government. There were four people out on the stage for the opening ceremonies - there is obviously a sense of pride that came through with seeing all the first Nations people there, but I don't know whether that translated into the people thinking "I was really part of it". They gave out tickets and they tried to do lots of things to include people but it was very restrictive. It is a very exclusive society. After a year, once the Olympics calmed down, people go "Well, what did we get? I didn't get to go to anything, what's going on? I see you, you got to be on that stage and do all that stuff". Even though you would think that would translate into pride, I

think in a sense it resulted in a bit of anger and backlash." (SFN, key
informant #1, August 2013)

4.5.3   Legitimization and Assertion of Rights and Title

Social capital was built between representatives from different organizations (e.g. the
Four Host First Nations, the Government of BC, the Municipal Governments of
Vancouver and Whistler, VANOC and the IOC involved in developing and delivering the
Games. Some of that continues to exist. However, as time passes, the strength and
reach of that momentum capital has decreased.
"The Games related relationships are extremely important. People that didn't know each
other (before) now know each other. And you can pick up the phone and talk to
somebody." (RMOW, key informant #2, September 2013)

First Nation informants noted that in order to create a common ground for
equitable and respectful relations between themselves and other government bodies,
they first have to ensure that the individuals they are dealing with are aware of the
history of the First Nations, including the Indian Act, the residential school legacies, the
assertion of rights and title, and the legitimacy of their claims to their traditional territories.
This awareness is not yet common in current bureaucracies, as these aspects of
Canadian history are still not part of any mandatory curriculum in primary education. A
more complete impression of these legacies has only recently started to emerge as part
of the work conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
(Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2014). This creates a very lengthy and
involved process of relationship building. Due to the extensive dealings the Squamish
and Lil'wat had with all levels of government as a result of the Games process, there are
now a number of people at all levels that have created that social capital, making
relations more efficient and effortless.

> "The more boards we are on, the better, because it is this constant
> education process. The Olympics probably allowed that group of
> people to obtain that education more quickly and that was probably a
> benefit." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

One example of the building of this social capital, as a result of Games related
interaction, was the evolution of the Premier of BC at the time, Gordon Campbell,
towards First Nation matters. He began his term in office in 2001 with a highly
contentious call for a referendum on First Nations treaties, and finished in 2011 with a
thank you and respectful farewell from First Nations (Sayers, 2011). Jack Poole,

Chairman of the Board at VANOC and of Metis descent, as well as Chief Gibby Jacob from the Squamish Nation and Tewanee Joseph, CEO of the FHFN, were mentioned by several interviewees as the most influential figures in this relationship building process.

> "What ends up being meaningful now is if we have someone like Bill Williams meeting with somebody like the lieutenant governor or the Gov. Gen. and he is there in his full Regalia, doing cultural work with particular political leaders or business people. I think that this creates a recognition and familiarity so that it makes people less afraid of what they stereotypically think. That creates leverage for us because when we come to the table that familiarity is there and people see that we are working with the senior bureaucrats and word, as well as reputation spreads." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

> "The Olympics accomplished for the first time that we were present and accepted at the table. [Chief Ian Campbell] would say that we are invisible in our own land, there was a denial of that existence." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

The preceding quotes give an impression of the legacy the Games process had on creating FN legitimacy and increasing their ability to assert rights and title to their traditional territory. For the SLFN, another important piece of their legitimization was the naming project, one component of the legacies agreement. It reminded them, those that live in the area, and visitors that there were people here pre-contact and that these people continue to exist.

Another particularly powerful ambassador for First Nation claims to rights and title, especially within the boundaries of the RMOW, is the SLCC. It created an iconic presence and hub for First Nations within the boundaries of the municipality, and acts as a daily reminder of their heritage and prior claim. It is a tangible reminder for the RMOW that First Nations are present in the area, and that relations with them should be maintained.

4.5.4   Governance Legacies.

> "The sophistication of the Lil'wat increased exponentially as a result of having to go through the 2010 Winter Games process." (LFN, key informant #1, September, 2013)

The Squamish traditional territory is geographically centered in Squamish, but their main reserves are located in North Vancouver. Their reserves are strategically well placed to realize economic gains and they therefore evolved a governance capacity to handle their affairs well before the Olympic Process. Sections of Park Royal, one of the Vancouver area's largest shopping malls, is situated on Squamish Nation Land. They

also own a marina, and provide long-term leases to Metro Vancouver to operate the waste treatment plant. This provided them with a more sophisticated base from which to engage in Olympics activities.

The Lil'wat Nation are located close to the village of Pemberton, about 30 minutes drive North of Whistler. Whistler did not start developing until the late 1960's, with serious development starting only in the 1980's. Pemberton only started growing rapidly in the last 15 years, becoming a bedroom community for many people working in Whistler. The Lil'wat are also located in a different climatic zone, with colder winters and warmer summers, and much less precipitation. These factors combine so the Lil'wat have historically had little exposure to the modern economy, and were therefore much less sophisticated in their governance when the Olympic legacy planning process started. The Games for the Lil'wat were a major catalyst that forced their governance to evolve to manage the opportunities the Games and the LRMP process provided for them.

> "It's almost like they were forced to evolve when they threw their lot in with the bid book, they hopped on the train that was heading down this track. The train dragged them into a position where they had to then create their own governing capacity and that has created a lasting legacy from being involved in the games." (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013)

Using the criteria set out by the NCFNG (Figure 2.1) as a framework, overriding governance evolution patterns identified by the interviewees participating in this study follow.

The People

Squamish First Nation

The Squamish have, and have had for some time, a strategic vision about how they wish to evolve as a Nation (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013). Squamish Nation government is in many ways unique. The importance of the hereditary leaders in the Squamish government remains very strong, and while there is an elected chief and council, the continuity in governance and most of the intergovernmental relations are handled by the hereditary chiefs. In 2009, the Squamish Nation leadership created a community development plan that outlines the historic path of governance evolution and the strategic plan the Squamish Nation will embark on for the foreseeable future (Jacob et al., 2010). The publication was sent to every household in the Nation and subsequent family meetings were scheduled, where input could be given and questions could be

asked. There is a clear sense of community engagement within the Squamish Nation. While especially the Shared Legacies agreement was a key Games related opportunity that the SFN used to leverage more gains in their greater plan to assert influence and presence throughout their traditional territory, it is just a part of a series of interim agreements and strategic objectives the SFN have negotiated in the past.

Lil'wat First Nation

In 2003, the Lil'wat Chief and Council held a community meeting to determine whether they should support the Games. Despite many concerns voiced by community members at this open mic session, the council essentially ignored the concerns and voted in favour of supporting the Olympic bid, causing what resembled a "riot scene" (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013). This example demonstrates that the Lil'wat did not appear to have meaningful governance capacity to actually engage with their community and their constituents at the time.

Since then, as a legacy of the Olympic Games participation process, they have developed an election code, a citizenship code and now have policies in place to determine when and how to engage with the community in current and future planning. In 2005, the Lil'wat Nation created their first five year strategic plan, and they have subsequently updated it to the year 2014 (Tetreault & Guerin, 2011). The Strategic Plan is available for download from their website and accessible to everyone (LFN, 2005), displaying a transparency in their governance processes that involves the membership. The Olympics related agreements and the LRMP process created assets that needed to be managed responsibly and the Lil'wat were forced to create governance capacity to manage those assets.

The Land

Squamish First Nation

From 2001 onwards, the Squamish Nation was engaged in creating a land use plan for their traditional territory, called Xay Temixw (Jacob et al., 2010). This plan identified all culturally significant sites within Squamish territory. It established goals related to the designation and protection of their lands in the future (Ibid). It enabled them to bring a detailed plan to the table in the LRMP process, completed in 2007, and mentioned in Section 4.3.6. The Shared Legacies Agreement and the other Games related legacies were part of several agreements and strategic purchases that the

Squamish Nation did as part of their land use planning process over the last 15 years. By 2010, they had secured the protection of 79,392 hectares of wild spirit places, cultural training areas, cultural sites and village sites (Ibid). They are involved with the management and governance of many protected areas in the Sea-to-Sky Region, mostly as a result of the LRMP process. For the Squamish therefore, the Games were a tool to leverage a quicker and more beneficial resolution to large parts of their land use strategy that includes the increase of influence and presence in their traditional territory.

Lil'wat First Nation

At the time of the announcement of the Sea-to-Sky Highway Expansion, the Lil'wat did not have the governance capacity to actually engage in the upgrade assessment process, e.g. the designation of culturally significant sites that would have been affected by a re-routing of sections of the highway. They had to establish a land and resource department to deal with it. Since that time, Lil'wat government have created a land use plan, a heritage management plan and have also managed to negotiate the protection of many of their significant sites that were a legacy of the LRMP process, completed in 2008. The LRMP process set aside over 47,850 ha, including six new nature conservancies and 59 spirited ground areas (Bicknell, 2008).

Laws and Jurisdiction

Squamish First Nation

Through their greater land use strategy and all the interim agreements they have reached, the Squamish expanded their jurisdiction considerably. Through co-management agreements for protected areas, as well as being members of the board of the Whistler Sports Legacies Society and Community Forest, Squamish influence in their traditional territory has steadily increased. Their Intergovernmental Relations, Natural Resources and Revenue Department, led by hereditary Chiefs Gibby Jacob, Bill Williams and Ian Campbell, is a highly respected and successful department that engages in government negotiation and policy creation at all levels of government. One of the Squamish Nation's most recent successes has been their lobbying for the amendment of the Federal First Nations Commercial and Industrial Development Act (FNCIDA), which was changed in 2010 to permit the issuing of land titles to commercial developments on reserves, allowing for increased investor confidence (Aboriginal Affairs

and Northern Development, 2010a; Jacob et al., 2010). This now enables First Nations to access lending tools for major infrastructure developments.

Lil'wat First Nation

The Lil'wat have, as a result of the Olympic Games participation process created a much more comprehensive set of internal policies. In 2013 they established citizenship and membership codes that determine who is, in fact, Lil'wat, and an election code that determines eligibility and conduct in band elections. They have also passed a financial administration law and have become certified by a third party, the Financial Management Board. It is a First Nations driven organization that enables qualified First Nations to borrow from the First Nations Finance Authority. This Finance Authority works similarly to Municipal Finance Authorities, enabling the band to borrow money for capital and infrastructure improvement projects. This will be of enormous benefit to the improvement of Lil'wat infrastructure and business development on Lil'wat land, possibly creating further opportunities for conventional or tourism businesses to invest into Lil'wat territory. Previous to the Games process, the Lil'wat were close to being subjected to third party management due to their inability to handle their financial affairs properly (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013). They have also expanded their jurisdiction throughout their traditional territory through the Shared Legacies agreement and the LRMP process and are now co-managing protected areas in their territory, including 59 spirited grounds areas, co-managed with the Province of BC; and the Cheakamus Community Forest in Whistler, co-managed with the RMOW and the SFN. Especially the Community Forest co-management agreement is a legacy of the relations that were developed through the Games process.

Institutions

Squamish First Nation

Government transparency is a testament to its accountability to constituents, and it also enables the membership to participate meaningfully in governance processes. The Squamish Nation website is a good example of its quest for transparency. It is an excellent resource for members and those wishing to engage with the Nation, and is constantly updated with the latest news and events (SFN, 2012). Through their 'family meetings', the Nation Chiefs and Council have also sought extensive feedback on their Community Development Plan, which was circulated in 2010.

Their governmental departments are aligned with the functions they fulfill and they have a dedicated department that deals with inter-governmental relations and external communication, the Department of Internal Government Relations, Natural Resources and Revenue (SFN, 2012). As the Squamish already had extensive governance capacity before the Games process, and their evolution was less dramatic than that of the Lil'wat, exactly which governance innovations can be directly attributed to the Games participation processes is unclear.

