Alberta Ski Resorts on the Eastern Slopes and Environmental Advocacy: Conservation Politics and Tourism Developments in Kananaskis Country, 1980-2000

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Abstract

This study investigates ski resort development and proposals on the eastern slopes of Alberta between 1980 and 2000 with a specific focus on Kananaskis Country. It highlights issues between conservation imperatives and recreation and sport development. It examines the site selection for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games to uncover the provincial government and Olympic Organizer's lack of concern towards environmental issues and disregard for concerns brought up by environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs), recreational skiers, and the public. An analysis of conservation politics regarding the site selection of Mount Allan, the potential use of Mount Whitehorn (Lake Louise), and the Spray Lakes Ski Resort proposal looks closely at the strategies used by ENGOs to advocate for the environment.

Through an exploration of conservation politics and land-use debates, this research project probes the role of Kananaskis Country as a multiple-use landscape to argue that between 1980 and 2000, a pro-development provincial government placed minimal value on environmental knowledge and expertise and chose to sacrifice important Alberta mountain habitats for ski resort development and economic gains. This was contrary to opposition from ENGOs, like the Sierra Club of Western Canada, and the public, who utilized strategic discourse to draw attention to environmental threats as a form of resistance to government decision-making. Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed used the creation of the multiple-use area Kananaskis Country to leverage recreational developments and create a "playground" for Calgarians that would also create an Olympic legacy. In the late 1990s, Premier Ralph Klein cancelled the Spray Lakes ski resort project and placed a moratorium on Kananaskis Country development. In December 2000, he established Spray Valley Provincial Park after strong pressure from the public and ENGOs, which lead to increased public approval in time for the Spring election.

Archival research investigates the ski resort developments based on analysis of government documents and letters, newspaper clippings, and materials and letters written by ENGOs, recreational ski clubs, and members of the public. When Mount Allan was proposed as a potential Olympic downhill site in the early 1980s, skiers opposed the development due to poor snow conditions and high winds. ENGOs voiced concerns for wildlife because the mountain provided winter grazing for a variety of ungulates. When Olympic organizers asked the federal government for the use of Mount Whitehorn, ENGOs argued this would go against Parks Canada's policies and would threaten grizzly bear habitat.

Potential resort development at Spray Lakes had been ongoing since the 1970s, and the area had actually been originally selected for the 1988 Games. In the 1990s, the public and ENGOs were clear about their expectations for Kananaskis Country, and more ski resort developments were not wanted. Increased environmental contestations and advocacy exposed government discrepancies which forced a reconsideration of further projects and lead to a moratorium on development in Kananaskis Country in 1999.

The debate over Mount Allan assisted the later protection of Spray Lakes and demonstrates the public's desire to reduce development on the eastern slopes. The opposition to Lake Louise reveals the values placed upon national parks and the importance of protecting these areas from encroaching development and mega-events. A retrospective analysis of ski resort development raises cumulative impacts as change factors that affect the wellbeing of natural environments and their sustainability. Observing the early contestations and later outcomes of these developments offers a longer-range assessment to further inform development in Kananaskis Country.

Dedication

To my family. My mom and dad, Sharon and Glenn, for inspiring my love of the outdoors early in life with walks in the ravine and river valley, and trips to Banff, Jasper, and the B.C. coast. My fiancé, Dalton, for his constant support in my academic work and in pursuing various mountain adventures. My constant companions, Molly and Georgie, for their love of all things outdoors and for always being by my side.

To the memory of my friend, Dorothy Gray, whose support I am forever grateful for.

To the memory of my grandpa, Bert Hobden, who is forever missed.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Alpine Club of Canada
AWA	Alberta Wilderness Association
CAC	Citizens' Advisory Committee
CAJ	Canadian Alpine Journal
CBEC	Calgary Bid Exploration Committee
CNPA	Canadian National Parks Association
CODA	Calgary Olympic Development Association
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CSA	Canadian Ski Association
ECA	Environment Conservation Authority
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
FON	Federation of Ontario Naturalists
F.I.S	Fédération Internationale de Ski
GA	Glenbow Archives
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRP	Integrated Resource Planning
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KCIC	Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee
NDP	New Democratic Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPPAC	National and Provincial Parks Association
OCO'88	1988 Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta
PC	Progressive Conservative
PSC	Petroleum Ski Club
SAA	Ski Action Alberta
SCWC	Sierra Club of Western Canada
SLSDC	Spray Lakes Ski Development Corporation
SPRWE	Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters
TSKUH	Take a Stand for Kananaskis and the Upper Highwood
WMCR	Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies
Y2Y	Yellowstone to Yukon

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Ski resorts are often depicted as attractive developments that allow humans to interact with nature through a perceived ecologically benign form of outdoor recreation. The relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental advocacy is assumed to be positive. However, environmental groups and recreationists alike may challenge recreational developments by defining the type of recreation deemed acceptable on a landscape.[1] More than a sunny traverse of snowy slopes and mountain landscapes, downhill skiing and resorts exemplify a public debate over conservation concerns and public lands that enter the forum of civil society and governance. They also signify human and non-human animals (henceforth called wildlife) interactions in a shared living landscape that call for a renewed and closer look.

