

**RIGHTS, RITUALS, AND REPERCUSSIONS:
ABORIGINAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2010 OLYMPIC
GAMES PLANNING PROCESS**

by

Priya Vadi
BSc (Honours), University of the West of England, 2006

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In the
Department of Geography

© Priya Vadi 2010
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Fall 2010

All rights reserved. However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for *Fair Dealing*. Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

APPROVAL

Name: Priya Vadi
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Rights, Rituals, and Repercussions: Aboriginal Participation in the 2010 Olympic Games Planning Process

Examining Committee:

Chair:

Dr. Paul Kingsbury
Assistant Professor, Department of Geography

Dr. Meg Holden
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor, Urban Studies Program and
Department of Geography

Dr. Geoff Mann
Supervisor
Associate Professor, Department of Geography

Dr. Peter Williams
External Examiner
Professor, School of Resource and Environmental
Management

Date Defended/Approved: October 5 2010



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Declaration of Partial Copyright Licence

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada

STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC, Canada

ABSTRACT

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC) committed to making Aboriginal participation a fundamental part of its broader sustainability objectives through five key areas: partnership and collaboration; sport and youth; economic development; cultural involvement; and awareness and education.

An examination of primary qualitative research against existing participation frameworks indicates that levels of involvement of Vancouver's Aboriginal population in the 2010 Olympic Games varied. The study also considers the tensions between the commodification and appropriation of Aboriginal culture on one hand, and aiming for higher levels of Aboriginal peoples' inclusion on the other.

VANOC made a significant effort to improve Aboriginal participation in the Olympics planning process, giving Aboriginal people a legitimate and concrete stake in the Olympic Games. However, conflicting views show that participation in capitalist terms led to a cultural spectacle, failing to address key political concerns of local Aboriginal people.

Keywords: Aboriginal; Olympic Games; Vancouver 2010; Public participation; Spectacle

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC) wanted to be the first Olympic organizing committee to make Aboriginal participation a fundamental part of its broader sustainability objectives. Though Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games is not a novel concept, methods of participation in former processes have been considered superficial in the sense that Aboriginal people were primarily involved in cultural events. VANOC wanted to change this, and committed to extend Aboriginal involvement to other aspects of the Games, including political participation, sport, economic development, and education.

This study highlights and examines the importance of public participation in mega-event planning. An examination of primary qualitative research against existing participation frameworks indicates that levels of involvement of Vancouver's Aboriginal population in the 2010 Olympic Games varied amongst the Aboriginal population as a whole. The study also considers the tensions between the commodification and appropriation of Aboriginal culture on one hand, and aiming for higher levels of Aboriginal peoples' inclusion on the other. Drawing on Guy Debord's (1968) theory of the spectacle, the study examines the implications of the initiatives employed by VANOC and its affiliated stakeholders

for larger issues, asking how such initiatives interact with ongoing processes of reconciliation, postcolonialism, and land claims negotiations.

VANOC made a significant effort to improve Aboriginal participation in the Olympics planning process, giving Aboriginal people a legitimate and concrete stake in the Olympic Games. However, conflicting views show that participation was mostly cultural, and key political concerns of local Aboriginal people, such as postcolonialism, reconciliation, and land claims negotiations were not addressed. In addition significant efforts need to be made to improve Aboriginal participation in the sporting completion aspects of the Olympic Games.

FOREWORD

Every conceivable distinguishing feature is seized upon, repackaged and subsequently launched as a unique quality peculiar to the particular Games. Geography is co-opted, architecture symbolized, national values reframed to reinforce Olympic ideals, national politics suspended to fabricate nonpartisan support, and cultures essentialized to serve every occasion. In this effort to brand successive Olympic Games, strategic outlets are engaged to release evidence of uniqueness, including the uniqueness of the host nation's indigenous peoples.

(Godwell, 2000, p. 246).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While an individual project, this thesis would not have been possible from the insights and direction of several people. I am heartily thankful to Meg Holden for her guidance, pushing me to my mettle, and ploughing through many drafts. Geoff Mann, you truly are a rock star. Thank you so much for all your guidance over the years, and your thoughtful comments and questions which will provide food for thought for years to come. I am grateful to Peter Williams who graciously agreed to be my external examiner, your feedback was invaluable in the final stages of completing this project. I thank Paul Kingsbury for being such an inspiration, supporting my intellectual endeavours, and for his cheerful spirit.

I would like to thank Hilary Dunn and Ian Ponsford for their assistance in helping me making connections at VANOC. I am also indebted to Hilary for letting me use interview quotes from her Master of Resource Management thesis. Eva Sirep, Natalie Baloy, Solen Roth, Jen Silver, and Zoë Meleits thank you for sharing your ideas and experiences with me.

Overall, the Department of Geography has made my time in Vancouver fabulous. Special thanks go to Eugene McCann, Roger Hayter, Owen Hertzman, Alison Gill, Mario Berti, Robert Humphries, Nicole Stewart, Krystal Chin, Stephanie Campbell, Sean Robertson, Jon Cinnamon, and Cam Owens.

Karen Heisler, Klaus Eddenhoffer, Nazie Naraghi, Ding Ding, Xu, Joyce Chen, and Saloni Dholakia, without your kind friendship and frivolous antics I would have lost my sanity. As Joni Mitchell put it in 1971 “come on down to the Mermaid Cafe and I will buy you a bottle of wine, and we’ll laugh and toast to nothing and smash or empty glasses down...a round for my friends”.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Executive Summary	iv
Foreword	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Figures	xii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Acronyms	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Olympics and Social Sustainability	1
1.1.1 The 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Context	2
1.1.2 Significance of the Study	6
1.2 Research Problem	7
1.2.1 Overview of Methodology	8
2: Methodology.....	9
2.1 Research Aims.....	9
2.2 Objectives	10
2.3 Methodological Approaches.....	11
2.4 Comparative Case Studies	14
2.5 Content Analysis	15
2.5.1 The Coding Process.....	17
2.6 Interviews: The Plans and Pitfalls	18
2.7 Policy and Stakeholder Analysis.....	20
2.8 The Triangulation Process and Conclusions.....	23
3: Literature Review	25
3.1 Introduction	25
3.2 Aboriginal Spectacle in the 2010 Olympic Games	25
3.3 A Call for Social Change in the Olympic Movement and Games.....	28
3.3.1 “Jocks for Justice” (Dreier and Canadele, 2004)	30
3.3.2 The Inspiration of the 1996 Toronto Pre-Bid Process	33
3.3.3 Vancouver’s Incremental Step to Achieving Social Sustainability.....	38
3.4 Aboriginal Communities and Aboriginal Urban Planning in British Columbia	39
3.5 Aboriginal Relationships in B.C.: Relations and Treaties.....	42
3.6 Four Host First Nations	46
3.7 Public Participation	47
3.7.1 Definition of Terms	48

3.7.2	Theoretical Background	49
3.7.3	Frameworks of Participation.....	50
3.7.4	Climbing Arnstein’s Ladder (1969)	50
3.7.5	A Broken Ladder: Limitations of the Model	53
3.7.6	Avoiding Ladders – New Approaches	54
3.7.7	International Association for Public Participation’s (IAP2) Spectrum of Participation (2007)	56
3.7.8	EATING Sarkissian, Hofer, Vajda, Shore, and Wilkinson (2009)	59
3.7.9	Changes in the Models.....	65
3.7.10	Public Participation and Aboriginal People.....	67
3.8	Conclusion	69
4:	Case Studies.....	72
4.1	Introduction	72
4.2	St. Louis (1904).....	73
4.3	Montréal (1976).....	73
4.4	Calgary (1988)	75
4.5	Sydney (2000).....	77
4.6	Expo ‘86	79
4.7	Conclusion	83
5:	Stakeholder Analysis.....	84
5.1	Introduction	84
5.2	Methodology	84
5.3	The Stakeholders.....	85
5.4	Stakeholder Influence Maps	88
5.5	Conclusions	90
6:	Policy Analysis and Content Analysis.....	91
6.1	Policy Analysis	91
6.1.1	Introduction.....	91
6.1.2	The VANOC Social Sustainability Strategy	92
6.1.3	The Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration Strategy.....	94
6.2	Content Analysis	104
6.2.1	General Observations	104
6.2.2	Partnership and Collaboration.....	106
6.2.3	Sport and Youth	111
6.2.4	Economic Development	114
6.2.5	Cultural Involvement.....	120
6.2.6	Education and Awareness.....	124
6.3	Conclusion	128
7:	Discussion: Higher and stronger?	131
7.1	Introduction	131
7.2	Rights.....	132
7.3	Rituals and Repercussions	138

8: Conclusions: They Shoot! They Score?	153
8.1 Findings and Future Mega-Events	153
8.2 Research Contributions	157
8.3 Recommendations for Future Research	157
APPENDICES	159
APPENDIX A: Media Data	159
APPENDIX B: List of Interviewees and Interview Questions	169
Interviewees	169
APPENDIX C: Stakeholders.....	177
APPENDIX D: Policies and Initiatives Relating to Aboriginal Participation in the Olympics	179
Bibliography	183
Media Articles	201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of FHFN traditional territories and the location of Olympic venues (FHFN, 2009a).....	4
Figure 2: Conceptual Framework.....	13
Figure 3: Stakeholder influence map adapted from Mayers and Vermeulen (2005; p2).....	22
Figure 4: Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969, p. 162)	51
Figure 5: Changes of the pattern of involvement from totalitarian society to emerging democracy (Adapted from Maier, 2001, p. 717)	56
Figure 6: IAP2 spectrum of participation (adapted from International Association for Public Participation, 2007).....	58
Figure 7: Partner and stakeholder engagement in VANOC sustainability activities 2005-2006 (VANOC, 2006, p. 21).	59
Figure 8: The themes coded from the articles collected (n= [number of articles sampled])	105

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Objectives, methods, and data requirements	10
Table 2: Evaluation of models in relation to the empirical context	66
Table 3: Summary of case studies	82
Table 4: Stakeholder Analysis Summary	86
Table 5: VANOC's corporate sustainability aims and objectives (VANOC, 2005)	93

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACOG	Atlanta committee for the Olympic Games
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
B.C.	British Columbia
BNC	Bread not Circuses
COC	Canadian Olympic Committee
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
FNFN	Four Host First Nations
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IOCC	Impact on Communities Coalition
NOC	National Organizing Committee
OCO '88	Olympiques Calgary Olympics '88
OGGI	Olympic Games Global Impact
PISSOFF	People Ingeniously Subverting the Sydney Olympic Farce
SLCC	Squamish – Lil'Wat Cultural Centre
SMRS	Sustainability and Management Reporting System
SOCOG	Sydney Olympic Organizing committee
TOOC	Toronto Ontario Olympic Council
VANOC	Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Olympics and Social Sustainability

Ancient Greek heritage is often referenced as the basis of western civilization (Shuagrt, 2002; Loukaki, 2008), and it was this that inspired French aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin to revive the Olympic Games during the late 1880s and early 1890s (Girginov and Parry, 2005). The early modern Olympic Games established by de Coubertin only included summer sports; the Winter Olympic Games were not established until 1924 (IOC, 2007a). In 1894, de Coubertin founded the modern Olympic Games and the various primary structures, which include: the International Olympic Committee (IOC); the Olympic Charter; opening ceremony; and closing ceremony (IOC, 2007a). These remain fundamental structures of the Olympic Games and Movement, but the values of the Olympic Movement have evolved over time.

The success of the 1994 Lillehammer Games' environmental effort convinced the IOC to include sustainability as a third pillar of focus, alongside sport and culture, in the Olympic Movement, and for future host cities to incorporate sustainability into their Olympic Games planning process (Chalkley and Essex, 1998). In 1999, the IOC adopted an *Agenda 21* which is based on improving socio-economic conditions, conserving, and managing resources for sustainable development and strengthening the role of major social groups, which include women, young people, and Aboriginal people (IOC, 1999). *Agenda*

21 mandates that cities competing for the bid must factor in economic, social and environmental sustainability principles (IOC, 1999). More specifically:

in consideration of the importance of indigenous communities who represent a significant percentage of the global population and who also often suffer social exclusion, it is appropriate that the Olympic Movement pay adequate attention to them (IOC, 1999, p. 42).

More attention to the inclusion of indigenous communities in the planning, and hosting phases of the Olympic Games is required.

1.1.1 The 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Context

In 1998, the Resort Municipality of Whistler and the City of Vancouver developed a successful joint bid under the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation (O'Reilly and Symko, 2008), and were selected by the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) on December 1st 1998 as Canada's bid city to host the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games (Dunn, 2007). On July 2nd 2003, the IOC selected Vancouver and Whistler to host the 21st Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games¹ in 2010, and the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 (VANOC) was established on September 30th 2003 (Dunn, 2007).

The City of Vancouver and Resort Municipality of Whistler are situated on the traditional territories of the Lil'Wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations (figure 1), who were invited to participate in the bid process. The participation of Aboriginal² people distinguished the Vancouver bid from its finalist competitors, Pyeongchang, South Korea and Salzburg, Austria. VANOC prided

¹ In this study, I refer to the 2010 Winter Olympic Games as the 2010 Olympic Games or the Games.

² In a Canadian context "Aboriginal people" refers to First Nations (Indian), Métis and Inuit. The term indigenous is also interchangeably used with Aboriginal (INAC, 2010)

itself in being the first to form a partnership with the local First Nations on whose traditional territories the Games were held. In November 2004 the Lil'Wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations elected representatives from their respective nations to form the Four Host First Nations Society (FHFN) (Dunn, 2007; Holden, Mackenzie, and VanWynsberghe, 2008; VANOC, 2006).

First Nations and 2010 Olympic Venues

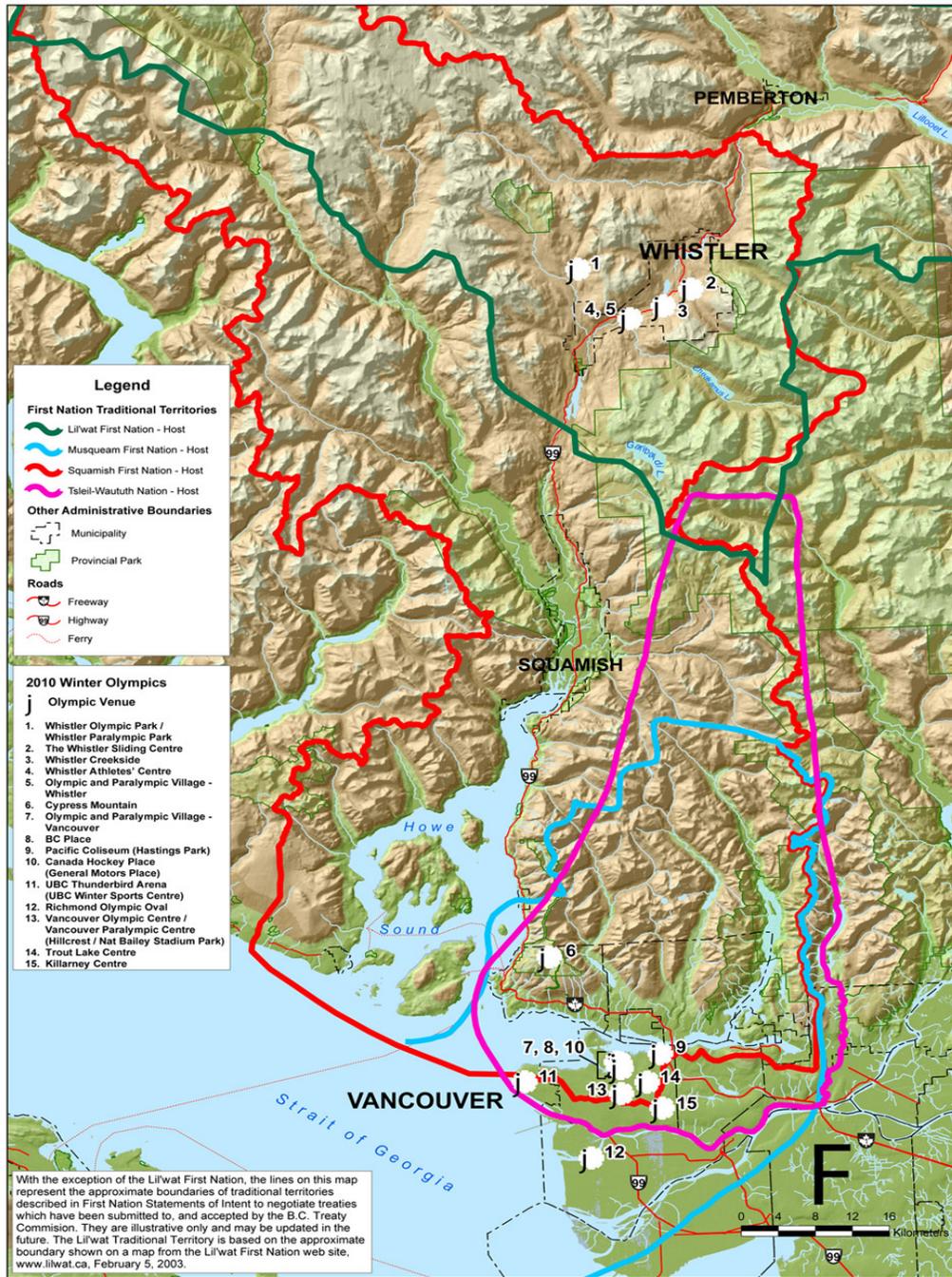


Figure 1: Map of FHFN traditional territories and the location of Olympic venues (FHFN, 2009a)

As VANOC was committed to embracing social sustainability, it was imperative that Aboriginal participation and collaboration constitute a key component in its sustainability mandate, and the IOC applauded this for the value it brought to the Olympic Movement. VANOC was committed to an unprecedented level of Aboriginal participation in the Games. To meet this objective, VANOC attempted to form constructive and reciprocal relationships with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis groups across British Columbia (B.C.) and Canada, within an Olympic context. The preamble of VANOC's annual sustainability report reflects this:

...strengthened relationships support the creation of employment and economic opportunities. Aboriginal culture and traditional knowledge of the resources help in decision-making related to environmental management. Finally, confidence, health and wellness in Aboriginal communities can be enhanced through increasing sport participation and strengthening the emotional, mental, physical and spiritual aspects of Aboriginal life (VANOC, 2006, p. 85).

By forming strong relationships with First Nations, VANOC showed that Aboriginal participation in its Games would be equitable and ethical, and that participation would generate many positive social and economic opportunities for Canada's First Nations (Smith, 2009).

Even though this thesis examines VANOC's Aboriginal participation strategy and its results, it is important not to neglect how the strategy fit into VANOC's broader sustainability policy. Many anti-Olympic groups believed that VANOC's strategy of Aboriginal participation was nothing more than a cultural, economical, and political exploitative spectacle.

1.1.2 Significance of the Study

Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games planning process needs to be beyond involvement in Olympic ceremonies (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2005). Gary Youngman, consulting director for Aboriginal participation for VANOC, acknowledged the challenges faced in achieving unprecedented Aboriginal participation:

one of our greatest challenges is that indigenous participation is relatively new to the Olympic Movement. There is no template we can follow, and no clear indicators for how we measure our success. Indigenous participation in past Games, such as Calgary and Salt Lake City, has focused primarily on ceremonies and cultural programs. We plan to go beyond that, to set the bar higher, with the hope future Olympic Organizing Committees can be inspired and learn from our experience (VANOC, 2006, p. 53).

There is a need to develop a general framework that national and local Olympic Organizing Committees can use as a guide to achieving meaningful participation. Others would claim that what is needed is a requirement from the IOC, much as they specifically stipulate requirements in other domains.

National Olympic Organizing Committees (NOC) will need to recognize and acknowledge that frameworks need to be place specific. In creating a framework for Aboriginal participation, it is important to identify and analyze the political and social interests in the decision-making structures and process for public participation. It is also necessary to examine the impacts of the various participation methods used on the various stakeholders involved.

1.2 Research Problem

This study investigates how Aboriginal people in Vancouver, Whistler, and the surrounds were engaged in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games planning process. The three overarching themes of rights, rituals, and repercussions highlight and question the importance of public participation and social responsibility in mega-event planning.

The issue of rights examines the specific claims of Canada's Aboriginal population on the right to participate in public processes, and what participation means to individual stakeholders. In relation to this, it is necessary to consider the role of rituals in the Olympic Games.

Rituals are understood as a set of practices expressing symbolic meanings that are socially and culturally embedded (Duffy, 2009). Kong and Yeoh (1997) write that rituals are reflective of social relations reinforcing common attributes of citizenship or a sense of belonging, thus "highlighting the shared values of society, by demonstrating community power and solidarity, and by allowing a suspension of the structures that govern day-to-day social relationships, often a suppression of normally dominant relations" (pp. 215-216). This is applicable to the Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games, as Olympic planners are zealous to demonstrate harmonious relations between Aboriginal communities and host city officials.

To gain a full understanding of the repercussions of Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process, it is critical to examine the policies and initiatives in reference to Aboriginal participation in this

process. In addition, an analysis of how techniques of participation have evolved and what this has meant for the local Aboriginal communities and Olympic Organizing Committees is considered.

1.2.1 Overview of Methodology

In order to analyze the initiatives, effectiveness and implications of Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games planning process, theory, and empirical data are individually analyzed and triangulated, and assessed in relation to the overarching themes of rights, rituals, and repercussions.

2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Aims

This study examines how Aboriginal people in Vancouver and the surrounds were engaged in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process, considering the specific claims of Canada's Aboriginal population to the right to participate in public processes. In addition, the study also considers the questions of commodification and appropriation of culture, and the extent to which Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games was a spectacle. More specifically, the two central aims are to examine how Aboriginal participation has evolved in the Olympic Games and what this has meant for the various stakeholders involved; and to analyze the quality of Aboriginal participation and the extent to which it was effective in Vancouver 2010.

2.2 Objectives

In order to accomplish these aims, the objectives are presented in Table 1:

Table 1: Objectives, methods, and data requirements

Objective	Methods Employed to Meet Objectives	Data Source
Examine the theories of public participation and define public participation.	Literature review	Public participation models Public participation methods
Investigate how public participation of Aboriginal and other diverse communities was incorporated into previous Olympic Games planning processes (and Expo '86) and evaluations of their relative success.	Comparative case studies – based on secondary sources	St Louis 1904 Montréal 1976 Calgary 1988 Sydney 2000 Expo '86
Determine ways in which Aboriginal people are participating in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process. This will entail cataloguing of the policies and practices in place.	Document review Policy review Interview data Content analysis of news sources	VANOC sustainability reports Interviews Media articles Public forums (notes/transcripts)
Examine the agendas and actions of different policy stakeholders in relation Aboriginal participation.	Document review Policy review Interview data Content analysis of news sources Stakeholder analysis	VANOC sustainability reports Reports and documents from IOC, IOCC, FHFN, B.C. Secretariat Interviews Public forums
Assess the implications of the participation methods used by VANOC.	Content analysis of news sources Interviews	Media articles Interviews Public forums

2.3 Methodological Approaches

The conceptual framework (figure 2) illustrates the methodological approaches used. The overarching theme of socially sustainable Olympic planning was broken into two dimensions: empirical and theoretical. The theory focused on the literatures of sustainability specific to the Olympic planning process, public participation models, and the cultural representations and implications of participation. The empirical data was collected in four phases.

The first stage was to evaluate a range of participation models, which were analyzed in relation to Aboriginal participation. In turn, these were linked to the stakeholder analysis which identified the different stakeholders involved and how they influenced the decision making process.

The second phase consisted of case study analyses of the St. Louis, Montreal, Calgary, and Sydney Olympics, and Expo '86 to determine the participation methods used in prior Games and their implications. This aids in determining if participation in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was unique and to what extent.

The third stage had two parts. First, a policy analysis was conducted presenting a factual chronology of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Olympic organizers. Second, a content analysis was conducted presenting the media coverage of this relationship (from the policy analysis) with a view to assessing the effectiveness of efforts by Olympic organizers to engage Aboriginal people. The final phase involved key informant interviews.

The case study data, stakeholder analysis and content analysis data were then triangulated, showing the ways in which Aboriginal people were being represented in the Olympic planning process. This was supplemented with the interview data. By examining community participation specific to Aboriginal peoples in the 2010 Olympic Games, further efforts need to be undertaken to ensure that Aboriginal participation in future Olympic Games is meaningful.

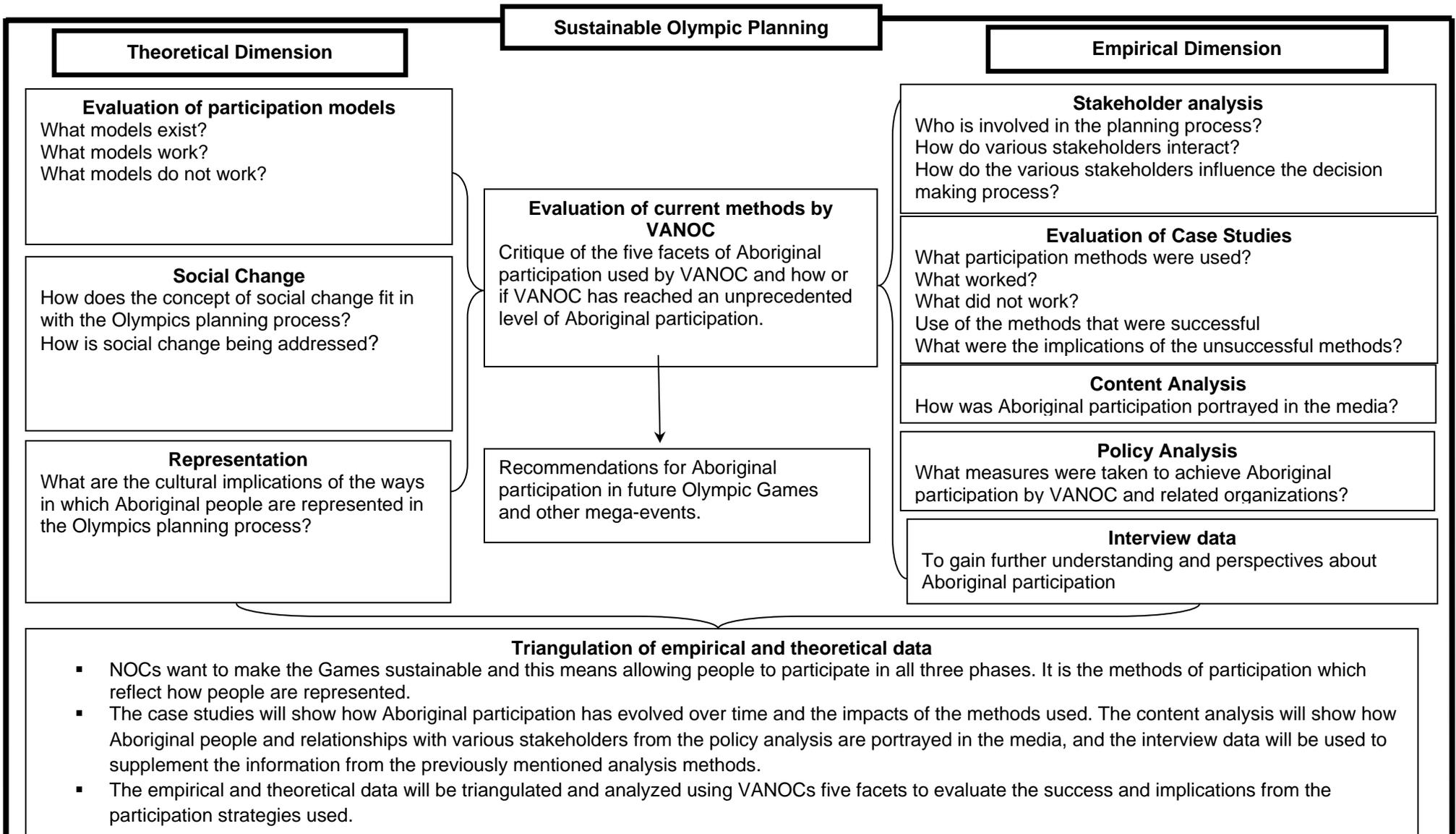


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

2.4 Comparative Case Studies

According to Gary Youngman (VANOC, 2006), consulting director for Aboriginal participation for VANOC, Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games is a relatively new concept to the Olympic Movement. Often NOCs follow successful trends from previous processes, but also employ methods that go beyond those trends to “raise the bar”. Using evidence of how Aboriginal peoples were engaged in past Olympic Games planning processes, alternatives can be developed to improve the process of Aboriginal participation. The case studies selected show the evolution in sophistication and sensitivity to Aboriginal peoples and human concerns. The use of comparative case studies shows how public participation was incorporated into previous Olympic Games planning processes and how successful it has been specific to communities of difference. The succession of case studies demonstrates how methods of participation have evolved over time.

For the purpose of this research, the 1904 St Louis, 1976 Montréal, 1988 Calgary, and 2000 Sydney Games were examined. The 1904 St Louis Games provides a brief history of Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games. Calgary and Montréal are helpful examples, as they were the last Canadian cities to have hosted the Olympic Games. Also, Calgary was the first Canadian city to host the Winter Olympic Games. The Sydney 2000 Games were chosen as the final Games for comparison, as they were the last Games to be held with the involvement of a significant Aboriginal population. The Montréal, Calgary, and Sydney Games were chosen, as Aboriginal participation was a prominent theme

in all these cases. I also focus on Expo'86, the last mega-event to be held in Vancouver as it provides notable insight into the larger social, economic, and political impacts on Aboriginal people. The process of comparative case study analysis began with the collection of documents and literature based on the Olympic Games and public participation specific to the aforementioned case studies. The majority of information came from scholarly books and journals, progress reports, and published documents. Studies on the Olympic Games are usually conducted by scholars in the host country where the Games are being held, from the time of the bid to a few months after completion. Hence, Olympic studies are very specific temporally and spatially, and only a small number of scholars provide a critical insight into the Olympics.

Once the documents were collected, I looked at how Aboriginal people were represented by the host country's NOC in Olympics-related media, how they participated during the Olympics planning phases, and how the Olympic legacies left behind affected the Aboriginal population, if at all. After this process had been repeated for each case, the relevant information was categorized according to the various levels of participation in relation to the literature review. The information from table 3 was then utilized to show how and if methods of participation evolved and what their outcomes mean in terms of effective Aboriginal participation.

2.5 Content Analysis

In order to complete the content analysis, media articles from mainstream newspapers and other documents from 2003 to 2010 such as pamphlets and

grey literature from various anti-Olympic groups like the Anti- 2010 Resistance Network, were collected. I chose this timeframe because it marks the first and last years of the Games planning and delivery. The grey literature was collected from meetings organized by the Olympic Resistance Network and No 2010 Olympics on Native Stolen Land. Independent media articles were collected from locally owned independent bookstores. From the sample of articles collected, 16 came from grey literature sources, which include pamphlets, booklets, and independent newspapers. As there was a significant amount of grey literature available on the Olympics in forms such as blogs and social networking sites such as *Facebook*, I had to be more systematic and cautious in the way I approached this literature. For example, the majority of the grey literature came from local independent sources and had a negative angle on the Olympics. On a broad scale, the *Facebook* “pages” and “groups” are also extreme in view, with crude names such as “Fuck 2010”, and provide limited information relevant to this study. The social networking sites such as *Facebook* did however allow bloggers to voice their opinions of the 2010 Olympic Games.

The 84 mainstream media articles used were collected via Lexis Nexis and Google News databases from a wide pool of mainstream media sources. Lexis Nexis provides the option of collecting articles and documents from major U.S. and world publications, major non-English world publications, news wire services; television and radio broadcast transcripts, and blogs. The newspaper articles from both databases were from local, national and some international popular and independent press. It should be noted that the 100 articles sampled are only

a small fraction of the thousands of articles concerning Aboriginal participation (Appendix A). In conducting a content analysis, Neuendorf (2002) states a reliable sample size should be between 50 and 300 articles. In my analysis, I sampled 100 articles from an estimated 1000 plus newspaper articles and other media, as I felt this sample size would give a clear idea as to how Aboriginal people were represented by the media.

A Boolean search was conducted in both search engines. The same strategy was also applied for print sources searched. For Lexis Nexis the terms 'Vancouver', 'Olympic Games', 'Aboriginal', and '2010' were used. The terms 'First Nation', 'native', and 'participation' were tested, but produced irrelevant results, meaning that the search engines produced technical reports rather than newspaper articles. Technical reports were excluded as they merely stated facts reported in VANOC's sustainability reports. VANOC's sustainability reports and other formal documents were collected from VANOC's website.

When sorting through the various articles I was looking to see whether Aboriginal people had been mentioned in relation to the 2010 Olympic Games. During the analysis phase, I was looking to see which areas of participation in accordance to VANOC's five strategies had mentioned Aboriginal people, and whether the article had been written from a negative or positive angle.

2.5.1 The Coding Process

The articles were coded and analyzed based on VANOC's five strategies for achieving Aboriginal participation: partnership and collaboration; sport and youth; economic development; cultural involvement; and awareness and

education. This system of coding was chosen because the articles seemed to loosely fit into the five themes stated above. However, there were some overlaps where articles fell into two categories, such as cultural involvement and partnerships and collaboration. There were also overlaps in the specific policies and objectives laid out in the various VANOC sustainability reports.

Consequently, a duplicate coding system was developed consisting of the following categories: partnership and collaboration/awareness and education; partnership and collaboration/economic development; and cultural involvement/awareness and education. For example, the 2008-9 report places the implementation strategy for Aboriginal participation in torch relays falls into cultural involvement and partnership and collaboration.

2.6 Interviews: The Plans and Pitfalls

The final phase of my data collection involved key informant interviews and other modes of participant observation, such as the attendance at conferences and workshops. This allowed me to understand the reasons behind the processes and decisions, which provided me with firsthand knowledge of how VANOC's Aboriginal participation strategy was perceived by different stakeholders. The process of interviewing often helps to bridge gaps in knowledge, which other sources such as books and journals may not address, giving a different insight into the topic in question.

The interviews conducted were semi-structured. I was aware early on in the project that there would be a power relationship between the interviewee and myself. For example, interviewing elites can be a problem due to scheduling and

these participants are usually skilled at avoiding questions they do not want to answer (Rallis, 1998).

I planned to interview people from VANOC, Legacies Now, FHFN, Aboriginal artists, academics and people from anti-Olympics organizations, on their views on the involvement of the Aboriginal populations in the planning process of the Olympics (see Appendix B for questions). The main barrier that I encountered was gaining access to all groups. In speculation of the interviews that did not occur, an 'insider-outsider' dichotomy (Fraser and Weninger, 2008) and power relation differences would have existed between these interviewees and myself, which would be rooted in "ethnicity and other dimensions of social differentiation" (Elwood and Martin, 2000, p. 651). There was a large amount of scepticism from Aboriginal groups about the Olympics, and Aboriginal people are an over studied group. I also faced barriers when it came to setting up interviews with VANOC and the FHFN, as there was a big demand for interviews, and employees were getting busier from September 2009 when I was attempting to schedule interviews.

When making contacts with people from various organizations, my main concern was that I fall victim to an individualistic fallacy. Ecological fallacy draws conclusions about individuals based on group data, rather than individual data. Individualistic fallacy, also referred to as exceptional fallacy, leads to conclusions regarding groups based on results from individuals (Trochim, 2006). To guard against these fallacies is a difficult task, as the data that I have gathered do not represent the views of all Aboriginal people, and may be biased. For example,

literature produced by No to 2010 states that Aboriginal people are being excluded from the 2010 planning process and that the Olympic Games caused more problems for B.C.'s Aboriginal population. However, not all Aboriginal people felt this way, for example representatives of the FHFN felt that the Games would benefit them in various ways.

However, due to timing and building connections with various stakeholders, I only managed to conduct four interviews, with Am Johal and Rob VanWynsberghe from IOCC, Katherine Ringrose from Legacies Now, Chris Shaw, an advocate against the Games, and June Laitar president of the Klah-Howeya Surrey Aboriginal Cultural Society. Studies based on former Olympics also used information that was readily available in the form of reports, public forum, participant observation, and media articles. Data from public forums and participation observation was used to affirm the perspectives of those with anti-Olympic sentiments.