Lil'wat First Nation

> "All of the Olympic stuff really forced the Lil'wat to become engaged with the Village of Pemberton, the Province, Whistler, and all these different planning processes." (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013)

Starting with the creation of the land and resources department mentioned above, the Lil'wat Government has evolved considerably as a result of the Games process. Their well-developed website is a good example of their attempt at transparency and their strategic plan is aligned with their cultural values. Their plan is centered around 9 objectives, as listed below:

1. People learning and using Ucwalmicwts (the Lil'wat language) in daily life.
2. Attaining self-determination for and by Lʼílʼwat.
3. Maximizing personal economic choice and opportunity.
4. Maximizing economic opportunity for community benefit.
5. Encouraging living Nt'akmen (The Lil'wat way).
6. Encouraging pride in a safe and secure community.
7. Creating excellence in education.
8. Maximizing control over Lʼílʼwat traditional territory.
9. Encouraging Lʼílʼwat7úl living a healthy lifestyle.

<div style="text-align:right">(Tetreault & Guerin, 2011)</div>

Due to their extensive exposure to other government bodies as a legacy of the Games planning processes, the Lil'wat have increased the effectiveness of their inter-governmental communications. (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013) For instance, their relationship with the Village of Pemberton is, according to the LFN key interviewees, quite well developed.

Resources

Squamish First Nation

The Squamish have, due to their close proximity to Vancouver and the value of their reserve territories, created a government that is able to deal and interact with the modern economy, including financing, building, property management, accountability and record keeping. Their revenue sources are diverse, although most of it comes from property taxes and lease payments. Other sources of income are grants, federal funding, agreements (like the Legacies agreement), the Mosquito Creek Marina, a Casino and Gas Station in Squamish, and some forestry. In Tourism, the Squamish have a strong relationship with Whistler-Blackcomb and the new Sea-to-Sky Gondola project. They are also stakeholders in the proposed Garibaldi at Squamish Ski Resort.

Their Human Resource capacity expanded as a legacy of especially the Sea-to-Sky Highway Agreement. Several Squamish Nation members received valuable on-the-job training and for some it helped them establish new careers. Their Tourism specific training resulted in an increased capacity through the ATBC "Trailblazer" program and the training offered by the SLCC.

Lil'wat First Nation

The Lil'wat resources have increased considerably as a result of the Games process. In 2003, the Band was close to defaulting on their debt and were being threatened to have their affairs put under third-party management. Since then they have received considerable benefits as part of the Games Legacies, but were also able to put the institutions in place to handle their assets and support themselves.

Their human resource capacity also increased considerably, as the highway construction and the associated concrete batch plant in Pemberton provided much-needed employment and training for the Lil'wat. The Lil'wat are still largely dependent on the federal funding they receive, but are starting to diversify through business development and resource management.

> "I think it helped the nations find a certain type of voice, and it opened a lot of doors for them to start working at different levels of government and within different ministries than they'd even considered working with before, because maybe the need or the opportunity just wasn't there." (RMOW, key informant #3, February 2014)

> "Because we've experienced it in the past, we know how to bring it together, we know the strengths of all the parties that are there. If there was another such project that we had to cooperate, big or small, the connections are now there." (VANOC, key informant #1, September 2013)

4.5.4.1 *VANOC as a Catalyst of Relationships*

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC) was, during the period up to and including the Olympics, a powerful actor in shaping governance relationships. The Games created a common goal for all the stakeholders involved, and VANOC was the 'binding agent' that got them all to the table for collaborations.

> "People shared a common goal, and it was a really simple common goal. We want to produce excellent games for Canada and for the world, and we want it to run well. We want people to understand it. We want it to be inclusive. I watched egos and agendas and some of the standard process and bureaucracy that often get in the way of things get parked or suspended. People were willing to do workarounds and sometimes heard our passionate pleas. The people in VANOC were definitely passionate and fought for a certain type of collaboration that we wouldn't normally achieve in day-to-day life. People got into it. They realized the power of this common good. I watched behavior shift." (VANOC, key informant #1, September 2013)

Through VANOC and the sharing of Olympic goals, all government agencies involved collaborated in unprecedented ways to create a shared success. However, since the Games, that common goal has disappeared and many of the old patterns have re-emerged.

> "Well, [VANOC] is gone. Let's go back to doing things the way we do them. Let's go back to more adversarial environments, back to hostility and downloading of costs." (VANOC, key informant #1, September 2013)

> "The great legacy of the Games could have been that all those layers of government, including municipal, provincial, federal, and First Nations, learned a new way to get along, learned a new way to come to solutions, and they don't practice them." (VANOC, key informant #1, September 2013)

4.5.5 Intangible Aboriginal Tourism Legacies

In the context of Aboriginal tourism legacies, Aboriginal Tourism BC (ATBC) was the organization that capitalized most on the Games process. With a well-developed blueprint designed to include and capitalize on the Games (ATBC, 2005), a good board of directors, competent management, and consistent and adequate funding from the federal and provincial government, ATBC was well-positioned to leverage the opportunities the Games presented as a marketing tool.

ATBC created a variety of media content prior to the Games to highlight Aboriginal Tourism that was well received from the world media. They created a feature

attraction that highlighted Aboriginal tourism, and they trained "trailblazers" for the Games.

> "The 2010 Winter Olympics, because there was such a premier focus on Aboriginal people, ATBC was able to not only take advantage of it, but really turn the association in our industry into becoming serious players in the tourism sector." (Aboriginal Tourism BC, key informant #1, December 2013)

The Games helped turn Aboriginal tourism into a legitimate sector of the tourism industry in British Columbia, and ATBC is now considered the unifying voice for the Aboriginal tourism industry. In February of 2014, ATBC partnered, for the first time, with the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) to market Canada and Aboriginal tourism to key markets in the UK and Germany (ATBC, 2014). Aboriginal Culture is now also extensively featured on Destination BC's flagship website, hellobc.com (Destination British Columbia, 2014) and the Canadian Tourism Commission features a number of ATBC members, including the SLCC, as part of their signature series collection(CTC, 2014).

The Games success have created a larger platform for Aboriginal tourism with demand growing considerably faster than the rest of the tourism sector:

> "Since the Games, we've had a lot more interest in Aboriginal tourism than ever before. This last summer (2013), 70% of [the ATBC] business community again saw significant growth, and I mean well over 10%." (ATBC, key informant #1, December 2013)

Not only has demand on the visitor side grown, but Aboriginal communities have also expressed more interest in tourism:

> "We've definitely seen, since the Games, significant increase within the Aboriginal communities here in British Columbia, wanting to look into Aboriginal tourism as a legitimate economic and cultural revitalization for their community. "(ATBC, key informant #1, December 2013)

Those individuals that were exposed to Aboriginal Tourism as a result of the Games have taken their knowledge, skill, and attitude to their communities and have fostered growth in this economic sector:

> "It took those individuals that served or worked at the Four Host First Nations in the pavilion, or worked for some of our exhibits and things we did, to a new level in terms of realizing the importance of their story and the cultural pride, and then realizing that tourism is the mechanism

for them to do that in." (Aboriginal Tourism BC, key informant #1, December 2013)

Within the Whistler area, the key legacy is the SLCC, followed by the naming project, new linkages to cultural planning, the Aboriginal carvings and art installations in town, and potential future opportunities with the privately funded Audain museum and a culture walk. For the Lil'wat especially, their involvement in the tourism sector has not been as successful as hoped:

> "People that have been involved with the Tourism Industry up here have never been able to make it sustainable. Up here it just doesn't seem like there's a market. A lot of the people that did the youth ambassadors program were keen, they got a lot of good training, only very few of them could be employed at the cultural center, did find some temporary employment in Whistler, but eventually they got worn out by the commute and the lack of a real permanent opportunity."
> (LFN, key informant #2, October 2013)

While Aboriginal Tourism throughout BC has profited considerably from the 2010 Games process, the Aboriginal tourism legacies in the Whistler area have not expanded to the same proportion. The SLCC is certainly a significant legacy, but Aboriginal Tourism is certainly only a very small component of the overall product offering in the Whistler region.

4.6 Indirect Games Legacies

During the period preceding the Games, the Provincial Government of BC engaged with the FHFN to create positive outcomes for the First Nations. Through a number of interim agreements reached with the FHFN, they also helped defuse potential criticisms regarding lack of consultation that may have come from First Nations or other human rights groups. While the literature for these interim agreements listed below does not intrinsically link them to the Games process, the timing, the size of the benefits, the speed of negotiation and their mere existence do make them worth mentioning as part of the Games legacies. One of the key informants suggested that the sizeable benefits achieved by the First Nations in these agreements and the speed of negotiation were certainly linked to the pending Olympic Games. Gains otherwise only negotiated in a lengthy treaty process were accelerated to be concluded by 2008, well before the Games had the full attention of the media.

> "The political will was there, the money was there, they wanted to get issues dealt with prior to [the Olympics] to be able to tell a successful story." (LFN, key informant #2, October 2013)

The Squamish and Lil'wat Land-use Agreements

In 1992, the Provincial Government created the Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE). This Commission instigated a new model of land and resource planning based on the concept of collaborative planning. It was called the *Land and Resource Management Plan* (LRMP) Process (Kennedy, 2012). The process was designed to unite all stakeholders in a round table planning process focused on developing a consensus concerning the designation of crown lands for specific future uses. In the Sea-to-Sky LRMP, the primary designations were for *Wildland* and *Protected Area* uses (Kennedy, 2012). The First Nations of each Region were also included as stakeholders in this negotiation process and therefore their interests were represented in the final plan. One of the Plan's outcomes were the Squamish and Lil'wat land use agreements.

These two agreements reshaped the land-use arrangements, affecting where the Nations' traditional territories were located. The agreements:

- Recognized 22 cultural sites on Squamish territory encompassing 3063 hectares (ha)
- Added 11,000 ha to respective provincial parks within the Squamish traditional territory
- Created a collaborative agreement concerning the management of fish and wildlife within the traditional territory of the Squamish

(Bicknell, 2007)

- Created six new nature conservancies encompassing 39, 000 hectares
- Protected 59 Spirited Ground Areas of the Lil'wat comprised of 8,850 ha
- Provided the Lil'wat with commercial recreation development opportunities

(Bicknell, 2008)

In summary, the Squamish and Lil'wat Land-use agreements, negotiated in 2007 and 2008 respectively, put aside vast tracts of land as protected and possible recreation areas. The Lil'wat agreement specifically mentions the possibility of developing recreational venues and the Squamish agreement managed to add 11,000 hectares to existing Provincial Parks (Bicknell, 2008).

Bicknell (2008) attributes the signing of the Land use agreements between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations and the Provincial government of BC (Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, 2008) to three factors: The new commitment to reconciliation and respect the Government of BC entered in 2005 (Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2011), the LRMP process and to demonstrate the Province's commitment to hosting a

sustainable Olympics in 2010 (Bicknell, 2007, 2008; Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, 2007, 2008).