Conservation politics include elements of environmentalism such as environmental values and behaviours, environmentalist identities and political action, and dialogues about sustainability. Ski resort development is often assumed external to political contestations; however, construction and site selection may become subject to ecopolitical controversy.[2] In the 1980s and 1990s, the Government of Alberta investigated mountains along the Eastern Slopes as potential recreational ski areas and downhill ski sites for the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympic Games. The process resulted in the creation of one ski resort, the rejection of another, the

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[1] Mark Stoddart, "Leisure, Nature and Environmental Movements in the Mass Media: Comparing Jumbo Pass and the Tobeatic Wilderness Area, Canada," *Leisure Studies* 30, 4 (2011), 408.
[2] Mark Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains: The Political Ecology of Skiing,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 1.

establishment of a new provincial park and a subsequent moratorium placed on development in Kananaskis Country.

It was not without controversy. The Government of Alberta and Olympic organizers were accused of secrecy and disregard for environmental concern. The Progressive Conservative Party, led in turn by Peter Lougheed, Don Getty, or Ralph Klein, was criticized for being pro-development with little environmental knowledge, yet also leveraged Kananaskis as economic and political currency that shifted over time.[3] Debate over how provincially protected areas should be managed and the types of recreation that should be allowed within them culminated with the organization of coalition groups that sought to oppose Kananaskis Country development.

Kananaskis Country is a provincially-managed multiple-use area on the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. Lying outside the tourist hotspot of Banff National Park, it is popular with locals for hiking, biking, cross-country skiing, and snowshoeing.[4] Its increasing popularity, coupled with tourist backflow from the national park, means Kananaskis Country has been and continues to be, subject to a wide variety of development proposals. Current contestations between the provincial government, residents, recreationists, and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) manifest from land-use conflicts, logging, environmental issues, and development proposals.

Established by the Government of Alberta in 1978, Kananaskis Country was envisioned as a provincial protected area as well as an economic generator. Funding for its creation came

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[3] John McInnis and Ian Urquhart, "Protecting Mother Earth or Business?: Environmental Politics in Alberta," in *The Trojan Horse: Alberta and the Future of Canada,* ed. Trevor Harrison and Gordon Laxer, 239-253 (Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 1995), 239.
[4] "Kananaskis Country: Information and Facilities," Alberta Parks, accessed April 30, 2018, https://www.albertaparks.ca/parks/kananaskis/kananaskis-country/information-facilities/.

from the Heritage Trust Fund, which had been embellished with 1970s oil revenues.[5] Originally established in 1959 and 1969 respectively, Bow Valley Provincial Park and Bragg Creek Provincial Park became ensconced in the "Country" concept which was referred to as "an experiment that worked" by Alberta Parks. In the early 1970s, the Alberta Wilderness Association (AWA) and the Environment Conservation Authority (ECA) highlighted the need to protect the area's watershed and natural resources while providing a space for tourism and recreational development. According to Alberta Parks, Premier Peter Lougheed established Kananaskis Country and Kananaskis Provincial Park in 1978 in reaction to this need.[6] Long before, the entire area had been part of Rocky Mountains Park under federal control prior to the National Park Act and Natural Resources Transfer Act that effectively redrew the boundary of what was renamed Banff National Park in a transfer of lands to the Province of Alberta in 1930.[7] The change made way for provincial control over the eastern slopes region but did not end resource use contestations as later history would play out.

Located in the northeast corner of Kananaskis Country, the Nakiska Ski Area is part of the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area. The area was established in 1982 and enlarged in 1986 for the Kananaskis Village and Nakiska. The alpine village provides amenities like restaurants, lodging, the Kananaskis Golf Course, an RV park, and the Boundary Ranch. By 1983, $218 million had been invested into the development of Kananaskis Country from the Heritage Trust Fund with intent for the provincial government to construct roads and private developers to

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[5] "Kananaskis Country History," thecanadianrockies.com, accessed May 6, 2018, http://thecanadianrockies.com/kananaskis-country-history/.
[6] "Kananaskis Country: History," Alberta Parks, accessed December 20, 2017, http://www.albertaparks.ca/kananaskis-country/information-facilities/history.
[7] Paul Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canadas National Parks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 32-34.

continue constructing facilities. To ensure the resort would be a viable winter and summer recreational destination, it was built near an already established golf course.