2.7 Policy and Stakeholder Analysis

In order for participation models to be most effective, it is vital to identify the various stakeholders involved. Freeman (1984, p. 46) defines a stakeholder as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organizations objectives”. The purpose of conducting the stakeholder analysis is to allow the researcher to identify and position the relevant stakeholders; what their interests are; and how they affect and/or are affected by the organization (Mayers, 2005a). Mayers (2005a, p. 2) argues that a stakeholder analysis can help in “understanding of how people affect policies and institutions, and how

policies and institutions affect people. It is particularly useful in identifying the winners and losers and in highlighting the challenges that need to be faced to change behaviour, develop capabilities and tackle inequalities". Stakeholder analysis is primarily used to improve policies and institutions for marginalized groups and to progressively empower them. The purpose of conducting this stakeholder analysis was to understand which institutions influence current Aboriginal participation policies, and the components of the policies that need to be changed.

Linked to stakeholder analysis is stakeholder influence mapping (figure 3). The stakeholder influence mapping allows a visual representation of the individuals or groups in the decision making process. For the purpose of this research, Mayers and Vermeulen's (2005) stakeholder influence mapping technique was adopted, showing the different influences stakeholders have over the policy. As depicted in Figure 3, the closer the stakeholder is to the triangle, the more influence they have over policy.

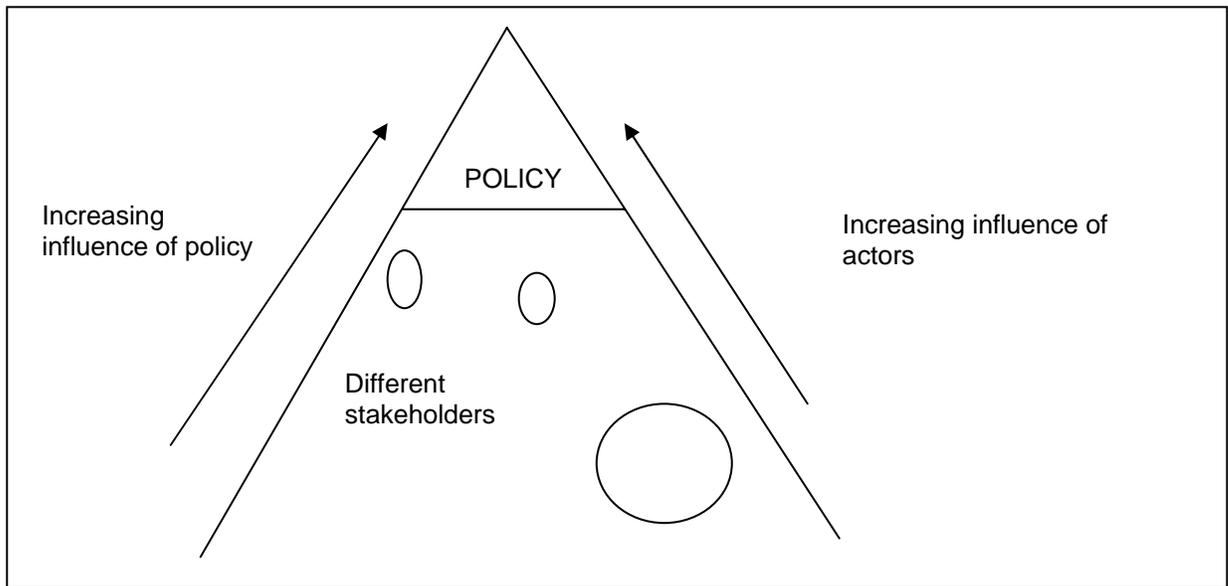


Figure 3: Stakeholder influence map adapted from Mayers and Vermeulen (2005; p2)

The following six steps as suggested by Mayers (2005a, p.2; Mayers, 2005b) were followed for the data collection:

1. Develop purpose and procedures of analysis and initial understanding of the system: understand the issues and create an environment for multi-stakeholder dialogue
2. Identify the key stakeholders
3. Investigate stakeholders' interests, characteristics and circumstances
4. Identify patterns and contexts of interaction between stakeholders: use the methodologies of the *Four Rs* – rights, responsibilities, rewards and relationships with other groups
5. Assess stakeholder power and potential
6. Assess options and use the findings to make progress in improving the policy in question

The first stage of this portion of the data collection was to list the various actors that affect, and are affected by the policies relating to Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process (Appendix C). The next stage was to articulate the aim and objectives of each stakeholder group.

This was done by examining the mission statements on each respective stakeholder's website. The third stage was to compile a list of policies and notable events in the decision making process that affected Aboriginal participation (see Appendix D). An examination of policy-related documentation provided an understanding of the stakes and the ways in which the various stakeholders interact.

Two of these stakeholder influence maps were made: one showing how the stakeholders currently influence policy and the second suggesting where the stakeholders should be placed in the decision making process. I took this exercise with me to the interviews conducted with members of the Impact on Communities Coalition (IOCC) and asked my interviewees their opinion on Aboriginal engagement policies in relation to the 2010 Olympic Games.

2.8 The Triangulation Process and Conclusions

As VANOC wanted to make the Olympic Games socially sustainable and inclusive, by involving Aboriginal people in the planning, hosting, and post Games planning phases. The literature review presents various participation models, which reflect how people are represented. The case studies show how Aboriginal people in former processes participated, how methods of participation have changed, and the impacts of the methods used, and were compared to VANOC's approach to Aboriginal participation. The policy analysis presents the various policies and actions taken by VANOC and its affiliates to achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation, which is linked to the content analysis, which showed how the media portrayed Aboriginal participation and various

stakeholders. The interview data allowed me to understand how different stakeholders interpreted VANOC's Aboriginal participation strategy.

3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The literature review positions the research at the intersection of scholarship on public participation, social change in the Olympic Movement and Games, and a brief history of Aboriginal communities in B.C., contributing to research agendas in the areas of Aboriginal planning in urban areas and socially sustainable Olympic planning.

These areas of literature provide a context into the different theories and frameworks underpinning public participation. This will help in determining which ones are best suited in consulting with Aboriginal people. Following this process, it is important to understand the historical context of Aboriginal issues in B.C..

3.2 Aboriginal Spectacle in the 2010 Olympic Games

For a period of two weeks, the City of Vancouver was transformed into a space of spectacle and theatricality of national pride, consumption of cultures and enjoyment for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games (Debord, 1967; Zukin, 1995; Silk, 2004; Kingsbury, 2005; Kingsbury, forthcoming). In this study, I draw upon theories of participation in relation to the spectacle as a main framework in addressing the importance of Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games planning process.

The Olympic Games are an international modern spectacle hinging on, and indicative of, issues of mass consumerism and disempowerment (Debord, 1967). The 2010 Winter Olympic Games was the ultimate urban spectacle, which involved mass consumerism, rhetorics of social relations, and “flows of cultural forms and people across borders” (Gotham, 2005, p. 227; Swyngedouw, 2002). For Debord (1967), the spectacle occurs when capitalist urbanization has reached its peak, the commodity (culture) shifts to representation, in which society becomes saturated with images in diverse forms such as advertising and entertainment defining and shaping urban life, whilst simultaneously disguising alienating capitalist social relations: “in societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation” (Debord, 1967, §1, p.7; Jappe, 1999; Swyngedouw, 2002; Gotham, 2005; Pinder, 2009; Stevens, 2009). Debord (1967) argues that the spectacle is a collection of images that mediate social relationships: “the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images” (Debord, 1967, § 4, p.7). This in turn creates a sense of belonging and unification, where Debord (1967, §3, p.7) argues

The spectacle presents itself simultaneously as all of society, as part of society, and as an instrument of unification. As a part of society it is specifically the sector which concentrates all gazing and all consciousness. Due to the very fact that this sector is separate, it is the common ground of the deceived gaze and of false consciousness, and the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of generalized separation.

In a nuanced understanding, spectacles have been viewed in conjunction with other concepts such as carnivals, interrogating structures of negotiation and power within social relationships.

Harvey (1989, 1990) further dissects the spectacle in three distinct dimensions: mobilization of the spectacle; spectacle of the commodity; and spectacular urban resistance. Mobilization of the spectacle refers to urban redevelopment projects as a means to attract capital and people. In the case of the Olympics, the forms of redevelopment are usually semi-permanent urban sport spectacles like Olympic villages and installations. Spectacle of the commodity focuses on the production of urban cultural consumption and experiences (Bèlanger, 2009). According to Harvey (1989,1990) spectacular urban resistance occurs when there is opposition to the staging of specific events, like the Olympic Games, and is usually initiated in response to the mobilization of the urban sport spectacle (Bèlanger, 2009). However, Bèlanger (2009) argues that resistance to the spectacle should be understood as an integrated component of the urban sport spectacle, not as a mere 'response'.

Tomlinson (2002, p. 46) writes "sport as a spectacle is nothing new, but the nature of the spectacle, its changing forms and comparative cultural, social, and political meanings, remain surprisingly under emphasized" . This is not a novel concept in relation to the Olympic Games, as on the surface the Olympic Games are spectacular but are underpinned with cultural, social, and political relations (Swyngedouw, 2002). Debord's (1967) theory of the spectacle helps explain what the different techniques of participation have meant for the local

Aboriginal communities and Olympic organizing committees. This is where Harvey's dimensions of the spectacle are most useful in a nuanced understanding of the mobilization of the spectacle, spectacle of the commodity, and spectacular urban resistance in relation to participation. The relationship between spectacle and the Olympic Games is that the Olympic Games are a 'pseudo-event' – an event created to attract media attention (Boorstin, 1961), therefore their success is defined by the images presented in the media. The relationship between Aboriginal participation and the spectacle is that a cultural angle is used to secure winning bids (Wamsley and Heine, 1996). Aboriginal culture is then utilized in ceremonies, insignia, medal designs, and other souvenirs (Wamsley and Heine, 1996), extending the production and consumption of imagery (Gotham, 2005). In the 2010 Olympic Games, the spectacle was a space of consumption and enjoyment, juxtaposed to a space of resistance (Swyngedouw, 2002; Gotham, 2005).

3.3 A Call for Social Change in the Olympic Movement and Games

Within the Olympic Movement and Olympic Charter the 'pillars' of economic and environmental sustainability have been better developed than the notion of social sustainability. The objectives of the IOC's *Agenda 21* mirrors existing corporate sustainability protocols, where economic and environmental performance was strong, but are beginning to incorporate social sustainability, working towards a holistic corporate social responsibility approach to business (Pound, Bagshaw, Coady, and Dickinson, 2006; Holden *et al.*, 2008). Social

sustainability within the Olympic Movement proposes that the Olympic Games are “a springboard for leaving a lasting legacy of revitalized communities and healthier citizens” (Pound *et al.*, 2006, p. 29). Cynical observers believe that mega events such as the Olympic Games primarily benefit a small and elite segment of the population (Smith, 2009).

Lenskyj (2008) argues that the IOC’s adoption of *Agenda 21* is an important first step in addressing social responsibility in the Olympics. *Agenda 21* is a blueprint for action identifying particulars for local needs and interests; therefore, the interpretation of sustainability differs for each stakeholder, and according to Lenskyj (2008) is not always fully implemented (Lenskyj, 2008; Forsyth, 2010). Lenskyj (2008) states that in order for *Agenda 21* to be fully effective it needs to be a policy that is binding. She proposes that the IOC adhere to a mutually developed code of ethics in which all stakeholders have an opportunity for input. She further states that Olympic Organizing Committees need to be more transparent in disseminating information on possible social impact for *Agenda 21* to strengthen the democratic process it calls for. Despite these suggestions, Lenskyj (2008) does not believe that *Agenda 21* will ever be fully implemented nor will its principles be achieved due to “the profit-making motives of multinational corporate sponsors of the Olympics” (p. 152). She concludes that social justice issues can be more effectively challenged using Olympic watchdogs and protests.

It is widely recognized that sporting events are used as a platform for political activism (Bale, 2003). Some argue that sports can foster alienation and

obscure class-consciousness (Beamish, 2009; Kaufman and Wolff, 2010). The following section illustrates the call for social change in the Olympic Movement and Games, not only from social justice advocates, but also from athletes.

3.3.1 “**Jocks for Justice**” (Dreier and Canadele, 2004)

Throughout history, well-known athletes, such as Jackie Robinson and Steve Nash, have used their “celebrity” status to promote social and political issues (Dreier and Candaele, 2004; Kaufman and Wolff, 2010). However, athletes often face criticism for expressing their opinions on political and social issues (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010). This section examines the case of the 1968 Black Olympic Movement, which emphasized the racial pride, and promotion of black American culture and interests. This case, together with the support of the Atlanta (1996) example, illustrates that not just advocate groups but also athletes use the Olympic Games as a stage for raising social, economic and political issues. It should be noted, however, that activist groups also campaign against the Olympics, on premises like the over-commercialized nature of the Olympics and the platform that resources invested in the Olympics should be invested in addressing social problems (Mohan, n.d.).

The 1960s was a period of momentous social change associated with sport. Donnelly (2010) describes 1968 as a “fetishized year” in North American history in terms of struggles for social change among disadvantaged groups. The Olympic Games were a prime opportunity for disadvantaged groups to broadcast their message to a wider audience, and this changed the social and political context in the decades to come.

A more precise example is the 1968 Black Olympic movement protest that grew out of the Black Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement, emphasizing racial pride and the promotion of black cultural and political interests. To emphasize the intrinsic interests and values of the black Civil Rights Movement, black American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their clenched fists (the Black Power salute) when they received their medals in the Mexico City Games. Smith described the significance of the demonstration to ABC reporter Howard Cosell:

My raised right hand stood for the power in black America. Carlos' raised left hand stood for unity of black America. Together they formed an arch of unity and power. The black scarf around my neck stood for black pride. The black socks with no shoes stood for black poverty in racist America. The totality of our effort was the regaining of black dignity (Matthews, 1974, p. 197).

IOC president Avery Brundage perceived this act as a political statement unfit for the Olympic Games. When asked about what would happen if black athletes protested at the Olympics, Brundage replied that, "we would send those boys right home. They should be considered lucky we allow them to be on the team" (Lee Evans cited by Zirin, 2005, p. 82). Hartmann (1996, p. 548) argues that the protest was rejected and condemned, "because it threatened to rupture the homologies between sport culture and liberal democratic ideology that otherwise legitimated a fundamentally individualistic, assimilationist vision of radical justice and civil rights the United States". Second, and perhaps more important, in the view of the IOC, the Olympics were supposed to be, and still are, a gathering of individuals. American mainstream society believed that 'dirty' politics of any sort

had no place in the world of sport, which was 'sacred' and pure (Hartmann, 1996). Consequently, Smith and Carlos were stripped of their medals and expelled from the Games (Hartmann, 1996).

Several conclusions can be drawn from this historic act: social, political, and economic issues are in fact embedded in the Olympic Games; and such acts could occur again. The IOC was concerned that the Games would be used in this way, and stated in Rule 51 of the IOC Charter "no kind of demonstration political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues, or other areas" (IOC, 2010, p. 98; Nafziger, 2004). Yet the Olympics continue to be a site of symbolic protest. For example, the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) selected the Galleria Centre in Cobb County to stage the volleyball competition. However, the Cobb County commissioners issued a resolution condemning the homosexual lifestyle. This led to protests from gay activists and criticism from Olympic diver, Greg Louganis for selecting Cobb County as an Olympic site. Cobb County commissioners rejected the use of the Galleria Centre, thus forcing the ACOG to relocate to the University of Georgia at Athens, Georgia (Burbank, Heying, and Andranovich, 2000; Mohan, n.d.; Yarbrough, 2000).

Hartmann (1996, p. 561) raises the question as to the boundaries of political and moral protest, as "otherwise seamless connections between sport culture, racial progress, and liberal democratic ideology break down, and the deep cultural foundations of domination begin to emerge more clearly formed". Hartmann's (1996) critique of the African American Olympic protest movement

raises the question of the value of politics within the Olympic Games and sport events in general, and whether sport or any other mega event can be utilized to drive social change. The events that led to the prominence of social issues in the Olympic Games asked the IOC to address the social impacts of the Games. The 1968 Mexico Games and 1996 Atlanta Games, where the Olympics were used as a site for stimulating social change, illustrate that the Olympics and sports are used as a mechanism to promote social change in the areas of social consciousness, and responsible citizenship (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010).

3.3.2 The Inspiration of the 1996 Toronto Pre-Bid Process

In 1986, Toronto City Council declared an interest in hosting the 1996 Olympic Games. The bid failed and the Games were awarded to Atlanta. Nonetheless, the way in which the bid was conducted is important, as it was used as a prototype for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic bid. Although the bid failed, it set an important precedent for a comprehensive pre-bid social impact assessment and social contract (Kidd, 1992).

Public participation and consultation were highly prioritized as any pre-bid decisions the Toronto Ontario Olympic Council (TOOC) had to be approved by City Council before implementation. To ensure that these objectives were met, Toronto City Council demanded a social impact assessment on the impacts of the Olympics (Lenskyj, 1992; 1994). This was important because entire communities are affected by hosting the Games, and Olympic bids should represent more than the views and concerns of elite groups (Kidd, 1992). The

aim of the social impact assessment was to consult with the community through a series of public meetings, to ensure full support for the Games.

Community-based opposition began to grow in Toronto. The Bread Not Circuses (BNC) community coalition argued that more pressing issues such as poverty and democratic participation should be addressed. The BNC believed resources should be diverted from business and corporate interests, including the Olympics, and invested into marginalized communities. The BNC and other anti-Olympic protest groups, such as Olympic Resistance view, the Olympics as a capitalist spectacle.

The Toronto City Council responded by establishing an Olympic Task Force, comprised of civic department heads, and chaired by the Commissioner of Parks and Recreation to scrutinize the bid prior to final approval. The Olympic Task Force was formed because “senior bureaucrats at City Hall [had begun] to realize that the Games would determine the social agenda for the city for the next decade, and sought to inject themselves into the decision-making process to protect the city’s interest” (Kidd, 1992, p. 157). This can be related to theories of urban growth regimes (see McCallum, Spencer and Wyly, 2005; Surborg, VanWynsberghe, and Wyly, 2008). This is because typical Olympic bid committees consist of local business leaders and political leaders committed to local economic progress. Bids normally materialize when there is endorsement from local political leaders and support from the private sector (Burbank *et al*, 2000). McCallum *et al*. (2005) and Surborg *et al*. (2008, p. 342) argue, “the Olympics are a global spectacle literally taking place in a single locale... [that] are

also an increasingly important driver in the creation of new leisure and consumption spaces". The increase of consumption spaces for the wealthy residents, tourists and investors has led to phenomena Terry Nichols Clark (2004) calls "The City as an Entertainment Machine". The increase in consumption and construction related to the Olympics, can lead to urban revanchism (Smith, 1996), and the formation of community coalitions which protest issues such as the lack of affordable housing due to gentrification.

The Olympic Task Force presented the Toronto City Council with a governing statement of principles called the Toronto Olympics Commitment. The Toronto Olympics Commitment identified several objectives that TOOC would have to address, including: all Olympic housing is affordable by provincial standards; 60% of housing be allocated as social housing following the Games; no resident be displaced; affordable recreational facilities be provided as a legacy; and subsidized Olympic tickets be available to low income Torontonians (Kidd, 1992). In reference to public participation, the Olympic Commitment outlined

a series of evening public meetings; descriptive information (multilingual); community meetings in neighbourhoods where venues are proposed; a public meeting of the Executive Committee; a commitment to achieving a representative organizing committee; intervener funding; and a full social impact study focusing on ethnocultural groups, people with disabilities, the homeless, young people, the sporting community, the native community, people on fixed incomes, and the business community (Toronto Olympic Commitment, 1989, cited by Lenskyj, 1994, p. 71).

This would help alleviate some citizen concerns and promote a dialogue between city officials and the community at large.

The Vancouver Bid Corporation undertook a similar initiative, conducted a study over three months for Vancouver City Council on community interest and support for the bid, and provided a series of reports for City Council approval (Plewes, 1998). In 2002, Vancouver City Council endorsed the City's involvement in the bid, and urged the Vancouver Bid Corporation to complete a community impact study to ensure they could minimize the negative effects and maximize the opportunities of the Games (Rogers, 2002). From the July 2002 report, it was clear that Aboriginal involvement would be used as a place promotion strategy for tourism in Vancouver and the Games: "a special emphasis will be to showcase indigenous Vancouver design and program expertise and talent, which we know to be of world-calibre excellence" (Rogers, 2002, para. 5). The report also emphasized that the Games include marginalized groups, leading to the development of an Inclusive Intent Statement (later the Inner City Inclusivity Statement), indicating ways in which possible impacts and opportunities could be addressed (Rogers, 2002).

According to Cashman (2002) since the BNC community coalition was formed (1989), nearly every Olympic host city has had an anti-Olympic alliance, with many using the internet as an organizing tool. For example, the Sydney based lobby group was known as the People Ingeniously Subverting the Sydney Olympic Farce, which was shortened to, PISSOFF, an effective pun reflecting the purpose of the group. (Cashman, 2002). It may seem unlikely considering Toronto was unsuccessful, but the BNC started a trend. Impact 2002 and Beyond was a community coalition formed during the 2002 Salt Lake City Games which

“publicly expressed fears that the Olympics would exacerbate the shortage of affordable housing” (Burbank *et al.*, 2001, p. 139); a predicament Vancouver also faces. Vancouver is no exception to the creation of an Olympic watchdog. The Impact of the Olympics on Community Coalition (IOCC) was created in 2002 in conjunction with the 2010 bid, defining itself as a community watchdog (as opposed to an anti-Olympic group), thus claiming to be a neutral body. The mission of the IOCC was to “advocate for a rich post Games legacy” and ensure that VANOC addressed community issues as it promised (Cashman, 2002; IOCC, 2009).

Cities are interested in hosting the Olympic Games because the Olympic Games can be used as an urban growth regime tool, allowing cities to thrive economically (Burbank *et al.*, 2000; Logan and Molotch, 1987). McCallum *et al.* (2005, p. 32) note that “hallmark events such as Olympic Games are now seen as an ideal mechanism by which a growth machine can brand, publicize, and promote a city on a global stage.” The Toronto pre-bid process shows that it is important to conduct a comprehensive pre-bid Olympic impact assessment before approval is given by the city council. The assessment helps to ensure that public participation is a priority on the planning agenda. There will be opposition to the Games, and Olympic organizers should acknowledge this rather than shying away from it. The creation of Olympic watchdogs is important, as they act as an external body holding Olympic organizers to their goals, but there is a possibility the watchdogs will lose their “neutrality”.

3.3.3 Vancouver's Incremental Step to Achieving Social Sustainability

VANOC followed the steps that TOOC took in attempting to achieve social sustainability and be socially responsible. For example, a plebiscite was held in which people could vote for Vancouver to host the Olympics; 64% voted in favour of the Games (City of Vancouver, 2005).

VANOC aimed to make the Games inclusive of people from all socio-economic backgrounds, including the low and moderate-income social groups. Together with the federal, provincial and municipal governments that operate under the 'Vancouver Agreement'³, the Vancouver Bid Corporation and VANOC adopted an Inclusive Intent Statement and a Commitment Statement, which was also included in the Guarantee File⁴. The Inclusive Intent Statement and Commitment Statement states "...the interests of those living in Vancouver's vulnerable inner city neighbourhoods [the Downtown Eastside, Downtown South and Mount Pleasant] are addressed" (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003, p. 63). The Aboriginal population represents a significant proportion of the economically and socially marginalized groups found in Vancouver, and accounts for 32% of the region's homeless population (Metro Vancouver, 2008).

³ The Vancouver Agreement is an agreement between the federal and provincial governments, and City of Vancouver supporting social, economic, health and safety issues of Vancouver's inner city, specifically the Downtown Eastside. The agreement also promotes partnerships between governments, businesses and community organizations, making inner city neighbourhoods a desirable place to live and work (Vancouver Agreement, 2009).

⁴ The Guarantee File includes covenants of Canada, British Columbia, Vancouver, and Whistler regarding their obligations under Olympic Charter. "The covenants provided by the Province to the IOC included a confirmation that the Province guarantees to respect the Olympic Charter and Host City Contract and acknowledges that all covenants made by Vancouver, the Bid Corp, or the COC to the IOC shall be binding on Vancouver, and that the Province will take those measures necessary to ensure Vancouver fulfils its obligations" (Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia, 2006; p13)

Aboriginal people in B.C. and Canada as a whole have a complex history and currently face the complicated issues and problems of colonization such as assimilation and the recognition of Aboriginal rights and title, particularly with regard to land claims . It was therefore crucial that the Vancouver Bid Corporation and VANOC set up an Aboriginal Participation Work Group to review the ways in which Aboriginal people had been involved in past Olympic bids, organizing committees and Games (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003). The Aboriginal Participation Work Group drafted a comprehensive agreement negotiation with the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nation on the shared legacies primarily focusing on the Callaghan Valley (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003).

3.4 Aboriginal Communities and Aboriginal Urban Planning in British Columbia

As the 2010 Olympic Games were hosted in a city with a population over 1 million for the first time in Winter Olympics history, it is important to address the issues of marginalization and planning for and with urban Aboriginal communities in Vancouver. The Aboriginal population of Canada has become increasingly urban, with 54% of Aboriginal people living in urban areas, which include large cities or census metropolitan areas and small urban centres. Vancouver ranks third among Canadian cities in terms of Aboriginal population, being home to 40,310 people representing 2% of the region's population (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The city of Vancouver is built on land traditionally claimed by the Coast Salish Nation. A large proportion of urban Aboriginal people live in

Vancouver's Downtown Eastside where they represent one-third of the total population. However, it is important to note that not all Aboriginal people in Vancouver live in the Downtown Eastside (Culhane, 2003). Urban Aboriginal communities in the Metro Vancouver Regional District occupy a heterogeneous public space (Sandercock, 1998; 2000). Urban Aboriginal communities are also the most ethnically diverse community, in terms of different First Nations living in Vancouver, compared to Canadian cities. Sandercock (1998) argues that planning is not value-neutral, but it ought to be 'value-sensitive' in accommodating, rather than eradicating difference. She adverts 'cosmopolis', "a city/region in which there is a genuine connection with, and respect and space for, the cultural other, and the possibility of working together on matters of common destiny, a recognition of intertwined fates" (Sandercock, 1998, p. 206). This supports a multicultural approach, acknowledging racial and cultural differences as opposed to assimilating them into a universal culture (Qadeer, 1997). In emphasizing the co-existence of different cultures in Vancouver, in particular Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, worked in VANOC's favour as a place promotion strategy in winning the Olympic bid.

Most Canadian Aboriginal communities consider self-determination and self-government vital to development. However, envisioning these outcomes in an urban context is more complicated due to various Aboriginal groups co-existing territorially in a highly multicultural and cosmopolitan society (Peters, 2005). Self determination is defined in international law as:

the right of a people living within a non-self-governing territory to choose for themselves the political and legal status of that territory.

They may choose independence and the formation of a separate state, integration into another state, or association with an independent state, with autonomy in internal affairs. The systems of mandates and trusteeship marked a step towards recognizing a legal right of self-determination, but it is not yet completely recognized as a legal norm. It is probably illegal for another state to intervene against a liberation movement and it may be legal to give assistance to such a movement (Law and Martin, 2009a, para. 1).

Walker (2003; 2008) argues that planning processes need to be inclusive to urban Aboriginal peoples to reach the full measure of Aboriginal self-determination. He writes that the notion of “self- determination or derivative self-government, is still largely misunderstood in non-Aboriginal society...in the public imagination of the idea of self-government or self- determination still evokes zero-sum of ideas of separation, segregation, and special treatment. The concept of self-determination emanates from prior occupancy of Aboriginal peoples to the creation of a Canadian state and its governments” (2008, p. 24). This means that Aboriginal societies determined their own affairs and never alienated the right to do so.

The hosting of the Olympics as the success of Vancouver’s bid for the Olympics rested largely on the ability of VANOC and the province to demonstrate a positive working relationship with the local First Nations groups. A successful bid entailed significant political manoeuvring. VANOC, the province, and the FHFN entered into negotiations before the bid stage. However, the definition and formation of a partnership with the FHFN actively excluded involvement of the urban Aboriginal community, because this population largely lacks formal “status Indian” identity. The deployment of phrases such as “new relationship” and “partnership”, in addition to the overall participation of Aboriginal involvement in

the Games, provided a significant stepping stone for future relations between Aboriginals and various levels of government. However, as the majority of the host region's Aboriginal population is urban, it is difficult for them to benefit from land claims and treaties (Cardinal, 2006).

3.5 Aboriginal Relationships in B.C.: Relations and Treaties

Understanding the historical relations between the federal and provincial governments and Aboriginal people is a critical part in the context of this research. Anti-Olympic advocacy groups, such as “No 2010 Olympics on Stolen Native Land”, hoped that the Olympics would heighten global awareness of Aboriginal rights in terms of self-determination and autonomy in B.C. and Canada as a whole. During colonization, European settlers recognized First Nations had rights to land; hence, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 declared that only the British Crown could obtain land from Aboriginal people through treaties (B.C. Treaty Commission, 2000; 2005). Much of British Columbia is unceded territory with Aboriginal title left unresolved. The exceptions are the 14 Douglas Treaties signed on Vancouver Island, Treaty 8 (1989) in Northern B.C., the *Nisga'a Final Agreement Act* (2000) (INAC, 2008a; Province of British Columbia, 2007), and Tswawwassen First Nation (2007) (B.C. Treaty Commission, 2009b).

Since B.C. joined Confederation in 1871, the B.C. Government did not acknowledge Aboriginal title (INAC, 2008b). However, over the past few decades, First Nations have demanded Aboriginal rights and title. During the 1970s and 1980s, First Nations took direct action in the form of sit-ins and blockades (Blomley, 1996). In 1982, the Supreme Court of Canada amended Section 35 of

the Canadian Constitution, affirming the existence Aboriginal rights. This amendment was flawed, as it did not clearly state what they were and where they existed (INAC, 2008b).

There have been significant changes in the struggle for the recognition of Aboriginal title and rights. The 1997 *Delgamuukw v British Columbia* was crucial in confirming the existence of Aboriginal title in B.C., and a decisive moment in treaty negotiations. The court wrote, “Aboriginal title is a right to the land itself-not just the right to hunt, fish, and gather” (B.C. Treaty Commission, 2009a, para. 14). The *Haida Nation v British Columbia* and *Taku River Tlingit First Nation v British Columbia* (2004) were two other major court cases in the negotiation and definition of Aboriginal title. They led to the Supreme Court of Canada ruling that the provincial government has a duty to consult with First Nations before developing on traditional territory. From the *Haida Nation v British Columbia* case, the B.C. Court of Appeal ruling urged the provincial government and First Nations to resolve Aboriginal title through negotiation rather than litigation, as litigation proved costly and lengthy. Yet, court rulings have recognized Aboriginal rights and title, the Supreme Court of Canada has not indicated where Aboriginal title currently exists (B.C. Treaty Commission, 2008; INAC, 2010).

The B.C. Treaty process began in 1990 when the federal and provincial governments and First Nations established the B.C. Claims Task Force. The role of the Treaty Commission is to oversee the negotiation process to ensure its effectiveness, and that all parties are involved in the treaty making process. A First Nation goes through six stages when filing for a treaty:

1. Statement of intent to negotiate
2. Readiness to negotiate
3. Negotiation of a framework of agreement
4. Negotiation of an agreement in principle
5. Negotiation to finalize a treaty
6. Implementation of a treaty.

Amongst the Four Host First Nations the Musqueam and Tselil-Waututh Nations are in stage 4, whilst the Squamish Nation are in stage 3 (B.C. Treaty Commission, 2009b), and the Lil'Wat have chosen not to participate in the treaty process⁵ (Lil'Wat Nation, 2010).

Premier Gordon Campbell and his Liberal party believed that the treaty process in place was too long, expensive and failed to produce stable outcomes (Rossiter and Wood, 2005). In 2002, the B.C. government organized a controversial referendum on First Nations treaty negotiations giving ordinary British Columbians a say in the treaty process. Voters were presented with a ballot of eight “yes” and “no” questions, ranging from phasing out tax exemptions for Aboriginal people, to the maintenance of parks and protected areas for the use and benefit for all British Columbians (Tardi, 2003). Members of First Nations protested at the plan as did left wing critics who stated that the questions were phrased in a way guaranteeing a “yes” vote, making the results inadmissible. The following results of the referendum were released by Elections B.C.: 35.8% (28,809 out of 2.2 million) of registered voters returned the ballots and 84.5% to 94.5% of voters endorsed the government’s proposed principles (Elections B.C., 2002). In a press conference, Premier Campbell interpreted that the results were

⁵ The Lil'Wat Nation signed the Lillooet Declaration in 1911 reinstating sovereignty over traditional territories (Lil'Wat,2010)

clear in reflecting support of the government's principles of changing the treaty process, whereas Aboriginal leaders stated that the results were irrelevant or that the negotiation process would cease to exist (Tardi, 2003). Rossiter and Wood (2005) argue Campbell's interpretation of the ballot results is part of the B.C. Liberal government's recreation of British Columbia as a place devoid of historical struggles, merely seeking cost effective and economically stable solutions in resolving land claims, as opposed to redressing historic injustices and present spatial inequalities.

Rossiter and Wood (2005) argue that a neo-liberal political-economic discourse underpinned the referendum, and that "politics surrounding the treaty process must be understood as a contest over the terms of Aboriginal citizenship, not merely as a conflict over the allotment of land and resources" (Rossiter and Wood, 2005, p. 352). Rossiter and Wood (2005) believe that for First Nations, Canadian and British Columbian governments to establish a mutually beneficial relationship, and for First Nations to have an equal and respected standing amongst "mainstream" society, the specific history of First Nations needs to be taken into account. The B.C. government is successful in securing private economic development in Native-claimed space. This is of particular importance in relation to the 2010 Olympics as VANOC hailed efforts to promote "full participation in the modern economy of British Columbia by Aboriginal peoples" (Rossiter and Wood, 2005, p. 364), specifically Aboriginal tourism.

3.6 Four Host First Nations

The FHFN Society was a non-profit organization, which coordinated activities between VANOC and the FHFN communities before, during and after the Games, not only highlighting the 2004 Protocol Agreement and culture of the FHFNs, but also increasing support and economic development through skills training, procurement, and business opportunities (FHFN, 2009b).

In November 2002 the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations signed a Shared Legacies Agreement with the province and Vancouver Bid Corporation creating a number of legacies for the two Nations, which included a land grant, a skills and training project, economic opportunities, housing and a provincial contribution to a cultural centre (Pound *et al.*, 2006 ; Government of B.C., 2002). In 2003, the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh Nations signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), which essentially ensured these two Nations the same opportunities as the Lil'Wat and Squamish Nations. In 2004 the four Nations came together to maximize the opportunities for their respective communities in the planning and hosting phase of the Games. The FHFN Secretariat was created as an outcome of the relationship. The VANOC- FHFN Protocol Agreement, signed in November 2005, created a partnership between VANOC and the FHFN. The Protocol reaffirmed the promises made in the Bid Agreement, ensuring meaningful Aboriginal participation socio-economic opportunities for the Aboriginal community (Pound *et al.*, 2006).

In effect, the FHFN Secretariat and the B.C. Secretariat held VANOC accountable to its goals of achieving unprecedented Aboriginal participation. The

FHFN Secretariat was a watchdog that worked alongside the B.C. Secretariat ensuring cooperation between all 2010 Olympic Games partners, and provided support ensuring that the FHFN received maximum benefits from the Games. The B.C. Secretariat mandated that legacies that benefit all British Columbians be developed, including one specifically for First Nations. More recently, in 2008, the FHFN signed a MOU with the Métis Nations of B.C., ensuring that the Métis are also involved in and benefit from the Games.

3.7 Public Participation

“Democracy is not a spectator sport” Lotte Scharfman⁶

Many grassroots activists and scholars consider public participation as an integral part of planning, as it provides a practical opportunity to improve planning processes for future events, as well as contributing to the knowledge of planning. Beaumont and Nicholls (2008) highlight debates in the public participation literature. They argue there is an underlying assumption by scholars that plural actors are able to achieve a rational consensus on certain issues, whereas others recognize that there is a silenced margin. Critics of the new institutions of democratic involvement believe that rather than focusing attention on power relations, it is more valuable to acknowledge conflict and differences as part of the governance process (Beaumont and Nicholls, 2008).