4.7 Factors Shaping First Nation Governance Evolution in the Whistler Area

4.7.1 The Evolution of Governance Relations in Whistler Pre-Olympics

Relations between the LFN and the RMOW go back to the 1990's, when Lyle Leo (Economic Development Officer, Lil'wat Nation) and Bill Barratt (RMOW) began talks about creating a First Nations Cultural Center within the municipality's boundaries. The site of the current Cultural Center was designated by representatives of the LFN and the RMOW in the period between 1996 to 1998. Hugh O'Reilly, mayor of Whistler from 1996-2005, was supportive of a good relationship with First Nations and an initial relationship was established with a joint intention of improving relations and creating a cultural centre within Whistler. The fact that a working relationship between the LFN and the RMOW already existed prior to the creation of the Shared Legacies Agreement in 2002 was an essential building block to ensure its successful completion. It was through the Squamish Lil'wat Protocol agreement (Squamish & Lil'wat Nation, 2001), the Shared Legacies Agreement (Government of British Columbia, 2002) and gathering momentum from the Olympic Bid Process from 2001 to 2003 that the SFN became part of the plan that resulted in the Shared Legacies agreement.

With the establishment of VANOC in 2003, the SLFN were given seats on the VANOC Supervisory Board, and the representative for the RMOW on the Board was Jim Godfrey, who had held the position of Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the RMOW up until his move to becoming the Director of the Olympics in Whistler. This enabled Godfrey to create a rapport with the First Nations, as well.

The negotiation and completion of the Shared Legacies Agreement and the Legacy Land Agreement in 2007 created a small group of individuals with a collectively high level of social capital. The group consisted of Chiefs Gibby Jacob and Bill Williams of the Squamish Nation, Lyle Leo of the Lil'wat Nation and Bill Barratt of the RMOW. Mayor Ken Melamed (2005-2011) was also supportive of keeping and enhancing relations with the First Nations. This group was instrumental in the execution of the Shared Legacies and Legacy Land Agreements up until some of the members left their post. Leo left in 2009, and Barratt retired from his post as CAO for Whistler in 2011,

shortly before the Mayor and Council were completely replaced in a clean-sweep election. Godfrey went into retirement after the Olympics.

4.7.2 Post-Olympics

After the Olympics, the retirement/replacement of the three key Whistler governance actors (Jim Godfrey, Bill Barratt and Ken Melamed) left a void that has yet to be filled completely. However, some relationships persist. The RMOW currently interacts in governance matters with the Squamish and Lil'wat Nation through the following four channels:

The Whistler Sports Legacies Society

The Shared Legacies Agreement granted the SLFN representation on the board of directors of the steering committee of the Legacies Society. The Society manages a $110 million endowment fund supporting the running of athletic facilities remaining from the Olympics (Columbia, 2002; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). The current board of the Whistler Sports Legacies Society consists of representatives from the following members:

- Resort Municipality of Whistler
- Canadian Paralympic Committee
- Province of British Columbia
- VANOC
- Canadian Olympic Committee
- Squamish First Nation
- Lil'wat FirstNation

<div align="center">(Origin Design & Communications, 2014)</div>

This representation gives the SLFN an important voice in the current and future development of the Olympic venues, including the Nordic facility in the Callaghan Valley. Currently the 70 km of cross-country ski trails at the Nordic venue serves locals and visitors. The Society also operates the Sliding Centre for tourism purposes and occasionally hosts official competitions (Zimmerman, 2010). One of the key informants indicated that the input the First Nations have had into the governance processes of the Sport Legacies Society has been invaluable. They are able to add a human dimension and consideration, beyond merely making the numbers work.

The Cheakamus Community Forest

The Cheakamus Community Forest is run by a not-for-profit society comprised of representatives from the Resort Municipality of Whistler, Lil'wat and Squamish Nations. Comprised of more than 30,000 hectares of forest around Whistler, it was established in 2009 when the RMOW and the First Nations jointly signed a 25-year tenure with the Province to ensure responsible management of the natural assets around Whistler. The forest is sustainably harvested and managed and approximately half of it is protected for conservation of local flora and fauna (Forest, 2014). The members of the board in 2013 were:

- Chief Bill Williams, Squamish Nation
- Jeff Fisher, Squamish Nation
- Chief Lucinda Phillips, Lil'wat Nation
- Kerry Mehaffey, Lil'wat Nation
- Mayor Nancy Wilhelm-Morden, Resort Municipality of Whistler
- Duane Jackson, Resort Municipality of Whistler

(Cheakamus Community Forest, 2014)

This channel is currently the only opportunity for the elected officials of all parties to meet face-to-face on a formal, scheduled basis and create some social capital.

The Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre

The Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre (SLCC) is a focal point of First Nations presence in Whistler. Relations between the cultural planning department of the RMOW and the SLCC are reported to be close and regular. As the General Manager of the SLCC reports to the BOD consisting of the Squamish and Lil'wat Nation leadership, this is an indirect, but in many ways significant channel of communication between the Nations and the RMOW. This relationship is a potential launching point for a better relationship throughout the whole RMOW government.

> "Bringing First Nations into the day-to-day culture of the community is a really important element of what [the cultural planning department at the RMOW] does. We accept, applaud and honor the fact that First Nations have been here for over 8000 years and they are an integral part of this landscape both culturally and from a commercial perspective both historically and currently." (RMOW, key informant #1, August 2013)

Formal Inter-Government Channels

Whistler was relatively buffered from the global economic downturn of 2008-9, as large investments were made in the area immediately preceding the Olympics. After the Olympics, this 'economic bubble' burst and the reality of the economic downturn of 2008

belatedly and dramatically affected Whistler (Williams & Gill, 2013). Development expenditures and other sustainability and culturally focused investments were questioned by resident and business stakeholders. In a change of public opinion, economic conditions and momentum, the mayor, the council and the CAO were completely replaced with a new administration in 2011. An indirect but important effect of this turn around was that much of the social capital previously developed between the First Nations and the RMOW departed, and the subsequent rebuilding of relations has been very slow.

In 2013, the BC Government approved Whistler's new Official Community Plan (OCP). Subsequently, the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations filed a petition in the BC Supreme Court (Ratcliff & Company LLP, 2013), objecting to the approval of the OCP on the basis that the BC government had not provided them with sufficient consultation during its creation.

The main concern of the FNs was that the OCP's hard cap on development precluded the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations from developing lands within Whistler in the future, even though this land was within their traditional territory (Barrett, 2013). Another concern was that the hard cap prevented them from fully developing the lands they received in the Shared Legacies Agreement.

> "The whole issue around the OCP approval is indicative of how the relationship has disintegrated. The problem there is that during the time where these new legacies were being negotiated there was personal good working relationships with some other personalities involved, but that was a former administration and there was nothing institutionalized that's keeping them at the table working through issues." (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013)

In response, the Provincial Government claimed hat the "Nations failed to identify any specific activities or Aboriginal rights affected by the OCP. An Aboriginal right must be an activity that is an element of a practice, custom or tradition integral to the culture." (Barrett, 2013) The Government felt that economic development or an "economic interest" was not considered an Aboriginal right protected by the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982 (Barrett, 2013).

In addition, the RMOW asked the Supreme Court to dismiss the petition outright. It claimed that the 2007 Land Legacies Agreement bound all parties agreed to abide by the tenets set forth in Whistler's OCP and associated zoning bylaws.

Due to related petitions before the BC Supreme Court, the researcher was unable to interview any RMOW representatives closely involved in the matter. However, the sentiment amongst the First Nations interviewees clearly was that they were prevented from fully realizing the potential of the Shared Legacies Agreement because of the restrictions placed upon their lands by zoning bylaws and the new OCP. RMOW Key Informant #3, who was closely involved with the creation of the Shared Legacies and Land Legacies Agreements, argued that those involved in the process knew exactly the extent of the benefits and constraints negotiated. The informant felt that First Nations leaders were now being pressured by their constituents to leverage further benefits that extended beyond the initial agreement. The Shared Legacies Agreement was a three-way agreement with the Province of BC, the RMOW and the two First Nations. The informant further felt that the RMOW had little to gain from agreeing to provide FNs with 300 acres of land within the Municipality. However, it agreed to do so, provided that the FNs abided by Whistler's OCP and zoning bylaws, and that the town acquired a 300 acre expansion of its municipal boundary, ownership of an expansive Day Skier Parking Lot immediately adjacent to the resort's Lower Village, and several other benefits (Barratt, 2007a).

The petition before the court was resolved in favour of the SLFNs on June 4th, 2014. The ruling resulted in the "quashing of the OCP approval by the Provincial Government" (*Squamish Nation v. British Columbia (Community, Sport and Cultural Development), Supreme Court of BC*, 2014). The Provincial government and the RMOW government must now revise their level of consultation and accommodation with First Nations on OCP matters. Future negotiations and relationship building will likely occur as this contestation proceeds. Additionally, a subsequent decision from the Supreme Court of Canada will likely influence future relationships. In Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia decision (*Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada*, 2014), a much stronger claim to traditional territory and therefore a much higher level of consultation and accommodation was established. This set of rights will now likely be exercised in Whistler with respect to future use of affected lands and resources in the area.

4.7.3   First Nations and Other Governance Relationships

During the research process, several relationships between First Nations and other institutions were identified and examined. The emerging findings provide some

useful guidelines for engagement between FN and other governments in land and resource matters.

4.7.3.1   The Lil'wat and the Village of Pemberton

The Village of Pemberton is located in traditional Lil'wat territory and is adjacent to Mount Currie, the main reserve for the Lil'wat tribe. It is approximately 30 minutes drive North of Whistler and approx. 2400 people live in Pemberton. Tourism is the major employer, with 24% of the population working in accommodation and food services, 13% in arts, entertainment and recreation and 13% in retail. Pemberton is known as a potato farming community, but farming and logging only employs 1.8% of the population (Village of Pemberton, 2014). Many of the residents in Pemberton work in Whistler.

Pemberton now has an active and engaged working relationship with the Lil'wat Nation and this can be linked to two factors:

1. The current Chief Administrative Officer for Pemberton, Daniel Sailland, was the Administrator of the Lil'wat Nation from 2006-2010. This means that there are people in both institutions that have the cross-cultural and background knowledge to know and appreciate the other parties' position.
2. Both communities are small and their economies are closely intertwined. Pemberton and Mount Currie are in close proximity to each other and are interdependent in many respects, including decisions concerning infrastructure like power, water, and roads. Since the economic base for both communities is not very strong, there is more incentive to combine their resources to achieve common goals.

As a result, Pemberton and Mount Currie have combined efforts on several joint initiatives, including the Winds of Change Project. It is "a 10 year old community-to-community initiative to build healthy relationships and respect between the people of the Lil'wat Nation, N'Quatqua, Pemberton and Area C of the Squamish Lillooet Regional District" (Richardson, 2014). LFN key informant #2 mentioned that while objectives and goals may differ between the two communities, and this may result in some disagreements, a growing level of mutual respect and healthy dialogue exists. In recent times, they have cooperated on several infrastructure projects, including water supply agreements between Mount Currie and Pemberton.

4.7.3.2   The Sliammon and the City of Powell River

As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the City of Powell River and the Sliammon Nation had a healthy relationship after the development of their 2003 Community Accord in which the Powell River municipal administration reached out to the Sliammon Nation to reconcile

grievances concerning the destruction of culturally significant sites along the new seawall walkway. After the signing of the Community Accord, there were numerous examples of the improved relationship between SFN and Powell River. From a governance perspective, they were:

- Powell River and Sliammon FN appointed intergovernmental coordinators and initiated intergovernmental meetings
- A Sliammon FN member joined the City's official community plan steering community
- Powell River, the Regional District and Sliammon FN set up a tripartite intergovernmental community planning technical committee

                    (Aboriginal Business & Investment Council, 2013)

The formal relationship building process was built over a period of about two years and was expedited efficiently because both parties wanted to resolve their differences and move forward with future social and economic opportunities.