The Kananaskis Golf Course opened in 1983 after outrage over the diversion of the Evan-Thomas Creek which was criticized as impacting one of the region's most productive stream fisheries. Further opposition occurred when Alberta Environment's Water Resources division recommended rechanneling of the Kananaskis River to save $52,000 in federal-provincial flood damage repairs in 1995. Trout Unlimited Canada and the Alberta Wilderness Association opposed the golf course development due to environmental concerns, and they condemned the rechanneling of the river. They believed "the Kananaskis River [was] being sacrificed for the golf course" and that "we should be managing the golf course around the river, rather than the river around the golf course."[8] Furthermore, Kan-Alta Golf Management Ltd.'s shareholders consisted of "friends and associates of Don Getty, a former teammate of Lougheed's with the Edmonton Eskimos, his once energy minister and soon-to-be-successor in the premier's chair."[9]

The addition of both a golf course and ski resort would make the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area appealing to both summer and winter recreationists and would incur economic benefits to the village area. The Progressive Conservative (PC) government had long-awaited for a "playground" in "Calgary's backyard" and developing the area was an opportunity to bring

[8] Vicki Barnett, "Diversion of River Prompts Outrage," *Calgary Herald*, November 8, 1995.
[9] Matt McClure, "Wildrose Would Scrap Golf Deal, Sell or Lease Kananaskis Course," *Calgary Herald,* April 9, 2015.

tourism to the eastern slopes.[10] The Kananaskis Golf Course was destroyed by flooding in 2013[11] and is currently being reconstructed for a summer 2018 re-opening.

Currently, the City of Calgary is exploring a potential bid for the 2026 Winter Olympic Games, believing costs would be less than recent Olympics due to existing facilities that were originally built for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games.[12] However, recent controversy regarding economic spinoff from the games echoes concerns heard in the past.[13] Potential venues for the downhill ski events include both Lake Louise Ski Resort and Nakiska Ski Area, which were subject to controversy when they were proposed for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games. International events like the Olympics were not allowed in National Parks, but the 2026 Calgary Bid Exploration Committee (CBEC) has indicated an interest in Lake Louise.[14]

Through an analysis of evolving perspectives towards conservation, land-use, recreation, and tourism and sport developments, this study charts the changing role of protected areas in Alberta. It echoes the idea that parks are increasingly important to conservation while acting as a reminder that current contestations require extensive examination to ensure parks provide adequate protection for wildlife and natural resources. It analyzes artifacts of Kananaskis Country history as significant landscapes in the evolution of conservation advocacy and protected area development as well as citizen support for conservation.

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[10] Whyte Museum and Archives, E.J. Hart, "The Great Divide: Conservation vs. Development in Alberta's Mountain National Parks, 1905-2005," University of Calgary Department of History Colloquium Series, January 20, 2005, 11.
[11] Mark Brody, "Area Courses Hit Hard by Flood; Kananaskis Closes for Season," *Calgary Herald,* June 24, 2013.
[12] Gary Mason, "If Calgary Bids for 2026 Winter Olympics, it will Probably Win," *The Globe and Mail*, November 25, 2017.
[13] James Wood, "Notley Sounds Cautious Note About Backing a Potential Calgary Olympic Bid," *Calgary Herald*, November 23, 2017..
[14] Cathy Ellis, "Banff Candidates Weigh in on Olympic Games Participation," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, October 5, 2017.

1.1 Research Question

The purpose of this study is to analyze conservation politics in terms of sport and tourism developments. The main research questions are: 1) how was site selection for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games undertaken and were environmental issues addressed?; 2) how did environmental groups strategically participate in conservation politics?; and 3) what is Kananaskis Country's role as a multiple-use landscape? I argue that a pro-development provincial government established Kananaskis Country with limited value in environmental knowledge and environmental expertise and chose to employ the multiple-use concept by sacrificing important Alberta mountain habitats to ski resort developments. This was contrary to opposition from environmental groups and the public who engaged in strategic discourse and drew attention to the impacts development would have on mountain wildlife as a means to resist governmental decision-making. The government used parks as a mode of exhibiting pro-environmental behaviour to garner public political support while economically capitalizing on the tourism benefits afforded by development. Conservation advocates acted as public advisors to produce scientific knowledge and engage Albertans in arguing for better environmental protection. They also operated, aware of leverage and pressure group politics, to squeeze the government toward conservation in decision making for parks and protected areas. Evidence also emerges to indicate the ongoing public support for conservation of the eastern slopes and specifically the Kananaskis.