Whilst the literature surrounding public participation shows that participation techniques, processes and frameworks have evolved over time, there is still

⁶ According to the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts, Scharfman coined the phrase “Democracy is not a spectator sport” (the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts, n.d.)

heavy reliance upon Arnstein's dated ladder of participation (1969). The process of public participation is not a clear cut "us and them". This model focuses on outcomes rather than involvement in processes, and scholars should be looking to move away from a hierarchical approach.

It is important to note that VANOC was a private organization, and therefore had no obligation to involve the public. However, according to B.C. Provincial legislation, and seeing as the provincial government played a central role in staging the Olympics, it was necessary for the Vancouver Bid Committee to consider Aboriginal and broader public interests as part of the decision-making process (British Columbia 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games Secretariat, 2002). As the Games featured Aboriginal symbols, imagery, designs and so forth, which are classified as Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge, it was in VANOC's best interest to consider Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge in, and as part of, its impact assessments and protocols (Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency, 2009).

3.7.1 Definition of Terms

There is a lack of consensus on the definition of 'participation', but many agree that it is connected with the concept of power. Strauss (1963) argues that participation is a means of reducing power differences, thus contributing to power equalization, and is therefore a democratic process. Participation is defined by Smith (2003, p. 34) as "the process in which individuals, groups and organizations have the opportunity to participate in making decisions that affect them, or in which they have an interest". Smith (2003) states that citizen

engagement recognizes citizens as stakeholders and seeks to involve the public at a depth which is not achieved through traditional methods of public consultation or aggregate group representation provided by various interest groups and associations. Regardless, Hill (1974, p. 44) points out that participation is about "...actual involvement in the design and delivery of policies [and] should not be confused with demands for mere consultation or better still re-address grievances [sic]". Thus, public participation is largely concerned with representation in decision making and public interests.

3.7.2 Theoretical Background

Day (1997) and Callahan (2007) argue that the concept of public participation is contested because there is confusion as to what participation should look like in practice, and what it is supposed to accomplish, thus leading to the question of how much participation is enough. Public participation is embedded in democratic theory, as it defines the rights and obligations of citizenship, and assists in developing a framework for the analysis and evaluation of public participation as it occurs in a political context (Davidoff, 1965; Beaumont and Nicholls, 2008).

According to Innes and Booher (2004), there are five purposes which justify public participation in planning: to discover the public's preference so it can be considered as part of the decision making process; to improve decisions by incorporating local knowledge; to advance fairness and justice; to gain legitimacy for public decisions; and it is required by law. Participation needs to be a multi-way interaction, where participants and agencies can engage formally and

informally. For participation to be effective, a systems perspective is required that supports and builds on interactions among the public sector agencies, non-profit organizations, business organizations, advocacy groups and foundations making up the evolving reality of a complex society (Innes and Booher, 2004).

3.7.3 Frameworks of Participation

There are many frameworks for public participation, emphasising different perspectives between citizens and organizations, and the dynamic interaction of stakeholders. Although paradigms vary, two extremes exist: at one end, citizens are uninvolved and passive, and at the other, they are engaged and active. Most public participation takes place between these two poles (Callahan, 2007).

Callahan (2007) believes that whilst academics understand the polarities, there is limited empirical evidence of what occurs in the middle. For the purpose of this study, I examine Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), the International Association for Public Participation's (IAP2) spectrum of participation, and Sarkissian, Hofer, Vajda, Shore, and Wilkinson's (2009) EATING approach to participation. I also draw upon other participation models to determine the level and quality of participation. The review of these models provides a foundation in examining the experiences of Aboriginal peoples in the Olympic Games planning process.

3.7.4 Climbing Arnstein's Ladder (1969)

Arnstein's ladder concept (figure 4) is renowned in the citizen participation literature. The ladder was designed "to encourage a more enlightened and

rational debate on the theory, purpose and practice of citizen participation in decision making” (Fagence, 1977, p. 122). Arnstein (1969, p. 216) claims “...citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic process, to be deliberately included in the future”.

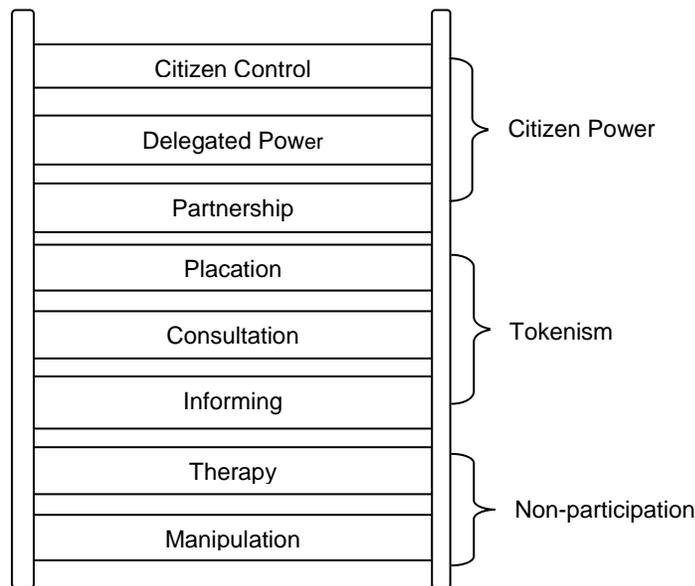


Figure 4: Arnstein’s ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969, p. 162)

The model has three general levels of participation: non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power. The bottom rungs reflect passive participation roles, the top rungs of the ladder active participation. The bottom two rungs of the ladder are ‘manipulation’ and ‘therapy’. Arnstein (1969) believes these techniques are dishonest and arrogant, about “educating” citizen support. These techniques loosely inform citizens of decisions and assume support when there is a lack of substantial opposition.

Tokenistic techniques of 'informing', 'consultation', and 'placation' involve increased levels of participation. In this case, governing bodies may control participation activities. Communication is most likely to be one way – from officials to citizens, where there is no channel for feedback. Consultation invites the opinions of citizens through activities such as attitude surveys and public hearings, thus identifying different levels defined by quality rather than quantity of participation. On the other hand, placation allows a select few to be on community boards. In relation to the empirical case study, this model would place Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games at placation and partnership. Critics of the Games would argue that the level of Aboriginal participation in the Games was at placation, as the FHFN had some degree of influence in the public participation process, but tokenism is still apparent. Critics argue that the handpicked, 'worthy' FHFN representatives were on the VANOC board of directors and official partners of the Games. Opponents such as No 2010 Olympics on Stolen Native Land believed that the FHFN were sell-outs, and that participation was a farce, as only a few profited. On the other hand, supporters of the Games would argue that the level of Aboriginal participation was at partnership, as planning and decision-making responsibilities were shared through joint structures, such as the FHFN Secretariat (2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games Secretariat, 2002).

Power has been redistributed between power holders and citizens at the top of the ladder. Here citizens are able to negotiate with the decision-making authority, form partnerships with power-holders, and demand the increase of

community control. At this end of the paradigm, planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared through structures such as joint policy boards. In this part of the ladder, much of the power has been shared, however it can be argued that 'shared' is the wrong word as it has more likely to have been taken by the citizens, and not given by the government. This is not new, as those who already have the power want to hang onto it, and the powerless have to fight for their share. Citizens want a degree of power, which guarantees them full governance of the managerial aspects of programs or institutions, and have the authority to negotiate changes.

3.7.5 A Broken Ladder: Limitations of the Model

Despite its popularity, some feel Arnstein's ladder of participation is outdated, too simplistic for today's society, and incomplete (Tritter and McCallum, 2006; Collins and Ison, 2006). Arnstein (1969) herself also acknowledged the limitations of this typology, as the ladder places power-holders and powerless citizens into eight simple subgroups, whereas in reality there may be 150 rungs. Arnstein (1969) also recognized that there were various factors, such as inadequate political and socioeconomic infrastructure on the have-nots' side, and racism from power-holders, which may prevent genuine levels of participation.

Many note that the typology needs to be changed, and that the ladder or hierarchy is outdated. For instance, in their discussion of a typology of public participation in Australian natural resource management, Ross, Buchy, and Proctor (2002, p. 215) argue that the typology should be lateral, focusing on "diversity and a range of important issues relevant to the *design* and *outcome* of

a participatory process” accommodating changes and new understandings. Even though Arnstein’s ladder is useful for distinguishing different levels of participation, it does very little for making sense of participation at a conceptual or practical level (Collins and Ison, 2006).

Various commenters on the *Cities of Theory* blog (2007), and Tritter and McCallum (2006) argue there are rungs missing from Arnstein’s ladder, and that some of the rungs should be revised or removed. Tritter and McCallum’s (2006) main criticism is that the model does not account for the possible changes in power relationships; it merely states that power trickles down, or is delegated. Commenters on *Cities of theory* blog (2007) question whether non-participation is even be an alternative in a democratic society.

3.7.6 Avoiding Ladders – New Approaches

Arnstein’s ladder may be too simplistic for the twenty-first century, but it remains a good foundation for understanding public engagement. A multidimensional approach is required, with an emphasis on processes as well as outcomes (Maier, 2001; Tritter and McCallum, 2006; Alexander, 2008). Tritter and McCallum (2006, p. 165) go on to say, a multidimensional approach “should incorporate the range of potential involvement desired by the diverse members of a multicultural society...” Vertical models such as the ladder typology need to incorporate diversity with multiple ladders reflecting different participant groups. Ross *et al.* (2002) and Lahri-Dutt (2004) proposes a linear model, whereas Tritter and McCallum (2006) propose a ‘mosaic’ model. The mosaic is the product of

complex and dynamic relationships between individuals and groups, i.e. the individual and community or user group or organization.

Maier (2001) draws upon and provides a critique of Arnstein's ladder, showing that the levels of participation are more than a 'them' and 'us' process, as the role of the participants has evolved in the participation process. He argues that participation in planning has moved beyond non-participation, as the public is legally able to have access to plans. Maier (2001) calls for a more concentric approach, which include all social groups, aiming to seek a dynamic balance that is not continuous and linear, which society is not. The concentric approach is dynamic in the sense that it acknowledges protesters as part of the participation process and that planning bodies are attempting to change their views to show unlimited participation. Unlike other models and frameworks, it makes participation inclusive to all stakeholders, including protesters. VANOC's participation strategy was similar, in the sense that it explicitly acknowledged the role of protesters its annual 2008-9 sustainability report.

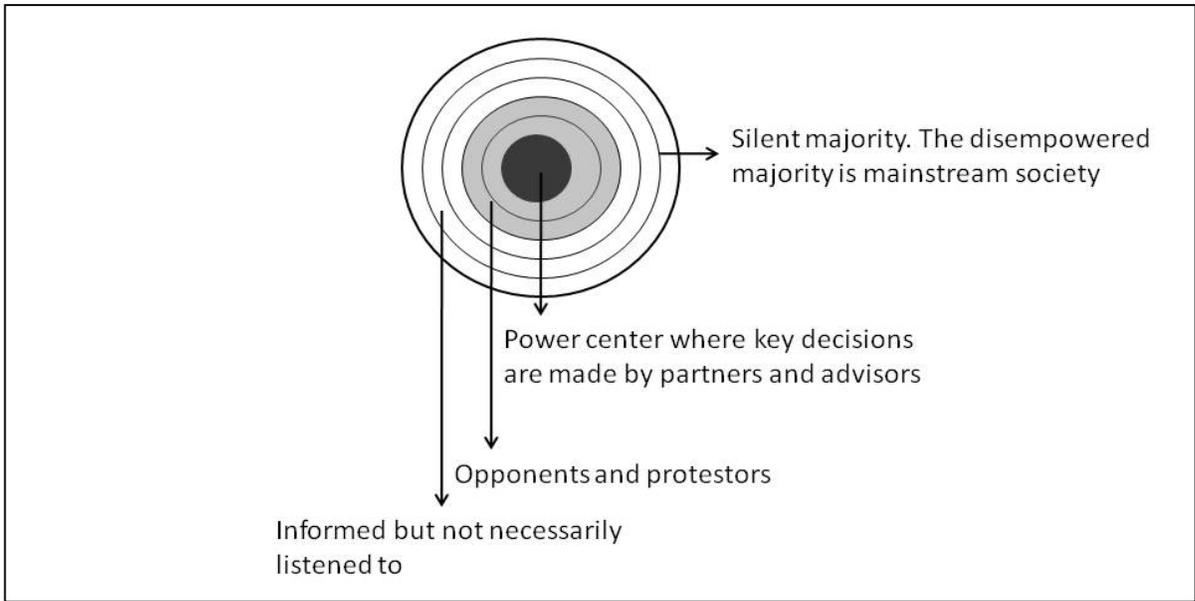


Figure 5: Changes of the pattern of involvement from totalitarian society to emerging democracy (Adapted from Maier, 2001, p. 717)

Maier's model (figure 5) shows that the larger outer circles represent the interests of the stakeholders and the inner centre of the 'power centre' shows where decisions are made. The model represents all parties in the decision making process, where dialogue is created allowing room for debate. Maier (2001) argues that the current participation models and frameworks, are 'selective [in] involvement', including the representative groups outside the 'power centre', while the other 'outer circle' groups are being represented.

3.7.7 International Association for Public Participation's (IAP2) Spectrum of Participation (2007)

The IAP2 spectrum (figure 6) describes the different stages of decision making and techniques applicable to each stage. The advantage of the spectrum is that it is simple, making it accessible to all participant groups. It is more of a guideline than a model or framework, idealizing what participation should be.

The spectrum comprises of five purposes: informing, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering citizens, sliding from weaker to stronger techniques. Unlike Arnstein's ladder of participation, each form of participation has a clear objective, minimizing any ambiguities about the purpose or nature of participation.

Increasing level of public impact					
	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Public participation goal	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution	To place final decision-making in the hands of the public
Promise to the public	We will keep you informed	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible	We will implement what you decide
Example techniques	Fact sheets Web sites Open houses	Public comment Focus groups Surveys Public meetings	Workshops Deliberative polling	Citizen advisory committees Consensus building Participatory decision making	Citizen juries Ballots Delegated decisions

Figure 6: IAP2 spectrum of participation (adapted from International Association for Public Participation, 2007)

Like the IAP2 framework, VANOCs partner and stakeholder engagement framework illustrates (figure 7) the specific ways that VANOC interacted with stakeholders and the public. For example, the techniques used for information sharing, such as news releases, shows VANOC informing the public of the decisions made. By having such a detailed framework for partner and

stakeholder engagement, VANOC was able to ensure that its reporting system was transparent.

<i>Types of Engagement</i>	Information-sharing	Consultation	Seeking advice	Shared decision-making
Increasing partner or stakeholder participation				
Purpose	Keep people informed	Respond to input and incorporating it into decision-making	Actively seek advice to resolve issues or plan strategically	Collaborate and share decision-making
Examples of engagement	Vancouver2010.com website Briefings and meetings • Visits by VANOC's Chief Executive Officer to Canadian communities • Vancouver 2010 Information Centre in Whistler • VANOC booth at community events • News releases and conferences	• Open houses • Environmental assessment sessions regarding venue construction • Venue tours for environmental assessment approvals, the media, partners and the IOC	• Inner-City Initiative Tables • Meetings with interest groups • Quarterly sustainability practitioner dialogues • Dialogues with sponsors to explore mutual interests	• Shared initiatives with Four Host First Nations • Joint initiatives with government • Collaboration with disability community on barrier-free venues

Figure 7: Partner and stakeholder engagement in VANOC sustainability activities 2005-2006 (VANOC, 2006, p. 21)

It appears that VANOC adopted the framework for participation put forward by IAP2. It seems like a viable option, as it clearly illustrates the strategies VANOC undertook to engage with its various stakeholders to achieve social sustainability.

3.7.8 EATING Sarkissian, Hofer, Vajda, Shore, and Wilkinson (2009)

Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) use the metaphor of a kitchen table to represent a traditional place where dialogue is shared and encouraged, building on the work of Rachel Naomi Remen's *Kitchen Table Wisdom* (1996) and expanding the process of healing and reconciliation between western and Native cultures. The

'EATING' approach consists of six components: **E**ducation, **A**ction, **T**rust, **I**nclusion, and **N**ourishment and **G**overnance. I discuss each component is discussed in relation to indigenous participation in the Olympic Games.

3.7.8.1 Education

Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) argue that it is vital to educate communities in simulating effective debate. Educating the community can help it have some control over its participation as it gives members the opportunity to:

1. Access the knowledge and skills it collectively has to offer in decision making
2. Recognize the need for outside assistance and expertise
3. Take charge of the outcomes to ensure successful implementation, evaluation and adjustment of community goals

(Sarkissian *et al.*, 2009, p. 85).

The first step would be to define the "community". For example, it could be one Nation of the First Nations or several Nations. This would mean VANOC employees would need to be educated about issues affecting First Nations within the purview of the Olympics (VANOC, 2005; 2006; 2007). Community education should also strengthen community capacity in terms of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital between VANOC, its indigenous partners, and the wider community. Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) argue that community learning should also address justice issues, and therefore inter-jurisdictional collaboration between Olympic Committees and community advocates is necessary so the issues and burdens on the poor are addressed and understood. For First Nations, creativity and spirituality are important, therefore approaches that allow for storytelling and place making that equates to spirituality and creativity should be implemented.

3.7.8.2 Action

In this section, Sarkissian *et al.* (2009, p. 77) address two main concerns: firstly, “how can the frustration of inaction be overcome in community engagement processes” and secondly “what actions are required to achieve transformative change for sustainability?” Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) believe that in order to achieve sustainability, transformative change is necessary, and can happen, when diverse groups work together toward a common goal using an assortment of different approaches. Frustration occurs when there is a lack of perceived or actual follow-up. Here Sarkissian *et al.* (2009, p. 129) quote community education activist Lotte Scharfman: “democracy is not a spectator sport”. People want to see tangible changes taking place, evidence they have been heard. Some people bypass community engagement processes and become involved in community activism, as they believe that there is a lack of political will on the part of government and private agencies to address their concerns. Resistance from activists often occurs in public spaces of the civic arena because they are more aware of weaknesses in formal engagement processes (Sarkissian *et al.*, 2009).

To achieve unprecedented levels of Aboriginal participation, systemic change is required. Participation models need to change so they include the role of protesters and activists, which have an equally important role to play in the planning process. Monitoring of actions is also an important issue, and the participation process should be monitored throughout, not just after the process or project has been implemented.

3.7.8.3 Trust

Trust is vital to the success or failure of any project. It is the essential ingredient in fostering transformative change, and in building social capital. Trust is a powerful principle, which levels the playing field to foster understanding; allowing people to be more open in conversations, as trust building exercises are most effective through dialogue. Members of the community have hopes for a better future, and need to know they can trust and depend on community engagement representatives and processes. The use of an external independent body, such as the IOCC, for holding VANOC accountable can help alleviate problems of deception or fear. In its Sustainability and Aboriginal Participation (S&AP) Roadmap, VANOC showed that the IOCC would be part of the Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI) advisory committee, and the IOCC believed it would play an integral role in community engagement and implementation of the ICI Statement. However, this was not the case. The IOCC were not involved as part of the planning process and instead became an external critic (VanWynsberghe, 2009, personal communication).

Betrayal of trust occurs when one or more of the following scenarios arise: promising and not delivering; inaccurate reporting; withholding information; lack of transparency; and short term thinking. It was therefore imperative the VANOC and its affiliates set out legacies that would go beyond the Games, and deliver the promises made. Regardless of the financial crisis, VANOC did deliver the promises made in the various agreements and MOUs. Trust is crucial between

indigenous communities and Olympic organizers so that the inclusion process is just.

3.7.8.4 **Inclusion**

For the inclusion process to be most effective, the first three components need to be addressed. Specific measures must be taken to include low income people and those without any formal education, as well as youth. Sarkissian *et al.* (2009, p. 192) argue, “most community engagement processes are so shallow that they offer few opportunities to address the challenging issues related to sustainability”. The process of engagement itself needs to change from a non-inclusive tactic, where there is heavy reliance on identified stakeholders and advocates speaking on behalf of others. As the demography of First Nations is relatively young, Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) and Hart (1997) call for planners to engage with children, because children cannot vote and voice their concerns and opinions. Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) suggest an approach that allows for creativity and high levels of interaction, like storytelling while face painting.

3.7.8.5 **Nourishment**

For Sarkissian *et al.* (2009), nourishment involves strengthening community relations, learning, and reflecting on engagement processes, which need to be meaningful to all stakeholders. This component is linked to trust, as the anxious community member needs to know that his/her views will be heard. Here Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) provide planners with approaches that show the community they care.

3.7.8.6 Governance

For Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) governance means how ideas will be transformed into action and who makes and implements the decisions.

Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) define governance as a system of interrelated actors promoting collective action. Five approaches are identified which are considered essential in designing governance approaches for community engagement. They include accountability, transparency, strategic adaptability, participation, and persistence and patience. Governance structures need to be accountable to their stakeholders and the public via a transparent approach, providing openness and responsibility ensuring trust and collaboration emerge from the relationships created. To ensure consistent transparency, governing bodies must ensure that communities have access to documents showing decision making processes, legal and statutory information. Strategies, which can be adapted to reflect the diversity of stakeholders, integrate views, and promote collaboration need to be adopted, to make sure that certain groups and people do not dominate. Participation is central to developing new participatory governance structures. The process must be facilitated equitably so that all stakeholders have an equal opportunity to participate. There will be doubts from agencies, community organizers and participants, and facilitating dialogue will require patience and persistence from all.

A governing body that furthers Aboriginal participation in the Games and legacies needs to be constructed. This body should consist of researchers, national and local Olympic officials, facilitators, a youth representative or some

youth themselves, and indigenous leaders who are grounded in local culture (Kam, 2008). The governing body will need to be accountable. To reflect the diversity of all stakeholders, governance structures should encompass adaptive, strategic approaches.

3.7.9 Changes in the Models

Public participation models have changed significantly over time, as illustrated in table 2. There are many frameworks which examine public participation processes; but Arnstein's ladder of participation is still the most referenced model in the participation literature. Readings of the more recent literature on participation critiqued Arnstein's ladder calling for a less hierarchical approach, and a more dialogue based one, which led me to examine Maier's (2002) concentric model and Sarkissian *et al.*'s (2009) EATING approach to participation.

There have been changes to the participation models not only in shape but also in the way the roles of various stakeholders are represented. Earlier models, such as Arnstein's (1969), identify participant status and the effectiveness of each rung of the ladder, but do not account for the ways in which the different stakeholders interact. Maier's (2002) model, on the other hand, shows that participants have to pass through a number of stages before being able to gain full power. It seems Sarkissian *et al.* (2009) find conceptual frameworks useful to an extent in showing the ways in which participation is effective, but argue that a dialogue-based approach is best.

Table 2: Evaluation of models in relation to the empirical context

Framework	Objective	Relation To VANOC's Aboriginal Participation Strategy	Success in Achieving a Suitable Framework for Aboriginal Participation
Arnstein's Ladder of Participation	To encourage debate on theory, purpose and design of citizen participation in decision making process. It shows the various levels and types of participation.	Is useful in determining at which stage participation occurred. From this model, it can be suggested that participation in the case stood between placation and partnership.	This framework is the least useful for this case, as it does not allow for a deeper examination of Aboriginal participation in the Games to occur.
IAP2 Spectrum of Participation	Provides a guideline of idealizing what participation should be. Each form has a clear objective minimizing ambiguities.	It appears VANOC adopted this framework as it ensured that VANOC would be able to ensure that the reporting system would be transparent.	This framework is useful in evaluating techniques used by VANOC to engage with Aboriginal people.
Maier's Concentric Model of Participation	Participation is more than an "us and them" approach .It should include all social groups seeking a dynamic approach.	Maier's model accounts for protesters as part of the participation process. It was not until the 2008-9 sustainability report that VANOC explicitly acknowledged protests of the Games.	This framework, like Arnstein's ladder, does not allow for a deeper examination of Aboriginal participation in the Games to occur. It is advanced in the sense that it shows the degrees of interaction between various participants.
Sarkissian <i>et al</i> 's EATING Approach	To share an open dialogue and build health relationships.	It was vital that VANOC build a trusting relationship with the First Nations, as Aboriginal involvement in the Games would be a step into the future for enhancing and building new relations between Aboriginal people and local and provincial governments	This is the most useful framework in evaluating Aboriginal participation as it shows the flaws in VANOC's strategy in a more explicit manner.

3.7.10 Public Participation and Aboriginal People

Like Sarkissian *et al.* (2009), I argue that a dialogue based approach is probably best in terms of addressing Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games planning process. From the evaluation of the existing literature, it seems that a new model is needed to grapple with the issues of Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games. Hence, a dialogue based approach is better suited as it emphasizes the inclusion of all social groups, including protesters, and allows for bonding and bridging social capital (Head, 2007).

O' Faircheallaigh (2007) argues Aboriginal people's right to participation in environmental planning processes has resulted in increased recognition in national and international policies. Further indigenous people often participate in the planning process, which is from the result of a lack of initial involvement, and additional opportunities for participation are usually limited to determine whether a project should proceed. Participation processes "should foster the opportunity for people to talk and listen, share ideas and expertise, build a rapport which will lead to a mutual respect," not an 'us and them' approach (Henderson, 2003, para. 4), thus showing that the EATING approach is best suited in negotiating with Aboriginal peoples.

Due to the complications surrounding land claim settlements in British Columbia, it is imperative that indigenous decision-making protocols are followed. The protocols should recognize the values and interests of Aboriginal rights and title. O'Faircheallaigh (2007, p. 325) writes, "a fundamental problem for

indigenous peoples in the past has been the failure of corporate and government authorities to recognize their rights as original owners and custodians of land on which development has occurred, and to accept the value and relevance of the knowledge they hold". In the case of British Columbia, the 1997 *Delgamuukw v British Columbia* case was crucial in confirming the existence of Aboriginal title.

The notion of rights in reference to Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games was crucial, as Canada has a poor human rights record for its treatment of Aboriginal people and its recognition of unresolved Aboriginal rights and title specific to B.C.. In this context, I use Gewirth's (2005, p. 820) definition of rights: "justified claims to the protection of persons' important interests. When the rights are effective, this protection is provided as something that is owned to persons for their own sakes. The upholding of rights is thus essential for human dignity." This particular definition reflects the importance of the rights to Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games.

To ensure Aboriginal people participate fully and meaningfully, the EATING approach should be combined with the key issues of promoting Aboriginal promotion in the environmental assessment identified by O'Faircheallaigh (2007, p. 326) as follows:

1. Agreement of goals and institutional mandates should focus on enhancing Aboriginal participation.
2. Structures created for decision-making and management should support effective Aboriginal participation.
3. Agreements should provide Aboriginal people with financial and other resources that are required to support Aboriginal participation in the planning process.

4. Aboriginal participants are provided with access and are assisted to 'scientific' expertise and knowledge needed to understand, contribute to and challenge dominant technical discourses.
5. Established processes should reflect Aboriginal values and protocols
6. Aboriginal interests should be recognized

From the key issues identified by O'Faircheallaigh, VANOC and its affiliated organizations did create structures for participation to occur. However, the following chapters question whether these structures, in terms of financial support, access to knowledge, and protocols created for participation, were effective in allowing meaningful participation to occur.

3.8 Conclusion

The participation of Aboriginal people in planning processes is complex, due to the complex social and political issues surrounding Aboriginal rights and title. This literature review illustrates that sports is a powerful instrument for collective social change, as sport and social issues are intertwined. As one of the world's largest sport events, the Olympic Games are often used as a platform for raising political and social issues. Athletes have been utilizing their celebrity status advocating for social and political justice, but are often faced with scorn and backlash, as they are not expected to protest (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010).

The 1996 Toronto pre-bid process is important to the Olympic Movement and the VANOC 2010 bid, as it highlighted the importance of drafting a social contract before the final bid, ensuring that all communities, not just the elite, benefit from the Olympic Games. It also highlights the importance of consulting with the community through a series of public meetings, to ensure full support for

the hosting of the Games. As with the development of any project, there will be scepticism and opposition, and the participation literature shows that protesters need to be accounted for in the participation process (Maier, 2002; Sarkissian *et al.*, 2009). By using a dialogue based approach, Olympic planning can become value-sensitive by accommodating and recognizing cultural and other differences rather than assimilating them (Sandercock, 1998; Qadeer, 1997).

In the case of the 2010 Olympic Games, the success of Vancouver's bid for the Olympics rested largely on VANOC's and the province's ability to demonstrate a positive working relationship with local First Nations, which entailed significant political manoeuvring. Contemporary rights and title disputes have produced a string of significant court cases, several blockades and other resistance practices (something VANOC specifically wanted to avoid).

Recognizing the traditional territories and contemporary First Nations inhabitants of Vancouver obfuscated messy political wrangling over land claims for VANOC and its governmental affiliates. This served a dual purpose: firstly, it minimized political unrest and investment uncertainty; and secondly, it marked Vancouver and its Games as unique and memorable (Baloy, Roth, Sierp, and Vadi, 2010). Working alongside the FHFN provided Olympic planners a unique opportunity to engage with First Nations at a local governmental level. VANOC wanted to display and brand Vancouver's Aboriginal cultural roots through the Sustainability and Aboriginal Participation (S&AP) Roadmap, Sustainability and Aboriginal Participation Management and Reporting System, and the Four Host First Nations Multi-Party Agreement. Holden *et al.* (2008) believe this level of

Aboriginal Olympic planning is exceptional relative to former Games, as the unity of sustainability and the considerations of First Nations in Olympic planning was a first in OGGI and the general IOC program. In a local context, it became crucial for long term planning, but perhaps unique to Vancouver.

4: CASE STUDIES

4.1 Introduction

The participation of the host city's Aboriginal population in the Olympic Games has evolved over time. However, Aboriginal participation has not necessarily improved. Forsyth and Wamsley (2005) state that historical relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are often portrayed in "Olympic ceremonies as harmonious and uncomplicated in order for Olympic Organizing Committees to project positive images of the nations abroad"(p. 228). According to Forsyth and Wamsley (2005), during the progression of the de Coubertin Olympics, Aboriginal people competed in the Games, but did not participate in ceremonies or any other Olympic cultural events until the late twentieth century.

Like Forsyth and Wamsley, (2005) I draw upon examples of Aboriginal participation from past Olympic Games that have occurred in the USA, Australia, and Canada, as these countries have a significant Aboriginal population. This examination is based on how the Aboriginal population was represented by the host country's NOC in Olympics-related media, how they participated during the Olympics planning and how, if at all, the Olympic legacies left behind affected the Aboriginal population. I also examine the case of Expo '86 in the same way, to provide insight to the possible socio-economic effects of the 2010 Winter Olympics on Vancouver.

4.2 St. Louis (1904)

Aboriginal participation in the modern Olympic Games began in 1904 in the St. Louis Games, which were held in conjunction with the World Exposition celebrating the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. Greenhalgh (1988) claims the presence of Aboriginal people was to not only attract tourists to the exhibition, but also show white American supremacy. Participants came from various locations, and included African Pygmies, Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) of Vancouver Island, and Mohawks of Kahnawá:ke (O'Bonsawin, 2008). Aboriginal men also participated in an event known as "Anthropology Days", in which anthropologists observed and compared Aboriginal men to white male athletes, showing and emphasizing scientific ideas that illustrated non-Aboriginal superiority (social Darwinism) (Brownell, 2008; Forsyth and Wamsley 2005; Matthews, 2005).

4.3 Montréal (1976)

Since the 1904 St. Louis Games, the 1976 Montréal Games were one of the first Olympic Games to include, but simultaneously mistreat the customs and traditions of the local Aboriginal culture. Forsyth and Wamsley (2005) argue that in spite of implementing policies that encouraged informed understandings of multiculturalism, some organizers of national events continued to present civilized Europeans with the romanticized notion of the development of the Canadian frontier and the 'noble savage'.

There was a conflict of interest in the ways in which Aboriginal communities were involved in the closing ceremony. The closing ceremony was

to be a tribute to Canada's Aboriginal population, and Aboriginals were invited by local Olympic officials to perform in a display created and choreographed by non-Aboriginals. Aboriginal involvement was limited by this structure, as only 300 Aboriginals from eight Nations were involved, and 250 non-Aboriginals were painted to look like 'Indians'. Aboriginal people were told that funding limitations were the rationale for this arrangement, as Olympic organizers were unable to provide transportation to and from regular rehearsals (Forsyth, 2002). Forsyth (2002) argues that Aboriginal people were objectified and were something for tourists to look at; their cultural identity was commercialized and described as a fetishized commodity.

Janice Forsyth (2002; Forsyth and Wamsley, 2005) argues that although Olympic Organizers publicly stated ceremonies were designed to honour Canadian Aboriginals, there was a lack of consultation with the Aboriginal nations. This ultimately led to the misrepresentation of Aboriginal culture. Some of the Mohawks of Kahnawá:ke, who reside along the southwest shore of the St. Lawrence River in Québec, viewed the Olympics closing ceremony as a way to promote and strengthen the presence of the Aboriginal population in Canada. They believed that this would allow them to connect with a part of their culture (Forsyth, 2002). The Mohawks hosted a 17-day cultural display, Indian Days, which coincided with the Olympic Games, showing their own ideas of Aboriginal culture to tourists hoping to change the inaccurate, Hollywood inspired representation of Aboriginal people. Initial proposals for Indian Days were rejected by the Olympic organizing committee, as "Organizers were concerned

that Aboriginal peoples would utilize the public forum to make explicit statements about *their* social, political and economical situations” (Forsyth, 2002, p. 72). After several unsuccessful attempts to belong to the official Olympic program, the Mohawks hosted Indian Days, inviting Olympic attendees to their reserve to challenge dominant stereotypes visitors had. The outcomes of the Indian Days were grim for the Mohawks.

They did not attract the 125,000 tourists they expected, with some Mohawks blaming the media for the lack of attention. Reporters responded by blaming the Mohawks for their lack of hospitality to the stares of non-Aboriginal observers. The Kahnawá:ke sold locally made crafts and jewellery, but were concerned that tourists would purchase spoof products, like ‘real’ rubber arrows (made in Japan) from Chief Poking Fire’s Indian Museum (Forsyth, 2002). Forsyth (2002) suggests that Olympic Organizers felt a need to control participation, as there were concerns over Aboriginal people would utilize the Olympics as a public forum making explicit statements about *their* social, economic, and political situations. To avoid this from occurring Olympic organizers would directly generate and control Aboriginal participation processes.

4.4 Calgary (1988)

The 1988 Calgary Olympics are considered a success in terms of legacies, which benefitted the city of Calgary greatly. For example, \$28 million was invested in buildings and facilities at the University of Calgary, amongst other infrastructure improvements in the downtown and athletic and cultural facilities in the region (Olds, 1998). Generally in terms of public participation, the event was

successful as more than 20,000 people were directly involved in the Olympics or Olympic related events, such as, 2,000 volunteers helping to sew costumes (Hiller, 1990). Due to the involvement of urban residents, the image of the Olympics was transformed from an elitist to a more popular urban festival (Hiller, 1990).

On the other hand, Wamsley and Heine (1996) and Forsyth and Wamsley (2005) suggest that participation of Aboriginal peoples in the 1988 Calgary Olympics was superficial as their culture was used in ceremonies and medal designs, to show that the Games and Calgary as a region were multicultural. The Calgary Olympic Organizing committee, Olympiques Calgary Olympics '88 (OCO '88) hosted an Olympics Art Festival, which lasted for five weeks and cost \$13 million. The Art Festival portrayed Canadian heritage from the Calgary Stampede to Aboriginal culture.

It was the Spirit Sings, an exhibition of Indian and Inuit artefacts from around the world, hosted by the Glenbow Museum, that faced the most opposition from Aboriginal people (Wamsley, 2004). The exhibition faced strong opposition from the Lubicon Cree, situated near the Slave Lake/Peace River area of north Alberta, who called for a boycott of the exhibition by asking other museums such as the Museum of the American Indian in New York City to support their cause (Myers, 1998). According to Myers, (1998, p. 12) "this [was] the first time in history that any of Canada's Aboriginal people [had] spoken out so forcefully against the way in which their material culture [was] treated". The boycott for the exhibition was called as the federal government and Shell Oil,

both of which developed oil and gas projects that forced the Lubicon Cree out of their traditional traplands, sponsored it (Myers, 1998). There were also complications with an outstanding land claim settlement, which had been promised to the Lubicon in 1940 (Myer, 1998; Forsyth and Wamsley, 2005).

Due to the complex relationship between the federal government, corporate organizations, and Aboriginal people, it was inevitable that issues, which might embarrass the government and corporate organizers, would arise. Consequently, in 1986, OCO' 88 set up the 'Native Participation Program' which promoted greater awareness, generating greater international exposure for Aboriginal people. There is a lack of evidence to suggest that the Olympic Games had any positive impact on relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in the Calgary region.