To receive an update on the relationship, an interview with a representative of the City of Powell River was conducted. While there has been a considerable turnover in elected officials and administrative staff since the Accord was first established, the relationship between the Sliammon and Powell River remains strong. Powell River key informant #1 credits this to the community accord being augmented by a protocol agreement in 2004 related to matters of culture, heritage and economic development. Since then, service agreements in the area of water, transit, fire and libraries have been established (Aboriginal Business & Investment Council, 2013; Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2014). These formal ties form the basis for a continuing relationship that has been able to withstand changes in personnel on both sides and formalizes a working relationship between the two parties.

The commonalities between the Pemberton/Lil'wat and Powell River/Sliammon scenario are that they involve relatively remote communities working together. On their own, these communities do not have strong economic drivers and are limited in resources. In these cases, they have shared resources and talents to achieve otherwise unattainable common goals. In contrast, Whistler has a strong economic driver that creates comparatively abundant resources. This economic independence has enabled Whistler to avoid engaging with the SLFN and other municipalities in their proximity until now.

4.7.3.3   The SLFN and Whistler-Blackcomb

Whistler-Blackcomb Holdings Inc. operates the ski resort in Whistler and is also its largest employer. It is a publicly traded company. Whistler-Blackcomb has actively engaged with the SLFN since the 1998 Delgamuukw' ruling, which affirmed rights and title on crown land in BC. The majority of the ski resort is on tenured crown land. This means that it is in Whistler Blackcomb's best interest to remain on positive terms with the SLFN and to foster strong and positive working relationships with them.

In the late 1990's to the mid 2000's there was a housing shortage in Whistler and many Lil'wat community members were young and unemployed. Because the commute to Whistler was reasonable, Whistler-Blackcomb reached out to employ Lil'wat people. Actual employment on a significant level did not occur. LFN key informant #2 pointed out that many of Whistler Blackcomb's entry-level positions are now filled with young workers who are looking for a Season's Pass to the resort and are paid entry level wages. However, for the Lil'wat the 30-minute commute to a low-paying job and a season's pass they made no use of was little incentive, resulting in few Lil'wat members actually committing to this opportunity. However, the gesture and the actual act of reaching out seems to have left a positive impression.

Whistler-Blackcomb also supports a First Nations Snowboard Team, the *Bladerunner* program, and, through the Whistler Blackcomb Foundation, the *Winds of Change* Initiative. In addition, the Whistler-Blackcomb Foundation has, since 1992, supported multiple non-for profits organizations associated with the SLFN. These include various types of contributions to the *Lil'wat Cultural Society*, *Spo7ez Cultural Centre & Community Society*, the *Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre* and *Xit'olacw Community School* (Whistler Blackcomb Foundation, 2014). For the opening of the Peak-to-Peak Gondola in 2008, Whistler Blackcomb commissioned the creation and erection of a totem pole, along with the decoration of one of the gondola cabins with FN artwork. While philanthropic to a degree, many of these contributions are designed to foster stronger social capital and positive relations with FNs, so that the company's continuance of tenured crown land use and exposure to First Nations accommodation can be managed effectively. Key informants from the First Nations and Whistler-Blackcomb spoke about the relationship between the communities and company in a very positive manner.

4.8   Suggestions for Improvement in Governance Interaction

As part of the interview process, each interviewee was asked questions concerning the governance interaction between the SLFN and the RMOW and how it could be improved. The discussions created a collection of suggestions that can act as a guideline for future engagement in intergovernmental relations.

Creating a Long-term Relationship

Throughout the Olympic Games process, there was a consistent group of actors involved in guiding development activities. This led to relationship building processes that created mutual trust and respect. Once this dynamic was established, the opportunity for creating other collaborative outcomes, like the Shared Legacies agreement, became possible. All interviewees emphasized the importance of taking the time to establish a personal relationship between the actors. This takes time, effort, and willingness from both sides.

"One lunch does not create a relationship." (VANOC, key informant #1, August 2013)

This works well as long as the actors stay the same. In the case of Whistler, all the relevant actors changed over a very short period of time, and the relationship that had been established was compromised.

"Relationships you may have with an organization aren't with the organization. They're with the people in the organization. And post games, some of the key champions of building a better relationship with First Nations, turning it into tangible opportunities like the SLCC. A number of the driving forces behind that work for Whistler left." (LFN, key informant #1, September 2013)

"Without the continuity of personnel on both sides, the momentum of the good relationships, the opportunity to work together to build something where everybody wins, with Whistler at the center of that, was lost." (VANOC, key informant #1, August 2013)

Since no formal policies for continuing the relationship were in place, the new administration had no obligation beyond their personal beliefs to establish that relationship again.

When asked about how to create long-term relationships that are able to withstand changes in personnel, the interviewees suggested the following paths:

- Creating Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) and/or protocol agreements containing guidelines for interactions between the parties that formalize method

and type of interaction, as well as spheres of influence each party has on each other's matters.

- Creating regional advisory committees with representatives from the municipalities, the First Nations and the Squamish Regional District to cover the whole Sea-to-Sky corridor. These advisory committees could possibly cover land-use interests, regional governance matters, and creating engagement policies between the parties.

   "Having ongoing advocacy that maintains stronger relationships between the nations and the three communities that really continues to look at ideas and opportunities and small wins that maybe can lead to delivering bigger wins, or who help set the groundwork for the bigger wins, because you've built up more trusting relationships." (VANOC, key informant #1, August 2013)

- A Squamish Nation representative argued that a cultural shift, like that in South Africa, for Canadians to engage with the First Nations on a fair, long-term basis, is necessary. Currently the Canadian population is generally relatively unaware of the whole legacy of past treatment of the First Nations. Prejudices and ignorance continue to affect relationships between FN and the rest of the Canadian population. Processes like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are starting to shed light on past situations, but until the full legacy of the Indian Act and Residential Schools is common knowledge, relations will not be equitable and respectful.

"Right now people show discomfort with the values we as a Nation hold, like traditional uses, secret places, etc. If we approach them with a more Western, business-like mind, they are much more open to talk. If you show up in traditional garb and approach them kindly, they will feel comfortable, but not take you seriously. If you come in strongly, claiming case law, rights and title, etc. then they try to throw up their defenses and will not engage. You need to go through the truth and reconciliation process and come away with a meaningful, even playing field." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

Having a Common Goal

The Games created a unifying force around a common goal. It was in all parties' best interest to work together to create the best Olympics possible, and therefore other agendas were pushed aside. One interviewee suggested that the relationships should be fostered on a project-by-project basis (like the Whistler Community Forest), where synergies created around common goals could gradually create trust that could extend into other initiatives.

   "You have to take the time to build the personal relationships that will foster the trust. When you're treating each other simply as business associates, even metaphorically, everybody's still sitting there with their suits and ties on. And if nobody bridges some of the personal gaps, or if you don't create a sense of colleagues and a shared common goal, they won't be effective." (VANOC, key informant #1, August 2013)

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Creating Mutual Trust and Respect

The most important factor that all interviewees stressed is that there needs to be a willingness to engage and to acknowledge and respect the other parties. Without that willingness or the perceived need to engage, nothing will happen.

> "I think going back to one of the real strong foundations is partnerships and partnerships with key organizations and key stakeholders. First Nations are a key stakeholder and a key partner, just like Tourism Whistler, just like Whistler Blackcomb are very, very important to the long-term future success. And developing personal relationships is important." (RMOW, key informant #2, September 2013)

> "The only time their mayor is in contact with the Lil'wat is when he or she needs to meet due to some consultation obligations and I understand the mayor will call the Chiefs every once in a while, but I think it's a pretty shallow relationship. There is a lot of repairing there that needs to happen." (VANOC, key informant #1, August 2013)

5 Discussion

The findings in this research process identified the extent and breadth of governance evolution for the SLFN as a result of the Olympic Games planning, development and delivery processes. While the Squamish Nation considerably advanced its already existing agenda and further consolidated a foothold in its traditional territory, the Lil'wat Nation evolved from a situation with little governance capacity and an inward orientation to a more financially stable, outwardly engaged governance position that has clearly advanced in all the criteria provided by the National Centre for First Nation Governance (NCFNG, 2008). The Olympics provided the FHFN with the leverage necessary to be at the table of several Games related political forums involving key municipal, provincial and VANOC decision makers. The relationships, confidence and respect the First Nations representatives gained from engaging in these decision-making processes are probably the most lasting and significant legacies that were derived from the Games.

The SLFN secured several tangible legacies through high profile projects like the Sea-to-Sky Highway, and the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre, which brought with them much needed infrastructure and infusions of significant amounts of money. However, equally as important were intangible legacies in the shape of a renewed sense of identity within the Nations, along with increased pride, self-esteem, employment and skills development.

The Games themselves provided a platform for an unprecedented acknowledgement and celebration of the Aboriginal people of Canada, where their public image of First Nations arguably became more positively entwined with the country's modern identity. Canadian knowledge and awareness of Aboriginal First Nations, their people, concerns and aspirations increased in positive ways (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011; Zimmerman, 2010; Aboriginal Tourism BC key informant #1).

The evolution of governance relations between the RMOW and Whistler, spearheaded by a few champions, improved throughout the pre-Games period. This enabled the RMOW and the SLFN to leverage benefits through the Shared Legacies Agreement. However, during the post-Games era, many of the RMOW champions have

changed positions and responsibilities and the new leaders are less engaged with their First Nations counterparts. This situation has shifted relationships for the most part from a relatively cooperative to a more formal and confrontational basis. Notwithstanding this situation, some signs of positive engagement persist from the Games particularly with respect to cultural event programming in Whistler. This may provide a useful path for rekindling more cooperative and mutually beneficial relationships. The following discussion explores how better relationships between a municipality like Whistler and First Nations can be nurtured.

5.1 The Constitution Act of 1982 and its Repercussions

Aboriginal Rights and Title to traditional territories were affirmed and embedded in the Constitution of Canada in 1982. The implications of that inclusion have slowly emerged over the last 32 years. Supreme Court of Canada cases and rulings such as Delgammukw (1998), Haida and Taku (2004) and most recently, Tsilhqot'in (2014) have all helped bring greater clarity to Aboriginal rights with respect to the ownership and use of lands in regions where treaties were signed. Despite the progress that has transpired as a result of these rulings, much room for interpretation and uncertainty remains with respect to their implementation. For instance, for the most part the rulings dealt with interpretations in areas of Federal and Provincial government jurisdiction. Interestingly, municipalities currently do not have the duty to consult and accommodate First Nation interests. Irrespective of this legal context, there is a growing need to engage First Nations in municipal affairs in a variety of contexts.

5.2 Governance relations between the SLFN and Whistler

Overall governance relations between the SFLN and Whistler are assessed based on their relative alignment with the FN protocol engagement guidelines identified in Table 2.2. Key informant perspectives provided during interviews, as well as personal observations emerging from the overall study process, are used to assess the degree of alignment with these guidelines.

Mutual Trust and Respect

Relations between the SLFN and the RMOW were characterized as lacking mutual trust and respect by all First Nation interviewees. Engagement appeared to be reluctant and heavy-handed.

"The current mayor actually stood up in a council meeting and said that she totally disagrees with the First Nations getting any of this land…." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

"We were invited to write a 600 word introduction for the OCP, a couple of policies around the protection of cultural, environmental things that would have been in the plan regardless of our involvement. We wrote it and then they edited it, they didn't like what we wrote."(LFN, key informant #2, October 2013)

Establish Regular Meetings

For the most part, regular meetings between the RMOW and First Nations have not been frequent since the conclusion of the Games. The only occasions when regular interactions happen is during Whistler Community Forest Board of Directors meetings. In 2013, the protest movement "Idle No More" was successful in calling attention to Aboriginal rights struggles on a national scale. Its media and political traction triggered the RMOW to engage in some initial outreach to the elected chiefs of the SLFN (LFN, key informant #2, October 2013; SFN, key informant #1, August 2013). Otherwise, at the time of the interviews, (October-November, 2013) only a few informal luncheons had occurred between SLFN and RMOW leaders since the RMOWs election of a new Mayor and Council in 2011. This is in stark contrast to the regular and frequent interactions that transpired during the run-up to the Games.