Important developments like ski resorts for tourism and mega-events like the Winter Olympics dominated the landscape because they provided immediate gratification. Long-term benefits like wildlife habitat and forest and watershed protection were overlooked as their crucial role in mitigating environmental issues was not initially apparent. Accessibility and cost were

important factors in tourism developments, and my thesis will explore the ignored but significant issues that continue to affect the feasibility of ski resorts on the eastern slopes today.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One provides an introduction and overview of the research project as well as a literature review and discussion of methodology. Chapter Two focuses on the site selection process for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and studies environmental contestations surrounding ski resort developments in the 1980s and 1990s.

Chapter Two is a case study of the downhill ski site selection process for the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympic Games with a specific focus on environmental issues. Mount Allan was eventually chosen for the development of the Nakiska Ski Area despite strong opposition from skiers and environmental groups. I will argue that the Nakiska Ski Area was pushed forward as a key Olympic downhill ski site by the Government of Alberta because of its existing commitment and investment in the area despite environmental and feasibility concerns. I examine the lack of strong public support and demand for a ski resort on Mount Allan and uncover the government's ignorance of environmental issues surrounding resort development. I engage John Bale's interpretation of landscape transformation to explore the transformation of Mount Allan into a sports landscape.[15] Through archival review and analysis, this chapter focuses on Government of Alberta letters, documents, memos, and meeting minutes, as well as archival newspaper articles, Olympic documents, and letters to and from environmental groups.

Chapter Three examines environmental contestations and advocacy with regards to ski resort development in Kananaskis Country. I investigate the opposition to the development of

[15] John Bale, *Sports Geography,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003).

Mount Allan for the Olympic Games, the potential use of Lake Louise for the Olympic men's downhill events, and the proposed construction of another ski resort at Spray Lakes. I will argue that environmental groups enacted symbolic and scientific mobilization of "wild" animals to draw attention to the provincial government's lack of environmental concern and leverage the politics of advocacy in Alberta throughout the 1980s and 1990s. I draw on Mark Stoddart's work on the environmental ambiguity of ski resorts and the symbolic mobilization of "wild" animals by environmental groups.[16] I also engage Tim Ingold's dwelling perspective to view Kananaskis Country as a cultural landscape artifact of environmental advocacy and multiple-use.[17] This chapter focuses on archival material from the Sierra Club of Western Canada, the Government of Alberta, as well as newspaper articles and relevant secondary literature.

[16] Mark Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains;* Mark Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas: Animals and the Meaning of Skiing Landscapes in British Columbia, Canada," *Nature and Culture* 6, 1 (Spring 2011).
[17] Tim Ingold, "Building, Dwelling, Living: How Animals and People Make Themselves at Home in the World," in *Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill,* 172-188 (London: Routledge, 2000).