4.5 Sydney (2000)

There are many similarities between the Sydney 2000 Olympics and the Vancouver 2010 Olympics. For instance, both events and host cities have been surrounded by controversy ever since they were awarded the bid. Questions were raised over Aboriginal social justice issues and human rights violations (Waite, 2002). Like Canada, Australia has a significant Aboriginal population, with 2.5% of the total Australian population identifying themselves as Aboriginal (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). The relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples are similar, in the sense that there has been conflict and oppression over time (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2005). The Sydney Olympic Organizing Committee (SOCOG) was unsure how to represent Aboriginals in the

Games, as they feared a possible repeat of the arrests and protest which occurred during the 1982 Commonwealth Games in Brisbane (Cashman, 2004).

Like the Lubicon Cree of Calgary and the Mohawks of Kahanawake, Sydney's Aboriginal population also planned to use the media to raise awareness of their treatment (Godwell, 2000). Some also felt that they should support the Games as some high profile Aboriginal athletes were on the Australian Olympic team (Cashman, 2004). SOCOG wanted to come across as being multicultural and incorporated references to Aboriginal cultures centring on reconciliation. This signified commitment to Australian society's full acceptance and tolerance of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders culture (García, 2007). The use 'reconciliation' signifies that national authorities recognize that Aboriginal peoples have been mistreated and that redress needs to occur. To move closer to reconciliation, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians used the Games as a political tool (Haynes, 2001).

Cashman (2004) argues that SOCOG adopted an inclusive attitude towards Aboriginals by recruiting Aboriginal athletes and establishing an Aboriginal unit dealing directly with Aboriginal communities. Others such as Lenskyj (2000) argue that this 'partnership' or collaboration was exploitative of Aboriginal culture to show the world that Australia is multicultural. Aboriginal people played a larger role in the lead up to the Olympic Games than had been the case in previous Games, as Aboriginal culture was the biggest selling point used to help win the Sydney bid (García, 2001).

As with the Calgary Games, Australian Aboriginal culture featured heavily in the ceremonies and arts presentation of the Olympic Games, such as The Festival of the Dreaming. However, according to Hogan (2003), Aborigines were once again stereotyped as being noble savages, uncivilized and unconnected to the modern world. Meekison (2000) argues SOCOG's Aboriginal participation strategy was successful, as SOCOG had hired an Aboriginal woman as artistic director for The Festival of Dreaming. Cashman (2004) argues that SOCOG adopted an inclusive attitude towards Aboriginals by recruiting Aboriginal athletes and establishing an Aboriginal unit dealing directly with Aboriginal communities.

4.6 Expo '86

The last mega event to be held in Vancouver was the 165 day long 1986 World Exposition (hereafter referred to as Expo '86). The event was planned by the provincial government of B.C. and managed by the Expo '86 Corporation celebrating the centennial of the City of Vancouver and the first transcontinental passenger train (Ley and Olds, 1998). The majority of literature on the social impacts of Expo '86 address the impacts of gentrification in the Downtown Eastside (DTES) (see Olds, 1998; Ley and Dobson, 2008) and False Creek North (see Ley, 2005). Even though the literature does not deal directly with the impacts on Aboriginal communities, the Aboriginal population is disproportionately represented amongst Vancouver's homeless and inadequately housed population (Cardinal, 2006). The primary effects of Expo '86 on Vancouver's urban development were the large gentrification projects that took place on the north shore of False Creek and Gastown. Expo '86 occurred at a

time when B.C. was facing a major recession and the hosting of Expo' 86 transformed Vancouver from an industrial to post industrial status city (Olds, 1998). After Expo '86 Vancouver became Canada's second most expensive city to live in, Toronto being the first. However, in 1992 it overtook Toronto, and is considered one of the most desirable cities to reside around the world (Olds, 1998).

There are many similarities between Expo'86 and the 2010 Olympic Games as both events can be described as a landscape spectacle and place where cultural heroic consumption occurs (Ley and Olds,1986). As with the Olympic Games, Expo'86 was perceived to be a spectacle that was representative of the hegemonic elite values imposed upon the mass public. Ley and Olds (1986) write the place of spectacle, fantasy, and entertainment to enchant and divert masses from more serious matters was unsuccessful in former World Fairs. Roe (2009) argues that VANOC did not want visitors to see what is considered a world class city, has problems of poverty and unresolved political issues with local Aboriginal communities. However, the ICI and other initiatives suggest that VANOC went a fair distance toward recognizing poverty and politics (the need for protest). Roe (2009) writes that the increased international press attention on the poverty of the DTES, led to both a figurative and literal "clean up" of the neighbourhood. The counterargument to this is comes from former Vancouver city councillor and community activist, Jim Green, who feels that the 2010 Games were more inclusive than Expo '86. He stated that Expo officials did not hire from the local community for building projects and that

approximately 1,000 people were evicted from homes (Constantineau, 2009a; Roe, 2009).

By contrast, for the 2010 Olympics VANOC created a recruitment strategy, which provided employment and skills opportunities for inner-city residents (VANOC, 2008). During 2006-2007, VANOC implemented its Aboriginal Recruitment and Procurement Strategies, targeted specifically towards Aboriginal people (VANOC, 2007). The issue of addressing social housing was of importance to housing advocates. During the planning phases of the Games, the City of Vancouver had allocated 250 non-market units in the Olympic Village as social housing, as part of the post Games legacy. However, the number of units has now been slashed to 125 (Bula, 2010), because the City of Vancouver was forced to take over fiscal responsibility in the 2008 financial crisis. The project was, in the end, \$46 million over budget (CBC, 2009; 2010).

Table 3: Summary of case studies

	St Louis	Montreal	Calgary	Sydney	Vancouver
Participating Aboriginal groups	Arapaho, Sioux (Brownell, 2008)	Mohawks of Kahanawake	Lubicon Cree	Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders	FHFN
Participation tactics	Compete against white athletes	Cultural	Cultural – medal design, ceremonies	Reconciliation Competition	Cultural , economic, sport and youth, education and awareness
Participation type as categorized by Arnstein (1969)	Non participation – manipulation	Tokenism – informing	Tokenism – placation	Citizen power - partnership	Citizen power-partnership
Social impacts	Social Darwinism (Matthews, 2005)	Protests Indian Days	Protest against the Spirit Sings	Reconciliation Unsure how to represent Aboriginal population	Revanchism Gentrification Employment Financial gains
Legacies	Superiority of white people	Control of participation by NOC First Nations group seizing opportunity for showcase via Indian Days	Infrastructure and facilities Highly inclusive	Race relations were left unresolved	Financial and business opportunities Change of image and perception
Main event involved in	Competition	Indian Days	Olympics Arts festival Spirit Sings	Festival of Dreaming Official logo	Opening ceremonies Official logo FHFN were engaged in the governance of VANOC as a whole;
Participation program by NOC			Native participation program	Aboriginal unit of SOCOG established for Aboriginal issues	FHFN Society

4.7 Conclusion

Each Olympic host city aims to “raise the bar” and go beyond methods employed by its predecessors in achieving exceptional levels of Aboriginal participation (table 3). The five case studies presented show Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games has been somewhat superficial in the past. Aboriginal people have been primarily involved in cultural events, and with varying degrees/interpretations of fair representation and sensitivity/non-racist treatment. Nonetheless, Aboriginal participation and methods of participation in the Olympics have evolved. For example, the cases presented show there was a lack of consultation with Aboriginal communities during the 1970s, to higher levels of participation with the establishment of Native Participation Programs in the 1980s.

The evolution of participation methods shows that direct participation, and the creation of an official partnership with the FHFN and other Aboriginal communities have been key elements of VANOC’s broader sustainability mandate. In VANOC’s opinion, this has allowed Aboriginal peoples to participate in the Games in a more meaningful manner compared to the ways in which indigenous people have been engaged in previous Games. This shows that direct participation in key aspects of the Olympic Games and legacies planning process is needed.

5: STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the various stakeholders involved in the Aboriginal participation policy for the Vancouver 2010 Games. VANOC (2008, p. 102) defined the term stakeholder as “a person or organization that has a legitimate interest in a project or entity. Stakeholder also refers to people who could affect, or are affected, by an organization’s social, environmental, and economic performance”. For VANOC, stakeholder engagement was crucial not only in fulfilling its mission which 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” (VANOC, 2010, para. 3), but also to demonstrate that the Games were fully inclusive.

5.2 Methodology

The first stage of this portion of the data collection consisted of listing the various actors that affect and are affected by the policies relating to Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process (Appendix C). The next stage was to articulate the aim and objectives of each stakeholder group by examining the mission statements on each respective stakeholder’s website. The third stage was to compile a list of policies and notable events in the decision making process (see Appendix D).

Two of these stakeholder influence maps were made, one showing how the stakeholders currently influence policy, and the second suggesting where the stakeholders should be placed in the decision making process. This exercise was taken to interviews conducted with members of the Impact on Communities Coalition (IOCC) and interviewees were asked about their opinion of Aboriginal engagement policies in relation to the 2010 Olympic Games. The stakeholder analysis enables me to determine the roles of the different stakeholders; how they became prominent; how they were represented; and the effects that they had on determining the policies for Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games.

5.3 The Stakeholders

Over 36 stakeholder groups were involved and/or affected by VANOC's Aboriginal participation policy (Appendix C). According to VANOC's website, some its official partners were as follows: IOC; COC; Government of Canada; Province of B.C.; City of Vancouver; Resort Municipality of Whistler; FHFN; corporate sponsors (e.g. VISA, Coca Cola) ; and venue cities such as Richmond and Surrey. On its website, VANOC cited athletes and officials, the Canadian public, community, and NGOs, suppliers and licensees, educational institutions, spectators and members of the VANOC workforce including volunteers as some of its stakeholders (VANOC, 2005).

In accordance with Mayers' (2005) six step data collection method, and in consideration of the questions that Mayers posed in assessing stakeholder power and potential, table 4 illustrates the interests of some of the stakeholders involved, and summarizes the stakeholder analysis.

Table 4: Stakeholder Analysis Summary

Stakeholder	Main objective of stakeholder	How affected by the problem	Capacity /motivation to participate in addressing the problem	Relationship with other stakeholders	Net impact
VANOC	To host a successful Olympic Games and involve the local Aboriginal population in accordance with Olympic Law	Need to include Aboriginal people in all aspects of the Olympic Games	It is the local Olympic Organizing Committee	Is generally positive with other stakeholders with exception to the Olympic Resistance Network	Both – Is positive as it includes the FHFN but negative too as others feel excluded.
FHFN	To be involved in the planning and hosting phases on the Games in a meaningful manner	The Olympics will be taking place on their traditional territories.	The local First Nations should be involved in the Games as VANOC promised	Positive with VANOC with exception to the Olympic Resistance Network who see them as sell outs	Is everyone participating or is it just a certain kind of people?
B.C. Secretariat	Provides coordination and oversight to ensure the Province meets its financial and infrastructure and service commitments	To host the most successful Olympics resulting in lasting legacies that will benefit all British Columbians	Ensures that the Province's financial commitments are carefully managed	Is positive with VANOC, FHFN and Legacies Now	Has formed several agreements with VANOC stakeholders and partners. Have mandated specific legacies that benefit the First Nations.
IOCC	To provide information on the social, economic and environmental impacts	Advocates for a rich post Games legacy	Evaluates the development of the Games from social, economic and environmental perspectives	With VANOC (later this was not the case) and educational institutes.	Provides the public with information on the impacts of the Olympics, and monitors VANOC's progress.
Legacies Now	To ensure that all British Columbians benefit from the Olympic Games	Ensure that all members of society are involved in the Olympics	Holding VANOC accountable to its goals	Is positive with VANOC, FHFN and B.C. Secretariat	Both
Whistler 2010 Sport Legacy	To ensure that those residing in Whistler benefit from the Games	Ensure that all members of society are involved in the Olympics	Holding VANOC accountable to its goals	Is positive with FHFN and VANOC	Both
Olympic Resistance Network	To protest the Olympics as they are being held on unceded Aboriginal land	The Olympics are occurring on unceded territory	Protests and meeting are being held	Negative with all stakeholders	Negative

The data shows that VANOC needed to have the support of all stakeholders. The exception was the Olympic Resistance Network, which opposed the Games. As the official organizing committee of the Olympic Games appointed by the IOC, VANOC had final say in the policies that affected Aboriginal participation. Kearins and Pavlovich (2002) point out that the role of the IOC is more symbolic with respect to realizing Aboriginal inclusion in the Games. Hill (1996, p. 241) further supports this: “however much the IOC emphasizes in its dealings with the host city that it is the supreme authority of the Olympic Games, and not merely a guiding hand, in fact a good deal of power passes to the host city as soon as the decision in its favour is made”. The policies of *Agenda 21* on Aboriginal inclusion acted as a blueprint for VANOC in deciding how to fulfill the bid committee’s promises on Aboriginal participation (Kearins and Pavlovich, 2002; Forsyth, 2010). The provincial and federal government and FHFN as official partners and government bodies had a positive relationship with VANOC, as VANOC needed their cooperation to develop new venues and access funding. It seems the Squamish and Lil’Wat Nations had more legal standing compared to the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh Nations, as they signed shared agreements, whereas the latter signed MOUs⁷.

⁷ According to Law and Martin (2009b, para.1) an MOU is “a document that sets out the main terms of agreement between two or more parties and their intention to enter into a binding contract once certain elements have been finalized. A letter of intent [interchangeable with MOU] is not a formal contract but certain of its provisions may nevertheless be enforceable”. According to Cambell-Black (1995, p.53), an agreement is defined as “a concord of understanding and intention, between two or more parties, with respect to the effect upon their relative rights and duties, of certain past or future facts or performances. The act of two or more persons, who unite in expressing a mutual and common purpose, with the view of altering their rights and obligations.”

5.4 Stakeholder Influence Maps

The stakeholder influence mapping exercise was taken to two key informant interviews with Am Johal and Rob VanWynsberghe, who were asked to place the actors involved in the decision making process on the influence map. When asked what he thought the current policy for Aboriginal participation looked like, Johal believed that the provincial government, FHFN Secretariat, B.C. Secretariat, AFN, athletes, VANOC, and the federal government had the most influence. To improve the policy would require the FHFN, AFN, and FHFN Secretariat to be in control at the top of the pyramid. Johal stated:

I get the sense that the Aboriginal organizations are best [in the best position] to advance their own agendas. But some are more able to influence the powers that be, like the AFN or FHFN and are located in this region, and some in outer regions are able to have less influence. Then of course the province and the city have a lot of say, whereas the federal government doesn't have as much of a say in things that happen here. And of course civil society and academic institutes would fall next in line, and the activists play an important role... (Am Johal, IOCC).

VanWynsberghe however believed that the stakeholders operated in the following categories:

- Politicians: FHFN (because they see themselves as a political entity)
- Bureaucrats, which is made up of the IOC, City of Vancouver, COC, AFN, FHFN Secretariat, provincial government, federal government, and GUVAS
- Community: IOCC, athletes, Olympic Resistance Network, and Aboriginal communities B.C. and the rest of Canada;

- Academics: SFU, and UBC
- Consultants: VANOC, Legacies Now, and Whistler Legacies

Rather than arranging the stakeholders in a triangle like Johal, VanWynsberghe opted for a pentagon as, to him, it depicted the relationships between the stakeholder groups in a clearer manner. VanWynsberghe stated that communication between community and academics and other stakeholder groups is not as strong as it could be:

we're trying as academics, trying like crazy to talk to these folks [bureaucrats] on behalf of these folks [the community] , we're trying to collaborate together but maybe that didn't work too well (Rob VanWynsberghe, IOCC).

VanWynsberghe stated that communication between the stakeholders needed to be more direct. Bureaucrats have the opportunity to speak directly to the community. VanWynsberghe also claimed that the five groups working together created:

a unique opportunity of synergies... I guess synergies that were developed will be one of the benefits of the Olympic Games. In the sense that more bureaucrats know each other and can work together more efficiently together in the future, this is a good thing (Rob VanWynsberghe, IOCC).

However he noted the possibility that these five groups may not collaborate again.

5.5 Conclusions

The issues of improving the social and economic conditions of Vancouver's indigenous people by involving them in the planning process for the Olympic Games gained greater attention in the Olympic Movement. Olympic organizers faced a complex task of not only hosting a memorable Olympic Games, but also involving Aboriginal people in a meaningful manner that would go beyond opening and closing ceremonies, and keep the promises made in the Shared Legacies Agreement and other agreements and MOUs. Liaison between different stakeholders varied, and while VANOC attempted to reach out to all stakeholders, they were not always successful.

6: POLICY ANALYSIS AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

6.1 Policy Analysis

6.1.1 Introduction

VANOC prided itself in being the first local Olympic Organizing Committee to form a partnership with the local First Nations on whose traditional territories the Games were held. VANOC informed the public about its sustainability progress primarily through sustainability reports and media releases. The media has a crucial role in portraying the way issues are presented to the public, and is used as a conduit to relay key information about social conditions to citizens (Martin, 2008).

This section of the thesis analyzes the ways in which VANOC implemented its Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration policy through a five pronged approach. It also seeks to examine how Aboriginal participation was viewed by the media. I extract information from various documents, media articles, and VANOC's sustainability reports from 2005 to 2008. The media articles are utilized to examine if VANOC and its affiliated government and private organizations had successfully implemented the Aboriginal participation policy, and how the outcomes were met and assessed. The sustainability reports allowed VANOC to highlight areas which required further improvement. These reports also allowed VANOC to measure progress towards exceptional levels of Aboriginal participation. VANOC tracked its sustainability goals through an

analogy of 'pathways and 'footprints'. The 'pathways' represent the processes, collaborations and actions pursued to achieve the goals; the 'footprints' represent the marks or outcomes left behind in the literal and figurative sense (VANOC, 2008).

6.1.2 The VANOC Social Sustainability Strategy

VANOC committed itself to hosting the 'sustainable Olympics' by moving beyond the environmental aspects of sustainability, incorporating the economic and social aspects of sustainability into the sustainability framework. According to the Vancouver Bid Book:

Vancouver 2010 is committed to moving beyond environmental stewardship to embrace the economic and social components of sustainability in order to support balanced decision making, a long-term view, inclusiveness, equity and healthy communities. This will be accomplished by the Vancouver OCOG through a Sustainability Management System comprised of policy and commitment, education and awareness, monitoring and reporting and environmental, social and economic actions (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003, p. 55).

To make the Games inclusive, VANOC aimed to include people from all socio-economic backgrounds, including low and moderate income social groups. Together with the federal, provincial, and municipal governments that operate under the 'Vancouver Agreement' (refer to footnote 3), the Vancouver Bid Corporation and VANOC adopted an Inclusive Intent Statement and a Commitment Statement, which has also been included in the Guarantee File (refer to footnote 4). The Guarantee File states that the residents of Vancouver's vulnerable inner city neighbourhoods, such as the Downtown

Eastside, Downtown South and Mount Pleasant should be addressed (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003).

VANOC was a federally incorporated company that integrated corporate social responsibility (CSR) into its sustainability agenda. VANOC prided itself in being the first local Olympic Organizing Committee to formally bind itself through its Host City Contract with the IOC to reporting on the corporate wide sustainability aims and objectives as illustrated in table 5 (Pound *et al.*, 2006).

Table 5: VANOC’s corporate sustainability aims and objectives (VANOC, 2005)

Corporate Aim	Objectives
Accountability	To have measurable performance targets and communicate about progress and challenges openly, and consult with external groups affected by the Olympics.
Environmental Stewardship and Impact Reduction	To conserve the natural environment and input necessary mitigation measures to offset any negative impacts
Social Inclusion and Responsibility	To make the Games accessible to all social and economic groups
Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration	To work with the Four Host First Nations ensuring Aboriginal participation
Economic Benefits	To demonstrate that green economics and business can work
Sport for Sustainable Living	Use sport, athletes and public interest in sustainable living on a local and global scale

Strengthening the roles of Aboriginal peoples can fall into two of the eight aims: Social Inclusion and Responsibility, and Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration. VANOC could have included Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration in Social Inclusion and Responsibility, which recognizes the need to include marginalized social groups. However, it can be argued that VANOC made

a wise decision in accounting for the involvement of Aboriginal communities as a separate aim, and that this move was fundamental to winning the bid and promoting the Games.

6.1.3 The Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration Strategy

VANOC aimed to achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation through a variety of programs, seeking to share Aboriginal culture and providing Aboriginal communities with the chance to be involved in the 2010 Games.

According to VANOC's official site these facets included:

1. Partnerships and Collaboration
2. Sport and Youth
3. Economic Development
4. Cultural Involvement
5. Awareness and Education

(VANOC, 2006).

Each facet is discussed in turn. In order to achieve its goal of unprecedented Aboriginal participation, VANOC collaborated with other organizations, which is mentioned under the appropriate category.

6.1.3.1 Partnerships and Collaboration

Writing on the topic of planning for local sustainability generally, Newman and Jennings (2008) argue that the creation of partnerships not only allows the exchange of skills and knowledge, but also the development of collaborative solutions. According to VANOC's official site, "for VANOC, sustainability means

managing social, economic and environmental impacts and opportunities of our Games to produce lasting benefits – both locally and globally” (VANOC, 2010a, para. 1). In order to achieve social sustainability on a macro level across Canada, VANOC is collaborating with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis organizations across the country to identify and maximize opportunities for broader Aboriginal participation around the Games.

VANOC formed an official partnership with the FHFN in 2005, but also sought the help of other organizations such as the Metro Vancouver Urban Aboriginal Strategy (MVUAS) (previously known as the Greater Vancouver Urban Aboriginal Strategy (GUVAS)) Steering Committee, and 2010 Legacies Now (hereafter referred to as Legacies Now), which manages the legacies created throughout and after the Games (Legacies Now, 2009) in its pursuit of achieving unprecedented Aboriginal participation. MVUAS is Metro Vancouver’s branch of the federal Urban Aboriginal Strategy that was established in 1997 to support Canada’s growing urban Aboriginal population, by creating partnerships and increasing collaboration to improve socio-economic conditions for urban Aboriginal people (MVUAS, 2010). More importantly, in its Bid phase sustainability policy, under the Social Inclusion and Accessibility facet, VANOC stated that disadvantaged socio-economic groups would benefit from the Games. VANOC stated it would create access to business, housing, and employment opportunities for Vancouver inner city communities, through the implementation of the Inner City Inclusive Commitment Statement signed in 2003.

A number of significant initiatives were taken by VANOC to include members of the FHFN during the bid phase, including appointing Squamish and Lil'Wat representatives to the 2010 Bid Corporation Board of Directors in 1999. Later, in 2002, Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh representatives were appointed to the Bid Corporation Board of Directors (Dunn, 2007). Later in 2003, Lil'Wat and Squamish representatives were appointed to the VANOC Board of Directors, where as the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh Nations signed MOUs. In November 2002 the 2010 Bid Cop., province of B.C., and representatives of the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations signed a Shared Legacies Agreement outlining the benefits of hosting the Olympic Games to the two Nations, consequently securing their support.

6.1.3.2 **Sport and Youth**

Health and well being among Aboriginal communities is relatively poor in comparison to other Canadian groups. VANOC acknowledges that sport has a strong role in promoting health and wellness, particularly among Aboriginal youth (VANOC, 2005). In order to inspire and gather Aboriginal youth, VANOC signed a Statement of Cooperation with the Aboriginal Sport Circle. The Aboriginal Sports Circle represents the sport and recreation interests of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people. The organization, consisting of provincial/territorial Aboriginal sport bodies, was created as a response to the lack of equitable and accessible recreation opportunities for Aboriginal communities (Aboriginal Sport Circle, n.d.). The sport and youth legacies are managed by 2010 Legacies Now, which is a pre-bid spawn of VANOC and B.C., aiming to create legacies for all British

Columbians throughout and after the Games (Legacies Now, 2009). Together with Legacies Now, VANOC established an Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy Fund in 2003 as part of the Shared Legacies Agreement. The fund supports Aboriginal youth, allowing them to participate in sporting events. Legacies Now is responsible for including all sectors of society, in particular the marginalized, such as Aboriginal peoples and inner city youth.

In 2006, VANOC produced a *Find Your Passion in Sport* poster campaign featuring three young Aboriginal athletes from across Canada. The purpose of the poster series was to encourage more Aboriginal youth to participate in sporting events. The poster campaign highlighted accomplishments of the First Nations snowboard team. The Aboriginal Youth Sports Legacy Fund also funds the First Nations Snowboard Team, which aims improve the quality of life for inner city youth in the Lower Mainland by giving them the opportunity to gain access to free training, passes to various resorts, and equipment. The First Nations Snowboard Team has stringent rules where “as part of their commitment, team members sign athlete agreements promising to attend 90% of the training sessions and to abstain from drugs and alcohol. Young athletes attending school must maintain a C+ average. If they don’t follow the rules, they must return their gear and their free mountain passes” (VANOC, 2010b, para. 7). This illustrates sport can be utilized as an agent to improve education and literacy levels.

Legacies Now also focused on literacy and set up a literacy program called Parents as Literacy Supporters (PALS). Legacies Now developed an Aboriginal PALS tailored specifically towards Aboriginal communities (Ringrose,

2009, personal communication). Legacies Now and VANOC also developed an additional sport legacy project, highlighting Aboriginal sport at the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame. VANOC contributed \$25, 000 to the project and made it into a virtual exhibition (VANOC, 2008). The Aboriginal Sport Gallery opened to the public in June 2008, along with a travelling version, which visited fifty-two communities and engaged 11,000 people (VANOC, 2008).

6.1.3.3 Economic Development

Mega events such as the Olympics are presented as opportunities to reap economic benefits for the host city or region. The Games are an example of a public-private partnership in which the Olympic Movement generates revenue via broadcasts, ticket sales, sponsorships and marketing and licensing. The host governments usually contribute to the budget for venues and facilities, construction of related regional infrastructure (transportation, housing, public amenities and improvements) and security (Pound *et al*, 2006). In a paper presented for the *2006 Conference of the Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice* by IOC member and chairman of the World Anti-Doping Agency Richard Pound *et al.* (2006, p. 57), titled *The Olympic Games, the Law, and the Triple Bottom Line of Sustainability*, state “VANOC believes that sustainability can create economic, social and environmental value and seeks opportunities where these benefits can be generated on a business case basis”. VANOC believed its purchasing system to be sustainable as it integrated social, ethical and environmental considerations into its purchasing practices, and dubbed it “Buy Smart”. Aboriginal economic development was part of the Buy

Smart program, and included an increase in jobs and training for vulnerable populations, and a growth of minority-owned business and the sustainable enterprise sector such as Aboriginal owned businesses (VANOC, 2010a).

VANOC issued a report titled *Lasting Legacies of Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games in North America* (Zimmerman, 2010) at the Vancouver 2010 debriefing in Russia. The report states that approximately 1000 Aboriginal businesses profited from construction projects, performance fees, and craft sales, earning \$56.7 million - \$54 million from venue construction and \$776,000 from non-construction contracts. Sales from the Artisan Village generated \$250,000.

The Squamish, Lil'Wat, Tseil Waututh, and Musqueam Nations each received \$17.5 million cash for supporting the Games. In addition the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations "received 300 acres of B.C. Crown Land in Whistler, worth an estimated \$13.5 million" (Zimmerman, 2010, p. 101), that will be jointly developed.

Other dollar investments included a successful agreement between the Musqueam Nation and the federal government to purchase the \$3.5 million Aboriginal pavilion. In addition, 450 members of the Tseil-Waututh Nation plan to invest \$15 million from their 2010 Legacy fund in a trust for future land acquisition, and invest \$2.5 million on a community youth centre. As part of the Shared Legacies Agreement, the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations received a \$3 million Aboriginal Youth Sports Legacy Fund encouraging athletics amongst First Nations youth. According to FHFN CEO Tewanee Joseph, the cash benefits,

employment opportunities, contracts, performance fees, and merchandise sales totalled \$200 million (Zimmerman, 2010).

6.1.3.4 Cultural Involvement

According to the IOC, the Olympics is more than just a sporting event – it is about promoting Olympic education and culture, where culture is regarded as the third pillar of Olympism alongside sport and the environment (IOC, 2010). By-law 40 in the Olympic Charter (2010, p 80), OCOGs are required to host a cultural festival during the Olympics:

The OCOG shall organise a programme of cultural events, which must cover at least the entire period during which the Olympic Village is open. Such programme shall be submitted to the IOC Executive Board for its prior approval.

Cultural influence in the Olympics is not new a concept, as art and music was used to promote public figures and educators. The Barcelona Olympic Committee hosted the first cultural Olympiad in 1992; the Olympic organizers of the 1996 Atlanta and 2000 Sydney Games then adopted this strategy (Jarvie, 2006). VANOC also hosted a series of cultural festivities during the Olympics in which there was significant Aboriginal involvement.

The promotion of Aboriginal culture has been critical in former Olympic Games, as it was for 2010. Cultural involvement crosses over into the other VANOC objectives for achieving unprecedented Aboriginal participation. For VANOC, celebrating Aboriginal history, art, culture, and language was a fundamental part of its overall cultural program (VANOC, 2007). For example, the Inner City Inclusivity Statement stated Aboriginal activities of inner city residents

would be showcased in cultural activities, but failed to mention Aboriginal people elsewhere. During the Olympics the Aboriginal Pavilion located in Downtown Vancouver exhibiting the diversity of Aboriginal culture, art sports, and business from across Canada received 14,000 visitors daily (FHFN, 2009c; Zimmerman, 2010).

The presence of Aboriginal arts was highly popular in terms of not only sales, but also architectural design. For example, the shape of the Olympic podiums, were reflective of the shape of Vancouver Island and the Olympic Oval in Richmond, featured Aboriginal carvings as part of the \$2 million Venues' Aboriginal Art Program (City of Richmond, 2009). Overall, the Venues' Aboriginal Art Program featured 140 pieces of art from 90 artists from across the country; over 30 of the pieces will be permanent. Aboriginal artists also designed the Olympic medals and hockey jerseys.

VANOC marketers seized the opportunity to reform and renew the image of Vancouver by focusing on the landscape. This was reflected in what VANOC named the "Look of the Games", "dressing the city and venues during Games time" (VANOC, 2010c, para. 1). The graphics and colour palette portrayed the nature of the province, simultaneously representing transformations, fusion, multiculturalism, and connections to the urban environment. In these graphics, VANOC wanted to show that Canada is progressive and youthful (VANOC, 2010c). The graphic shows a canoe and the eye of an orca in the dark blue waves in the foreground, images which are specific to west coast First Nations.

The Resort Municipality of Whistler and Whistler 2010 Sport Legacies primarily monitored the legacies of the Squamish and Lil'Wat First Nations. There were various meetings held from 1997 to 1999 between the Squamish, Lil'Wat, and Resort Municipality of Whistler over the opportunities for First Nations presence and participation in Whistler. The outcome of the meeting centred around the "Cultural Centre property long-term land lease and significant property tax and development cost concessions negotiated with the province" (Squamish-Lil'Wat Cultural Centre (SLCC), 2010). The two nations and the Resort Municipality of Whistler own the SLCC, and it is accessible to the public at large, showcasing Squamish and Lil'Wat culture. Further details about the centre are provided in the content analysis. VANOC believed that by involving Aboriginal peoples in cultural programs it would be maximizing opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to tell a story about their culture and experiences to the world audience whilst respecting traditions and protocols of the FHFN (VANOC 2006).

6.1.3.5 Education and Awareness

VANOC's education and awareness strategy was to use its website as a tool to educate the VANOC workforce and the public on the issues surrounding sustainability and Aboriginal participation. VANOC felt it was necessary to further engage more Canadians as well as Vancouver residents and build more awareness for the Olympics. In doing so, VANOC hosted special events, which brought VANOC staff and the FHFN Society together (VANOC, 2005). VANOC also promoted the awareness of Aboriginal participation through its website. The website has a section on sustainability and Aboriginal participation, and is further

subdivided into the five facets of the Aboriginal participation as previously mentioned. VANOC claims that for the 2006-7 reporting period, the Aboriginal participation section of its website received 52,337 page views and over 2750 people signed up for the Aboriginal participation updates (VANOC, 2006). However, for the 2007-8 reporting period the number of page views went down to 24,465 and the number of people who signed up for updates increased to 8,405. For the 2008-9 reporting year the number of page views increased again to 43,769 as did the number of number of people who signed up for updates to 14,347 (VANOC, 2008). The figures for the 2009-10 reporting year are yet to be published, and it is assumed that the program has ceased once the Games were over. VANOC also decided to post a 'feature stories' section on its website for each of the five broad sustainability aims, showing how VANOC is meeting its sustainability objectives. For example, there is a feature story on how a Lil'Wat owned construction industry has grown with the Games, using the opportunities provided to nurture skills, experience and business acumen (VANOC, 2009b).

6.1.3.6 Anti-Olympic Sentiments

There were many individuals and groups such as the Olympic Resistance Network who campaigned for "No Olympics on Stolen Native Land" calling for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games to be cancelled. The Vancouver based Olympic Resistance Network operated in solidarity and worked with indigenous communities who had been opposing the Olympics since the bid (O' Bonsawin, 2010). The Olympic Resistance Network is an umbrella network that represents

groups sharing anti-capitalist and anti-colonial sentiments, and groups negatively impacted by the Games.

6.2 Content Analysis

6.2.1 General Observations

The articles collected generally suggest that Aboriginal participation in the Olympics was represented in a positive manner, with the exception of the articles from the independent media. However, more articles sharing an anti-Olympic sentiment and portraying Aboriginal involvement in a negative manner or lack of Aboriginal involvement began to emerge within mainstream media as the Olympic Games drew closer. There was a polarized division of the views of the articles being positive or negative in their treatment of the following issues: Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games; Aboriginal Olympic relationships; and legacies. Figure 8 illustrates the percentage of articles categorized under each VANOC facet. If the articles fitted into two categories they were only counted once.

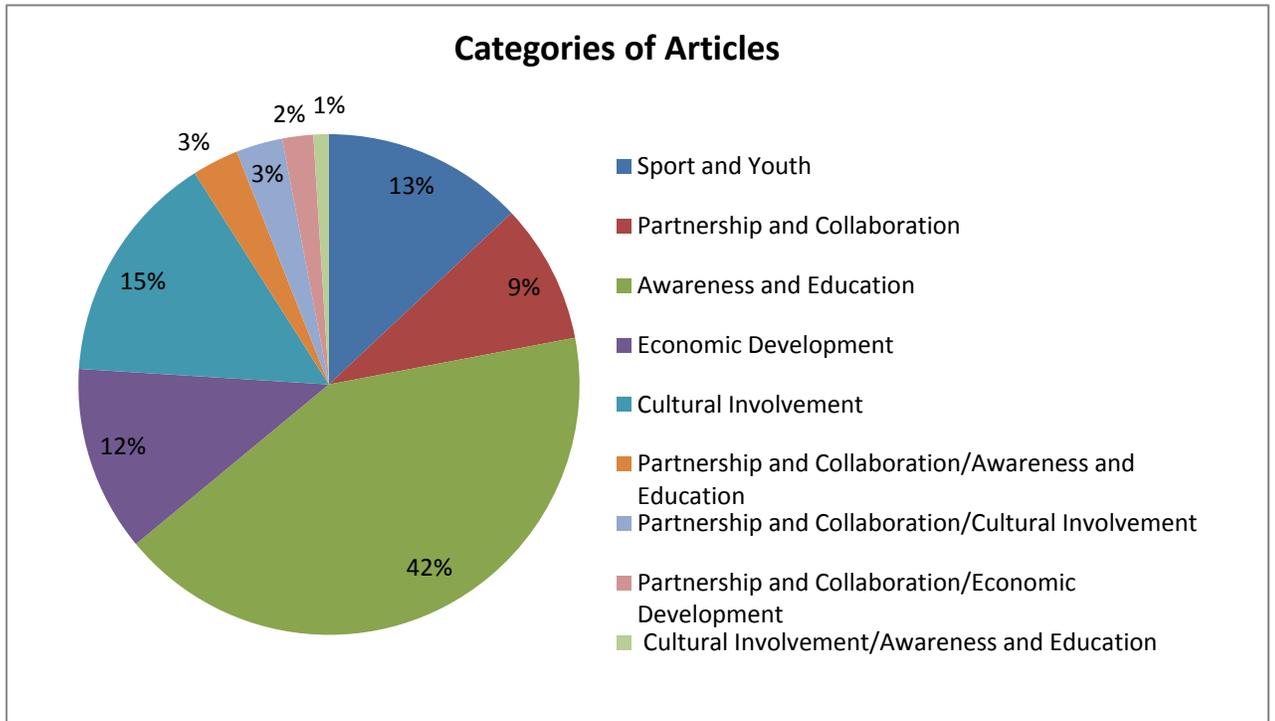


Figure 8: The themes coded from the articles collected (n= [number of articles sampled])

The sustainability reports show that policies and specific strategies used by VANOC to achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation have evolved from 2005-9. Appendix D shows the specific policies and initiatives relating to Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process. This content analysis highlights a nuanced analysis of what was going on over time. For example only in the 2008-9 sustainability report, VANOC acknowledged and commented upon its incorporation of potential protests into planning for the Olympic Games. This example coincides with the fact that from the articles sampled, 11 out of the 19 articles based on protests were published in 2008, showing that VANOC was aware of the increased mainstream media coverage of Olympic protests.