Involve and Inform the Public, Media, Business, Other Governments About Mutual Successes

Since the 2011 election, no mutual achievements have been reported. For the most part, stakeholder communications have been limited to news releases in local media concerning the status of court petitions regarding the legitimacy of the OCP process.

Establish Protocols, Agreements or Guiding Principles

The RMOW provides the SLCC with an ongoing exemption from municipal property taxes. While direct discussions concerning a formalized protocol agreement between the RMOW and the SLFN regarding guidelines for engagement commenced development just prior to the Games, no formal pact was ever ratified. Since the 2011 change in RMOW's Mayor and Council, the protocol initiative has remained stalled. Without a more continuous and well-functioning dialogue between SLFN and the RMOW it is unlikely that this important protocol will be completed.

Establish and Participate in Joint Committees

Joint committee engagement is limited. Currently, only the Whistler Sports Legacies Society and the Cheakamus Community Forest organizations provide joint committee representation for SLFN and the RMOW members. While opportunities for further committee engagement exist, they are currently constrained by legal as well as limited levels of social capital presence.

Keep the First Nation Members Informed and Involved; be Certain to Celebrate Successes and Milestones with Them.

Since 2011, consultation and accommodation between the RMOW and the SLFN have been limited. Indeed the most recent Supreme Court of BC ruling (*Squamish Nation v. British Columbia (Community, Sport and Cultural Development), Supreme Court of BC*, 2014) clearly indicates that such inclusion was inadequate (Barrett, 2014). While the duty to consult and accommodate lies with the Provincial Government and not with the RMOW, future consultation has to either happen directly with the RMOW, or be facilitated by the Provincial Government. There have been few specific joint successes to celebrate apart from strengthening relationships and plans associated with incorporating the SLCC into future cultural development programs in Whistler. At a more corporate level, the SLFN continue to build good relations with Whistler-Blackcomb. There is also a growing presence and extended variety of other First Nations art displays throughout Whistler Village. Initially created as part of an Olympic cultural program, their presence continues and more cultural displays have been installed in the post-Games period.

Design Governance Models to Achieve Fair and Equal Representation from Each Partner

The only governance models that appear to have achieved fair and equal representation from each partner are associated with the Cheakamus Community Forest and the Whistler Sports Legacy Society organizations. Each was established in the previous administration period, 2009 and 2010, respectively. Both have continued since the Games completion, and appear to be operating in an inclusive and equitable manner.

Recognize Jurisdictional Limits

SLFN informants felt that since 2011 the RMOW representatives seemed less informed and less concerned about First Nations' jurisdictional rights and powers than

during the Games:

> "I've been in meetings and actually asked if they've ever been on [the Squamish Nation] website. [The RMOW] didn't know anything and they seemed fine not knowing anything. They'll ask a lot of questions that shows their ignorance. They would ask what rights do you have to this land anyways? They would bring all their preconceptions and stereotypes to the table. Unless you establish a connection, there is a constant denial about everything you say." (SFN, key informant #1, August 2013)

They also felt that Whistler's ultimate goal was to expand its boundaries into the current Crown land and traditional territories of these Nations. As such, the informants believed that Whistler was obliged to consult and accommodate them with respect to any proposed developments on those lands. However, in the few meetings the SLFN had with the RMOW it was a perception that the municipal representatives were deliberately ignoring and/or minimizing the influence of First Nations in these areas. SLFN informants indicated that their interests should be accommodated for several reasons. First they were concerned that future expansions sought by Whistler would be used primarily for adventure destination purposes, like skiing, ATV riding, snow-cat skiing, mountain biking and snowmobiling. These activities might lead to environmental degradation affecting First Nation use of these traditional territories. It was felt that such uses would conflict with the traditional land uses of the Squamish and Lil'wat, like hunting, fishing and trapping. In addition, they felt that the affected lands offered opportunities for micro-hydro power generation, and could also lead to potential carbon credits. Maintaining some control over the development and management of these possibilities was considered important to First Nation future economic and community development. As such they believed that allowing Whistler to expand its boundaries without appropriate consultation and accommodation would lead to the exclusion of the SLFN from jurisdiction and control over the use and management of these lands and the loss of any benefits that might accrue as a result of these actions. The First Nation interviewees were unclear whether or not Whistler was fully aware of its jurisdictional limits and/or if it was deliberately employing tactics to minimize First Nations opportunities.

Host Cross-Cultural Training Sessions in Order to Understand Each Partner

First Nation respondents emphasized the importance of cross-cultural relationship building processes with potential partners. In the case of Whistler, they suggested that this might involve a series of First Nation orientation sessions with RMOW employees and elected representatives. They suggested that new First Nation chiefs and elected council members should be given the opportunity to introduce themselves and connect with their municipal counterparts to discuss mutual goals and opportunities. No meaningful sessions of this type have occurred since the Olympics.

Adopt Hiring Practices that Remove Barriers and Support First Nations and Local Employment.

There are few public programs in place to increase First Nations employment in Whistler. The RMOW is one of the larger employers in Whistler and it requires all types of employees from seasonal gardeners to accountants, planners and lawyers. Currently the RMOW has no targeted programs in place that encourage the hiring and training of First Nations people for any of these positions. Conversely, Whistler-Blackcomb supports a novel Blade Runners Program. It is an initiative designed to engage, train and employ at-risk youth and young First Nations people. They are also sponsors of the First Nations Snowboard Team program that provides guidance and life skills, as well as potential employment opportunities as snowboard instructors. While current statistics of First Nations employment in Whistler are unavailable, there is a general sense amongst respondents that employment opportunities are expanding in the private sector.

Prepare Strategies for Building Relationships with First Nations and Ensure this Strategy is Endorsed and Enforced in all Operations.

SLFN representatives believed that the RMOW had no formal strategy in place to build and strengthen relationships with First Nations. While previous Councils and RMOW administrators reached out to First Nations, and some key members of the municipal government created personal connections that continue to exist, the First Nation respondents believed no formalized or institutional strategies were in place to nurture such relationships.

Utilize the Knowledge and Wisdom of First Nations Elders to Provide Guidance on Environmental Issues and Concerns.

First Nations hold their elders in high esteem. They are the record keepers tasked with passing on cultural information from generation to generation. They possess knowledge about former village sites, hunting grounds and spirit places. They also know traditional languages and customs associated with their culture. SLFN informants indicated that people in their Nations consulted their elders extensively in their respective land use planning process to identify places of cultural significance. Currently consultation of these elders is not practiced in land planning matters. Much opportunity exists to build important social capital with these First Nations through consultations with these elders.

The Games planning processes and the negotiation process for establishing the Shared Legacies Agreement created considerable social capital between the RMOW and the SLFN. This social capital was, however, limited to a few key individuals closely involved in the negotiations. At the time, this social capital provided the opportunity to formalize the relationship and embed it into ongoing governance systems, but this did not occur. Since then, many Games related personnel in the RMOW have moved on, and the momentum of that social capital no longer exists. To date, the RMOW's current administration has not placed a high priority on reinvigorating this relationship, with the result that current relations are strained. The Supreme Court quashing of the OCP approval provides a new incentive and opportunity for the parties to renew such relationships and move forward.

5.3 Path Creation Factors in First Nation Governance Evolution

To enable new, cooperative relationships with First Nations, several factors should be considered. The following discussion identifies some of those factors and provides insight into opportunities for path creation.

Human Agency	Power	Urgency
• Human Resource Capacity (personal beliefs, education, ability to seize the opportunity, leadership)	• Education in aboriginal history, rights and title, duty to consult (ethical obligation) • Ability to influence events (protest, lawsuit, veto power)	• Constraints to the negotiation process

Figure 5.1 Games Related Path Creation Governance Forces

5.3.1 Human Agency and Social Capital in First Nation Governance Relations

According to Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions (Hofstede, 1984), traditional First Nations Cultures in BC can be described as *collectivist* and *feminine*. In this case, *collectivist* stands for a culture that is structured as a tightly knit social framework where there is a high degree of inter-dependence among its membership. *Feminine* in this context describes a culture that focuses more on relationships, caring for the weak, and quality of life. Interpersonal relationships are highly valued among First Nations and the community's needs come before those of the individual.

Using Hall's (1976) descriptors, First Nations Culture is considered to be extremely *high context*. Much implicit information is transferred from one generation to the next and it is difficult to transmit to outsiders. It involves a lot of communication and very little formal learning. These characteristics combined suggest that social capital to First Nations is probably the most important factor to consider when creating relations. First Nations establish long-term relationships built on trust, mutual respect and common ground in order to create successful governance relations.

Williams and Gill (2013) argue that entrepreneurship and the power of human agency is critical to create the momentum and know-how needed to shift governance paths. In the interviews conducted for this research, the governance evolution and the relationship between the stakeholders revolved around several key players in the process. For the Squamish Nation, Chief Gibby Jacob was mentioned as the key leader that is well-respected, powerful and influential. For the Lil'wat Nation, Lyle Leo was

mentioned as the essential influencer in government relations. For the RMOW, Bill Barratt was considered a central contact for First Nations in creating the Legacies agreement. For VANOC, Jack Poole was viewed as the key champion for First Nations involvement, especially at the very beginning of the bid process. The RMOW had Jim Godfrey as their director of the Olympic Games, and he also had a well-established rapport with the SLFN during his tenure as CAO in Whistler. Hugh O'Reilly and Ken Melamed, former Mayors of Whistler from 1996 – 2011, demonstrated their willingness and ability to create relationships with the SLFN, easing the way into better governance interactions. The FHFN were led by a dynamic leader in Tewanee Joseph, who was able to create meaningful dialogue between all stakeholders, and legitimize First Nations presence in the Games governance process.

These individual leaders, along with their support staff, were able to create lasting tangible and intangible legacies for the FHFN and Whistler. The exposure and interaction required for the Games process forced other stakeholders to interact and learn about each other. This education process was deemed essential by the Squamish First Nation to create a relationship based on mutual trust and respect. A process of continual First Nations conditioning of all levels of government about past Aboriginal issues and established Court rulings is still necessary for creating the understanding and momentum needed to move Aboriginal interests forward.

5.3.2 Power

The Games, and the associated global spotlight created, gave the FHFN unprecedented leverage to influence and/or potentially disrupt the outcomes of this mega-event. The image of Vancouver, BC and Canada was at stake and the threat of protests was a powerful negotiation tool for the First Nations. The fact that Supreme Court decisions at the time supported and backed the power of First Nations in BC further cemented the real power the FHFN had to influence events. This power provided the foundation for fast, proactive and efficient cooperation between all agencies involved. The success of the Shared Legacies, LRMP, Sea-to-Sky Highway, and financial agreements were all a testimony to the real power that First Nations possessed at the time. Once the Games were over, a substantial portion of that leverage disappeared. The only power that remained was that provided through the Supreme Court rulings. Cases in this field are still few and there is therefore much room for interpretation. Only through case-by-case testing of the new laws' meaning in practical terms will the effect

of this ruling be more fully understood. In the meantime, governments can choose to take either a reactive or a proactive approach in forcing such interpretations to become part of ongoing practice. The tendency is to default towards a reactive approach, but there are now several examples of proactive action that have helped clarify options with respect to other rulings. Reactive approaches generally have large price tags attached, whereas more proactive strategies tend to avoid many legal and transactional costs.