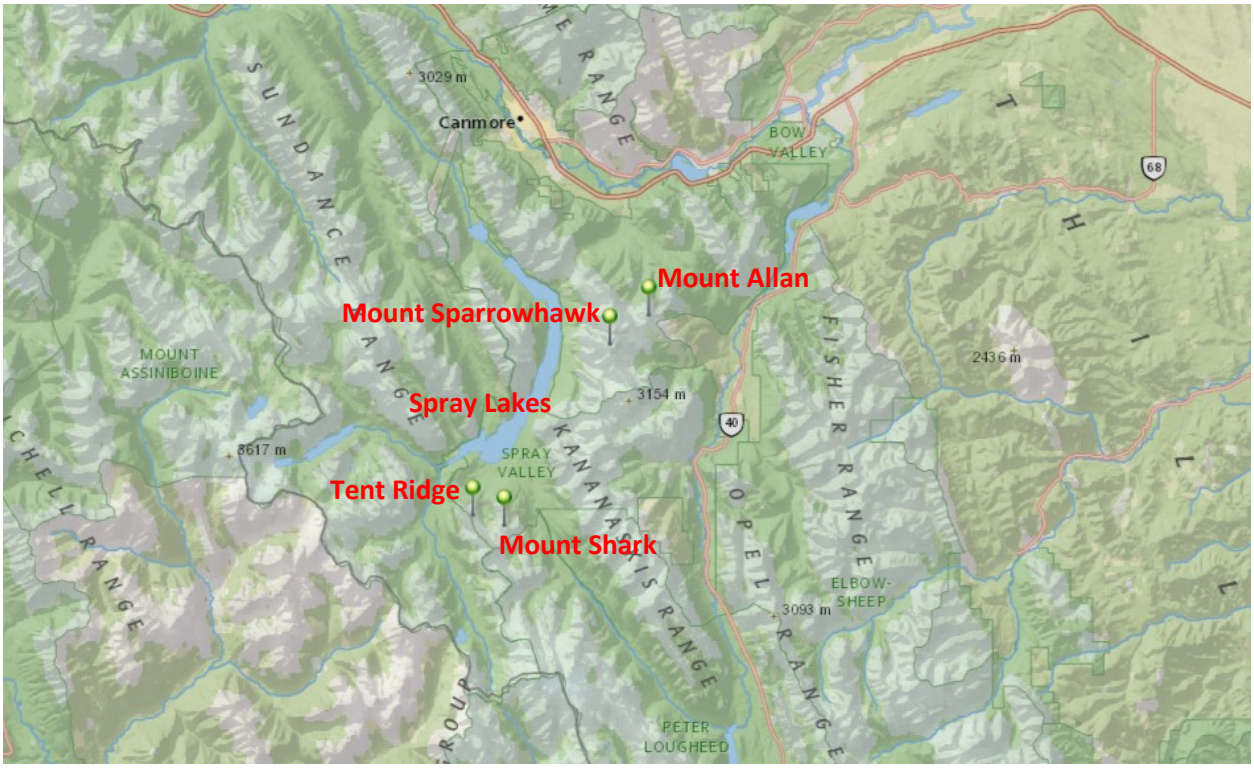

Fig. 1: Map of the Mountains Involved in Ski Site Selection in Kananaskis Country
Sources: National Geographic, Esri, Garmin, HERE, UNEP-WCMC, USGS, NASA, ESA, METI, NRCAN, GEBCO, NOAA, increment P Corp.

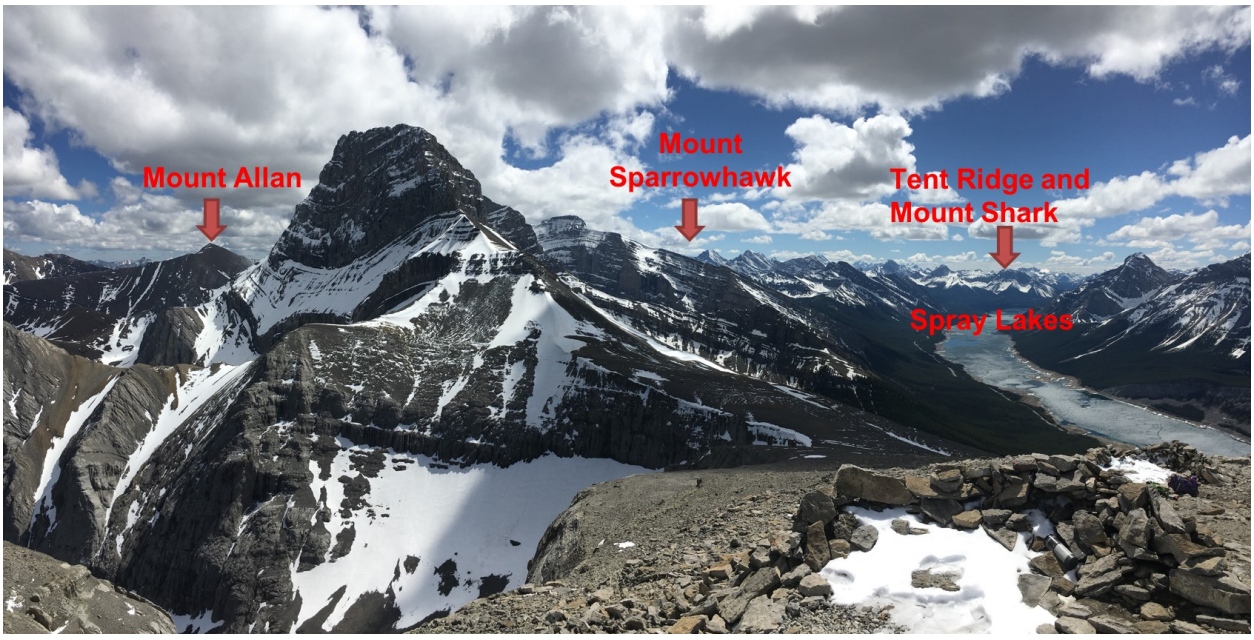

Fig. 2: Picture of the Mountains Involved in Ski Site Selection in Kananaskis Country. The picture was taken from the west, looking east.
Sources: Michelle Murphy, personal trip, May 19, 2018.

Chapter Four summarizes the findings from both studies in a final analysis to closely examine conservation imperatives versus development initiatives in Kananaskis Country. It compares historical contestations with current conflicts to reflect on the protected landscape as a multiple-use area and suggest ways forward. This research adds to the literature on Olympic protest, environmental advocacy in tourism facilities, and park-making in Canada. A retrospective analysis of ski hill development in Kananaskis Country public investment in recreation facilities raises cumulative impacts as change factors that affect the wellbeing of natural environments and their sustainability. Observing the early contestations and later outcomes offers a longer-range assessment to inform current recreational developments and Olympic bids.