6.2.2 Partnership and Collaboration

From the sample of media articles collected, 9% were on the themes of partnership and collaboration, all portraying Aboriginal involvement in a positive manner. The media articles reflect that the formation of a FHFN-VANOC partnership rested largely on reflecting the positive relationships between Aboriginal and Olympic organizers. Aboriginal supporters of the Games believed that the Olympics would provide opportunities for all Aboriginal peoples (Lupick, 2007). Controversially, some First Nations activists saw the partnership as a concealment of Canada's poor human rights record for the treatment of Aboriginal people (Turpel, 1992). Angela Sterritt of the Gitksan Nation states (cited by Lupick, 2007, p. 21): "VANOC aspires to use our 'culture' to hide facts about history and present a lie that we are a vibrant, content and 'happy people'. In this way they want to silence and pacify our indigenous and no-so-content masses". This shows that cynics of the Games believed Aboriginal participation to be a farce and façade in concealing the socio-economic perils faced by Vancouver's Aboriginal communities.

The articles based on the theme of participation and collaboration were reflective of how committed VANOC was to achieving unprecedented Aboriginal participation in the planning and hosting phases of the Games. All the articles highlight that VANOC recognized the FHFN as an official partner, and that "having the support and active participation of these Nations would create lasting legacies for these communities. The International Olympic Committee recognized this relationship as an important factor for Vancouver's winning bid" (Jingyuan,

2008, para. 3). This shows that Aboriginal participation gave Vancouver a unique selling point during the bidding process, as the “support of the Four Host First Nations Society will promote the culture and heritage of Aboriginal Canadians at the Games” (“Government of Canada supports Aboriginal participation”, 2008, para 3). The deployment of words and phrases such as “support” and “active participation” encourage a reading of Aboriginal involvement in the Games as a remarkable step into the future for relations between Aboriginal people and local Olympic Organizing Committees. They also illustrate that relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples were characterized as being constructive and reciprocal. VANOC believed that active support and participation of Aboriginal peoples would be “vital to ensuring a lasting legacy responsive to both the historical and current context of Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia” (VANOC, 2006, p. 85). The use of the word “legacy” suggests that positive impacts will be left once the Games are over.

In 2005, several initiatives concerning the VANOC- FHFN partnership were established. These initiatives include the signing of the VANOC- FHFN protocol, and signing of the FHFN-VANOC Statement of Principles by VANOC and FHFN. The FHFN felt it was important to publicize the formation of the FHFN Society and FHFN Secretariat (November 2004) as it was the first time “four fractious bands [had worked] together” (Hume, 2008a, p. A9). According to Chief Maureen Thomas of Tsleil-Waututh Nation, the formation of the FHFN demonstrated the fostering of good will and raising public awareness in “showing the world that Four First Nations can come together to work toward a common

goal” (Chief Maureen Thomas quoted in ”History making protocol agreement”, 2004, para. 8). The Government of Canada had provided funding of \$800,000 through the Aboriginal Peoples’ Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage to the FHFN supporting “the full participation and cultural revitalization of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian society. It enables Aboriginal peoples to address social, cultural, economic and political issues affecting their lives”, specific to the Games (“The Government of Canada supports Aboriginal participation”, 2008, para. 8). However, the relations between Aboriginal people and various levels of government are complex, and more needs to be done to address the socio-economic problems faced by Aboriginal peoples.

Two percent of the articles recognized that the FHFN would benefit economically through the VANOC – FHFN partnership. For example, the Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam Nations each received \$17 million, separate from the \$800,000 investment cited above from the federal government for supporting the Olympics, and ensure that they benefited from the Games (Levitz, 2008a). However, the gift came with conditions – the money had to be “used for development directly in connection with the Olympics” (Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Chuck Stahl, quoted by Levitz, 2008a, p. S2). In addition, some Tsleil-Watuth and Musqueam band members said that the money did not mean that there would not be any protests. Nevertheless, in fact, protests from these nations did not occur. It is apparent that contributing to the local, regional and national economy is important to the FHFN, as they are “pursuing economic opportunities designed to ensure their peoples can fully participate in the regional

economy...” (“History making protocol agreement”, 2004, para. 5), shedding the “Dime Store Indian” (an ornament of a stereotypical native with a feather headdress) image (Tewanee Joseph quoted in “Vancouver Games mean no more Dime Store Indians”, 2009).

In order to achieve social sustainability on a macro level across Canada, VANOC collaborated with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis organizations across the country to identify and maximize opportunities for broader Aboriginal participation around the Games. For example, Aboriginal people from the provinces of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, the Yukon Territory, and Manitoba also participated in the Games. VANOC achieved this objective by organizing a 35,000 km torch relay, where “at least 100 Aboriginal communities [were] part of the marathon, cross country Olympic torch relay, marking the largest involvement by an indigenous people in history of the celebratory event” (Mickleburgh and Windgrove, 2008, p. A1). According to the 2008-9 VANOC sustainability report, 115 Aboriginal communities were expected to participate in Olympic Torch Relay (VANOC, 2008). The flame did pass through over 100 Aboriginal communities before it arrived at the Aboriginal Pavilion in downtown Vancouver. Along the way, protesters blocked the Torch Relay over indigenous land claim settlements (“No Olympics on Stolen Native Land”) and, housing and poverty issues (“Homes Not Games”).

However, there were questions raised as to whether VANOC’s strategy went far enough in involving Aboriginal people. James Wilson, an Opaskwayak Cree educator, told Katherine Hamer from the *Globe and Mail* “what’s on offer is

just window dressing...it's all stereotypical stuff – the romanticized representations of native people that they're showing off. It's for the tourists" (Hamer, 2008, p. A7). Although the mainstream media cast the partnership between the FHFN and VANOC in a positive light, alternative media did not. The Olympic Resistance Network viewed the FHFN as "sell outs" that had been enticed by Olympic organizers: "prior to Vancouver winning the bid in 2003, the Squamish and Mt. Currie/Lil'Wat band councils were given more than \$20 million, including money for a new cultural centre in Whistler" ("Native opposition to 2010", 2007, p. 4). The SLCC is a not-for-profit centre operated by the Squamish-Lil'Wat Society. The sample of alternative media articles collected does not directly address the partnership formed between VANOC and the FHFN; they address the impacts of partnership on other First Nations. Opponents of the Olympics viewed the hosting of the Olympics as a way for the Province to develop on and take over unceded traditional Aboriginal territories. Billie Pierre, a Native Youth Movement Activist (2004) said, "B.C. is using the Olympics as a cover for a gigantic land grab [sic]. It's worse than the B.C. Treaties because our legalities to our treaties are not addressed. Even our corrupt "leaders" are being bought off at a smaller price. Mega-tourism projects are being developed on so-called "Crown Lands" or "Public Lands" ("Real estate, sport tourism, and Native sovereignty in B.C.", 2007, p. 16). Corporations are being given leases to build trams and other structures for the resort projects.

6.2.3 Sport and Youth

Briggs (2006, para. 18) recognizes that Aboriginal people have been participating in Olympic ceremonies for a long time, “but with the approach of the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, B.C., ceremonial participation isn’t enough for Native American groups. They want to compete”. She states that Native Americans have approached the IOC to seek approval to form a North American Indigenous Olympic team from the United States and Canada. It was hoped that with the creation of an indigenous Olympic team that more Aboriginal athletes would be willing and able to compete at higher levels, “represent[ing] the true inclusive spirit of the Olympics” (Stew Young quoted in Briggs, 2006, para. 25). Bramham (2010) notes VANOC did achieve the objective of unprecedented Aboriginal participation, in every way but one: sports. There have been only a small number of Canadian Aboriginal athletes who have competed at the Games, and only one, Alwyn Morris, has won gold (in the 1984 Los Angeles Games) (Meissner, 2010). Bramham (2010, para. 6) writes

for the Games to be a catalyst to nurturing not only Olympic dreams, but healing aboriginal communities, change has to start at the most basic level. And it will require concerted and coordinated effort by aboriginal leaders, First Nations parents, and governments, national and regional sporting organizations and event corporations like Nike, which has a program called N7⁸ that provides equipment to enable North American aboriginal kids to play sports.

This shows that consultation should be community and family orientated, in the opinion of Bramham. In terms of reflecting on VANOC’s approach this means that

⁸ On February 11th 2010, Nike announced that its N7 program would extend into Canada providing Aboriginal youth with access to sport opportunities (Nike, 2009).

sporting activities need to be coordinated between First Nations communities, national, and regional sporting organizations, to provide communities with basic sport equipment and training so that communities can sustain sport activities themselves in the long term.

From the sample of articles based on sport and youth, and the Aboriginal Sport Circle, it is believed that sports can help to alleviate social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse that so many Aboriginal people face. In order to attract Aboriginal youth to sports, in 2006 VANOC invested \$9 million in its *Find Your Passion in Sport* poster campaign featuring three young Aboriginal athletes from across Canada, in addition drawing attention to the First Nations snowboard team (Hammer, 2008). The purpose of the poster series is to encourage more Aboriginal youth to participate in sporting events. In 2009 VANOC added three more Aboriginal athletes to its poster campaign aimed at Canadian youth (VANOC, 2009b).

The First Nations snowboard team was set up to improve the quality of life for inner city youth in the Lower Mainland, by giving them the opportunity to gain access to facilities that they may not have access to for socio-economic reasons. The snowboarding program is funded by the Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy fund, Legacies Now and Whistler 2010 Sports Legacies Society, all of which funded other sporting programs in the Lower Mainland (“New snowboarding program”, 2005; Mick, 2009).

VANOC and Legacies Now developed an additional sport legacy project, highlighting Aboriginal sport at the B.C Sports Hall of Fame. The Aboriginal Sport

Gallery opened to the public in June 2008 at the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame, and was later developed into a travelling version visiting fifty two communities and engaging 11,000 people over 13 weeks (May to August 2008) (VANOC, 2008). The articles based on the Aboriginal Sport Gallery at Vancouver's B.C. Sports Hall of Fame can cross into three categories: sport, education, and cultural involvement. This is because galleries are generally perceived as a cultural entity, where people can learn about new things, and the theme of the gallery is centred on sports. The exhibition shows "that sports was and is an integral part of life for aboriginal peoples throughout the province. The photographs and stories clearly illustrate intense strength and power. We hope this gallery will be a source of pride and inspiration for members of Aboriginal communities and all British Columbians" (Alisson Mailer quoted in Delaney, 2008, para. 4). With this being said, it is intriguing as to why there were not any Aboriginal people participating in the sporting competition. Aboriginal leaders hope that Aboriginal athletes will be able to have a stronger presence in future Games.

The grey literature did not cite anything about sport development opportunities. This reason for this is unclear. Perhaps the opponents of the Games view the utilization of sport by the Canadian government as an assimilation tool (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006). Yet, media response shows that sport can be used as a catalyst for social change. Aboriginal leaders hope that there will be a higher presence of First Nations athletes competing in the 2014 Sochi Games.

6.2.4 Economic Development

Once again, there are polar views on who financially benefits from the Olympics and how much. The mainstream media articles echo that VANOC wanted all, including urban Aboriginal people to benefit financially from the Games in terms of the employment and skills training opportunities provided. The alternative media articles claim that VANOC and the province's promotion of the "Green/Sustainable Olympics" was a farce, as large areas of land were destroyed for highway expansions and people were being evicted from their homes. Olympic activists believe that only a select few individuals within the FHFN benefitted from the Games, and view the FHFN and AFN as "sell outs".

The FHFN saw the Olympics as a business opportunity, and consequently organized the 2010 Aboriginal Business Summit, together with provincial and federal governments and VANOC. The business opportunities that the FHFN identified centred on arts and culture, retailing and licensing opportunities, and servicing the Games ("2010 Aboriginal Business Summit", 2006). Aboriginal business and culture was marketed at the Aboriginal Pavilion located on the plaza of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre in downtown Vancouver. The \$3.5 million project exhibited the diversity of Aboriginal culture, art, sports and business from around Canada (FHFN, 2009c). In 2009, it was announced that the Pavilion would be a temporary feature, but will now be relocated to Musqueam land (Fournier, 2010).

The Lil'Wat and Squamish First Nations managed to benefit economically from the expansion of the Sea to Sky Highway. The Sea to Sky Highway,

Highway 99, runs from Vancouver to Pemberton covering 146 km (Harshaw, Kozak, and Sheppard, 2006) running through the traditional territories of the Squamish and Lil'Wat First Nations. According to B.C.'s transportation minister, Kevin Falcon, the highway was in need of upgrades and this process was streamlined due to the Olympics "we started out with not doing this [making improvements] because of the Olympics. This was something that we announced we were doing before we were awarded the Olympics. But I think the Olympics provided a real reason...to do it and get it done well" (Kevin Falcon, quoted by Fowlie, 2009, para. 13). A deal was reached between the B.C. government and the Squamish Nation over a \$22.8 million agreement allowing for the widening of the Sea to Sky Highway as part of the planning phase. Through this agreement, the Squamish Nation received "243 hectares of Crown land in parcels around the Sea to Sky region, with a 2004 appraisal value of \$7.2 million. The Squamish will also have the option to purchase another 243 hectares of Crown land, valued at \$4.6 million, over the next decade" (Atkinson, 2008b, p. S4). The Squamish Nation was also compensated for any direct impact caused by the highway expansion to an approximate total of \$9.75 million (Atkinson, 2008b). The Lil'Wat Nation also signed a similar agreement in December 2006. This demonstrates that the partnership between VANOC and the FHFN was important in terms negotiating constructions projects that would occur on traditional Aboriginal territories. Transportation Minister Kevin Falcon comments that "none of this [the Olympics and the highway construction] could have happened without [Squamish Nation] support, and I don't think we should ever forget that. There were some historic infringement issues where the highway was going through some of their

reserves and they had never been resolved” (Falcon quoted in Atkinson, 2008b, p. S4). Whether or not these agreements will aid in speeding up the treaty process is unknown.

A lot of revenue is made through licensing and merchandising of goods. To increase their revenue, VANOC and the FHFN Society signed an Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising program agreement, part of the Buy Smart program, allowing for the development of licensed retail products in four key areas that included Aboriginal art, other Aboriginal themes and icons such as canoes, paddles and drums. One third of the royalties made by VANOC will be contributed to a fund for Aboriginal youth within the FHFNs as well as First Nations, Inuit and Métis across Canada (“Vancouver 2010 and the Four Host First Nations Society”, 2008). Some academics such as Forsyth (2002) go as far as stating that culture has become a commodity within the Olympic industry, meaning that a lot of revenue is made through the consumption of cultural entities such as the purchasing of art.

There were several scandals over the design of the ‘Team Canada’ Cowichan style sweaters sold by the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), as they were almost identical to the traditional Cowichan knit sweaters. The Cowichan Nation accused HBC of stealing their design after rejecting proposals for the Cowichan Nation to produce the sweaters themselves (Constantineaub, 2009). HBC argued that the sweaters were inspired by First Nations and did not breach any legalities, as the pattern complexity was not the same as the traditional Cowichan designs (Constantineau, 2009b). To resolve and avoid further protest

from the Cowichan Nation, a contract was negotiated with HBC allowing the Cowichan Nation to become a licensed Olympic supplier. The agreement also contained a knowledge-transfer clause, which allowed the Cowichan access to the Bay's expertise on pricing, marketing and creating a consistent production into the market (Bramham, 2009).

One of the draft goals of the Buy Smart program recognized indigenous peoples face economic barriers when it comes to employment. The unemployment rate among indigenous peoples residing in Vancouver, according Statistics Canada in 2006 was 9.7%, compared to 4.5% of the non-Aboriginal population (Milligan, 2010). In 2006-7, VANOC developed a comprehensive Aboriginal Recruitment Strategy to address the issue of unemployment. The strategy focused on building networks within the Aboriginal community to increase awareness of how Aboriginal people could access Games related opportunities. Aboriginal procurement specialists also developed a procurement strategy, where procurement opportunities for goods and services would be given directly to Aboriginal businesses. More importantly, in its bid phase sustainability policy, under its Social Inclusion and Accessibility facet, VANOC stated that disadvantaged socio-economic groups would benefit from the Games. More specifically VANOC stated that it would create access to business, housing and employment opportunities for Vancouver inner city communities, through the implementation of the Inner City Inclusive Commitment Statement (ICI). Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) approved funding totalling \$24 million for various construction projects, such as the Vancouver Convention

and Exhibition project under the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program (“Government of Canada invests in construction project”, 2005).

VANOC and Rona also implemented a 30-week training program, the Rona 2010 Fabrication Shop targeted women, inner city youth, and Aboriginal people “to meet the surging demand for podiums, risers, camera platforms and other wood items needed for the Games” (Constantineau, 2009a, para. 3). VANOC has formed a committee to keep the fabrication shop after the Games, to provide follow up support in order to achieve long term legacies.

During the Olympic Torch Relay, the Vancouver Poverty Olympics Organizing Committee organized a Poverty Olympics torch relay, five days before the opening of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The organizing group even had its own Poverty Olympics anthem echoing the spirit of the organization (Elliott, 2010, para. 4-5):

Oh Canada
Our home on Native land.
A billion for security,
Instead of building homes
Olympic spending has gone sky high
While thousands sleep outside.

From far and wide
Oh Canada
Invite the world to see
A quarter million souls,
Poor freezing cold,
Oh Canada, where is the e-qual-i-ty?
Oh Canada, we are ashamed of thee

This illustrates that demonstrators opposed the Olympics for the following reasons: that the Olympics were occurring on “stolen native land”; and billions of

dollars were diverted to security over the Games instead of being invested in more pressing issues, such as housing.

According to former Vancouver city councillor and mayoral candidate, community activist and consultant on the Vancouver Olympic Village Project, Jim Green, “the 2010 Games are far more inclusive than Expo 86 was. Expo officials didn’t hire from the local community and an estimated 1,000 people were evicted from their homes because of the world’s fair” (Constantineau, 2009a, para. 22). Housing activists and Pivot Legal Society initiated a Red Tent campaign on February 16th 2010 where red banners were wrapped around the block of Canada Pavilion, calling for the government and public to support Bill C-304 establishing a constitutional right to housing in Canada (Pivot Legal Society, 2010). The red tent campaign was established in Victory Square on a dedicated Olympic lane in the downtown core during the Olympics. The Red Tent campaign was a response to the lack of shelter provision and broken promises from VANOC on allocating 25%⁹ (initially the figure was 33%) of units from the Olympic Village as affordable housing (Delisle, 2010). Media reports state 100 to 140 participants in this tent city were housed as a result.

From the grey literature it is apparent that Olympic Resistance Network cited the negative economic effects that the Olympics would have as the primary reason to oppose the Olympics. The majority of activist groups campaigned against the Olympics as they believe they have become over- commercialized, and see the Olympics as a capitalist event. The biggest concern for Olympic

⁹ The South East False Creek Official Development Plan reduced the minimum affordable housing units from 33% to 20% in 2006 (see Proskan, 2010).

activists was the lack of housing and the increase of homelessness amongst Aboriginal communities because of the Olympics. Before and during the Olympics the Anti-Poverty Committee organized marches across the city of Vancouver yelling slogans like “Homes, Not Olympics”

6.2.5 Cultural Involvement

The media articles are reflective of how crucial Aboriginal culture was in various aspects of the Olympic Games. The general attitude towards the cultural involvement of the Aboriginal missing word from the media has been positive, with the exception of the reception of VANOC’s choice of the Inukshuk as its official logo.

For the Squamish and Lil’Wat Nations, the Squamish-Lil’Wat Cultural Centre (SLCC), located in the Resort Municipality of Whistler, is an important post Games legacy as it allows the two Nations to show their culture and tell their stories to a world audience. The project was initiated in 2001 when the Squamish and Lil’Wat signed a Protocol Agreement identifying new economic opportunities that would benefit both Nations. The Squamish, Lil’Wat, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, and the Province of British Columbia signed a Shared Legacies Agreement, where “the Province agreed to give 300 acres of land for the Nations to pursue economic opportunities within the shared territories, contribute \$2.3 million for a skills and legacy training project, and contribute \$3 million toward the construction of the Squamish Lil’Wat Cultural Centre” (SLCC, 2010, para. 2). The provincial government later doubled the \$3 million (SLCC, 2010). According to *Vancouver Sun* columnist, Jeff Lee, the construction of the centre was originally

budgeted for \$12 million but escalated to \$30 million. To complete the project the provincial government contributed a further \$7 million, corporate sponsor Bell gave an additional \$3 million, and other corporate partners funded the rest of the project. The two nations also took out a mortgage on the 300 acres of land that they were given as part of the Shared Legacies Agreement to close the gap (Lee, 2008). The design of Cultural Centre reflects the natural geographies of the Squamish- Lil'Wat traditional territories "of high mountains and low valleys, of fish, eagles and bears, and of the Salish eye which symbolizes that the spirits are always watching" (Robinson, 2008, p. T4). The centre also features a 12-metre long Squamish hunting canoe carved from a single piece of red cedar and historical artefacts such as weavings, "but the centre is more than a museum... It's also a place for Squamish and Lil'Wat people to reconnect with their ceremonies and traditional arts such as cedar bark weaving, carving, paddle making, canoeing and drumming for visitors to interact with the First Nations people by taking part in workshops" (Robinson, 2008, p. T4). This shows although First Nations culture may be appropriated for tourism, cultural appropriation allows Aboriginal people to reconnect with their traditional rituals, which may have been lost over time. It is also a way for younger generations to learn about their heritage (Morris, 1996). The Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations together with the SLCC launched the Cultural Journey Sea to Sky, which saw the redesigning of signage that incorporates First Nations art and culture along the Sea to Sky Highway, starting at Horseshoe Bay extending to Duffey Lake.

VANOC wanted to make Aboriginal art and imagery front and centre in terms of its marketing strategies. The most obvious appropriation of an Aboriginal image is VANOC's official logo, the stylized Inukshuk, named "Ianaaq" (Inuktitut for "friend") based on the traditional stone sculptures of Canada's northern Inuit people. The use of the Inukshuk came under some scrutiny from West Coast Aboriginal leaders who felt that it does not represent local and regional identities, as totem poles are dominant in the West Coast landscape, with exception to the Vancouver area (Ruhl, 2008). VANOC justified the use of the Inukshuk, as "the Inukshuk has become a symbol of hope and friendship, an internal expression of a nation that warmly welcomes the world's people with open arms every day" (McIllroy, 2005, para. 6). The use of the words *hope* and *friendship* shows that the people of Vancouver are optimistic and hospitable. There were also criticisms made over the aesthetic values of the logo. The appearance of the Inukshuk is "chunky", and has been compared to a "Pac-Man" figure. In addition, IOC president Jacques Rogge said the Inukshuk reminded him of a hockey goalie (McIllroy, 2005).

Aboriginal artists have also played a central role in designing the Olympic medals and hockey jerseys. Hockey Canada unveiled the Olympic jerseys in August 2009, showing the red and white jersey with a red maple leaf embossed with traditional Musqueam art (Rook, 2009). The embossed maple leaf features an eagle and thunderbird, which are two significant creatures to the Four Host First Nations. Debra Sparrow, designer of the jerseys states, "the eagle is an amazing spirit that not only represents freedom, but the strength to soar as high

as you can go” (Sparrow quoted in Rook, 2009, para. 2). This imparts symbolic value in the sense that Canada’s Olympic hockey teams have the ability, and did go on to win gold in the women and men’s hockey final.

B.C. Aboriginal artist Corrine Hunt and Vancouver designer Omer Arbel designed the Olympic medals. The medals were the first of their kind to feature contemporary First Nations artwork and undulating surfaces, reflecting the topography of the physical landscape and ocean waves (Constantineau, 2009c). The theme of the physical landscape was also applied to the graphic background, what VANOC called the “Look of the Games”, and the shape of the Olympic podiums, which were reflective of the topography of Vancouver Island.

The disputes over the design of the almost identical ‘Team Canada’ Cowichan style sweaters sold by the Hudson’s Bay Company can also be applied to economic development and cultural involvement. Controversy came from the Cowichan Nation, “accus[ing] the retail giant of stealing their iconic sweater design after rejecting their proposal to produce Cowichan sweaters for HBC’s line of 2010 Olympic clothing” (Constantineau, 2009b, para. 3). HBC said it would have liked to contract the traditional Cowichan knitters from the Cowichan Nation, but were concerned about costs, consistency, and speed the traditional sweaters could be supplied at. Consequently, production was outsourced to China. Due to protests from the Cowichan Nation, an agreement was reached between the Cowichan Nation and HBC in October 2009. The Cowichan Nation was successful in negotiating a contract of becoming a licensed Olympics supplier (Bramham, 2009).

From articles sampled, it is apparent that for VANOC to achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation, cultural involvement was crucial in fulfilling a successful partnership. For example, in its annual sustainability reports VANOC placed Aboriginal participation in the torch relays as part of its cultural involvement strategy. On the other hand, it also places participation in the torch relays as part of its partnership and collaboration strategy. Due to this multi-categorization, it was difficult to assign the articles to a single facet.

6.2.6 Education and Awareness

VANOC used the media to inform people on the issues surrounding Aboriginal communities and the Olympics. Anti-Olympic organizers also utilized the media to air their grievances. The general observations from the articles collected, it seemed that VANOC sent its press releases to mainstream or commercial media sources, such as the *Globe and Mail*, whereas articles from anti-Olympic groups were published in independent media sources like *Earth First*. The independent media has primarily been giving a negative angle on the participation of Aboriginal people in the Olympic planning process. However, closer to the time of the Olympics, mainstream media began to provide a more critical insight into the Olympics.

A lot of media attention focused on the remark made by IOC member, Richard Pound, which is highlighted in eight of the articles collected. In an interview with Montréal based *La Presse* newspaper (9th August 2008), Pound was asked a question about the potential embarrassment of the Games being

held in China, where dissidents had been jailed and a Tibetan uprising crushed.

In French, Pound told journalist, Agnès Gruda

we must not forget that 400 hundred years ago, Canada was a land of savages, with scarcely 10,000 inhabitants of European decent, while in China we're talking about a 5,000 year old civilization. We must be prudent about our great experience of three or four centuries before telling the Chinese how to manage China (Pound quoted in Friesen, 2008, p. A4).

The comment made by Pound was described as “*totally unacceptable*”, “*disgraceful*”, “*shameful*”, and “*racist*” (Mickleburgh, 2008). It was the use of the phrase “*pays des savages*” which caused the most trouble, as the term suggests that Aboriginal people were uncultured and uncivilized. Though Pound apologized for what he characterized “as a clumsy comment that has been taken out of context”, the apology was not regarded as “genuine effort” by Chief Stewart Philip of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs. It was poor time for Pound to make such a statement, as “the remarks [were] particularly offensive at a time when natives across Canada [were] savouring the government’s apology for forcing them into residential schools during much of the last century” (Chief Shawn Atleo quoted in Mickleburgh, 2008c, p. A8). Wente (2008; p. A21) states Pound’s remark was “stupid [and that] the government and VANOC have been working furiously and sparing no expense to get aboriginal [sic] groups onsite for the 2010 Winter Games. The last thing they want is for native protesters to steal the spot light”. As an aside, the French language is partially at fault for this controversy; however making such a comment when the government was trying to soothe Aboriginal political tensions was not helpful.

Mason from the *Globe and Mail* (2008, p. A7) argues that Pound has apologized for the comment he made, and that it is “time to move on”. Mason states that Pound explained to him that the term ‘*pays de sauvages*’ was used in the past to describe natives, and that he realizes that it was inappropriate to use today. Mason’s article is somewhat sympathetic towards Pound, which is portrayed by the language Mason uses. He uses words and phrases such as “who doesn’t have a racist bone in his body” and that native groups have “amounted to a nationwide *jihad*” and a “lynch mob mentality”. It is almost as if Mason is suggesting that Aboriginal people believe that Pound has committed a sacrilegious offence. Thus implying that to make negative comment about Aboriginal culture and people is considered blasphemy, as their beliefs were violated during the colonization period.

Despite the fact that native leaders demanded a legacy agreement from VANOC, Aboriginal leaders recognized that there was a division of support for and against the Olympics from people within the FHFN Society. For example even though “Chief Gibby Jacob of the Squamish band said that while his fellow chiefs and council are committed to the Games success and have no plans for formal protests on land rights, native poverty and other issues, the same could not be ensured of the wider Squamish community” (Atkinson, 2008b, p. A4). The concept of demonstrations can also be questioned as some think that they are essential in gaining support, while others are more sceptical about the tactic. Demonstrations may show that policies need “...better understanding and a better means of helping that entire group who is really lagging behind” (Dr Jiang

quoted in Arsenault, 2008, para. 16). Many comparisons were made between Canada's treatment of its Aboriginal population and China's treatment of Tibetans (Arsenault, 2008). Phil Fontaine, at the time the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, stated that Canadians were appalled by China's treatment of Tibet, and that there should have been as much outrage, if not more so about the treatment of Canada's Aboriginal people (Brach, 2008).

Articles were also collected from radical sources such as *Earth First* and *The Republic of East Vancouver*. The *Earth First* article found describes the series of protests against the Games. It highlights the conflict among First Nations communities and their radical views of the Olympics. For instance, a photo opportunity between the FHFN and Assembly of First Nations (AFN)

...was interrupted when a woman from Native 2010 Resistance dumped bags of apples on the stage, yelling... 'You should all be ashamed of yourselves for contributing to the rape and destruction of Mother Earth!' The apples were meant to symbolize the way that the FHFN and AFN, in their bargaining with Olympic Organizers, are similarly red on the outside and white inside (S.W., 2008, p. 10).

The Olympic Resistance Network viewed the FHFN as "sell outs".

During the 2008 Beijing Games, many radical and independent media drew comparisons between the Beijing and Vancouver Games. Shaw (2008) questions how Vancouver will defend itself over reports on homelessness and the rights of Aboriginal people. He states that mainstream media will surpass the negative impacts of the Games "leaving the heavy lifting to Chinese reporters sure to be looking for Olympic scandal payback" (Shaw, 2008, p14). Shaw's article can be linked to Hume's (August, 2008b) article which shows that there

are many situations for “daily drama” that can be exploited by foreign reporters, such as what about it the Downtown Eastside. According to Hume (2008b) if the media want a piece on human rights violations they should focus on the Canadian native population, and spend time in Pemberton where one of the most impoverished Indian reserves in Canada can be found.

During a discussion on *Politics, the Olympics and the media: 2010 lessons for media activists*, panel members (Chris Shaw, Andrea Hayley, Christopher Nowlin, and Conrad Schmidt) said that there is a lack of critical reporting on the Games and there is a misrepresentation of the Games, as there is an issue of preserving an image for the Games. The panellists also said that the impacts of the Olympics on marginalized groups fails to be reported. Hayley thought that the majority of mainstream media coverage was unbalanced and that there is a need for more independent media. Hayley and Shaw believed that native issues would be reported by independent and foreign media, as controversy gets more coverage, but less so by local and national media. However, this was not the case. Local and national media were in fact critical in their reporting of the effects that the Olympic Games had on Aboriginal communities. For example, there was extensive media coverage on controversies, such as Pound’s use of “*pays des savages*”, and the controversy of the HBC Cowichan style sweaters.

6.3 Conclusion

VANOC undertook numerous initiatives in relation to achieving Aboriginal involvement; the creation of an official partnership with the FHFN and other Aboriginal communities is considered VANOC’s most significant accomplishment.

In VANOC's opinion, the partnership allowed Aboriginal peoples to participate in the Games in a meaningful manner compared to the ways in which indigenous peoples have been engaged in previous Games. Even for the individual nations of the FHFN, the partnership was of historical significance as it was the first time that "four fractious bands [had worked] together" (Hume, 2008a, p. A9). The partnership consisted of the signing of several Memorandums of Understandings, protocol agreements and Shared Legacy Agreements between the Four Host First Nations and VANOC, and the Four Host First Nations themselves ensuring full benefits during and after the Games for all or most of the members of these nations. The role of mainstream media was important to VANOC as it acted as a tool in relaying key information about the various milestones in Aboriginal participation in the Olympic Games planning process to the public (Martin, 2008). Alternative media served a dual purpose: firstly, it provided critical insight on the concerns of Aboriginal peoples indirectly or not involved; and secondly it was used as a form of resistance by Olympic opponents (Lenskyj, 2006). During the early stages of the Olympic planning process, the mainstream media was positive in its reporting of Aboriginal participation, but later began to provide a more critical review of the issues at hand. In a way, the media also acted as a body holding VANOC accountable in meeting its goals regarding public participation, and acted as an educational tool for VANOC in achieving its goal to raise further awareness on sustainability and Vancouver's Aboriginal population.

Overall, the conflicting media perspectives show that VANOC met all the aims it set out to achieve unprecedented Aboriginal participation despite

budgetary problems. The exception was in the development of sports, as the presence of First Nations athletes was needed for participation to be complete, and be on the same level as Australia in terms of the competition (Brady, 2010). The articles from independent media sources show that opponents to the Games believed that VANOC exploited and appropriated First Nations culture and imagery as a marketing technique, and that there was nothing sustainable about the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The articles and policy initiatives taken by VANOC shows that the process of participation was fractured amongst First Nations communities. The participation process was also selective in terms of who benefited the most post Olympics, leading to heavy scepticism within Aboriginal communities. It is unclear as to whether the Olympics will have helped to advance an interest in land claims and reconciliation.

7: DISCUSSION: HIGHER AND STRONGER¹⁰?

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines if VANOC achieved “higher” levels of participation and whether Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process was “stronger”¹¹ compared to former processes. I critically assess the rights of Aboriginal people in Vancouver and the surrounding areas being involved in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games planning process, the rituals of participation and the repercussions of participation. The analysis is conducted in relation to Debord’s (1967) theory of the spectacle which provides a critical discourse in revealing Harvey’s (1989, 1990) three distinct dimensions of the spectacle: mobilization of the spectacle; spectacle of the commodity; and spectacular urban resistance surrounding Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games. More specifically, the examination has two central aims: firstly, to understand how Aboriginal participation has evolved in the Olympic Games and what this has meant for various stakeholders involved; and secondly, to analyze the extent to which public participation is effective in terms of the quality of Aboriginal participation that occurred.

¹⁰ Taken from the Olympic motto Citius-Altius-Fortius ; Faster- Higher-Stronger promoting one’s best and striving for personal excellence (IOC, 2007)

¹¹ This refers to an analysis to see if Aboriginal people participated more in Vancouver 2010 compared to earlier processes.

7.2 Rights

The issue of rights examines the specific claims of Canada's Aboriginal population on the right to participate in public processes, and what participation means to individual stakeholders. The definition of rights is contested, and usually context-specific. Generally, the concept of rights centres on legal, moral and social entities (Blackburn, 2008). With this in mind, it is vital that the right to participate in public processes be meaningful and decisions made through a direct democracy where the public is fully engaged in the planning process, as opposed to a technocratic method, which can result in tokenistic participation (Solitare, 2005). Solitare (2005) argues that for participation to be meaningful, all stakeholders must be allowed to participate freely and equally in the decision making process. In the case of the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, given B.C.'s political and legal context, which requires Aboriginal participation in projects that occur on their territories, and political wrangling over land claims settlement, it was in VANOC's best interest to involve the FHFN in the participation process.