Another form of power the First Nations are slowly acquiring is that associated with ethical obligation. As the public becomes more informed and knowledgeable about Aboriginal history, the residential school legacy, the rights and title they possess to their traditional land, and our duty to consult and accommodate, the more likely it is that the sense of ethical obligation will allow governments and politicians to acknowledge and accommodate their rights. As public opinion swings, so do governments and their actions.

5.3.3 Urgency

The Games process created a clear and absolute timeline for creating successful outcomes for all stakeholders. This time pressure brought stakeholders to the table. Traditionally bureaucracy burdened procedures, barriers and personal agendas were either diminished or eliminated in order to get actions completed on time and to appropriate specification in the run up to the Games. This absolute deadline forced everyone to create goals that were achievable. Unrealistic objectives were quickly discarded. This created an environment where First Nations, who generally pursue longer-term goals, were suddenly obliged to adopt short-term leveraging opportunities that capitalized on the novel temporary power they possessed. Time, therefore, became a factor in path creation. Once the Games were over, the urgency disappeared and previous constraining factors reappeared.

5.4 Factors Essential for Sustaining Governance Legacies

The Games related tangible governance legacies gained by the SLFN immediately after this mega-event were considerable. However, the intangible benefits leveraged were more subtle and dynamic. This was particularly apparent with respect to their interaction with the RMOW. Shortly after the Games were completed, much of the social capital developed with the RMOW was dramatically curtailed by a newly elected Municipal Mayor and Council. In particular the momentum and power of mutual respect,

trust and understanding was lost. Several factors shape the extent to which such legacies tend to prevail.

Acknowledge Legitimacy

Both parties have to be willing to engage and acknowledge the legitimacy of their respective counterparts.

Institutionalize Relations

A protocol to act as a foundation for relations has to be created. This could be in ways of providing a seat at the table of the planning committee, a Memoranda of Understanding, a service agreement or a protocol for engagement.

Cross-cultural Training

Both sides should be aware of the other parties' interests and their view of the world. This will enable a more natural form of interaction, where each parties' interests are considered and respected.

5.5 Attitudes Concerning Future First Nations Engagement in Whistler's Governance

On-going treaty negotiations and some agreements made between First Nations and other levels of government in the last 20 years suggest that there is a growing trend towards more First Nations influence in governance decision making (Notzke, 2006). The recent decisions by the BC Supreme Court (*Squamish Nation v. British Columbia (Community, Sport and Cultural Development), Supreme Court of BC*, 2014) quashing Whistler's OCP, and the Supreme Court of Canada (*Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada*, 2014) decision further reinforcing the need to consult and accommodate indicate that relations between all levels of government and First Nations will have to increase and improve dramatically over the coming years. In order to engage in governance integration of First Nations in regional governments, the most important requirement is willingness on both sides to engage in the process and create a relationship of mutual trust and respect (Commission, n.d.; Services, 2002; Bak, Muir & Hood, personal communication, 2012). As First Nations governments become more sophisticated through processes like Games participation, and leveraging of governance legacies associated with them, they are more able to further assert their power on land-use decisions on their traditional territories. To create a clearer understanding of the status quo prior to negotiations and identify where room for improvement exists,

Walker's (2008) five recommendations for improving the interface between Aboriginal and other governments, as well as the Resort Task Force Guide for creating resort partnerships with First Nations (BC Resort Task Force, 2007) are helpful. They offer useful guidelines for engaging in governance integration processes (Commission, n.d.; Services, 2002), and illustrative examples of successful practice (BC Treaty Commission, n.d.; Bird, 2011). Common themes are the establishment of regular meetings, preparing written ground rules, facilitating fair and open communication, explaining jurisdictional boundaries, and negotiating service agreements that work in everyone's favour (BC Treaty Commission, n.d.; Tamera Services, 2002). Relationship building of this kind is not quick and is created over time through trial and experience. Stakeholders need to come in with an open mind and a collective willingness to listen (Bak, Muir & Hood, personal communication, 2012). A successful governance integration arrangement can be beneficial for all parties involved and may lead to harmonious relationships between stakeholders. The RMOW and the Province of BC have learned that an insufficient relationship building process and a lack of consultation on their OCP has led to increases in the power and influence of First Nations. While the full repercussions of the recent Supreme Court decision are not clear to date, they are likely to lead to a renewal and re-energizing of modern-day treaty efforts as any existing tenures and new development on Crown Land face considerable uncertainty with respect to how and to what extent First Nations's interests will be accommodated.

5.6 The Prospects Concerning Future Aboriginal Tourism in the Whistler Area

In the past, Aboriginal communities were hesitant to embrace Aboriginal tourism as part of their economic diversification options for several reasons:

- Residential School legacies, like:
  - The lack of a distinct identity
  - An incomplete picture of their own culture
  - A sense of shame about being Aboriginal
- The hesitancy to share their culture with outsiders (probably rooted in past discrimination)
- The lack of business acumen or capacity in the community to create and manage tourism enterprises effectively.
- The inauthentic representation of First Nations by early Aboriginal Tourism Attractions, as described in Section 2.2.2.1

Through efforts like the celebration of First Nations during the Games, the work by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and capacity building through organizations like ATBC, these barriers to Aboriginal tourism development are decreasing. Most First Nations communities in BC are located in rural areas, and as logging has diminished in these regions, First Nations are looking for other means of economic diversification. While the Squamish Nation is a predominantly urban Nation with valuable land holdings, the Lil'wat see tourism as one of their few opportunities for economic gain.

Located past Whistler on the way to the Duffy Lake Road, a popular scenic route towards Central and Northern BC, the Lil'wat receive a fair amount of tourist traffic in the summer months. In the winter months tourism is generally limited to local backcountry skiing and snowmobiling enthusiasts. With the SLCC, the Lil'wat had hoped to use the Centre as a launching point for more Aboriginal tourism experiences in the Pemberton Valley area. This has not been the case for the following reasons:

The tourist traffic into the SLCC has been less than initially anticipated. This can be attributed to the limited draw cultural tourism experiences and products create in resort destinations focused more on sport and adventure tourists. The SLCC has chosen to offer an authentic, more museum-like experience, rather than a more entertainment based, commoditized product like e.g. the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Oahu, Hawaii (Centre, 2014). The SLCC currently must compete with many alternatives for tourists in Whistler, and currently caters to those particularly interested in cultural tourism - a small portion of the overall Whistler market. Skiing/snowboarding in winter and mountain-biking in summer are the main draws, with spa, relaxation and hiking/sightseeing rounding out the summer activities. Whistler is a well-developed and competitive environment that has much to offer in this regard, and most people come to Whistler to enjoy the local amenities in their short stay. The tourism products that the Pemberton Valley currently has to offer are nature and agriculture based, and either have to compete with what Whistler has to offer while adding travel time, or be substantially different. This means that a Pemberton development would only attract a very small fraction of the overall Whistler market.

The lack of economic success that the SLCC has had to date makes the Lil'wat reluctant to continue investing in cultural tourism products for the time being. However, the recent Supreme Court decisions (*Squamish Nation v. British Columbia (Community, Sport and Cultural Development), Supreme Court of BC*, 2014, *Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, Supreme Court of Canada*, 2014), quashing the current Whistler OCP, and requiring more First Nation extensive consultation and accommodation within traditional territories, provides an unprecedented opportunity to change the landscape of Aboriginal tourism development in the Whistler area. Tenure based operators on Crown Land, like Whistler-Blackcomb, Snowcat Skiing, Heli-Skiing, ATV riding, and other rafting and outdoor adventure based businesses will likely have to adopt a much more First Nations influenced approach to their operations so as to ensure their ability to continue providing visitor experiences on recognized traditional Aboriginal territories. The RMOW, Provincial Government, and their current tenured tourism business operators might have to actively pursue a more collaborative approach for future adventure tourism developments. For instance, they might consider injecting a Resort-wide First Nations themed cultural tourism flavor into its overall adventure tourism brand and product portfolio. This might extend to embedding policies and programs for hiring and training First Nations employees, as well as adding a human element of First Nations to the Whistler experience. Such actions would give the SLCC a much more central role in the Whistler experience, making it a potential hub of First Nation activities and a venue for First Nation performances, displays and culinary experiences. The governance approach taken to consulting and accommodating First Nations in future Municipal and Regional land use decisions in the Whistler area will go a long way towards establishing how First Nations relationships with Whistler partners unfold in the future.

6 Conclusions

The 2010 Winter Olympic Games were, by all accounts, a valuable opportunity for Aboriginals in Canada to raise awareness of their cultures and capacities. For the Four Host First Nations, they presented a particularly significant opportunity to realize gains with respect to economic growth, property and title rights, social capital development and governance legacies. Many of these legacies would have been otherwise only achievable through extended treaty making processes. Critics argue that the First Nations were "bought out" (Vadi, 2010), but the genuine effort displayed by VANOC to include the First Nations at every opportunity seems to suggest otherwise. The tangible legacies created for the FHFN are considerable, and Tewanee Joseph, CEO of the FHFN Society, said of the whole experience that "it far exceeded my wildest dreams" (Zimmerman, 2010 :103).

The intangible legacies were more subtle and continue to emerge. Four years after the Games were completed little is still known about how immediate post Games effects associated with social values like pride and self-respect have remained, or whether long-term changes in governance approaches as well as related engagement in policy, planning and development initiatives have advanced for Aboriginals. This study suggests that pride and self-esteem amongst First Nations across Canada improved as a result of the Games process, and that Aboriginals were celebrated and acknowledged by all of Canada before a worldwide audience. While the Lil'wat Nation in particular evolved its governance systems and capacity significantly as a result of the Games, all the FHFN were able to sharpen their governance abilities considerably.

In the context of Whistler and First Nation governance relations, the Games planning process provided an opportunity to create considerable social capital and goodwill. However, many lasting governance legacies were not realized as several of the key individuals involved moved on after the Games, and institutional connections between the parties were not formalized in protocol agreements when the opportunity to do so existed. Recent relations have been strained, but with a genuine willingness and effort to re-engage a more lasting relationship needs to be rekindled. The recent Whistler OCP court ruling provides a solid reason to strengthen governance relations between

the parties. This study provides some practical and successful examples of processes used in other contexts to create such relationships.

6.1 Limitations to this Research

The active interview method (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) was used to conduct this research. The findings and results presented represent the researcher's interpretation of the information garnered from informants. The researcher acknowledges that his assumptions, beliefs and choices may have influenced the research process and interpretation of the findings. Similarly, participants of this research held their own assumptions, beliefs and choices, ultimately shaping the opinions they offered.

This research was conducted by gathering as much relevant secondary information as possible, followed by in-depth interviews with several key informants. While the researcher's intention was to report the perspectives of all relevant stakeholders, this was not achieved due to the timing of the Supreme Court of BC case on Whistler's OCP. Representatives from the RMOW who were closely involved in that matter regretfully declined to be interviewed due to the matter being before the court. This led to an incomplete picture of the RMOW's actions and perspectives being reported. As such, further time and resources should be committed to gathering the viewpoints of these representatives. This includes not only current but past informants involved in the development and nurturing of governance relations with their First Nations counterparts.

Another factor to be considered is the inherent bias a researcher brings into a qualitative research process like this one. Working with and studying First Nations is a cross-cultural endeavour. While I recognize that my perspectives are at least partially shaped by my collective experiences with that culture, I also know that I come from a distinctly different culture than theirs and that this might have blinded some of the interpretations I have made. It is precisely because of this situation that I employed an active interview process of data collection and interpretation. It drew on their understanding of how they themselves saw and experienced the world, as well as other supplemental secondary information that was made available. Notwithstanding this approach, it does not fully compensate for the power and biases of my own culture.