1.3 Literature Review

This literature review is an exploration of conservation, ideas of nature and landscapes, land-use debates, park-making, non-governmental organizations, and mountain recreation and sport in Alberta and North America. It begins by introducing early overarching conservation ethics that shaped North American land-use policies to provide context for the origins of park-making. The economic and tourism considerations that played a critical role in early parks will be examined, and a summary of park-making and conservation advocacy in Canada and Alberta will be presented. Geographical, anthropological, and sociological concepts will be introduced as analytical tools for interpreting the archival material. The literature review intersects the subfields of environmental and natural history, recreational history, conservation, park management and land use planning, and tourism and sport developments to situate Kananaskis Country tourism developments within the larger context of protected areas in Canada.

Early Conservation, Nature, and Landscapes

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth-century concerns about mismanaged natural resources were growing in Canada and North America. Two lines of thought emerged, utilitarian conservation and romantic preservation. The former supporting proper management of resources for continued and future use; and the latter embracing a spiritual connection between humans and nature, advocating for the preservation of the sublime and picturesque.[18] Emerging Canadian conservation ideas were a complex construction of financial motivations, tradition, and a growing desire for new non-monetary ideologies of making nature useful.[19] The use of land reflected changing society goals of human and capital resource exploitation.[20]

Those interested in resource exploitation were concerned with finite and mismanaged resources within the 'national commons,' and hoped to regulate forest exploitation, fishing, hunting, and improve public health.[21] It appears that conservation arose from economics and a desire to control and regulate nature. Utilitarian conservation ideologies were common across North America, and there was a 'continental commons' of shared natural resources between Canada and the United States that was managed through international treaties.[22] The utilitarian ethic became the commanding discourse in North American wilderness ideologies, but Claire

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[18] Neil S. Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment to the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012), 68.
[19] George Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadians/Revue d'Atudes Canadiennes,* 11, (1976), 28.
[20] C.A. Moffatt, "Private Provision of Rural Recreation Opportunities," in *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Evolution in Canada,* eds. John Marsh and Geoffrey Wall, 123-132 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 123
[21] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment,* 34.
[22] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment,* 35.

Campbell believes the romantic perspective was crucial to informing passive, low-impact recreational activities that depended upon perceived nature.[23]

In, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," George Altmeyer suggests the interaction between humans and the natural environment was pertinent to the Canadian identity. National identity was represented through two "wilderness" symbols, the beaver and the maple leaf, which portrayed the country's natural heritage. However, nature was often depicted as frightening and propagated the idea that the relationship between Canadians and nature was negative.[24] Vocabulary used to describe nature attempted to elicit emotional responses using words like sublime, picturesque, or pastoral. The sublime depicted gloomy and menacing landscapes like Niagara Falls; whereas picturesque landscapes were pastoral, simple, and primitive.[25] Nature threatened human existence, and unlike in the United States, Canadians were unable to "push back" their wilderness.[26]

Shelagh Grant believes that by calling an area "wilderness" the Indigenous Peoples are erased from the landscape. She explores the concept of Arctic wilderness as a figment of outsider imagination that is not supported by historical fact. She argues that this "pristine wilderness" belief is not compatible with an Indigenous way of life. Two myths emerge in Canadian culture – the Arctic Wilderness Myth and the Myth of the North, and both are often held by southern Canadians to distinguish a uniquely Canadian and northern landscape as a means of nationalistic pride and identity formation.[27] A wilderness appreciation movement spread into Canada to

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[23] Claire E.W. Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 142.
[24] Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," 21.
[25] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment,* 69.
[26] Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," 21.
[27] Shelagh D. Grant, "Arctic Wilderness – and Other Mythologies," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33, 2 (1998), 28.

celebrate the "vast, unspoiled territory that set them apart from the Old World."[28] The myths preceded explorers and fueled their travel desires.[29]

Victorian exploration was motivated by the idea of discovery. It informed local knowledges in a European context and was associated with European power relations. [30] The notion of wilderness in North America was adopted from European perspectives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The word, wilderness, is from the Anglo-Saxon concept of *wildeor*-ness which means "a place of wild beasts" and it creates sublime and terrifying imagery. North American wilderness was given a more tender portrayal as a refuge from urbanization.[31] Landscape was viewed in pristine, pre-colonized depictions and given aesthetic significance. Imperial discoveries erased previous influences on the land, only giving meaning to the imagery of the colonizer. [32]

North Americans often believed the first European explorers had witnessed untouched wilderness and neglected to recognize the influences of Indigenous Peoples who had changed their landscapes for thousands of years.[33] Julie Cruikshank explores this idea through oral traditions of Indigenous Peoples living in the Saint Elias Mountain range that forms an invisible boundary between Alaska and the Yukon. When the United States purchased Alaska in 1867, Canada was involved in border discussions, but with disregard to the Indigenous groups who had lived in the area all along. The idea of "nature" became culturally constructed as a "primordial