Inviting the four host nations to participate in the planning phase for hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was of particular value to Olympic organizers specific to the 2010 Olympic Games. In order for participation to be meaningful, VANOC formed an official partnership with the FHFN and undertook a number of initiatives to create a rich legacy, which would last beyond the Games. This was illustrated by the VANOC- FHFN Protocol Agreement signed in November 2005, which reaffirmed the promises made in the Bid Agreement, ensuring meaningful Aboriginal participation and the creation of socio-economic

opportunities for the Aboriginal community (Pound *et al*, 2006). Dunn (2007) argues that the participation process among the FHFN and VANOC was layered, resulting in mixed outcomes. For example, the Musqueam and Tsleil-Wauthuth Nations were involved in the planning process later than the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations, causing frustration for the Musqueam Nation:

For Musqueam, there is a sense that we were an afterthought. We should have been engaged in the process earlier. We are still waiting on a legacies agreement. There is a sense of frustration and lack of trust. So I think if we had been engaged a lot earlier on, we wouldn't feel the same sense of frustration (Wanona Scott, Musqueam Nation, cited in Dunn, 2007, p. 111).

According to Dunn (2007), levels of participation and benefits that each of the FHFN received varied as the majority of new venues were constructed on Lil'Wat and Squamish land. This has an impact on the rights of the FHFN to participate in the 2010 Games planning process. Harris (2001) would argue that Canada has a particular responsibility toward Aboriginal peoples as they were self-governing societies here before the Canadian state, and found Anglo-Canadian identities and ideologies of Canadian state have been superimposed on Aboriginal people. In terms of rights, this means that the *Delgamuukaw* (1997), *Haida* (2004), and *Taku River Tlingit* (2004) court cases show that Aboriginal title in B.C. does exist and provincial government affiliates are obliged to consult with First Nations before developing on traditional territory.

Articles from the independent media and observations from public forums showed heavy skepticism within Aboriginal communities and those advocating for Aboriginal rights, especially the organizations such as "No Olympics on Stolen

Land” which operated under the umbrella organization Olympics Resistance Network. Before the Olympics, there was a lot of speculation surrounding the heightened security measures that would take place during the Olympics, which would prevent opposing views to the Olympics from being heard. Olympic protesters perceived the Olympics to be a threat to the basic human rights of native people, citing possible increases of evictions and homelessness during the Olympics, and the potential for “cleansing/cleaning” of the Downtown Eastside and urban poor. Media reports stated there was an attempt by police to remove homeless people in tourist areas, in particular the Downtown Eastside (Hyslop, 2010).

The FHFN-VANOC partnership was viewed by VANOC as being both groundbreaking in extending power and benefits to the local First Nations population, and was a legal necessity to accommodate Aboriginal rights and title. The following statement from FHFN Secretariat senior consultant, Paul Manning illustrates this:

Let’s face it. The FHFN concept is an artificial construct, but it’s got to work. The Nations together have less than 10,000 members. From a practical standpoint, the four Nations have four chiefs, and the partners don’t really want to have to try and deal with four chiefs and four First Nations every time something related to the Games comes up. Some problems are ongoing. The Nations haven’t always gotten along with each other. Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh all claim downtown Vancouver as their own traditional territory. But all these rights and title are not going to be resolved by VANOC or because of the Games. The Nations must see good reasons to work collectively together. The four must agree on the importance of having one spokesman speaking on all of their behalf concerning 2010, or it gets too confusing. The Coast and Interior Salish Nations are known historically for their great hospitality to welcome guests. But, to work together, to help make

2010 a success, they must all see the Games as bringing benefits to their people (Paul Manning, FHFN, cited by Dunn, 2007, p. 101).

The formation of the partnership and the signing of the Shared Legacies Agreement (2002), Musqueam MOU (2003), Tsleil-Waututh MOU (2003), FHFN Protocol (2004), and FHFN-VANOC Statement of Principles (2005) outlined that the FHFN had the right to choose how they interacted with VANOC and in the Olympics as a whole. My analysis of the media articles based on the partnership showed that the FHFN wanted to change the image and the ways in which Aboriginal people are perceived and represented. By securing agreements a partnership with VANOC, presented the Four Host First Nations with opportunities to contribute to the economy: "...by working together we will fully participate in 2010 more and fully contribute to the local, regional, and national economy" (quoted by Chief Ernest Campbell, Musqueam Nation, in VANOC, 2010d, para. 3). For FHFN CEO Tewanee Joesph this meant shedding the stereotyped image of the "Dime Store Indian" in social beliefs (Tewanee Joseph quoted in the National Post, October 20th 2009).

On the other hand, cynics of the Games believe these new relationships were formed to suppress the poor treatment of Aboriginal people, blockades, and other forms of resistance, something VANOC specifically wanted to avoid. VANOC never addressed this explicitly in its annual sustainability reports until 2008-9, stating that whilst protests were conducted by a small number of groups, there was a possibility that the media blew them out of proportion, leading to the misperception that opposition was more widespread than it actually was

(VANOC, 2008). Shaw, a critic of the Games, believes that the participation of Aboriginal people

“[had] nothing to do with advancing native issues or claims, rather it [was] a box that they (VANOC) [had] to tick off [sic]”
(Chris Shaw, advocate against the 2010 Olympic Games).

On the contrary, Johal (2009) stated that

VANOC and the government [were] able to pick and choose who they [dealt] with and in some cases the chiefs of the bands [were] able to advance the interests of their communities, such as the Squamish (Am Johal, IOCC).

The content analysis shows that the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations “received 300 acres of B.C. Crown Land in Whistler, worth an estimated \$13.5 million” (Zimmerman, 2010, p. 101) which will be jointly developed.

The Olympics also produced spectacular urban resistance in the form of mass protests and marches (Bèlanger, 2009). For Debord (1967) the spectacle is construed with conflict and struggles: “the spectacle, like modern society, is at once unified and divided. Like society, it builds its unity on the disjunction. But the contradiction, when it emerges in the spectacle, is in turn contradicted by a reversal of its meaning, so that the demonstrated division is unitary, while demonstrated unity is divided ”(Debord, 1967,§ 54, p. 27). This shows there is a relationship between spectacle and resistance. For activists the spectacle is in the form of protests, because it allows them to tell stories and provide information that may have been held back by officials, and draws attention to their cause. Protests were highly visible prior to the 2010 Olympic Games. Protests took place

in many forms such as the stealing of the Olympic flag on March 6th 2007 from Vancouver City Hall, in honour of elder Harriet Nahanee, who died a month after being sentenced for protesting against the destruction of the Eagleridge Bluffs for the expansion of the Sea to Sky Highway (Inwood, 2007).

Native protesters believed that the FHFN partnership was a farce and would do nothing to advance Aboriginal rights and title; they believed that “our corrupt “leaders” are being bought off at a smaller price” (Bille Pierre, Native Youth Movement Activist, Warrior Publications, 2007, p. 16). The independent media and members of the Olympic Resistance Network viewed the Olympics as an elitist mega event. They believed that participation in the Olympic Games was artificial and tokenistic, to create a façade over the socio-economic problems faced by B.C.’s Aboriginal population. In a press conference at the Aboriginal Pavilion, Tewanee Joseph made a rebuttal against the non-Aboriginal protesters before the Olympic Games:

What precisely do these non- Aboriginal naysayers have to teach Aboriginal people? How are smashed windows, military fatigues and balaclavas helping to address Canada’s long-standing “Indian problem?”

Do these protesters really want us to remain forever the Dime Store Indian, the lone figure at the end of a gravel road, trapped in the isolation of an inner city nightmare?

Do these protesters not realize they are forcing, yet again, Aboriginal people into a dreadful mould, a stereotype that takes us back to a shameful chapter in Canadian history?

No. No. And no again. We fought to participate in the Games, as full partners. We fought for jobs. We fought for respect. That is why few Aboriginal people are likely to be swayed by salvos of warmed-over, anti-corporate rhetoric. That is yesterday’s news for the

Aboriginal people of this country (Tewanee Joseph, quoted in the National Post, October 20th 2009).

The FHFN-VANOC partnership recognized the need to address Aboriginal rights and title. Cashman (2006) writes “it is extravagant to believe that an international sporting event could act as a change agent in any substantive way for such entrenched problems” (p. 225), however, participating in the Games has allowed the Lil’Wat, Squamish, Musqueam, and Tseil-Waututh Nations to make advances in non-Games related policies and entities. For example, in July 2010 the Squamish Nation was granted the right to develop condominium units on reserve land on the North Shore, providing housing for the Squamish Nation (Crawford, 2010).

7.3 Rituals and Repercussions

City officials are increasingly using the Olympic Games to transform the look of a city and to attract economic investment. The Olympics produce spaces of performance and symbolic consumption, and are therefore viewed as spectacles that are needed for post industrial cities to survive (Broudehoux, 2007). Hosting the 2010 Olympic Games allowed the Vancouver region to enhance its image and attract investment (McCallum *et al*, 2005).

The Olympics has been described as a ‘pseudo-event’ – an event created to attract media attention (Boorstin, 1961), and used to promote the nation-state and fashion a national identity in an international space (L’Etang, 2006). The Olympics are seen as the ultimate mega-event, as it has a wider cultural significance in promoting ideologies (e.g.1936 Olympics and the spread of

Nazism) and discourse about social relationships (e.g. 1968 Olympics and the Black Movement) (L'Etang, 2006). The representation of these social relationships and ideologies is created through a series of festivals, rituals and spectacles (MacAloon, 1984). Guy Debord's (1967) theory of 'society of the spectacle' makes the case that the consumption of images and spectacles would become increasingly dominant in late 20th century society (Short, Breitbach, Buckman, and Essex, 2000; Broudehoux, 2007). Here Debord (1967, § 36, p. 17) states "this is the principle of commodity fetishism, the domination of society by "intangible as well as tangible" things, which reaches its absolute fulfilment in the spectacle, where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as a the tangible per excellence". This means that urban spaces have become more reliant on the consumption of experiences and pleasure as opposed to the consumption of tangible goods, which Harvey terms "ephemeral services" (Harvey 1989, p. 285). Short *et al.* (2000) write, "the commodification of actual experience creates impersonal spectacles which are witnessed rather than experienced" (p. 320; Debray, 1995). However, in the case of Vancouver, Olympic organizers wanted attendees to connect to Canadian and in this case Aboriginal culture. The fact that the Squamish Lil'Wat Cultural Centre offers its patrons the opportunity to purchase traditional Aboriginal food such as bannock (Aboriginal style bread) in its cafe exemplifies this. In this conclusion of the thesis I consider the repercussions of Aboriginal participation in relation to the overarching themes of rights and rituals by drawing upon the theories presented in the literature review and Debord's (1967) theory of the spectacle.

According to Forsyth (2010), VANOC should be commended for its efforts to establish the FHFN and facilitate Aboriginal participation in all aspects of the Games. She later contradicts this by claiming ethical Aboriginal participation in the Olympics is a paradox, suggesting that there is nothing fundamentally new about Aboriginal participation. For Forsyth this means that Aboriginal participation in the Games has for the most part been a spectacle in showing that historical and contemporary relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, in particular Olympic organizers, are cordial and uncomplicated (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2005), and that self promotion obscures any underlying tensions that need addressing (Forsyth, 2010). However, in this regard, in Vancouver, Aboriginal participation produced different and more cultural displays than ever before. For Forsyth (2010) the inconsistency lies in the increased visibility of Aboriginal people at the Games, however the power relations sustaining historical inequalities between Aboriginal people and Olympic organizers remain largely unchanged.

A geographic analysis of Olympic rites and rituals shows that the use of iconic national images and symbols helps to constitute a sense of unification of the nation. However, the presentation of community ideals in festivals can create conflicts with everyday, heterogeneous experiences (Kong and Yeoh, 1997; Duffy, 2009). Debord (1967, § 4, p. 7) argues “the spectacle is not a collection of images: rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images”. This means that spectacles, in this case the Olympics, create situations within which people relate to each other. Mitchell (2000) further elaborates upon

Debord's argument by transforming images and countering the spectacle with more spectacular spectacles can help reconfigure relationships between people. The number of initiatives that VANOC undertook to make the FHFN official partners in the Olympic Games and to host Aboriginal cultural events reflected this. Under pressure to host "the best Games ever", 2010 Bid Corporation chairman and CEO and VANOC chairman of the Board, Jack Poole stated

We are partners with the First Nations not just because it is the right thing to do, but because it will make our Games more interesting and more memorable (Jack Poole, cited in Dunn, 2007, p. 98).

By stating that collaborating with the First Nations to make the "*Games more interesting and more memorable*" can be interpreted as tokenistic in the sense that entities unique to the First Nations would be used by Olympic organizers to brand the Games as being unique and successful (Godwell, 2000). With this being said, Poole and VANOC president John Furlong recognized the value that the partnership would bring not only to the Games but also as a post Games legacy:

The greatest benefit, legacy, is the new relationships. The relationships, partnerships between the different levels of governments, First Nations they will be the legacy. When has this happened in our history before? Never (Jack Poole, cited in Dunn, 2007, p. 103).

The best legacy will be a human one, because there are a thousand ways to build a venue, but there are very few things that have the power to move human beings like this – and it has to touch everyone. This can't occur unless our relationships and partnerships are serious and inspired and trusted (John Furlong, cited in Dunn, 2007, p. 103).

VanWynsberghe also believed that the connections created by various stakeholders would be the biggest legacy, further supported this.

The socio-cultural dimensions are usually an important issue in the bidding phase, as different national cultures are used as a tool to promote an image that is unique in an attempt to win the bid (Hall, 1998). In earlier bids Aboriginal culture has been a prominent feature in the bidding phase because it is something 'novel' a host country has to offer. One method of achieving this is to include Aboriginal people in cultural programs like the opening ceremonies, as this raises awareness and an international understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal cultures (Hall, 1998). Numerous times, VANOC reiterated how important the support of the FHFN was in winning the bid for the Olympic Games, and made the bid unique from its competitors Pyeongchang, South Korea and Salzburg, Austria. In a Durkheimian sense, the novelty of Aboriginal culture as a selling point in the bid shows that there is a sense of community support, and is an international dimension that connects with other Aboriginal cultures, showing a common culture around the country (Duffy, 2009):

it's also an international dimension of the Games in a sense that it connects with other Aboriginal cultures around the world. It's also from the perspective of showing a common culture across the country (Am Johal, IOCC).

VanWynsberghe argues that inclusion of Aboriginal people in the bid shows the IOC that the host city is respectful and inclusive:

so if you think that what they're after is an ideal host. So if a host can say, well we're respectful and inclusive, they're [the

IOC is] going to say, well that's great I want to host my event there. ... That way you can document that, is to show the existence of Aboriginal people, and so this timeless respect and kind of timeless inclusion (VanWynsberghe, IOCC).

Sport, culture, and the formation of identity are closely tied and hosting the Olympics helps to constitute a discourse of national identity prominently reflected within the Olympic opening ceremonies (Hogan, 2003) evoking a sense of regional or national pride. One of the biggest challenges that VANOC faced in 'branding' is cultural representation. This resonates with Mitchell's (1995) argument that culture is ideological because it is socially constructed and constantly changes. According to Johal (2009)

nations... have a social and psychological need to reinvent themselves. This notion of national identity and culture doesn't stay static. It requires new themes and new myths to keep people together, and Olympic Games have often times played that role; in terms of providing a snap shot of what a country is, what it believes in how it looks to the future and that does require something in the realm of myth and other ideas, and it need not be factually based, and sometimes it's a coming out party to the world (Am Johal, IOCC).

The inukshuk alongside beavers, Mounties, hockey, totem poles, and moose have become a part of the iconification of Canadian identity building where "icons, symbols, and logos come to serve the state as "mnemonic devices" acting as the beacons of identity" (Ruhl, 2008, p 26). According to Ruhl (2008), VANOC relied on the symbol of the inukshuk as a national symbol in reflecting the values of Canadian society, and reinforcing the mottos of VANOC and the

Conservative party: “with glowing hearts” and “the True North Strong and Free”, respectively. For Vancouver 2010, VANOC chose a stylized Inukshuk as its official logo. The use of the Inukshuk came under some scrutiny from Coast Salish leaders who felt that it does not represent local and regional identities (Ruhl, 2008). The “chunky” appearance of the inukshuk was compared to the image of a hockey goalie by IOC president Jacques Rogge (McIllroy, 2005). The comparison to a “hockey goalie” is reflective of the ideas associated with Canadian identity where “hockey has become a means of defining and distinguishing one’s “Canadianness”¹² [sic]” (Mason, 2002). Godwell (2000) assumes that if the logo for the Sydney Games was designed by a non-Aboriginal artist, which was certainly the case for Vancouver¹³, results in the marginalization of participation to the point of stereotyping. Nevertheless, the appropriation of readily available indigenous symbols gives the logo an authentic Australian or Canadian feel.

More geographically appropriate are the three mythical creatures derived from local Coast Salish legend that VANOC used as its official Olympic mascots. Miga is a sea bear, part Orca whale and part Kermode or Spirit bear; Quatchi is a Sasquatch, especially popular in Haida storytelling traditions; and Sumi is a guardian spirit who has thunderbird wings, an Orca hat, and black bear legs (VANOC, 2009). All of this points to the visual emphasis on cultural branding, and the “spectacle” of Aboriginal cultural commodification in the Debordian sense,

¹² The masculine appearance of the Inukshuk displays the strength of Canadian male culture, specifically in relation to hockey (Gruneau and Whitson, 1993; Connell, 1995; Bunt, 2009). An alternative interpretation of this display of masculinity could reflect de Coubertin’s ideals of the Olympics and sport being traditionally masculine (Wamsley and Schultz, 2000).

¹³ The designer of the logo, Elena Rivera MacGregor is Mexican-Canadian (Macklin, 2005).

where culture becomes objectified. Objectifying the mythical creature allows people to have a lived experience with the mascots. Transforming unseen cultural entities such as the mythical creatures into material objects can enrich and reach out to a wider ranging audience (Walterman, 1998). The mascots were seen in all forms, such as poster, soft toys, key chains, and so on, all over Vancouver before, during, and after the Olympics. Writing on the topic of multicultural festivals in Canada, Dawson (1991) argues that while presenting respective traditional aspects of their culture, Aboriginal performance should be looking to emphasize contemporary daily cultures of their respective nations as they evolve in response to realities imposed by Canadian society. This was accomplished by FHFN and VANOC emphasizing the contemporary daily cultures by having musicians such as Buffy Saint-Marie perform at the Aboriginal pavilion (FHFN, 2010). VANOC wanted to present the 2010 Olympic Games festivities as being multicultural, reflective of Vancouver's largely multicultural population. In an interview, June Laitar, president of the Kla-how-eya Surrey Aboriginal Cultural Society stated that Aboriginal people are not multicultural:

We don't classify ourselves as multicultural. We're a unique [group]. Aboriginal people, we're First Nations of the land...we're a distinct society as Aboriginal people ¹⁴(June Laitar, president of the Kla-how-eya Surrey Aboriginal Cultural Society).

Aboriginal aesthetics is common in Vancouver, linking culture to the beautiful landscape of the province (e.g. the logo of the Vancouver Canucks). By

¹⁴ This is most probably a minority opinion; dominant opinions from Aboriginal people suggest that they are multiple peoples (INAC, 2010; Urban Aboriginal Peoples Studies, 2010).

using Aboriginal imagery as a way to promote the Olympics, organizers and the province were able to show the close links between people and nature, in addition to the stereotyped image of Aboriginal ties to the land (Jacobs, 1988).

The notion of linking Aboriginal people to the landscape is often used by Australian media as advertisers think, “that they are being socially responsible, even helpful, to Aboriginal people by portraying them as linked to the landscape, traditional occupants of a vast land” (Meekison, 2000, p112). Hall (1994) refers to tourist brochures for Sydney’s Tumbalong Park to consider the ways in which Aboriginal culture draws tourists to the park. He emphasizes the commodification of Aboriginal history suggests “issues of land rights, displacement and the marginal positions of Aboriginals in Australian society are sanitized for the benefit of the visitor into a ‘safe’ social and political reality which does not lead the tourist to question” (Hall, 1994, p179). Hall’s argument is also applicable to B.C. and the way that Aboriginal people were represented by VANOC.

The fetishization of post-colonial Aboriginal culture is considered to be ‘imperialist nostalgia’ (Rosaldo, 1989). John (2001) writes that Australia’s Aboriginal peoples continue to be romanticized and represented as ‘timeless’, implying that only traditional Aboriginal culture is presented. Rosaldo (1989, p. 108) states “imperialist nostalgia occurs alongside a peculiar sense of mission, the white man’s burden, where civilized nations stand duty-bound to uplift so called savage ones” . This can be linked to Harris’ (2001) argument of the state and Olympic organizers being obligated to involve Aboriginal people in the

Olympic planning process. The appropriation of native culture and heritage becomes a reference point in defining civilized identity and distinguishing highbrow culture (Rosalado, 1989; Loukaki, 2008).

Protests have also become a ritual in the Olympic Games, as protesters use the space to promote local social justice issues in an international arena (Bèlanger, 2009). The Olympic Resistance Network believed that the FHFN did not represent the plight of First Nations communities in B.C.. There was little doubt from indigenous protesters that cultural participation would do little to change the relations between local, provincial and federal levels of government. Cashman (2006, p. 225) also claims

it is naïve to expect that the cultural presentation in the opening ceremony, which had to be spectacular, entertaining and accessible to a diverse global audience, could also convey social and political messages which changed the way that people think

Like the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, there is little doubt that the international media attention paid to Olympic protesters regarding the plight of Canada's indigenous population was significant. It is difficult to assess whether the financial legacies of the Olympics will aid in advancing land claims and treaty negotiations. It is perhaps a little early, naïve, and optimistic to state that the problems faced by the majority of indigenous people in Vancouver and throughout B.C. will be confronted, and that the cause for reconciliation will be advanced to a significant degree (Cashman, 2006; O'Bonsawin, 2010; Neilson, 2002).

However, with this said, forming the FHFN Society and actively partaking in the planning process for the 2010 Olympic Games allowed the Squamish and

Lil'Wat Nations to make negotiations with Olympic organizers. For example, the Squamish Nation and the provincial government reached a deal over a \$22.8 million agreement allowing for the widening of the Sea to Sky Highway as part of the planning. Through this agreement, the Squamish Nation "[received] 243 hectares of Crown land in parcels around the Sea to Sky region, with a 2004 appraisal value of \$7.2 million" (Atkinson, 2008b, p. S4). Working alongside government has allowed the Squamish Nation to "take control of their economic and social destiny...it has dawned on many native leaders that they are sitting on proverbial gold mines" (Mason, 2010, p. A23). For instance, the Squamish Nation has plans to develop retail and residential complexes in West Vancouver and on a tract of land on the south shore of False Creek. However, as the federal government owns the majority of land, gaining approval for any development is a slow process (Mason, 2010).

VANOC recognized the importance of sport as a way for Aboriginal youth to overcome some of the many social barriers Aboriginal communities face. Lefebvre (1991) indicates that sport has a prefigurative role in social relations and cultural form. In the Canadian context, during the period extending from the late 1880s to the early 1950s, the federal government used sport as a means to assimilate Aboriginal peoples in residential schools (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006). During this timeframe, traditional indigenous games and pastimes such as lacrosse and snowshoeing were replaced with activities such as basketball and hockey that were thought to promote obedience and discipline. However, "Aboriginal leaders inverted this process to achieve self-determination through

sport” (Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006, p. 294). Aboriginal leaders discovered the value in sport for regenerating cultural pride and identities, in the local community, and the opportunities sport presents for reaching self-determination. Forsyth and Wamsley (2006) argue that the federal government provided little financial support for sport, in general, thus Aboriginal leaders were made to seek funding from local authorities to allow all-native teams to integrate into high-level mainstream sport competitions.

The 1970s became an era for Native sport in Canada, where Aboriginal people expressed the right to self-determined sport and recreation activities isolated from Euro-Canadian sport system (Paraschak, 1995; Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006). During this decade the federal government funded the Native Sport and Recreation Program assuming that Aboriginal athletes would want to compete and assimilate with Fitness Armature Sport (now Sport Canada) (Paraschak, 1997; Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006; Canadian Heritage, 2008). However, as Aboriginal sport leaders desired to remain distinct from mainstream sports (Paraschak, 1995), federal funding was cut in 1981, and the Native Sport and Recreation Program disbanded.

Janice Forsyth (cited by Brady 2010) and former Aboriginal Summer Olympian, Waneek Horn-Miller (cited by Bramham, 2010) argue that in comparison to Canada, Australia is ahead in nurturing Aboriginal athletes. In 1996, the Australian government launched the Indigenous Sports Program increasing and improving sport opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people based on principles of self-determination (Stewart, Nicholson,

Smith, and Westerbeek, 2002). The Indigenous Sports Program is a national strategy where Indigenous Sport Development Officers work with state and territory departments of sport and recreation liaising with Aboriginal communities on a grassroots level. The program provides the opportunity for indigenous athletes, coaches and managers to claim \$1,500 for national events and \$4,000 for international events (Australian Sports Commission, 2010). In 1995, Sport Canada launched a similar initiative called the Aboriginal Sport Circle (Canadian Heritage, 2009).

As the average age of the Aboriginal population is younger than that of their non-Aboriginal counterparts, where 41% of Aboriginal people were under the age of 25, compared to 30% of non-Aboriginal Canadians (data from 2006 census, Milligan, 2010), it was appropriate for VANOC and Legacies Now to invest heavily in legacies centring on youth and sport. In terms of the participatory process, Legacies Now attempts to reach out to communities beyond Vancouver and Whistler, who may not directly benefit from the 2010 Olympic Games (Katherine Ringrose, 2009). For example, Legacies Now's partnership with KidSport allowed KidSport organizers

[to go to] six communities throughout the province and teach basketball. They develop community coaches to teach and they stay in the community for a number of weeks to run basketball camps ... and then leave the community with the equipment and train coaches so they can continue and then they set up leagues (Katherine Ringrose, Legacies Now, 2009)

This level of training is allowing Aboriginal coaches to reach the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCCP) level. This approach is similar to that of the Australian model in that it has a grassroots approach, and allows communities to develop long term sport activities.

On the other hand, due to government cut backs in education, Shaw believes that

...it was egregious how the Olympics are supposed to be all about sports, and health and youth and encouraging youth and they've [the government] just cut afterschool programs. This is just absolute horse shit; they're not even talking about a consistent game anymore it's all about the special thing. So in terms of legacies, our kids will have less abilities [sic] to do sport than they had before the Games. So that half million dollars that they just poured into the spirit thing [Spirit Train], and how much they've poured into different things like the big television screens[referring to the television screens placed around various temporary Olympic venues, such as Live City] . If they put them [the money] into the schools, we would have kids Aboriginal and non- Aboriginal participating in sports that would be a wonderful benefit now the government is in deficit so they're going to be clawing back money so all those great promises will be a lie... (Chris Shaw, anti- Olympics advocate).

Shaw (2008) argues that government funds poured into the Olympics caused cutbacks to core spending in entities such as health and education.

There is no doubt that the Olympic Games will remain among the largest visual urban sport spectacle (MacAloon, 1984). Geographically, the Games are

reflective of local popular cultural motifs and icons. The case of Vancouver 2010 revealed that a discourse of Aboriginal cultural inclusion proliferated, where Olympic organizers were zealous to show that the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games and the city of Vancouver would not be banal (Bélanger, 2009). VANOC wanted to show that the 2010 Olympic Games would be Canada's Games, and with Canada being such a multicultural country the use of Aboriginal culture would serve "as a *means of unification*" (Debord, 1967, §3,p. 7) in a fragmented society (Harvey, 1989; Harris, 2001). Opponents of the Games believed that such representations were distorted and such participation techniques act as 'smokescreens' or 'carnival masks', hiding inherent social unsustainability of the majority of urban Aboriginal communities (Harvey, 1989; Jappe, 1999; Smith, 2009).

VANOC wanted to change the relations between Olympic organizers and indigenous people. In setting the goal for unprecedented Aboriginal participation, VANOC has set a new standard for public participation to be included as a key element in future Olympic bids and broader sustainability mandates for host cities. This will lead to behavioural changes and attitudes towards public participation, especially indigenous participation on a large spatial scale, as the Olympics are a worldwide event. Even though not all Olympic cities of the future will have similar conditions of indigenous populations, it is important for these host cities to recognize that the public participation of multicultural groups is of high importance in the planning of mega-events. The long-term success and long lasting effects of the proposed legacies remain to be seen.

8: CONCLUSIONS: THEY SHOOT! THEY SCORE?

8.1 Findings and Future Mega-Events

On July 2nd 2003, Vancouver won the bid to host the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. The hosting of the Olympic Games was received with enthusiasm but also with an equal amount of anxiety, especially from First Nations living in Vancouver and surrounding municipalities. For over a century Aboriginal people have been participating in the Olympic Games as objects of cultural curiosity (Forsyth, 2010). VANOC wanted to be the first local Olympic Organizing Committee to change this and help Aboriginal people benefit from the Olympic enterprise, which resonated from its five pronged approach, giving Aboriginal people a legitimate and concrete stake in the Games (Forsyth, 2010).

In terms of policy VANOC was successful in achieving high levels of Aboriginal participation in every way, with the exception of participation in sporting events and the provision of social housing. The reasons for why there were not any Aboriginal people competing in the sporting competitions is unclear. In terms of Aboriginal engagement, by forming an official partnership with VANOC, the FHFN participated in the spectacle in capitalist terms where culture was objectified, and became part of the spectacle, giving up, if not the right to resist, the stance of resistance. The promotion and branding of the 2010 Olympic Games and Vancouver largely rested on the imagined representation (Silk, 2004) of Aboriginal imagery and participation, which was reflected by VANOCs choice

of the stylized inukshuk and mascots. Aboriginal and governmental relations were presented as being devoid of social and political struggles (Van Ingen, 2003) via a process that Silk (2004) would call the social production of sterilized space. Aboriginal people were highly visible in ceremonies and cultural programs, presenting an illusion of uncomplicated historical and contemporary relations (Forsyth, 2010).

In terms of promoting mega-events it seems that culture and cultural festivities are at the forefront. For example, the Toronto 2015 Pan American Games will host a cultural festival to help build and brand these Games, and Canada's arts and culture industry is also seeking out and forming partnerships with other Pan Am countries. The festival will place emphasis on Aboriginal cultures and those of previous host countries (Toronto 2015, 2010). As carnivals are a significant part of Brazilian culture, it will be interesting to see how the Brazilian Olympic Committee (BOC) and the city of Rio de Janeiro will brand its Games and showcase Brazilian culture in 2016. In addition, with two mega events, two years apart, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games, it will be interesting to see how social sustainability is embraced by two different organizations. Sochi, Russia will hold the 22nd Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. In this case, social and political struggles between the indigenous Circassians and Russians are sure to surface. While there has been much opposition to the Games from Circassian groups, some Circassian organizations are asking for Circassian history and culture to be included in the

Games in a means similar to the case for Aboriginal populations in Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 (Bram, 2007).

Perceiving the Olympics as successful for Vancouver, the City of Vancouver has expressed interest in hosting (or co-hosting in partnership with Seattle) more mega-events, including the 2018 FIFA World Cup, a World's Fair in 2020 or the 2028 Summer Games (Constantineau, 2010). In the case of an international hosting partnership, organizers seeking to replicate and improve upon Aboriginal inclusion policies would face the complex task of cross-border Aboriginal participation.

Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games planning process was layered. Cynics and sceptics interpreted this as exclusive participation for the FHFN. Even within the FHFN, participation levels were layered as the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations had more of a presence in the decision making process given that, among the FHFN, the majority of new Olympics-related construction occurred on Squamish-Lil'Wat traditional territory.

The complications surrounding land claim settlements in British Columbia add emphasis to the imperative to follow indigenous decision-making protocols in planning events on traditional Aboriginal territories. This means that the values and interests of Aboriginal rights and title and of Aboriginal knowledge more generally need to be recognized:

A fundamental problem for indigenous peoples in the past has been the failure of corporate and government authorities to recognize their rights as original owners and custodians of land on which development has occurred, and to accept the value and relevance of the knowledge they hold (O'Faircheallaigh, 2007, p325).

A dialogue approach as suggested by Sarkissian *et al.*(2009) would help alleviate the problems involved here with a hierarchical approach to public participation, foster the sharing of ideas and expertise, and build a rapport leading to mutual respect (Henderson, 2003).

It was believed by VANOC and the FHFN that the use of and emphasis on phrases such as “new relationship” and “partnership” would be a catalyst for future relations between Aboriginal people and local and provincial governments. VANOC and 2010 Legacies Now recognized that investing in sport and recreation facilities and amenities for Aboriginal youth would increase social cohesion between communities (inter-community reconciliation) and within communities (intra-community reconciliation), serving as a catalyst for reconciliation (Höglund and Sundberg, 2008). Countries such as South Africa are acknowledging using sport as a vehicle for social change, to promote values of tolerance, freedom and equality (Ndlovu, 2010). Höglund and Sundberg (2008, p. 815) note “when addressing sport as a tool for reconciliation in South Africa, three levels for such processes can be envisaged: 1) the national level; 2) the community level; and 3) the individual level” . This concept can be applied to Canada and Canada’s Aboriginal population, but the long term success of using sports as a catalyst for improved relations has yet to be seen. Perhaps this could happen if there are Aboriginal athletes participating in the 2014 Sochi Winter and Paralympic Games.

8.2 Research Contributions

Vancouver's experience shows that Aboriginal participation and general public participation are a necessity in achieving high levels of social sustainability. VANOC's commitment to social sustainability has prompted London Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) to embrace a social sustainability orientated attitude towards the planning of the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games (LOCOG, 2007; Dolf and Pezzicara, 2009).

This study also has theoretical implications and contributes to the burgeoning literature surrounding the Olympic Games as well as Debord's (1967) theory of the spectacle, by providing an in-depth analysis of Aboriginal participation in relation to the theory of the spectacle. The study also seeks to address gaps in the Olympic planning literature in showing that there is a need for meaningful and active Aboriginal participation in the Olympic planning process. In the future, this may be tracked through the development of a framework and set of indicators, and its effects reported in the Olympic Games Impact report.