6.2 Opportunities for Further Research

Due to the timing of the research, opportunities to interview current members of RMOW's government and professional bureaucracy were limited. Furthermore, the focus of my research was limited to a discussion of governance interaction legacies between the RMOW and the SLFN. In order to gain a true understanding of the full legacies of the Games on First Nation Governance, the inclusion of Musqueam and Tsleil' Waututh, the FHFN, and other Canadian Aboriginal people would have been more comprehensive. This could be done by others following this stream of research.

Further research could also be conducted to determine to what extent processes independent of the Games legacies initiatives affected First Nation Governance evolution. For example, how did the Supreme Court decisions, the LRMP process and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission shape the governance processes that transpired?

From a tourism standpoint, a study of potential visitors to the Whistler Region and Canada could be conducted to determine the impact the Games had on their perspectives concerning Aboriginal cultural tourism's role in shaping perceptions and attitudes about Aboriginals in Canada. This study could also be expanded to include the greater Canadian population and the evolution of their attitudes towards Aboriginals as a result of the Games.

A particular focus might be given to perceptions of how tourism destinations should incorporate Aboriginal tourism interests into broader destination development and management strategies.

A study of the level of education in Aboriginal history and current attitudes toward Aboriginals within government on all levels could also inform future actions within governments to potentially create a different environment for interaction.

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Appendices

Appendix A – BC Treaty Commission: Steps to a New Relationship

1. Start by building a relationship of mutual trust and respect
   - Genuine interest, trust and respect on both sides are key
2. Establish and maintain regular meetings
   - Regular communication with updates establishes a dialogue
3. Involve and inform others
   - Get support from other governments, the media, businesses and the electorate
4. Establish protocols, agreements or guiding principles
   - "Ground rules" establish trust, respect and a base for moving forward
5. Establish and participate in joint committees
   - Parties should be invited early to participate meaningfully in any planning processes
6. Share and celebrate successes
   - It is an opportunity for bonding and creating lasting relationships.
7. Be creative in seeking innovative solutions
   - These governance agreements are a fairly new process and creative solutions are needed to overcome hurdles unique to each situation
8. Negotiate fair service agreements
   - First Nations often need access to existing infrastructure for planning and development and arrangements will need to be made how the infrastructure is shared equitably.
9. Recognize jurisdictional limits
   - Each party should take the time to explain what areas they do or don't have jurisdiction over to prevent misunderstandings in the future.
10. Write reciprocal letters of support
    - When looking for outside funding, these letters of support can make a big difference in the approval of a project.
11. Agree to disagree
    - This buys time to reflect on an issue and perhaps come up with a different solution.

(BC Treaty Commission, n.d.: 10-11)

Appendix B – BC Resort Task Force Summary of Best Practices in Resort Partnerships with First Nations

All parties should
- Use protocol agreements and memoranda of understanding to start a relationship.
- Recognize that the partnership will evolve and change over time.
- Establish long-term vision and strategic guidance early in the planning process.
- Host cross-cultural training sessions in order to understand each partner.
- Design governance models to achieve fair and equal representation from each partner.
- Establish policies that respect both good business practices and First Nations values.
- Adopt hiring practices that remove barriers and support First Nations and local employment.

First Nations should
- Establish policies for business development procedures.
- Let business conduct business, and the First Nations government manage the government. Keep politics out of business but ensure that political and business structures work together to fulfill the First Nation's goals and vision.
- Establish a separate business entity that is responsible for business activities.
- Ensure there is a relationship and accountability structure with the First Nation government and community members.
- Prepare a Code of Ethics for development of lands and resources and use of culture.
- Keep the First Nation members informed and involved; be certain to celebrate successes and milestones with them.
- Develop human resources strategies with the Band's employment, education and human resources departments.

Developers should
- Directly involve First Nations in the early planning of the business.
- Understand the history and complexity of the First Nation community and the uniqueness of each individual Nation and Band.
- Work with an advisor or consultant if uncertain or uncomfortable approaching a new relationship with a First Nation.
- Prepare strategies for building relationships with First Nations and ensure this strategy is endorsed and enforced in all operations.
- Utilize the knowledge and wisdom of First Nations Elders to provide guidance on environmental issues and concerns. Their historical and traditional knowledge can help avoid approval delays.
- Incorporate First Nations culture into milestones within the partnership.

(BC Resort Task Force, 2007: 1-2)

Appendix C – Key Informant Interview Guide

A. About You
1. What is your position with your organization?
2. What is your typical scope of work within your organization?
3. How long have you been part of your organization?
4. What was your involvement with the Games process before the 2010 Winter Games?
5. What was your involvement with the Games process during the 2010 Winter Games?
6. What was your role within or outside the organization after the 2010 Winter Games?
   a. Can you describe your role within your organization, why it was necessary and what was accomplished?
   b. To what extent were you engaged with First Nations communities?
   c. What did you learn?

B. About Your Organization
1. Where is your organization based?
2. What is the name of the organization you are involved with?
3. What was your organization's role before the 2010 Winter Games?
4. Was your organization's role different during or after the Games and in what way?

C. Aboriginal Tourism Benefits Leveraged
1. What were the tangible Aboriginal tourism benefits leveraged (e.g. assets, products, marketing and promotion materials, place naming, Aboriginal attractions, Aboriginal engagement in celebrations, working relationships, presence, media exposure, market awareness)?
2. Have the tangible and intangible benefits reached the potential that was intended for them? Why?
3. What were the intangible Aboriginal benefits leveraged (e.g. education, self-worth, reputation, capacity building, respect)?
4. How have these tangible and intangible benefits affected Aboriginal tourism development in general, and in Whistler in particular?

D. General

1. How has Aboriginal tourism evolved as a result of these benefits?
2. Have any new companies emerged, any examples?
3. Have any new positions been created related to Aboriginal tourism and can you give examples, statistics?
4. How have Aboriginal tourism products evolved as a result of the Games?
5. Is there an unmet demand in Aboriginal tourism products and in what form does this demand manifest itself?
6. What type of research has been conducted towards the demand of Aboriginal tourism products in your organization?
7. Is there an increase or change in the communication/partnerships with tourism and/or government entities outside your organization?

8. What was the influence of the Olympics on these relationships specifically?
   Whistler (TW, SLCC, Squamish, Lil'wat, RMOW, FHFN)

   i. Has the Aboriginal presence in the village changed the attitude of locals, visitors and/or First Nations about Whistler?
   ii. What do you think are the potential benefits that Whistler is gaining from increased Aboriginal tourism development?
9. Change of governance and management relations between Whistler and First Nations
10. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between the RMOW and local First Nations changed? (RMOW, Squamish, Lil'wat, SLCC, FHFN)

    i. Is there a relationship of mutual trust and respect and how has it evolved?
    ii. Are there regular meetings, how were they established and what is their structure?
    iii. Have protocols of engagement, agreements and guiding principles been established, and what necessitated them?
    iv. Are there joint committees and/or task forces and what are they about?
    v. What type of joint successes happened and were they shared and celebrated?
    vi. Do you have any examples of innovative problem solving in this regard?
    vii. Have any service agreements been made and are they fair and equitable?
    viii. Are both parties aware of their jurisdictional limits and what are their shared or separate duties?
    ix. Do the parties support each other in managing relationships with other governments through (e.g. letters of support?) Do you have examples?
    x. Have there been any cross-cultural training sessions? What form did they take?
    xi. Have there been any initiatives to encourage the hiring and training of First Nations? E.g. Industry meet and greets, hiring fairs, training workshops, guest speakers, task force
    xii. Have First Nations Elders been involved in some of the decision making, especially around land use and environmental protection?
    xiii. Do you directly involve First Nations (or non-Aboriginal groups from within and beyond Whistler) in any of your planning processes?
    xiv. Have you prepared strategies for building relationships with First Nations and non-Aboriginal groups and are these endorsed and enforced at all levels?
    xv. Do you ensure that new policies regarding land use planning, sustainable and cultural tourism respect First Nation Values?
    xvi. Do you establish a long-term vision and strategic guidance early in a planning process with respect to land use planning, sustainable and cultural tourism?
    xvii. How have the interactions gone between the First Nations and the RMOW with regard to the land granted to them from the Legacies

agreement and around broader issues, joint programs, that extend beyond land issues?

    xviii. What role has the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre played in the evolution of the relationship between the First Nations, Tourism Whistler and the RMOW?

11. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between Tourism Whistler and local First Nations changed? (TW, Squamish, Lil'wat, SLCC)

    i. Is there a relationship of mutual trust and respect and how has it evolved?

    ii. Are there regular meetings, how were they established and what is their structure?

    iii. Have protocols of engagement, agreements and guiding principles been established, and what necessitated them?

    iv. Are there joint committees and/or task forces and what are they about?

    v. What type of joint successes happened and were they shared and celebrated?

    vi. Do you have any examples of innovative problem solving in this regard?

    vii. Have any service agreements been made and are they fair and equitable?

    viii. Is there a dedicated effort or budget towards marketing Aboriginal tourism products within Tourism Whistler?

    ix. What steps must be taken to increase /improve relationships and cooperation between TW and First Nations?

12. How and to what extent have governance and management relations between Tourism Whistler and AtBC been shaped by the Games? (ATBC, TW)

    i. Is there regular communication between ATBC and Tourism Whistler and in what form?

    ii. How have the Games been a factor in the relationship?

13. How and to what extent have other external factors shaped Whistler's approach to Aboriginal engagement in governance and management matters? (RMOW, SLCC, CFS, Squamish, Lil'wat, DBC, FHFN, VANOC)

    i. What were some of the external factors that are shaping current approaches? (The Natural Step, Individual leadership, Rights and Title cases, LRMP, Mandates from higher up)

    ii. In what way did they influence the relationship?

14. Prospects/attitudes concerning future First Nations engagement in Whistler's governance in general and tourism in particular. (RMOW, Squamish, Lil'wat, SLCC, TW, FHFN, VANOC)

    a. What is your experience of Aboriginal engagement in Tourism and Resort Governance?

    b. What are existing attitudes and perceptions of current Aboriginal engagement in governance in general and tourism in particular?

        i. Do you believe that the Aboriginal engagement in Whistler's governance is adequate? If no, where do you think there is a shortcoming?

    c. What are potential incentives and opportunities for enhancing such relationships?

i. What are some strategies that could be applied to make relationships stronger and more effective for First Nations and Whistler ?
d. What are potential barriers and constraints hindering opportunities for enhancing these relationships?
i. What are the attitudes towards the other party among your constituents?
ii. What are some of the hindrances you've observed? (Individual attitudes, procedural barriers, general attitudes in the constituency, reluctancy in council, etc.)
e. What is the vision of an optimal relationship between the parties?
15. Questions for VANOC, FHFN, Tourism Vancouver and Destination BC (TSV, FHFN, VANOC, DBC)
a. In what way did the 2010 Winter Games influence the development of ATBC and Aboriginal tourism development in BC, Vancouver and Whistler?
b. In what way did the 2010 Winter Games influence Aboriginal tourism governance in BC, Vancouver and Whistler?
c. How has your organization evolved to incorporate Aboriginal Tourism?
d. How would you characterize the relationship between your organization and ATBC?
e. How would you describe the interaction you have with the First Nations in your territory?
f. How has that relationship changed as a result of the Winter Games?