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[28] Grant, "Arctic Wilderness," 29.
[29] Grant, "Arctic Wilderness," 30.
[30] Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands, "The Cultural Politics of Ecological Integrity: Nature and Nation in Canada's National Parks, 1885-2000," *International Journal of Canadian Studies/ Revue Internationale d'études Canadiennes*, 39-40 (2009), 163.
[31] Grant, *Arctic Wilderness,* 29.
[32] Mortimer-Sandilands, "The Cultural Politics of Ecological Integrity," 164.
[33] Sean Kheraj, "Restoring Nature Ecology, Memory and the Storm History of Vancouver's Stanley Park," *Canadian Historical Review* 88, 1 (2010), 603.

natural world" discovered by European explorers. Indigenous Peoples did not exist in explorer minds, and Cruikshank believes this reflects modern park creation.[34]

Contrasting this idea of erasing Indigenous Peoples from the land, some European wilderness beliefs were further intensified by "inhabitants of a barbaric wilderness" that was "naturally [sic] cruel and treacherous." This enhanced the sublime imagery elicited from the perceived Canadian wilderness and reflected the "rough treatment" explorers received from Indigenous travel companions.[35] Campbell explores the idea of an intractable wilderness where Indigenous, "uncivilized people" became the "antithesis of civilization for Upper Canada."[36] Romantic ideas of Indigenous Peoples presided over the more-common disapproval of their traditions and way of life. Romantics saw Indigenous Peoples as symbols of an "innate, primitive virtue untainted by the decadence of civilization,"[37] and their presence confirmed the primeval state of a landscape.[38]

Indigenous Peoples of North America did not view nature as a refuge. Instead, it was a sacred place that must be cared for by humans. There was no separation between humans and nature[39] and sacred spaces were not areas of utilitarian values. For the Inuit, land was considered communal and political tensions occurred when hunting and fishing restrictions were placed on them.[40] Natural resources that Indigenous groups relied on were often subject to regulations, creating barriers for camping, traveling, gathering, hunting, and fishing. They continuously

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[34] Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 214-215.
[35] Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind,* 97.
[36] Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind*, 98.
[37] Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind*, 101.
[38] Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind*, 102.
[39] Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991)*,* 25.
[40] Grant, *Arctic Wilderness,* 36.

found themselves excluded from the commons to make room for parks.[41] Their influences on landscapes were often ignored by North Americans.[42]

Western images of wilderness became myths that disregarded Indigenous perceptions of landscapes.[43] In the mid-nineteenth century, nature was important to leisure. People believed they were entering a natural and purer environment. In North America, the parks movement evolved in the 1850s and 1860s and stemmed from a dissatisfaction of industrialization on the land.[44] Governmental desire to ensure natural resources were not over-exploited fueled park creation, but there were romantic preservationist ideologies present in public debate.[45] The public "began to see nature as the tonic for an unhealthy urban life."[46]

Nature was idealized as a "Benevolent Mother, acting as a refuge from the boring and unhealthy aspects of urban life, as a means of stiffening the backbone of a slacking race and as a teacher of natural values…" Altmeyer discusses this portrayal through the Canadian "back to nature movement" that saw a desire for natural spaces to escape urbanity and to share nationalistic pride in opening the West. The movement had spread from the United States where there was a concern for lost nature.[47]

In *Bodies of Nature,* Phil Macnaghten and John Urry present a collection of essays to address a "culture of nature" that draws from perceived natural areas for enhancement of leisure experiences. The collection argues that varying social practices create cultural constructs of

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[41] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment*, 45.
[42] Kheraj, *Restoring Nature Ecology,* 603.
[43] Grant, "Arctic Wilderness," 34.
[44] Wilson, *The Culture of Nature*, 22-24.
[45] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment*, 77.
[46] Wilson, *The Culture of Nature*, 24.
[47] Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," 27.

nature.[48] The notion of landscape contrasts with the quantitative idea of land. Landscapes are not "natural," but are modes of visual consumption that contribute to relaxation and are designed by humans for leisure purposes.[49] Simon Schama excavates the idea of landscape to show how pieces of cultural design can inform historians on how current landscapes culminated.[50] He contrasts environmental history and landscape history[51] to show that a separation of humans from the environment is impossible, and should instead be celebrated. The detrimental impact of humans on earth's ecology can be reflected on by revealing the rich historical landscapes in which we dwell. [52]

The North American Parks Movement

The parks movement spread across North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and people were inspired to preserve landscapes perceived as natural.[53] Late nineteenth-century North Americans moved to cities and the United States dubbed this "the closing of the frontier," while Canadians called it "the opening of the West."[54] Nature's grandeur was within pristine parks, which would become useful for recreation and tourism.[55] In the United States, nature and the Indigenous Peoples had been pushed back by colonial settlement, and preservation of what nature was left was becoming a key concern. In Canada, however, natural