8.3 Recommendations for Future Research

This study shows a small part of the larger picture of social sustainability and public participation in the Olympic Games planning process. Additional research needs to be done in developing a clear set of indicators that can be used to measure the impact of public participation. Future Olympic host cities now need to administer inter-jurisdictional collaboration to address the issues and burdens of the urban Aboriginal population, so that their participation is

meaningful. As the rights to self-determination of First Nations are deeply connected with the rights to determine how their traditional lands and resources are used, it would be worthwhile to analyze cultural and representational politics of controversy regarding Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympic Games drawing from environmental justice studies (Sze, 2009). Further policy research and implementation in relation to social sustainability in sport events is required. National and local host cities need to embrace the social components of sustainability, applying fully integrated sustainability principles and practices in all stages of the Games.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Media Data

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Cultural Involvement/Education and Awareness	APTN to televise diverse coverage of Olympic Games in a variety of Aboriginal languages	Canada NewsWire	01/13/09
Awareness and Education	Canada: Indigenous leaders threaten protest 2010 Olympics	IPS	08/22/08
Cultural Involvement	Politics unravels aboriginal athlete's plan to wear traditional garb - Monica Pinette not allowed to wear traditional Métis garment at the Athens Summer Games	Globe and Mail	08/19/08
Cultural Involvement	Canada's Games should be 'great': IOC - Aboriginal people involved in cultural side	Agence France Presse	08/06/2008
Cultural Involvement	\$47.5-million hockey arena at UBC ready, under budget; VANOC announces 5,000 seat rink under budget and unveils landmark program to showcase native art	Globe and Mail	07/08/2008
Cultural Involvement	Vancouver 2010 Venues' Aboriginal Art Program launched	M2 Press Wire	07/08/2008

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Cultural Involvement	Squamish –Lil'Wat Cultural Centre opens in Whistler	The Toronto Sun	07/20/08
Cultural Involvement	UBC Thunderbird Arena and all 15 arenas showcase Aboriginal art	Canada NewsWire	07/07/2008
Cultural Involvement	Vancouver 2010 announces programming for Cultural Olympiad 2008; call for 2009/10 proposals; major two-year countdown concert	Canada NewsWire	11/29/07
Cultural Involvement	Gordon Campbell and FHFN chiefs go to Turin	Globe and Mail	11/29/05
Cultural Involvement	Set'a'newey Choir , N.L. promised invitation to sing at Olympics by Gordon Campbell	CBC	10/26/09
Cultural Involvement	Search begins for executive producer for Vancouver 2010 Games ceremonies	Canada NewsWire	02/07/2007
Cultural Involvement	Canada's first Aboriginal Sport Gallery showcases contributions of native athletes	Epoch Times	02/21/08
Cultural Involvement	An Inuit symbol chosen as a logo for the 2010 Winter Olympics is getting a frosty reception in Canada	The Guardian	05/03/2005
Cultural Involvement	Vancouver 2010 Cultural Olympiad 2008 takes the stage	Canada NewsWire	02/01/2008
Cultural Involvement	2010 medals in a word, priceless. Contemporary first nations artworks and undulating surfaces are firsts in Olympic history	Vancouver Sun	16/10/2009
Cultural Involvement	Hockey Canada unveils Olympic Jerseys - Designed by Musqueam has First Nations art in Maple Leaf	CTV	17/08/2009
Cultural Involvement/ partnership and collaboration	Aboriginal youth, elders to play special roles in Vancouver 2010 Olympic Torch Relay	News Wire	03/06/2009

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Cultural Involvement/ partnership and collaboration	FHFN, regional and national Aboriginal leaders show support for Olympic Torch Relay	Canada NewsWire	11/21/08
Economic Development	Canadian Union of Public Employees B.C. gives thumbs-down to 'elitist' economic meeting - 2010 Games will ignore issues like Aboriginal rights, housing, homelessness and the rising cost of living in the Lower Mainland	Canada NewsWire	07/18/08
Economic Development	Aboriginal Business Summit promotes Aboriginal business opportunities	Canada NewsWire	02/02/2007
Economic Development	Aboriginal Business Summit promotes Aboriginal business opportunities	Canada NewsWire	12/14/06
Economic Development	Aboriginal Business Summit promotes Aboriginal business opportunities	Canada NewsWire	12/02/2003
Economic Development	Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam Nations receive \$34million	Globe and Mail	06/14/08
Economic Development	Squamish- Lil'Wat Cultural Centre receives \$350,00 funding commitment	Canada NewsWire	02/08/2006
Economic Development	Aboriginal Pavilion to hold world's biggest potlatch	Globe and Mail	02/03/2009
Economic Development	Aboriginal Pavilion showcase Aboriginal culture, sport and business	Canada NewsWire	02/02/2009
Economic Development	Musqueam Band receive \$17 million – Olympic cash give Musqueam a boost	CTV	01/18/10

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Economic Development	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada invests \$7.8 million in a construction project under the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program	Canada NewsWire	01/17/05
Economic Development	Olympic building program nails down jobs for women, inner city youth , Aboriginal people	Vancouver Sun	11/20/09
Economic Development	first nations get merchandising deal for Vancouver Olympics	Canada NewsWire and CBC	03/05/2008
Education and	The Government of Canada supports the FHFN	Market wire	09/04/2008
Education and Awareness	COC launches Aboriginal Olympian stories school program at the Cowichan 2008 North American Indigenous Games	Canada NewsWire	08/01/2008
Education and Awareness	Protesters vow to be heard during 2010 Games	Globe and Mail	11/21/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	10/18/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	10/25/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	11/24/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Canada NewsWire	10/20/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	CTV Television	10/22/08

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	10/22/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Toronto Star	10/22/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	10/24/08
Education and Awareness	Pound states Canada was a land of savages	Globe and Mail	10/25/08
Education and Awareness	Foreign press will be able to focus on Vancouver's social problems	Globe and Mail	08/04/2008
Education and Awareness	Concerns over native rights cloud 2010 Olympics	Inter Press Service (IPS)	12/01/2008
Education and Awareness	Spirit Train off rails: protestors vow to block Olympics tour	The Toronto Sun	09/20/08
Education and Awareness	Spirit Train faces protests in Port Moody	Komo 4 News	09/22/08
Education and Awareness	Native protest Olympic train in Mississauga, Ont.	The Toronto Sun	10/14/08
Education and Awareness	Members of Squamish and Lil'Wat will protest despite legacies	Globe and Mail	05/07/2008
Education and Awareness	First Nations divided over 2010 Games	The Georgia Straight	11/18/07
Education and Awareness	Activists Set to Five day Converge in Vancouver for Olympics	Epoch Times	01/20/10
Education and Awareness	For First Nations pride, not money is an Olympic legacy – official Aboriginal merchandise mass produced in China	CTV	01/09/2010

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Education and Awareness	Native Canadians no longer 'Dime Store Indians' want to escape stereotype	CTV	11/09/2009
Education and Awareness	Phil Fontaine says Canada's indigenous people will use the Olympics to air their grievances from failure to implement the Kelowna Accord(2005)	The Toronto Star	04/23/08
Education and Awareness	Rebuttal from Federal Minister of Indian Affairs, Chuck Strahl – FHFN recognizes the fiscal opportunities the Games will bring. Increasing Aboriginal participation in the economy one of the most effective ways to address socio-economic condition	The Toronto Star	04/30/08
Education and Awareness	Resistance to the 2010 Games	Earth First	May-June 2008
Education and Awareness	The 2010 Vancouver Organizing Committee, and the western media, may have learned few lessons after the fiascos of the Beijing Games	The Republic of East Vancouver	Aug.- Sept. 2008
Education and Awareness	Chinese media questions Vancouver's social problems	24 hours	08/20/08
Education and Awareness	No Olympics on Stolen Native Land!	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	Ten reasons to oppose the 2010 Olympics	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	What's wrong with the 2010 Games	No 2010	2007

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Education and Awareness	Boycott Sun Peaks Resist 2010	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	Convergence February 2010	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	The connection between the Tar Sands and Olympic Development	Oilsandtruth.org	n.d
Education and Awareness	The impacts of the 2010 Winter Games – Housing in Vancouver	Oilsandtruth.org	n.d
Education and Awareness	The war of five rings: The Olympic Games' history of war and occupation	Oilsandtruth.org	n.d
Education and Awareness	Shades of green in 2010 Eco-Games or Ecocide?	Oilsandtruth.org	n.d
Education and Awareness	Natives threaten Olympic disruptions; Leader see the Vancouver Games as an opportunity to air their grievances unless progress is made on poverty and land claims	Globe and Mail	04/18/08
Education and Awareness	Natives could protest 2010 Olympics, says Chief Fontaine	National Post	04/17/08
Education and Awareness	Olympic resistance network	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	2010 Olympics It's all about making a killing	No 2010	2007
Education and Awareness	Natives threaten Olympic Disruptions - Leaders see Vancouver Games as an opportunity to air their grievances unless progress is made on poverty and land claims	Globe and Mail	18/04/2008

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Partnership and Collaboration	Tewanee Joseph is an influential native for co-ordinating bands' involvement in the Games	Globe and Mail	12/23/08
Partnership and Collaboration	AFN, FHFN, and VANOC sign MOU	Canada NewsWire	07/11/2007
Partnership and Collaboration	VANOC and FHFN Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program	Canada NewsWire	03/05/2008
Partnership and Collaboration	FNFN sign protocol agreement ensuring protocols and traditions of their Nations are acknowledged and respected through all stages of the Games	Canada NewsWire	11/24/04
Partnership and Collaboration	VANOC gets praise from IOC President Jacques Rogge over the preparation progress on sustainability and Aboriginal participation	Canada NewsWire	02/28/08
Partnership and Collaboration	VANOC gets praise from IOC President Jacques Rogge over the preparation progress on sustainability and Aboriginal participation	Light the Torch	03/06/2008
Partnership and Collaboration	Aboriginal participation key to Vancouver 2010 Olympics and Paralympics	Chinadaily.com	03/25/08
Partnership and Collaboration	Yukon to showcase its unique northern character to the world during the Vancouver 2010 Winter Games	Canada NewsWire	09/12/2008
Partnership and Collaboration	First Nations have key role in Games - Relationship between host bands, government and organizers unlike anything else in Olympic history	Vancouver Sun	16/06/2008

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Partnership and Collaboration/ education and awareness	Newfoundland and Labrador to be highlighted at Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games – ensure Aboriginal participation and inclusion throughout the Games	Canada NewsWire	07/04/2008
Partnership and Collaboration/ education and awareness	Nova Scotia formalizes support for Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games – ensure Aboriginal participation and inclusion throughout the Games	Canada NewsWire	01/29/08
Partnership and Collaboration/ education and awareness	Manitoba to participate in 2010 Olympic, Paralympic Games – ensure Aboriginal participation and inclusion throughout the Games	Canada NewsWire	03/17/08
Partnership and Collaboration// cultural involvement	Over 100 Aboriginal communities will be part of the Olympic torch relay	Globe and Mail	11/21/08
Partnership and Collaboration/economic development	B.C. Government and Squamish First Nation sign agreement on widening Sea to Sky Highway	Globe and Mail	09/13/08
Partnership and Collaboration/economic development	\$6-million aboriginal pavilion highlights Olympic partnership	Globe and mail	07/12/2009
Sport and Youth	Native snowboarders reach for the podium; Team members head for YWCA- sponsored weekend training camp	Globe and Mail	08/14/08
Sport and Youth	Aboriginal Sport Gallery opens at BC Sport Hall of Fame and Museum	Canada NewsWire	06/23/08

Participation	Observation/Headline	Media Source	Published
Sport and Youth	Morris dreams 2010 is a new start for aboriginals	The Canadian Press	25/12/2009
Sport and Youth	Vancouver 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering to take place during the Games	Canada NewsWire	01/31/10
Sport and Youth	First Nations Snowboard Team hopeful sign for Aboriginal athletes	Toronto Star	12/27/09
Sport and Youth	Native American organizations in the U.S and Canada seeking IOC recognition as sovereign nations, allowing them to establish the North American Indigenous Olympic team	Newhouse News Service	03/02/2006
Sport and Youth	Bell and 2010 Legacies Now launch snowboarding program for inner city youth	Canada NewsWire	02/10/2005
Sport and Youth	Bell and 2010 Legacies Now launch snowboarding program for inner city youth	Market News Publishing	02/10/2005
Sport and Youth	Squamish Nation and First Nations Snowboard Team introduces development program introducing Aboriginal youth to snowboarding	Globe and Mail	02/20/09
Sports and Youth	VANOC poster campaign promotes Aboriginal athletes	Globe and Mail	10/01/2008
Sports and Youth	VANOC poster campaign promotes Aboriginal athletes	Canadian Corporate Newswire	03/05/2007
Sport and Youth	VANOC poster campaign promotes Aboriginal athletes	CNN Matthews	03/05/2007
Sport and Youth	VANOC poster campaign promotes Aboriginal athletes	Globe and Mail	03/06/2007

APPENDIX B: List of Interviewees and Interview Questions

Interviewees

1. Am Johal, IOCC
2. Rob VanWynsberghe, IOCC
3. Chris Shaw, Advocate against the Games
4. Katherine Ringrose, 2010 Legacies Now, Community Engagement Manager
5. June Laitar, president of the Kla-how-eya Surrey Aboriginal Cultural Society

Sample interview questions for Aboriginal participants in organizations pro Olympics FHFN and Aboriginal participants in organizations against the Olympics

Background: Who are the participants?

1. Can you tell me about your position and what you do?
2. Can you tell me about the organization you work for/are involved in and how you got involved in working for them?
3. Personally, how much have you been involved in the planning for the Olympic Games?
4. [If the participant is involved] what do you know about this event and it's planning process?
5. How much do you expect to be involved in future mega-events?

Public participation: What is participation? How was participation incorporated into previous Olympic Games? How successful has public participation been specific to diverse communities

1. In this study, I am interested in understanding how different members and groups of the public in and around Vancouver are participating in the planning for the Winter Olympic Games. In this context, what does the term meaningful participation mean to you?

2. Following on from the first question, what do you think constitutes as involvement?
3. Thinking about Expo '86, the Common Wealth Games, and previous Olympic Games that have been held in countries with a significant Aboriginal population, in what ways do you feel that the participation of Aboriginal people has improved, both over time and with specific to 2010?
4. Do you think enough is being done to improve participation in the Games?
5. What could be done (or what strategies could be used) to improve the participation of Aboriginal communities?

Legacies and impacts of the Games: How have previous Games/mega events held in Vancouver impacted on indigenous communities?

1. Do you feel that the individual Nations of the FHFNs are being treated equally? (Do you feel that the Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations have more input in comparison to the Musqueam and Tseil-Waututh Nations, as one of the VANOC BOD is a representative from the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations)?
2. As the Musqueam and Tseil-Waututh Nations signed MOUs as opposed to formal agreements, does this mean that they will have fewer social and financial benefits from the Olympics? [MOUs and agreements carry different legal weightings]
3. The Olympics will leave a lasting legacy on Vancouver and its people. If indigenous involvement does not lead to social or political change is that enough?
4. If change does occur, will you be satisfied?
5. How strong was the First Nations legacy aspect in the bidding phases of the Games?
6. What are the relations like between your organization/community and other Aboriginal organizations/communities in B.C. that are not directly involved in the Olympic Games?

What do indigenous communities think of the Games being held on indigenous territory in Vancouver, Whistler and surrounds?

1. Have there been any conflicts within Nations in the FHFN? If so, what was done to resolve them?

2. From my understanding there are still a lot of unsettled land claims remaining in British Columbia. Do you feel that the Olympics have made more aware of the problems that the Aboriginal population is facing over unsettled land claims?
3. What kind of changes do you want the Olympics to make on your community?

Representation of Aboriginal people

1. To what extent do you think the Olympics and the ways in which the Olympics are marketed exploit and stereotype Aboriginal culture (if at all) and do you think that this will ever change?
2. To what extent do you think that Aboriginal participation is being controlled directly by the Olympic organizing committee or have you had an equal amount of input?
3. What strategies could be employed that ensure Aboriginal people have equal or more direct control in which Aboriginal people participate and are presented by National Organizing Committees in future Games?
4. What do you think is “novel” or “unique” about Aboriginal culture that makes it such a big selling point in the bidding phases of the Olympics?
5. What do you think is “novel” about Aboriginal participation on reproducing discourses of national identity around the 2010 Games?
6. Can effective or legitimate participation of First Nations lead or hope to produce a new discourse of national identity for Canada that includes both indigenous and “white” identity and cultural stories?
7. What do you think of VANOC’s choice for the Olympic logo?
8. Researchers do not think of electronic communication, especially the use of Facebook as a tool that is used by Aboriginal people, as a traditional means of communication. What was it that prompted you to using YouTube and Facebook as a communication tool?
 - a. Has it helped you to achieve your goal?
 - b. Was it you engage younger generations
9. Do you think that the Olympics have increased publicity and awareness about your community? How, if at all, has this changed?

Sample interview questions for an Aboriginal artist

Background: Who are the participants?

1. Can you tell me about your position and what you do?
2. What kind of art do you produce
3. Personally, how much have you been involved in the planning for the Olympic Games?
4. [If the participant is involved] what do you know about this event and it's planning process?
5. What processes did you have to go through to be involved in the arts production of the Olympics?
6. How much do you expect to be involved in future mega-events?

Public participation: What is participation? How was participation incorporated into previous Olympic Games? How successful has public participation been specific to diverse communities

1. In this study I am interested in understanding how different members and groups of the public in and around Vancouver are participating in the planning for the Winter Olympic Games. In this context what does meaningful participation mean to you?
2. Following on from the first question, what do you think constitutes as involvement?
3. Do you think enough is being done to improve indigenous participation in the Games?
4. What additional things could be done?

Representation of Aboriginal people

1. To what extent do you think that Aboriginal participation is being controlled directly by the Olympic organizing committee?
2. What strategies could be employed that ensure Aboriginal people have equal or more direct control in which Aboriginal people participate and are presented by National Organizing Committees?
3. What do you think is "novel" or unique about Aboriginal culture that makes it a big selling point in the bidding phases of the Olympic Games?
4. What do you think is "novel" about Aboriginal participation on reproducing discourses of national identity around the 2010 Games?

5. What do you think of VANOC's choice for the Olympic logo?
6. To what extent do you think that Aboriginal culture has been homogenized and stereotyped for foreign tourists?
7. What kind of opportunities for showing and/or marketing your art or artisan products would you like to have access to during the Olympics?
8. How do you feel about Aboriginal images being used as part of Olympic advertisement?

Sample interview questions for academics and researchers

Background: Who are the participants?

1. Can you tell me about your position and what you do?
2. Can you tell me about the organization you work for/are involved in and how you got involved in working for them?
3. Personally, how much have you been involved in the planning for the Olympic Games?

Public participation: What is participation? How was participation incorporated into previous Olympic Games? How successful has Public participation been specific to diverse communities

1. In this study I am interested in understanding how different members and groups of the public in and around Vancouver are participating in the planning of the Winter Olympic Games. In this context, what does meaningful participation mean to you?
2. Following on from the first question, what do you think constitutes as involvement?
3. Do you feel that the Games are inclusive to everyone?
4. To what extent do you think the public participation of indigenous people is integral in making the Olympics a success?
5. How do you think that public participation can be integrated more effectively into the Olympic planning process?
6. Do you think enough is being done to improve participation in the Games, especially with regard to indigenous people?
7. What additional things could be done?
8. Thinking about Expo '86 , the Commonwealth Games, and previous Olympic Games that have been held in countries with a significant Aboriginal population , in what ways do you feel that the participation of Aboriginal people has improved?

9. Do you think enough is being done to improve participation in the Games?
10. What could be done (or what strategies could be used) to improve the participation of Aboriginal communities?

Legacies and impacts of the Games: How have previous Games/mega events held in Vancouver impacted on indigenous communities?

1. In your opinion what are the biggest social and financial opportunity provision discrepancies between Aboriginal and non- Aboriginal communities?
2. How important is it to involve the community in legacy planning?
3. What should be done to try and ensure community involvement?
4. What is VANOC doing to address the needs and concerns of other Aboriginal communities in Whistler and the MVRD?
5. Why is there little mention of Aboriginal communities in the ICI Statement?

Representation of Aboriginal people

1. To what extent do you think the Olympics and the ways in which the Olympics are marketed exploit and stereotype Aboriginal culture (if at all) and do you think that this will ever change?
2. To what extent do you think that Aboriginal participation is being controlled directly by the Olympic organizing committee?
3. What strategies could be employed that ensure Aboriginal people have equal or more direct control in which Aboriginal people participate and are presented by National Organizing Committees?
4. What do you think is “novel” or “unique” about Aboriginal culture that makes it such a big selling point in the bidding phases of the Olympics?
5. What do you think is “novel” about Aboriginal participation on reproducing discourses of national identity around the 2010 Games?
6. Can effective or legitimate participation of First Nations lead or hope to produce a new discourse of national identity for Canada that includes both indigenous and “white” identity and cultural stories?

Sample interview questions for VANOC employees

Background: Who are the participants?

1. Can you tell me about your position and what you do?
2. Can you tell me about the organization you work for/are involved in and how you got involved in working for them?

Public participation: What is participation? How was participation incorporated into previous Olympic Games? How successful has public participation been specific to diverse communities

1. In this study, I am interested in understanding how different members and groups of the public in and around Vancouver are participating in the planning for the Winter Olympic Games. In this context, what does the term meaningful participation mean to you?
2. Following from the first question, what do you think constitutes as involvement?
3. To what extent do you think the public participation of indigenous people is integral in making the Olympics a success?
4. How do you think that public participation can be integrated more effectively into the Olympic planning process?
5. Do you think enough is being done to improve participation in the Games, especially with regard to indigenous people?
6. What additional things could be done?
7. How are urban Aboriginal communities being involved in the participatory process?
8. Thinking about Expo '86 , the Commonwealth Games, and previous Olympic Games that have been held in countries with a significant Aboriginal population , in what ways do you feel that the participation of Aboriginal people has improved with specific reference to 2010?
9. What lessons do you think were learned from past Olympics with regard to indigenous participation that were applied to your current work?

Legacies and impacts of the Games: How have previous Games/mega events held in Vancouver impacted on indigenous communities?

1. As the Musqueam and Tseil-Waututh Nations signed MOUs as opposed to formal agreements, does this mean that they will have fewer social and financial benefits from the Olympics? [MOUs and agreements carry different legal weightings]

2. How strong was the First Nations legacy aspect in the bidding phases of the Games?
3. What is VANOC doing to address the needs and concerns of other Aboriginal communities in Whistler and the MVRD?
4. Why is there little mention of Aboriginal communities in the ICI Statement?
5. Could you clarify what is meant when \$17 million was given to the Tseil-Waututh, Squamish, Musequam and Lil'Wat had to be used for development directly in connection with the Olympics? (Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Chuck Stahl, quoted by Levitz, 2008, p. S2)

Representation of Aboriginal people

1. Why is VANOC only working alongside 4 First Nations communities? What happens to the other communities in Whistler and Vancouver?
2. What do you think is "novel" about Aboriginal participation in the Games?
3. Will VANOC or other sources of Olympic funding provided to the FHFN and other First Nations communities address the issues of social housing provision?
4. Why was the inukshuk used?
 - a. What are the views of the Coast Salish people?
 - b. Were the views of the Coast Salish people taken into account when it was decided that VANOC would use the symbol of the inukshuk?

APPENDIX C: Stakeholders

Whistler 2010 Sport Legacies

IOC

VANOC

COC

FHFN

B.C. Secretariat

2010 Legacies Now

City of Vancouver

Province of B.C.

CTV

The Globe and Mail

The HBC

IOCC

UBC

Pivot Legal

Olympics Resistance Network

Canadian Federal Government

Resort Municipality of Whistler

Volunteers

Construction companies

The Canadian Paralympic Committee

City of Richmond

2010 Bid Corporation

BC Pavilion Corporation

Orca Bay Sports – GM Place

Whistler/Blackcomb Mountain

Federal/Provincial Parks

Association of Whistler Area Residents for the Environment (AWARE)

SFU

UBC

RCMP

MUVAS

Inuit

Athletes

Métis

Aboriginal Sports Circle

According to VANOC's website (VANOC 2010) VANOC's partners: IOC, COC, Government of Canada, Province of B.C., City of Vancouver, Resort Municipality of Whistler, FHFN, corporate sponsors and venue cities (Richmond and Surrey) VANOC stakeholders: Athletes and officials, the Canadian public, community and NGOs, suppliers and licensees, educational institutions, spectator and members of the VANOC workforce including volunteers

APPENDIX D: Policies and Initiatives Relating to Aboriginal Participation in the Olympics

Date	Policy or Initiative
1976	Montreal Games Aboriginal peoples mostly involved in the ceremonial events
1999	IOC adopt Agenda 21 which states that indigenous 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)
2000	Sydney 2000, in particular SOCOG adopts a more inclusive attitudes toward Aboriginal participation
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
11/22/2002	Squamish and Lil'Wat shared Legacies Agreement signed by Squamish, Lil'Wat , Province of B.C. and 2010 Bid Corp
Nov. 2002	Shared Legacies Agreement signed by 2010 Bid Corp, Province of B.C., Squamish and Lil'Wat Nations
2003	Inner City Inclusive Commitment Statement signed
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
07/02/2003	Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh sign Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)
Sept. 2003- July 2008	Total value (cumulative) of venue construction contracts let to self-identifies Aboriginal businesses \$53,819,353

Date	Policy or Initiative
Sept. 2003- July 2008	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
Nov. 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	Unveiling of the emblem
2005	Venue construction in Richmond, Cypress Mountain and Whistler-Blackcomb begins
Feb. 2005	Shared Legacies Agreement implemented
Nov. 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 <i>Find Your Passion in Sport</i> poster campaign
Sept. 2006	VANOC hosts ten moderated visioning workshops with its partners and stakeholders, senior

Date	Policy or Initiative
	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
01/02/2007	FHFN launches its logo
Feb. 2007	Tourism in B.C. 2010 Aboriginal business Summit hosted by FHFN Province of B.C., and Government of Canada
March 2007	VANOC hosts the 2010 Aboriginal Recruitment and Procurement symposium
June 2007	VANOC and FHFN host National Aboriginal Day at VANOC head quarters
Sept. 2007	VANOC hires project manager to lead the development of Aboriginal art at venues and programs
Oct/Nov 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	Cultural Olympiad

Date	Policy or Initiative
Feb. 2008	Conduct Naming ceremony
March 2008	VANOC launches the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program between VANOC and FHFN
April 2008	FHFN and VANOC launch the first edition of the Aboriginal participation newsletter
June 2008	VANOC hosts annual National Aboriginal Day celebrations for the VANOC workforce
July 2008	VANOC delegates go to Nunavut to meet with the territorial government and Inuit representatives to discuss engagement
July 2008	Aboriginal sport gallery opens at B.C. Sports Hall of Fame
July 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 <i>Find Your Passion in Sport</i> poster campaign
Feb. 2009	FHFN announce plans for the development of the Aboriginal Pavilion
Feb 2010	Vancouver 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering
Feb 2010	Aboriginal Pavilion opens

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, E. (2008). Public participation in planning -- a multidimensional model: The case of Israel. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 9(1), 57-80.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2006). *Experimental estimates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians*. Retrieved September 21, 2008, from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/3238.0.55.001Main%20Features1Jun%202006?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=3238.0.55.001&issue=Jun%202006&num=&view=>
- Australian Sports Commission. (2010). *Indigenous sport grants*. Retrieved August 2, 2010, from http://www.ausport.gov.au/participating/indigenous/get_involved/eitaap
- B.C. Treaty Commission. (2000). *Why treaties?*. Vancouver, B.C.: B.C. Treaty Commission. Retrieved from http://www.bctreaty.net/files/pdf_documents/why_treaties_update_Aug08.pdf
- B.C. Treaty Commission. (2005). *What's the deal with treaties?* (Fourth ed.). Vancouver, B.C.: B.C. treaty commission. Retrieved from http://www.bctreaty.net/files/pdf_documents/What's%20the%20Dealv4.pdf
- B.C. Treaty Commission. (2009a). *Aboriginal rights*. Retrieved August 2, 2009, from http://www.bctreaty.net/files/issues_rights.php
- B.C. Treaty Commission. (2009b). *Negotiation updates*. Retrieved August 2, 2009, from <http://www.bctreaty.net/files/updates.php>
- Bale, J. (2003). *Sports geography* (2nd ed.). New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Baloy, N., Roth, S., Sierp, E., and Vadi, P. (April, 2010). Aboriginal Participation in the Vancouver 2010 Games: Towards A Re-Aboriginalized Landscape? Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers. Washington, D.C..
- Beamish, R. (2009). Marxism, alienation, and Coubertin's Olympic project. In B. Carrington, and I. McDonald (Eds.), *Marxism, cultural studies and sport* (pp. 88-107). New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

- Beaumont, J., and Nicholls, W. (2008). Plural governance, participation and democracy in cities. Introduction to a symposium. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 87-94.
- Blackburn, S. (2008). "Rights". In S. Blackburn (Ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (pp. 319). Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Blomley, N. (1996). "Shut the province down": First Nation's blockades on British Columbia 1984-1995. *BC Studies*, 111(Autumn 1996), 5-35.
- Boorstin, D. J. (1961). *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books USA.
- British Columbia 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games Secretariat. (2002). *Partners creating legacies from the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: Agreement between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nation, the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, and the Province of British Columbia*. Retrieved June 12, 2009, from <http://www.2010wintergamessecretariat.com/StaticContent/Downloads/Sharedlegacies.pdf>
- Broudehoux, A. (2007). Spectacular Beijing: The Conspicuous Construction of An Olympic Metropolis. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29(4), 383-399.
- Bunt, D. (2009). *Selling "the next one": Corporate nationalism and the production of Sidney Crosby*. (Unpublished Master of Arts). University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alta.
- Burbank, M. J., Heying, C. H., and Andranovich, G. (2000). Antigrowth politics or piecemeal resistance?: Citizen opposition to Olympic-related economic growth. *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(3), 334-357.
- Callahan, K. (2007). Citizen participation: Models and methods. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 30(11), 1179-1196.
- Cambell Black, H. (1995). *Black's Dictionary of Law* (2nd ed). Clark, N.J.: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd.
- Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency. (2009). *Considering Aboriginal traditional knowledge in environmental assessments conducted under Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency – Interim principles*. Retrieved July 7, 2010, from <http://www.ceaa-acee.gc.ca/default.asp?lang=En&n=4A795E76-1>
- Canadian Heritage. (2010). *Sport Canada*. Retrieved June 5, 2010, from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1268160670172>
- Cardinal, N. (2006). The exclusive city: Identifying, measuring, and drawing attention to Aboriginal and Indigenous experiences in an urban context. *Cities*, 23(3), 217-228

- Cashman, R. (2002). *Impact of the Games on Olympic host cities*. Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olímpics. Retrieved from <http://olympicstudies.uab.es/lec/pdf/cashman.pdf>
- Cashman, R. (2004). Sydney 2000. In J. E. Findling, and K. D. Pelle (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of the modern Olympic Movement* (pp. 245-255). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Cashman, R. (2006). *The bitter-sweet awakening: The legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*. Petersham, NSW: Walla Walla Press.
- Kate. (May 25th, 2007). Community participation beyond taste - what is feasible in the 21st century? Message posted to <http://blog.roughtheory.org/>
- City of Richmond. (2009). *Richmond partners on 2010 Aboriginal art program*. Retrieved June 15, 2010, from http://www.richmond.ca/__shared/printpages/page9163.htm
- City of Vancouver. (2005). *City Clerk's Department, Olympic Vote Process*. Retrieved February 1, 2010, from <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/olympicvote/olympicindex.htm>
- City of Vancouver. (2007). *Inventory of Aboriginal services, issues, and initiatives in Vancouver: Employment*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <http://vancouver.ca/COMMSVCS/SOCIALPLANNING/initiatives/aboriginal/tools/directory/employment.htm>
- Clark, T. N. (Ed.). (2004). *The city as an entertainment machine*. San Diego, Calif.: Elsevier Inc.
- Collins, K., and Ison, R. (2006). Dare we jump off Arnstein's ladder? Social learning as a new policy paradigm. *Proceedings of PATH (Participatory Approaches in Science and Technology) Conference*, Edinburgh. Retrieved from <http://oro.open.ac.uk/8589/>
- Connell, R. W. *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Culhane, D. (2003). Their spirits live within us: Aboriginal women in Downtown Eastside Vancouver emerging into visibility. *American Indian Quarterly*, 27(3/4, Special Issue: Urban American Indian Women's Activism), 593-606.
- Davidoff, P. (1965). Advocacy and pluralism in planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 31(4), 331-338.
- Dawson, D. (1991). Panem et circenses? A critical analysis of ethnic and multicultural festivals. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*, 16(1), 35-52.

- Day, D. (1997). Citizen participation in the planning process: An essentially contested concept? *Journal of Planning Literature*, 11(3), 421-434.
- Debord, G. (1967). *La societe du spectacle (society of the spectacle)*. Paris: Buchet-Chastel. (First English translation published in 1979 by Black and Red Books, Detroit, MI.; second translation published in 1994 by Zone Books, New York, N.Y.).
- Debray, R. (1995). Remarks on the spectacle. *New Left Review*, 241, 34-41.
- Dolf, M., and Pezzicara, L. (2009, October 5). Sport organizations tackle sustainability. Message posted to <http://sustainable-sport.org/sport-organisations-tackle-sustainability/#more-205>
- Donnelly, P. (2010). 1968 and all that: Social change and the social sciences of sport -- foreword. *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 13(1), 1-5.
- Dreier, P., and Candaele, K. (2004, Where are the jocks for justice?. *Nation*, 278, 21-24. Retrieved from <http://www.thenation.com/article/where-are-jocks-justice>
- Duffy, M. (2009). Festival and spectacle. In R. Kitchin, and N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of human geography* (pp. 91-97). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Dunn, C. H. (2007). *Aboriginal partnerships for sustainable 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: A framework for cooperation*. (Unpublished Master of Resource Management). Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Elections B.C. (2002). *Report of the Chief electoral officer on the treaty negotiations referendum*. Victoria, B.C.: Elections B.C.
- Elwood, S. A., and Martin, D. G. (2000). Placing interviews: Location and scales of power in qualitative research. *The Professional Geographer*, 52(4), 649-657.
- Essex, S., and Chalkley, B. (1998). Olympic Games: Catalyst of urban change. *Leisure Studies*, 17(3), 187-206.
- Fagence, M. (1977). *Citizen participation in planning*. Toronto, Ont.: Pergamon of Canada Ltd.
- Forsyth, J. (2010). In Intellectual Muscle - University Dialogues for Vancouver 2010 (Ed.). *The illusion of inclusion* The Globe and Mail. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/intellectual-muscle/the-talks/article1312702/>

- Forsyth, J. "Teepees and tomahawks: Aboriginal cultural representation at the 1976 Olympic Games." *The Global Nexus Engaged: Past, Present, and Future Interdisciplinary Olympic Studies, Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 71-75.
- Forsyth, J., and Walmsley, K. B. (2005). Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusions of Olympic ceremonies. In K. Young, and K. Wamsley B. (Eds.), *Global Olympics: Historical and sociological studies of modern games* (pp. 227-249). San Diego, Calif.: Elvise Inc.
- Four Host First Nations (FHFN). (2009a). *First Nations and 2010 Olympic venues* Retrieved March 5, 2009, from <http://www.fourhostfirstnations.com/storage/map.jpg>
- FHFN. (2009b). *About us*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.fourhostfirstnations.com/about-us>
- FHFN. (2009c). *Pavilion*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.fourhostfirstnations.com/pavilion>
- FHFN. (2010). *Schedule of events*. Retrieved August 23, 2010, from <http://www.fourhostfirstnations.com/schedule-of-events/>
- Fraser, J., and Weninger, C. (2008). Modes of engagement for urban research: Enacting a politics of possibility. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(6), 1435-1453.
- Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. Boston, Mass.: Pitman.
- García, B. (2001). Enhancing sport marketing through cultural and arts programs: Lessons from the Sydney 2000 Olympic arts festivals. *Sport Management Review*, 4(2), 193-219.
- García, B. (2007). Sydney 2000. *Olympic cities: City agendas, planning and the world games* (Gold, John R.; Gold, Margaret, M. ed., pp. 237-265). New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Gewith, A. (2005). Right. In T. Honderich (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (pp. 819-820). New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Girginov, V., and Parry, J. (2005). *The Olympic Games explained: A student guide to the evolution of the modern Olympic Games*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Godwell, D. J. (2000). The Olympic branding of Aborigines: The 2000 Olympic Games and Australia's indigenous peoples. In K. Schaffer, and S. Smith (Eds.), *The Olympics at the millennium: Power, politics, and the Games* (pp. 243-258). Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

- Good, D., and Good, K. (2000). *First Nations protocol: Working with First Nations*. Retrieved April 13, 2008, from <http://ncseonline.org/nae/docs/protocol.html>
- Gotham, K. F. (2005). Theorizing urban spectacles. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 9(2), 225-246.
- Greenhalgh, P. (1988). *Ephemeral vistas: The expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world's fairs, 1851-1939*. New York, NY: St Martin's Press.
- Gruneau, R., and Whiston, D. (1993). *Hockey night in Canada*. Toronto, Ont.: Garamond.
- Hall, C. M. (1994). *Tourism and politics: Power, policy and place*. London: Chichester.
- Harris, C. (2001). Postmodern patriotism: Canadian reflections. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 45(1), 193-207.
- Harshaw, H. W., Kozak, R. A., and Sheppard, S. R. J. (2006). How well are outdoor recreationists represented in forest land-use planning?: Perceptions of recreationists in the sea-to-sky corridor of British Columbia. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 78(1-2), 33-49.
- Hart, R. (1997). *Children's participation: The theory and practice of involving young citizens in community development and environmental care*. London: Earthscan.
- Hartmann, D. (1996). The politics of race and sport: Resistance and domination in the 1986 African American Olympic protest movement. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19(3), 548-566.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Haynes, J. (2001). *Socio-economic impact of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*. Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olímpics UAB. Retrieved from http://olympicstudies.uab.es/pdf/od013_eng.pdf
- Head, B.W. (2007). Community engagement: Participation on whose terms?. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 441-454.
- Henderson, P. (2003). *Want to really engage the community? Don't walk under Arnstein's ladder*. Retrieved August/25th, 2008, from <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=624>
- Hill, D. M. (1974). *Democratic theory and local government*. London: Allen and Unwin.