Appendix D – Summary of Games Related Aboriginal Activities

Component	Description
Aboriginal Art Venue Program	This program consisted of over 140 works of art created by First Nations, Métis and Inuit artists representing communities from across the country. Approximately 40 will remain as permanent legacy to the Games while the remainder will be auctioned off and a portion of proceeds will go towards the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund.
Aboriginal Pavilion	The pavilion, designed to reflect a traditional West Coast Longhouse, was located in the heart of Olympic activity and highlighted the culture of Canada's Aboriginal people. It included a multi- media sphere to show the business, culture, sport and art of each region. There was also a Trading Post, Reception Hall and place to sample traditional venison stew and bannock. The pavilion hosted 'theme days' to celebrate the diverse range of Canada's Aboriginal peoples.
Aboriginal Business Directory	A list of Aboriginal suppliers was compiled for the purpose of 2010 business procurement. Since 2003 VANOC has spent more than $53 million with Aboriginal businesses and organizations on a range of goods and services
Aboriginal Business Showcase	This program increased economic and business development by showcasing market-ready Aboriginal artisans and businesses to the world.
BC/Canada Pavilion	The pavilion had a daily showcasing of and demonstrations by Aboriginal artisans related to the theme of BC forests.
Coca Cola Aboriginal Art Program	15 artists were selected from more than 100 Aboriginal artists across Canada to participate in the program, which was designed to leverage the Olympic opportunity and help the Aboriginal community share its culture with the world. The program also helped the Aboriginal community financially. From February 15 – 25, 2010, each Coca-Cola Art Bottle was available to collectors from around the world for purchase at the Aboriginal Art Bottle Auction. All proceeds went to the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund.
ELegacies Discussion Starters	The eLegacies site was devoted to providing college and university learning resources related to the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. Discussion starters summarized key issues and encourage critical thinking. One theme related to Aboriginal participation and the issues that have arisen regarding Aboriginal involvement.

Find Your Passion Poster Series	This campaign celebrated the achievements of Aboriginal athletes from across Canada. Over 85,000 posters were distributed to Aboriginal schools, community and youth groups to strengthen the physical, emotional and spiritual aspects of Aboriginal life and promote health and well-being.
Four Host First Nation Society	The chiefs and councils of the Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations entered into an historic Protocol Agreement on November 24, 2004, in which they agreed to coordinate their collective efforts to host and support the 2010 Winter Games. As a result, the Four Host First Nations Society was formed marking the first time in history that Aboriginal peoples have been recognized by the International Olympic Committee as Official Partners in the hosting of a Olympic Games.
Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandise	This program showcased Aboriginal excellence in arts, culture and enterprise. These products bear the FHFN logo ensuring consumers these products met the authenticity guidelines created by the FHFN. One third of royalties received from the sale of these products go to the 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy fund.
Mascots	Aboriginal mythological creatures inspired the Olympic mascots Quatchi, Miga and Sumi. Quatchi the Sasquatch was based on local Aboriginal legends. Miga was based on the legends of the Pacific Northwest First Nations legends of orca whales transforming into spirit bears once they arrived on land. Sumi was an animal spirit whose name comes from the Salish word 'sumesh' which means 'guardian spirit'. The honourary mascot Muk Muk was a marmot unique to the pacific coast and his name was derived from the Squamish word for food, 'muckamuck'.
Medals	The medals were based on two large master artworks of an orca whale (Olympic) and raven (Paralympic) by Corrine Hunt, a Canadian designer/artist of Komoyue and Tlingit heritage based in Vancouver, BC. Each of the medals had a unique hand-cropped section of the abstract art, making every medal one-of-a-kind. The orca, designed across four panels in the style of a traditional West Coast First Nations bentwood box, is often associated with the attributes of strength, dignity and teamwork. The sleek and powerful black and white whales are common to the waters off Canada's West Coast but are also found in all the world's oceans. The strong black wings and proud beaked profile of the raven appeared in a three-part composition in the style of a totem pole. The bird, a species that can be found around the globe, is often associated with transformation and healing abilities and represents

	determination, creativity and wisdom.
Opening Ceremonies	Aboriginal peoples from across Canada were involved in the opening ceremonies that showcased traditional dancing and four totem poles. The chiefs representing the FHFN sat with the Prime Minister, Governor General, and members of VANOC and IOC.
Olympic Emblem	The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games emblem is a contemporary interpretation of the inukshuk, which has been a guidepost used by Canada's Inuit for centuries. It is called Ilanaaq, which is the Inuktitut word for friend. The Rivera Design Group from Vancouver won the competition and drew inspiration from the inukshuk that has become a local landmark. The inukshuk was given to the Vancouver from the North. Representatives from the FHFN performed together at it's official unveiling in 2005.
Petro Canada Totem Pole	Suncor Energy, through its Petro-Canada brand, is committed to promoting Olympic values beyond sport. The Petro-Canada 2010 Legacy Pole was a reflection of this support, as it celebrated the gathering of people from around the world. The Pole provided visitors with the opportunity to experience Aboriginal culture, a key element of the Games. In working with Klatle-Bhi on the totem pole, Suncor Energy promoted the talent and growth of Aboriginal artists in Canada and created a legacy that will last well beyond the 2010 Games.
Pan Pacific Hotel	Kla-how-ya: Welcome to Aboriginal Tourism BC. The Daily Exhibit Showcased Aboriginal Experiences with demonstrations and cultural performances.
Ringtones	The FHFN website had downloadable ringtones that range from elders' songs to Inuit throat singing. With a large youth population, getting people involved meant reaching out with new technology, such as ringtones and YouTube.
Robson Square	Daily Aboriginal performances took place between 12:30pm-1pm for the duration of the Games.
Sea to Sky Cultural Journey Naming Recognition Project	The Cultural Journey is a project in partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations to increase the profile of the sea to sky corridor as an Aboriginal tourism experience. The interactive map that is also printable, allows visitors to learn the traditional First Nations history of the landscape. Highway signage will include First Nations names in the respective language. Scenic pullouts with interpretive panels are available throughout the journey. This project was part of the Shared Legacies Agreement received from the 2010 Bid Corporation.
Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre	The SLCC, a not-for-profit initiative embodies the spirit of partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations, and the shared values around preserving,

	revitalizing and sharing traditional and modern cultures with the world. All proceeds from the SLCC are invested in training and cultural revitalization programs for the Squamish Nation and Lil'wat Nation. The SLCC was a component of the Shared Legacies Agreement received from the 2010 Bid Corporation.
Team Canada Hockey Jersey	The hockey jerseys worn by Canada's men's, women's and sledge hockey teams were re-designed in collaboration with Musqueam artist and Nike. The new jerseys featured two powerful First Nations symbols, the eagle and thunderbird that support the central maple leaf.
Torch Relay	The Torch Relay traveled through 115 Aboriginal communities, where community members participated as torchbearers, elder fire keepers, cultural performers and celebrations hosts.
Vancouver Community College Aboriginal Culinary Program	In response to FHFN's need to deliver authentic Aboriginal cuisine, VCC designed and delivered an Aboriginal Culinary Cuisine program to train Aboriginal youth in traditional Aboriginal cuisine, while incorporating contemporary foodservice skills and certifications.

(McKenna, 2010)

Appendix E – Pre Games Related Aboriginal Policies and Initiatives

Date	Policy or Initiative
1999	IOC adopt Agenda 21 which states that Aboriginal people must be involved in the Olympic Games
1999	Squamish and Lil'Wat representative appointed to 2010 Bid Corporation (2010 Bid Corp) Board of Directors (BOD)
2001	Squamish and Lil'Wat sign protocol to collaborate
2002	Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh representatives appointed to B.C. Bid Corp BOD
2002	Multiparty Agreement includes „local" First Nations, Sqaumish and Lil'Wat representatives on OCOG BOD
2002	Squamish and Lil"Wat shared Legacies Agreement signed by Squamish, Lil"Wat , Province of B.C. and 2010 Bid Corp
2003	Lil"Wat and Squamish representatives appointed to VANOC BOD
2003	IOC evolution visit
2003	Prague official delegation
2003	VANOC establishes Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy Fund
2003	Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh sign Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)
2003-8	Total value (cumulative) of venue construction contracts let to self-identifies Aboriginal businesses $53,819,353
2003-8	Total value (cumulative) of non-venue construction contracts let to self-identifies Aboriginal businesses $1,163,490
2003-5	Squamish and Lil"Wat implementation of policies and initiatives: Land -skills and training, Youth- sport legacy fund, cultural centre- naming and recognition
2003-7	Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh ongoing legacies discussions
2003-10	Ongoing planning and implementation of economic, cultural, sport and communications programs
2004	FHFN protocol signed FHFN Society and FHFN Secretariat established
2005	Environmental Assessment participation and contracts
2005	VANOC and FHFN protocol signed
2005	Canada Human Resources and Skills Development announce $7.8 million investment over four years for a partnership project connecting Aboriginal people in the Vancouver area with employment opportunities arising from the Games
2005	Venue construction in Richmond, Cypress Mountain and Whistler-Blackcomb begins
2005	Shared Legacies Agreement implemented
2005	FHFN-VANOC Statement of Principles (protocol) signed by VANOC and FHFN
2005-7	Squamish and Lil"Wat contacts awarded Participation in the Whistler Legacies Society (Now known as Whistler 2010 Sport Legacies)
2006	Torino Olympics closing ceremony participation
2006	FHFN receive "Host First Nations" designation from IOC
2006	VANOC produces Find Your Passion in Sport poster campaign
2006	VANOC hosts ten moderated visioning workshops with its partners and

	stakeholders, senior VANOC staff and BOD. Two of workshops are held with Aboriginal people in Vancouver and Ottawa
2006-7	VANOC develops an Aboriginal Recruitment Strategy
2006-7	Lil'wat, Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and FHFN sign Non-Commercial Licence Agreement
2006-7	FHFN and Assembly of First Nations (AFN) sign MOU
2006-7	VANOC launches its Aboriginal Recruitment and Procurement Strategy
2007	FHFN and Assembly of First Nations (AFN) sign MOU in Halifax, NS
2007	VANOC launches the Aboriginal athlete role model program
2007	FHFN launches its logo
2007	Tourism in B.C. 2010 Aboriginal business Summit hosted by FHFN Province of B.C., and Government of Canada
2007	VANOC hosts the 2010 Aboriginal Recruitment and Procurement symposium
2007	VANOC and FHFN host National Aboriginal Day at VANOC head quarters
2007	VANOC hires project manager to lead the development of Aboriginal art at venues and programs
2007-8	Aboriginal cultural awareness training sessions held with VANOC
2007-8	MOU signed between FHFN and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and MNBC
2007-8	VANOC supports FHFN in signing Statements of Cooperation with Aboriginal Tourism B.C., Vancouver Community College and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network
2007-8	VANOC signs a Licensing Agreement with the Nunavut Development Corporation to retail the Inuit Inuksuk as part of the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program
2007-8	VANOC and the FHFN partner with AFN, ITK and MNBC to facilitate a Canada-wide distribution of the Aboriginal participation newsletter
2008	FHFN sign MOU with Métis Nation of BC (MNBC) to ensure the Métis benefit from the Games
2008	Aboriginal sports gallery is made into a travelling exhibition
2008-10	Cultural Olympiad
2008	VANOC launches the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program between VANOC and FHFN
2008	FHFN and VANOC launch the first edition of the Aboriginal participation newsletter
2008	VANOC hosts annual National Aboriginal Day celebrations for the VANOC workforce
2008	VANOC delegates go to Nunavut to meet with the territorial government and Inuit representatives to discuss engagement
2008	Aboriginal sport gallery opens at B.C. Sports Hall of Fame
2008	VANOC hires an Aboriginal procurement specialist and an Aboriginal business development specialist to implement the recruitment and procurement strategies
2009	VANOC adds four more athletes to the Find Your Passion in Sport poster campaign
2009	FHFN announce plans for the development of the Aboriginal Pavilion
2010	Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Gathering
2010	Aboriginal Pavilion opens

(Vadi, 2010)