- Hiller, H. H. (1990). The urban transformation of a landmark event: The 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. *Urban Affairs Review*, 26(1), 118-137.
- Hogan, J. (2003). Staging the nation: Gendered and ethnicized discourses of national identity in Olympic opening ceremonies *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 27(2), 100-123.
- Höglund, K., and Sundberg, R. (2008). Reconciliation through sports? The case of South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(4), 805-818.
- Holden, M., MacKenzie, J., and VanWynsberghe, R. (2008). Vancouver's promise of the world's first sustainable Olympic Games. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 26(5), 882-905.
- Impact on Community Coalition (IOCC). An art and cultural legacy for 2010 Vancouver. Vancouver, B.C..
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). (2008a). *Acts*. Retrieved August 3, 2009, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/abr/lgis-eng.asp>
- INAC. (2008b). *Backgrounder - Aboriginal title in Canada's courts*. Retrieved August 3, 2009, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/mr/is/tcc-eng.asp>
- INAC. (2010). *Aboriginal peoples and communities*. Retrieved May 15, 2010, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/index-eng.asp>
- Innes, J., and Booher, D. (2004). Reframing public participation: Strategies for the 21st century. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 5(4), 419-436.
- International Association for Public Participation. (2007). *IAP2 spectrum of public participation*. Retrieved December 26, 2007, from <http://www.iap2.org/associations/4748/files/spectrum.pdf>
- International Olympic Committee (IOC). (2007a). *The modern Olympic Games*. Retrieved January, 20, 2010, from http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_668.pdf
- IOC. (2007b). *The Olympic symbols* Retrieved January 20, 2010, from http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_1303.pdf
- IOC. (2010). *The Olympic Charter* retrieved August 1, 2010, from http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf
- IOC: Sport and Environment Commission. (1999). *Olympic Movement's Agenda 21: Sport for sustainable development*. Retrieved December, 15, 2007, from http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_300.pdf
- Jacob, J. M. (1988). The construction of identity. In J. Beckett (Ed.), *Past and present: The construction of Aboriginality* (pp. 31-44). Canberra: Aboriginal institute of Aboriginal studies.

- Janice, F., and Wamsley, K., B. (2006). 'Native to native ... we'll recapture our spirits': The World Indigenous Nations Games and North American Indigenous Games as cultural resistance. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(2), 294-314.
- Jappe, A. (1999). *Guy Debord*. Berkley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Jarvie, G. (2006). *Sport, culture, and society; an introduction*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Johnson, D. (2010). The war of five rings: The Olympic Games' history of war and occupation. *Oil Sands Truth*.
- Kam, W. (2008). *Vancouver 2010 Winter Games: Bringing Aboriginal participation to new frontiers -- A critique on VANOC' goal towards unprecedented Aboriginal participation in context of concerns from the past*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Kaufman, P., and Wolff, E. A. (2010). Playing and protesting: Sport as a vehicle for social change. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 34(2), 154-175.
- Kearins, K., and Pavlovich, K. (2002). The role of stakeholders in Sydney's green Games. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 9(3), 157-169.
- Kenny, C. (2004). *A holistic framework for Aboriginal policy research*. Ottawa, Ont.: Status of Women Canada. Retrieved from <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/SW21-114-2004E.pdf>
- Kidd, B. (1992). The Toronto Olympic Commitment: Towards a social contract for the Olympic Games. *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for Olympic Research*. 67-77.
- Kingsbury, P. (2005). Jamaican tourism and the politics of enjoyment. *Geoforum*, 36(1), 113-132.
- Kingsbury, P. (Forthcoming). The world cup and the national thing on Commercial Drive, Vancouver. *Environment and Planning D: Space and Society*,
- Kong, L., and Yeoh, B. S. A. (1997). The construction of national identity through the production of ritual and spectacle: An analysis of National Day Parades in Singapore. *Political Geography*, 16(3), 213-239.
- L'Etang, J. (2006). Public relations and sport in promotional culture. *Public Relations Review*, 32(4), 386-394.
- Lahiri-Dutt, K. (2004). 'I plan, you participate': A southern view of community participation in urban Australia. *Community Development Journal*, 39(1), 13-27.

- Law, J., and Martin, E. A. (2009a). Self-determination *n.*. *A dictionary of law*. Oxford Reference Online: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t49.e3569>
- Law, J., and Martin, E. A. (2009b). Letter of intent *n.*. *A dictionary of law*. Oxford Reference Online: Oxford University Press. Retrieved October 18, 2010, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?entry=t49.e4503&srn=3&ssid=259283496#FIRSTHIT>
- League of Women Voters of Massachusetts. *The LWVMA citizen education fund*. Retrieved April 20th, 2010, from <http://www.lwvma.org/cef.shtml>
- Lefbvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (D. Nicholson- Smith Trans.). Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing Inc.
- Legacies Now 2010. (2009). *About us*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from http://www.2010legaciesnow.com/about_us/
- Lenskyj, H. J. (1996). When winners are losers: Toronto and Sydney bids for the Summer Olympics. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 20(4), 392-410.
- Lenskyj, H. J. (2000). *Inside the Olympic industry: Power, politics, and activism*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Lenskyj, H. J. (2002). *The best Olympics ever? Social impacts of Sydney 2000*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Lenskyj, H. J. (1992). More than games: community involvement in Toronto's bid for the 1996 summer Olympics. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for Olympic Research 78-88.
- Ley, D. (2005). Styles of the times: Liberal and neo-conservative landscapes in inner Vancouver. In N. R. Fyfe, and J. T. Kenny (Eds.), *The urban geography reader* (pp. 304-316). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ley, D., and Dobson, C. (2008). Are there limits to gentrification? The contexts of impeded gentrification in Vancouver. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2471-2498.
- Ley, D., and Olds, K. (1988). Landscape as spectacle: World's fairs and the culture of heroic consumption. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6(2), 191-212.
- Lil'Wat Nation. (2010). *Lil'Wat Nation fact book*. Mount Currie, B.C.: Lil'Wat Nation. Retrieved October 13, 2010, from <http://www.lilwat.ca/imageUploads/lilwatbookfinal.pdf>
- Logan, J. R., and Molotch, H. L. (1987). *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. Berkley, Calif.: University of California Press.

- London Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games (2007). *Towards A One Planet 2010*. London: Author. Retrieved September 9, 2010, from <http://www.london2012.com/documents/locog-publications/london-2012-sustainability-plan.pdf>
- Loukaki, A. (2008). *Living ruins, values conflicts*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Lupik, T. (November 18th 2007, First Nations divided over the 2010 Games. *The Georgia Straight*.
- MacAloon, J. J. (1984). Olympic Games and the theory of spectacle in modern societies. (pp. 241-280). Philadelphia, PA: Institute for the study of humman issues inc.
- Maier, K. (2001). Citizen participation in planning: Climbing a ladder? *European Planning Studies*, 9(6), 707-719.
- Martin, P. S. (2008). The mass media as sentinel: Why bad news about issues is good news for participation. *Political Communication*, 25(2), 180-193.
- Mason, D. S. (2002). "Get that puck outta here!": Media transnationalism and Canadian identity. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 26(2), 140-167.
- Matthews, G., R. (2005). *America's first Olympic Games; the St. Louis Games of 1904*. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press.
- Matthews, V., and with Amdur, N. (1974). *My race maybe won*. New York, NY: Charter House.
- Mayers, J. (2005a). *Stakeholder power analysis*. . London: International Institute for Environment and Development. Retrieved May 6, 2010, from http://www.policy-powertools.org/Tools/Understanding/docs/stakeholder_power_tool_english.pdf
- Mayers, J. (2005b). *The four Rs*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development. Retrieved May 6, 2010, from http://www.policy-powertools.org/Tools/Understanding/docs/four_Rs_card_english.pdf
- Mayers, J., and Vermeulen, S. (2005). *Stakeholder influence mapping*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development. Retrieved May 6, 2010, from http://www.policy-powertools.org/Tools/Understanding/docs/stakeholder_influence_mapping_tool_english.pdf
- McCallum, K., Spencer, A., and Wyly, E. K. (2005). The city as an image-creation machine: A critical analysis of Vancouver's Olympic bid. *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, 67, 24-46.

- Meekison, L. (2000). Indigenous presence in the Sydney Games. In C. Smith, and G. K. Ward (Eds.), *Indigenous cultures in an interconnected world* (pp. 109-129). Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press.
- Metro Vancouver. (2008). *Metro Vancouver homeless count figures 2008 preliminary numbers*. Retrieved September 30, 2009, from <http://www.metrovancouver.org/planning/homelessness/ResourcesPage/2008HomelessCountPreliminaryFS-April.pdf>
- Milligan, S. (March 2010). *2006 Aboriginal population profiles for Vancouver* (No. 89-638-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-638-x/2010004/article/11085-eng.pdf>
- Mitchell, D. (1995). There's no such thing as culture: Towards a reconceptualization of the idea of culture in geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20(10), 102-116.
- Mitchell, D. (2000). *Cultural geography*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Mohan, A. (n.d). *Spotlighting the spotlight seekers: Examining the intersection between activist campaigns and the Olympic movement*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Morris, E. (Producer), and Morris, E. (Director). (1996). *Global tourism*. [Video/DVD] Burlington, Vt: BBC production for the Open University in association with the Annenberg/CPB Project at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.
- Myers, M. (1988). The Glenbow affair. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 3, 12-16.
- Nafziger, J. A. R. (2004). *International sports law* (2nd ed.). Ardsley, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers.
- Ndlovu, S. M. (2010). Sports as cultural diplomacy: The 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa's foreign policy. *Soccer and Society*, 11(1), 144-153.
- Neilson, B. (2002). Bodies of protest: Performing citizenship at the 2000 Olympic Games continuum. *Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 16(1), 13-25.
- Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Inc.
- Newman, P. and I. Jennings. 2008. *Cities as Sustainable Ecosystems*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Nike. (2010). *Nike N7 expands access to product and funding to Aboriginal communities in Canada*. Retrieved August 1st, 2010, from <http://invest.nike.com/phoenix.zhtml?c=100529&p=irol-newsArticle&ID=1390408&highlight=>

- No Olympics on Stolen Land. (2009). *Resources for anti-2010 resistance*. Unpublished manuscript.
- No Olympics on Stolen Land. (2009). *Why we resist*. Unpublished manuscript.
- No one is illegal. Why resist 2010. Vancouver, BC.
- O' Bonsawin, C., M. (2008). "From savagery to civic organization": The non-participation of Canadian Indians in the anthropology days of the 1904 St Louis Olympic Games. In S. Brownell (Ed.), *The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Sport, race and American imperialism* (pp. 217-243). Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press.
- O' Bonsawin, C., M. (2010). 'No Olympics on Stolen Native Land': Contesting Olympic narratives and asserting indigenous rights within the discourse of the 2010 Vancouver Games. *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 13(1), 143-156.
- O'Reilly, H., and Symko, T. (2008). Reaching across borders: Sustainability initiatives within and beyond the resort community of whistler. In J. Loucky, D. K. Alper and J. C. Day (Eds.), *Transboundary policy challenges in the pacific border regions of North America* (pp. 267-289). Calgary, Alta.: University of Calgary Press.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2007). Environmental Agreements, EIA follow-up and Aboriginal participation in environmental management: the Canadian experience. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 27(4), 319-342.
- Officer of the Auditor General of British Columbia. (2006). *The 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: A review of estimates related to the province's commitments* (report No. 2). Victoria, B.C.: Officer of the Auditor General of British Columbia
- Olds, K. (1998). *Planning for the housing impacts of a hallmark event: A case study of Expo 86*. (Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Community and Regional Planning). University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C..
- Olympic Resistance Network. Say no to 2010. Vancouver, B.C..
- Paraschak, V. (1995). The Native sport and recreation program 1972-1981: Patterns of resistance, patterns of reproduction. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 27(2), 1-18.
- Parashcak, V. (1997). Variations in race relations: Sporting events for Native peoples in Canada. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14(1), 1-21.
- Peters, E. (2005). Indignity and marginalisation: Planning for and with urban Aboriginal communities in Canada. *Progress in Planning*, 63(4), 327-404.

- Pinder, D. (2009). Situationism/Situationist geography. In R. Kitchin, and N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of human geography* (pp. 144-150). Oxford: Elsevier.
- PIVOT Legal Society (2010) *Homepage retrieved August 22nd 2010 from* <http://www.pivotlegal.org/index.htm>
- Plewes, S. (1998). *2010 Olympic bid: Issues and current status* (Administrative report No. RTS NO 00094). Vancouver, B.C.: Vancouver City Council Clerk. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/981008/csb2.htm>
- Pound, R., Bagshaw, K., Coady, L., Dickinson, M., Weiler, J., and Mohan, A. (2006). The Olympic Games, the law and the triple bottom line of sustainability. *Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice: Sustainable Development and the Law: People – Environment - Culture*, Vancouver, B.C..
- Prosken, B. (April 22, 2010). *Affordable housing, Olympic Village, Southeast False Creek* (P&E Committee Agenda No. 08657) Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/20100422/documents/penv6.pdf>
- Qadeer, M. A. (1997). Pluralistic planning for multicultural cities: The Canadian practice. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(4), 481-494.
- Ramen, R. N. (1996). *Kitchen table wisdom*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Group.
- Roe, G. W. (2009). Fixed in place: Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the community of clients. *BC Studies*, 164(Winter 2009), 75-101.
- Rogers, J. (2002). *2010 Olympic Winter Games and Paralympic Winter Games Bid: Status report* (Administrative report RTNS No. 02869) Vancouver, B.C.: Vancouver City Council Clerk. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/cclerk/020723/rr1a.htm>
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). Imperialist nostalgia. *Representations*, 26, 107-122.
- Ross, H., Buchy, M., and Proctor, W. (2002). Laying down the ladder: A typology of public participation in Australian natural resource management". *Australian Journal of Environmental Management*, 9(4), 205-217.
- Rossiter, D., and Wood, P. K. (2005). Fantastic topographies: Neo-liberal responses to Aboriginal land claims in British Columbia. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien*, 49(4), 352-366.
- Rossmann, G., B., and Rallis, S., F. (1998). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Ruhl, J. (2008). Inukshuk rising: Iconification, brand, Canada, and Vancouver 2010. *Canadian Journal of Globalization*, 1(1), 25-31.

- S.W. (May 2008). The Games have already begun. *Earth First*, 10.
- Sandercock, L. (1998). *Towards cosmopolis: Planning for multicultural cities*,. New York, N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons.
- Sandercock, L. (2000). When strangers become neighbours: Managing cities of difference. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 1(1), 13-30.
- Sarkissian, W., Hofer, N., Vajda, S., Shore, Y., and Wilkinson, C. (2008). *Kitchen table sustainability: Practical recipes for community engagement with sustainability*. Sterling, Va.: Earthscan.
- Shaw, C. (August 28, 2008). When Olympic illusion becomes out-and-out deception. *The Republic of East Vancouver*, pp. 4.
- Shaw, C., Andrea, H., Nowlin, C., and Schmidt, C. *Politics, the Olympics and the media: 2010 lessons for media activists*. Vancouver, B.C..
- Short, J. R., Breitbach, C., Buckman, S., and Essex, J. (2000). From world cities to gateway cities: Extending the boundaries of globalization theory. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action.*, 4(3), 317-340.
- Shuagrt, D. (2002) Culture, image and the 2004 Olympic Games. *Odyssey*. Retrieved May 6, 2010, from <http://www.odyssey.gr/default.asp?entryid=2944&pageid=4&tablepageid=50&langid=2>
- Silk, M. (2004). A tale of two cities: The social production of sterile sporting space *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 28(4), 349-378.
- Smith, A. (2009). Theorising the relationship between major sport events and social sustainability. *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 14(2), 109-120.
- Smith, B. L. (2003). Public policy and public participation engaging citizens and community in the development of public policy. *Public Health Agency of Canada*. Retrieved October 6, 2007, from http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/canada/regions/atlantic/Publications/Public_policy/index.html
- Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Solitare, L. (2005). Prerequisite conditions for meaningful participation in brownfields redevelopment. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 48(6), 917-935.
- Squamish Lil'Wat Cultural Centre (2010) *Shared Legacies Agreement*. Retrieved July 4, 2010, from <http://www.slcc.ca/about-us/tale-of-two-nations/shared-legacies-agreement>

- St John, G. (2001). 'Australian (alter)natives: Cultural drama and indignity. *Social Analysis*, 45(1), 122-140.
- Statistics Canada. (2006). *Aboriginal peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations*, 2006 census. Catalogue no. 97-558-XIE. Ottawa. January 2008 Retrieved January 15, 2009, from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/pdf/97-558-XIE2006001.pdf>
- Stevens, Q. (2009). Situationist city. In R. Kitchin, and N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of human geography* (pp. 151-156). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Stewart, B., Nicholson, M., Smith, A., and Westerbeek, H. (2004). *Australian sport: Better by design? The evolution of Australian sport policy*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Strauss, G. (1963). Some notes on power-equalization. In H. J. Leavitt (Ed.), *The social sciences of organizations* (pp. 39-84). Englewood-Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Surborg, B., VanWynsberghe, R., and Wyly, E. (2008). Mapping the olympic growth machine -- transnational urbanism and the growth machine diaspora. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 12(3), 341-355.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2002). The strange respectability of the situationist city in the society of the spectacle. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26(1), 153-165.
- Sze, J. (2009). Sports and environmental justice: 'games' of race, place, nostalgia, and power in neoliberal New York City. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 33(2), 111-129.
- Tardi, G. (2003). Litigation in Canadian referendum politics. *Canadian Public Administration*, 46(3), 339-363.
- Tomlinson, A. (2002). Theorising spectacle: Beyond Debord. In J. Sugden, and A. Tomlinson (Eds.), *Power games: A critical sociology of sport* (pp. 44-61). New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Toronto 2015. (2010). *Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games arts and culture*. Retrieved July 29, 2010, from <http://www.toronto2015.org/lang/en/about-toronto/arts-culture.html>
- Tritter, J. Q., and McCallum, A. (2006). The snakes and ladders of user involvement: Moving beyond Arnstein. *Health Policy*, 76, 156-168.

- Trochim, W. M. K. (2006). *Two research fallacies*. Retrieved April 25, 2008, from <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/fallacy.php>
- Urban Aboriginal Peoples Studies. (2010). *Key findings*. Retrieved August 2, 2010, from <http://uaps.ca/knowledge/key-findings/>
- Van Ingen, C. (2003). Geographies of gender, sexuality, and race. Reframing the focus on space in sport sociology. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38 (2), 201-216
- Vancouver Agreement.(2009). *The Agreement*. Retrieved April 29, 2009, from <http://www.vancouveragreement.ca/the-agreement/>
- Vancouver Bid Corporation. (2003). *Sea to Sky Games: Vancouver 2010 bid book* Vancouver B.C.: Author. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/en/about-vanoc/organizing-committee/bid-history/bid-book/-/33726/33714/uezidf/bid-book.html>
- Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games(VANOC) (2006). *Vancouver 2010 sustainability report 2005-6*. Vancouver, B.C.: Author. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from http://www.vancouver2010.com/dl/00/12/12/sustainability-report-2005-06_66d-UT.pdf
- VANOC (2007). *2006-7 sustainability report*. Vancouver, B.C.: Author. Retrieved February 15, 2009 from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/dl/00/35/07/-/35074/prop=data/1t6jgsu/35074.pdf>
- VANOC (2008). *2007-2008 sustainability report*. Vancouver, B.C.: Author. Retrieved February 12, 2009, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/dl/00/62/47/-/62472/prop=data/15948k0/62472.pdf>
- VANOC. (2009). *Aboriginal participation*. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/en/sustainability-and-aboriginal-parti/aboriginal-participation/-/31654/wc0yaf/index.html>
- VANOC. (2009b). *Sustainability stories*. Retrieved March 25, 2009, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/en/sustainability-and-aboriginal-parti/sustainability-stories/-/63136/31658/s4zgna/business-ventures-first-natio.html>
- VANOC. (2010a) *Discover sustainability*. Retrieved February 8, 2010, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/more-2010-information/sustainability/discover-sustainability/>
- VANOC. (2010b). *First Nations Snowboard team*. Retrieved July 8, 2010, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/more-2010-information/aboriginal-participation/success-stories/first-nations-snowboard-team/>

- VANOC. (2010c). Vancouver 2010 Graphic identity. Retrieved March 31, 2010, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/more-2010-information/about-vanoc/the-vancouver-2010-brand/vancouver-2010-graphic-identity/>
- VANOC. (2010d). Four Host First Nations. Retrieved October 18, 2010, from <http://www.vancouver2010.com/more-2010-information/aboriginal-participation/partnerships-and-collaboration/four-host-first-nations/>
- Waitt, G. (2003). Social impacts of the Sydney Olympics. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), 194-215.
- Walker, R. (2003). Engaging the urban Aboriginal population in low-cost housing initiatives: Lessons from Winnipeg. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12 (1), 99-118.
- Walker, R. (2008). Urban municipalities and Aboriginal communities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 17 (1), 21-34
- Wamsley, K., B. (2004). Calgary 1988. In J. E. Findling, and K. D. Pelle (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of the modern Olympic Movement* (pp. 389-397). Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Wamsley, K., B., and Heine, M. K. (1996). Tradition, modernity and the construction of civic identity: The Calgary Olympics. *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, 5, 81-90.
- Wamsley, K., B., and Schultz, G. Rogues and bedfellows: The IOC and the incorporation of the FSFI. *Paper Presented at the Fifth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 113.
- Waterman, S. (1998). Carnivals for elites? the cultural politics of arts festivals. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(1), 54-74.
- Weiler, J., Cavalier, K., and Mohan, A. A conference on the Olympic Games and sustainability. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C..
- Yarbrough, C. R. (2000). *And they call them Games: An inside view of the 1996 Olympics*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press.
- Zimmerman, K. (2010). *Legacies of North American Olympic Winter Games* (July 5th 2010 No. Volume 4). Vancouver: Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC). Retrieved July 10, 2010, from http://www.2010legaciesnow.com/fileadmin/user_upload/About_Us/Media_Releases/Legacies_of_the_2010_Vancouver_Olympic_and_Paralympic_Games_Report_June_2010_Final.pdf

Zirin, D. (2005). *What's my name, fool?: Sports and resistance in the United States*. Chicago, Ill.: Haymarket Books.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell publishing ltd.

MEDIA ARTICLES

2010 Aboriginal business summit. (2006, December 14). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

2010 Aboriginal pavilion to showcase First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples during 2010 winter games. (2009, February 2). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Aboriginal sport gallery opening marks historic milestone for sport in BC. (2008, June 23). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Aboriginals may protest Canada's 2010 Olympics. (2008, April 18). *Agence France Presse -- English*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

AFN and Four Host B.C. First Nations to sign historic Memorandum of Understanding for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (2007, July 11). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

APTN to televise diverse coverage of Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games in a variety of languages: Aboriginal, French and English; -- APTN first Aboriginal network worldwide to broadcast live coverage of the Games -- -- official broadcaster to air 10 hours daily of Olympic Games , all in HD --. (2009, January 13). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Arsenault, C. (2008c, August 22). Canada: Indigenous leaders threaten to protest 2010 Olympics. *IPS - Inter Press Service*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Atkinson, C. (2008a, May 7). Natives free to protest despite 'legacies'. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A4.

Atkinson, C. (2008b, September 13). Deal reached over Sea -to- Sky lands. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S4.

B.C. Assembly of First Nations regional Chief A-In-Chut (Shawn Atleo) calls on Richard Pound to do the honourable thing. (2008, October 20). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Brach, B. (2008, April 17). Natives could protest 2010 Olympics, says Chief Fontaine. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalpost.com/news/canada/story.html?id=452901>

Brady, E. (2010, February 25). Olympic athletes spread world of inclusion for First Nations youth. *USA Today*.

- Bram, A. (2010). *Circassians voice Olympian anger*. Retrieved July 30th, 2010, from <http://iwpr.net/report-news/circassians-voice-olympian-anger>.
- Bramham, D. (2009, October 29). Cowichan knitters win Olympic showcase to the world. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/life/Cowichan+knitters+Olympic+showcase+world/2157672/story.html>
- Bramham, D. (2010, March 6). Aboriginals on the podium? Now, there's a goal. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/sports/2010wintergames/Aboriginals+podium+there+goal/2649454/story.html>
- Briggs, K. (2006, March 2). Native Americans seek Olympic recognition. *Newhouse News Service*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Bula, F. (2010, April 21). Olympic Village to cost city another \$ 32 - million. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S3.
- Canadian Olympic Committee launches Aboriginal Olympian stories school program at the Cowichan 2008 North American Indigenous Games. (2008, August 1). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- CBC (2009, April, 23). Vancouver cuts Olympic Village social housing. *CBC News*, Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/04/23/bc-olympic-village-social-housing.html>
- CBC (2010, April 20). Cut Olympic Village housing: report. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/04/20/bc-olympic-village-social-housing-cuts.html>
- CBC. (2008, March 5). First nations get merchandising deal for Vancouver Olympics. *CBC News*, Retrieved from www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2008/03/05/vanoc-art-deal.html.
- Celebrating the Aboriginal spirit with the Olympic flame; local and national Aboriginal leaders support the Vancouver 2010 Olympic torch relay. (2008, November 21). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Constantineau, B. (2008, October 8). City wants 2028 Olympics. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?id=8ec0d438-0f91-496e-bfc3-d43ee389f80c>
- Constantineau, B. (2009a, November 20). Olympic building project nails down jobs for women, inner city youth, and Aboriginal people. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/life/Olympic+building+program+nails+down+jobs+women+inner+city+youth/2250912/story.html>

- Constantineau, B. (2009b, October 9). Olympic sweater not a Cowichan, Hudson's Bay Company says. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/life/Olympic+sweater+Cowichan+Hudson+Company+says/2083977/story.html>
- Constantineau, B. (2009c, October 15). 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games medals unveiled. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/entertainment/2010+Vancouver+Olympic+Winter+Games+medals+unveiled/2106246/story.html>
- Construction complete on first Vancouver 2010 indoor competition venue: UBC Thunderbird Arena and all 15 venues to showcase Vancouver 2010 venues' Aboriginal art program. (2008, July 7). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Crawford, T. (2010, June 30). B.C. First Nation to build condos on North Shore after new federal bill. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/business/First+Nation+build+condos+North+Shore+after+federal+bill/3222892/story.html>
- Curry, B., and Friesen, J. (2008, April 18). Natives threaten Olympic disruptions; leaders see the Vancouver Games as an opportunity to air their grievances unless progress is made on poverty and land claims. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A1. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Delaney, D. (2009, February 21). Aboriginal contributions to sport honoured in B.C. *The Epoch Times*.
- Delisle, R. (2010, March 21). Counting the Vancouver 2010 Olympics' broken promises. *This Magazine*, Retrieved from <http://this.org/magazine/2010/03/10/olympics-broken-promises-homelessness-vancouver/>.
- Efron, S. (2006, April 8). Native snowboarders set sights on Olympics; Aboriginal sports program introduces young athletes to competition on the hills. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S4. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Elliot, K. (2010, February 9). End poverty. It's not a Game: The poverty Olympics. *Rabble*. Retrieved from <http://www.rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/rabble-staff/2010/02/end-poverty-its-not-game-poverty-olympics>.
- Elmer, J. (2008, December 1). Canada: Concerns over Native rights cloud 2010 Olympics. *IPS - Inter Press Service*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Fournier, S. (2010, February 24). A lasting legacy for First Nations. *The Province*, Retrieved from <http://www.theprovince.com/sports/lasting+legacy+First+Nations/2605951/story.html>

- Fowle, J. (2009, October). Sea to Sky highway: A long run to Olympics. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/sports/Highway+long+Olympics/2153745/story.html>
- Friesen, J. (2008, October 18). Natives decry remark as racist; former IOC VP says reference 'historical'. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A4. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Goar, C. (2008, April 23). Uncomfortable Olympic spotlight. *The Toronto Star*, pp. AA04. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Goar, C. (2008, April 30). First Nations are on board. *The Toronto Star*, pp. AA05. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Government of Canada invests in a construction project under the Aboriginal skills and employment partnership program. (2005, January 17). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hamer, K. (2008, October 1). VANOC campaign promotes Aboriginal athletes. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A7. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- History making protocol agreement signed by the Four Host First Nations for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (2004, November 24). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2005, November 29). Pavilion doors get an Olympic send - off; Premier, Aboriginals wish buon viaggio to B.C. contribution to Turin games. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S3. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2008a, December 23). Stick handling his way through Aboriginal politics; Tewanee Joseph's job co-ordinating bands' involvement in the 2010 games makes him one of the country's most influential natives. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A9. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2008b, August 4). Our turn in the bad - press spotlight is coming and reporters won't have to dig far. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S1. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2008c, March 8). B.C. Natives to develop protest strategy. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S2. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2008d, November 21). Protesters vow to be heard during 2010 games. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A8. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Hume, M. (2010, January 6). Natives to use Olympics to press poverty issues. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A10. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

- Hyslop, L. (2010, February 3). Winter Olympics on slippery slope after Vancouver crackdown on homelessness. *The Guardian*, Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/feb/03/vancouver-winter-olympics-homeless-row>
- Inwood, D. (2007, March 9). Native warriors admit to flag theft. *Vancouver Sun*, Retrieved from <http://www.canada.com/theprovince/news/story.html?id=a6c83a52-952b-4231-a6cc-4ae24328ac3e>
- Irwin, P. (2008, August 6). Olympics: Canada's Games should be 'great': IOC. *Agence France Presse -- English*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Johnson, D. (n.d.). The war of five rings: The Olympic Games' history of war and occupation. *Oil Sands Truth*.
- Kilchling, M. (2008, October 14). Olympic train rolls in; Native protest greets Mississauga whistlestop celebrating 'Canada's games'. *The Toronto Sun*, pp. 2. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Kootenay knitting and Nisga'a Knit and Apparel corp. kick off historic business relationship. (2007, November 16). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Lee, J. (June 16th 2008, First Nations have key role in games. *Vancouver Sun*.
- Levitz, S. (2008b, September 20). Spirit train off rails; protesters vow to block Olympics tour. *The Toronto Sun*, pp. S12. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Levitz, S. (2008a, June 14). Two bands who back Olympics to receive \$34-million. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S2. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Lupik, T. (2007, November 18). First Nations divided over the 2010 Games. *The Georgia Straight*.
- Macklin, B. (2005). Ilanaaq's inspiration gets diddly squat. (2005, May 2). *Vancouver Courier*, pp.26
- Manitoba to participate in 2010 Olympic, Paralympic Winter Games. (2008, March 17). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Mason, G. (2008, October 25). After the apology, time to move on. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A7.
- Mason, G. (2010, June 17). Give first nations the power to help themselves. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A23. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- McIlroy, A. (2008, May 3). Our friend in the North. *The Guardian*, Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/may/03/worlddispatch.annemcilroy>.

- Meet Aqpiq, Marek, and Chelsie: Vancouver 2010 showcases Aboriginal athletes through poster series and invites Aboriginal youth to find your passion in sport. (2007, March 05). *Canadian Corporate Newswire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Meet Travis, Sammy, and Leah - the latest Aboriginal athletes to be highlighted in the Vancouver 2010 inspirational poster series aimed at Canadian youth. (2009, March 26). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Meissner, D. (2009, December 27). From a single feather to a top-flight program; Aboriginal snowboard team hopeful sign for First Nations athletes. *The Toronto Star*, pp. S05.
- Mick, H. (2009, February 20). Shred nation. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Mickleburgh, R. (2008a, August 19). Politics unravels Aboriginal athlete's plan to wear traditional garb. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A9.
- Mickleburgh, R. (2008b, July 8). \$ 47.5 - million hockey arena at UBC ready, under budget; VANOC announces 5,000-seat rink under budget and unveils landmark program to showcase native art. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A7. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Mickleburgh, R. (2008c, October 22). B.C. premier slams Pound's 'savages' remark; calls grow for VANOC board member's resignation. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A8. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Mickleburgh, R., and Wingrove, J. (2008, November 21). Passing the torch through Native hands. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A1. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Mickleburgh, R., Peritz, I., and Friesen, J. (2008, October 24). IOC rules out inquiry into Pound's remarks; A misunderstanding, ethics commission says. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A4. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Minister Emerson delivers keynote address at tourism British Columbia 2010 Aboriginal business summit and unveils the Royal Canadian Mint's Four Host First Nations gold coin. (2007, February 2). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Morris, J. (2007, March 6). Posters reveal Games' new face. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S1. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Morrow, F. (2009, February 3). Vancouver to host 'the world's biggest potlatch'. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. R4. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- New snowboarding program for inner city youth aims to develop self esteem and snowboarding skills. (2005, February 10). *Market News Publishing*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

- Newfoundland and Labrador to be highlighted at Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (2008, July 4). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Newham, S. (2008, August 14). Native snowboarders reach for podium; team members head for YWCA-sponsored weekend training camp. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. S3.
- Nova Scotia formalizes support for Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (2008, January 29). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Olympic dreams, economic partners: Ovide mercredi to take centre stage at aboriginal summit in February. (2003, December 2). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Olympic-sized legacy project. (2008, April 23). *Market News Publishing*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Paley, D. (n.d.) Shades of Green: Eco- Games or Ecocide?. *Oil Sands Truth Pound*. (2008, October 22). *CTV Television, Inc.* Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Protest, don't disrupt. (2008, April 19). *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A20. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Province of British Columbia: First Vancouver 2010 indoor competition venue completed. (2008, July 8). *M2 PressWIRE*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- RBC appoints Phil Fontaine as special advisor. (2009, September 2). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Robinson, R., and Media, S. (2008, July 20). A tale of two nations; new centre showcases Squamish and Lil'wat cultures. *The Toronto Sun*, pp. T4. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Rook, K. (2009, August 17th) Musqueam Design on Team Canada Jerseys. *Blue Corn Comics* retrieved April 13th from <http://www.bluecorncomics.com/2009/08/musqueam-design-on-team-canada-jerseys.html>
- S.W. (May 2008). The Games have already begun. *Earth First*.
- Service, S. N. (2008, March 12). Human Rights council holds interactive dialogue on reports on right to adequate housing and on minority issues. *States News Service*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.
- Shaw, C. (2008, August 12) When Olympic illusion becomes out-and-out deception. *The Republic of East Vancouver*, pp. 4.
- Simpson, Jeffrey. (2008, April 18). Just say no to boycott - we shouldn't mix politics and games. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A17.

Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre receives \$ 350,000 funding commitment; RBC foundation partners with Squamish and Lil'wat Nations to share First Nations artistic and cultural traditions with whistler visitors and residents. (2006, February 8). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Staff. (2008, October 13). 2010 Winter Games protesters block rail track. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A10.

Tewanee Joseph: Vancouver games mean no more dime store Indians. (2009, October 20). *The National Post*, Retrieved from <http://network.nationalpost.com/np/blogs/fullcomment/archive/2009/10/20/tewanee-joseph-vancouver-games-means-no-more-dime-store-indians.aspx>

The government of Canada supports aboriginal participation in 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (2008, September 4). *Marketwire (Previously Known as CCN Matthews)*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

United signs letter of intent with Lil'wat First Nations of Whistler, B.C. to joint venture security services for the 2010 Olympics. (2007, December 24). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 and the Four Host First Nations Society announce historic Aboriginal licensing and merchandising program for the 2010 Winter Games. (2008, March 5). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 announces programming for cultural Olympiad 2008; call for 2009/10 proposals; major two-year countdown concert. (2007, November 29). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 cultural Olympiad 2008 takes the stage. (2008, February 1). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 names six Aboriginal flame attendants, torchbearers and honorary elder fire keepers for Vancouver 2010 Olympic torch relay. (2009, October 19). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 Paralympic torch relay to visit 11 communities in 10 days across Canada starting March 3, 2010 ; Coca-Cola, RBC, province of B.C. join government of Canada in support of relay. (2009, November 5). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 torchbearers everyday Canadians committed to a better Canada; 70 per cent (8,500) of 12,000 positions available to the public. (2009, October 28). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Vancouver 2010 unveils iconic Canadian designs for 2010 Olympic torch and torchbearer uniform; bombardier-designed torch represents undulating beauty of Canada's landscape. (2009, February 12). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

VANOC ends 2007 on track and ready for operational phase in 2008. (2007, December 18). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Wente, M. (2008, October 25). What Dick Pound said was really dumb - and also true. *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, pp. A21. Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.

Yukon to showcase its unique northern character to the world during the Vancouver 2010 Winter Games. (2008, September 12). *Canada NewsWire*, Retrieved from Lexis Nexis.