[48] Phil Macnaghten and John Urry, "Bodies of Nature: Introduction," in *Bodies of Nature* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2001), 1-4.
[49] Macnaghten and Urry, "Introduction," 6.
[50] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1995), 16.
[51] Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 13.
[52] Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 14.
[53] Kheraj, "Restoring Nature Ecology," 580.
[54] Robert McDonald, "'Holy Retreat' or 'Practical Breathing Spot'?: Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park 1910-1930," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (1984): 25.
[55] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment,* 78.

areas were vast and the idea of preserving them did not gain popularity as quickly.[56] However, Canadians celebrated their "unspoiled territory" as a form of cultural identity.[57]

In *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada's National Parks,* Paul Kopas writes that parks grew from a feeling of inferiority to the structures in Europe that created an atmosphere of "cultural grandeur."[58] American nationalists craved national prestige and felt the uniqueness of the country's wilderness could satisfy this. American parks were a means of nationalism and commercialism, but Canadian national parks evolved and were shaped by five main ideas. Parks acted as symbols of national identity and prestige, economic and social policy instruments for governmental control over natural resources, modes of shaping environmental policy for wildlife and habitat protection and representations, "[spectacles] of wilderness," and as artifacts to represent Canadian natural heritage. Parks became "fragments of Canada's wilderness landscape [that] are not meant to be realistic presentations of current environmental conditions."[59]

In Canada, national parks were formed through a medley of conservation, recreation, and tourism.[60] Formerly known as Rocky Mountain National Park, Banff National Park was discovered through imperial discovery and became Canada's first national park in 1885. The hot springs allowed for commercial development to enhance the so-called wilderness. Priority was placed on this development and tensions formed between preservation and profits. The public valued landscapes given the status of Dominion parks and imagined as newly-confederated

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[56] Wilson, *The Culture of Nature*, 25.
[57] Grant, *Arctic Wilderness*, 29.
[58] Kopas, *Taking the* Air, 25.
[59] Kopas, *Taking the Air,* 2, 4, 6, 8, 10.
[60] PearlAnn Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise: Making Canada's Mountain Parks, 1906 to 1974* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2014), 4.

territories.[61] Environmental protection was initially neglected, but senior policy makers and public pressure groups soon became instrumental in its advancement.[62]

Canada's national parks are closely tied with mountaineering history, and organizations like the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) played a key role in shaping parks and recreation. PearlAnn Reichwein explores the social, cultural, and political contributions of the ACC to park making in Canada. The ACC was a voluntary organization that became central to park establishment through land-use and resource-management policies. They emphasized people in parks and established their first campgrounds and climbing areas in the Canadian Rockies.[63]

The ACC transpired from the desire to ensure access and protection for parks that celebrated Canada's mountain heritage.[64] Early members felt "a sense of place and a land ethic" that informed environmental discourse in Canada and the club was prevalent in illustrating concerns for policy and public opinion. The ACC's vision was proliferated through storytelling and the club's key publication, *The Canadian Alpine Journal (CAJ),* which epitomized mountain narratives to "offer a possible epistemology of place predicated on a unity between mountaineers and the environment, rather than their separation."[65]

Leslie Bella argues the Canadian National Parks were designed for profit and they represent a compromise between economic gain and preservation ideologies. Shifting park boundaries became common practice to allow for resource exploitation outside of national parks.[66] Bella discusses the erosion of parks through resource extraction, development, and

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[61] Mortimer-Sandilands, "The Cultural Politics of Ecological Integrity," 164-165.
[62] Kopas, *Taking the Air*, 44.
[63] Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise,* 4, 6.
[64] Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment,* 78.
[65] Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise*, 7-8, 10.
[66] Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1987), 1-2.

shifting borders to attest that "scenic resources were not sacred."[67] Threats of disestablishment and budget cuts add to park erosion and Bella believes the handling of these main issues will determine the future of preservation in the Canadian park system. She states contributions from environmentalists, Indigenous Peoples, park employees and administration, and politicians will determine the future of Canada's parks.[68]

Paula Saari believes that, between the 1930s and 1960s, culturally-constructed ideas about parks transformed from usefulness and recreation to wilderness museums. National park promotion in the 1920s focused on health and recreation benefits, and, by the 1930s, parks were promoted as useful and restorative.[69] They were portrayed as world-class resorts and postwar recreational playgrounds that would strengthen Canadian nationalism and provide a return to simplicity and tradition. The idea of wilderness became more prominent in the 1960s when park promotion focused on public education. This reflected a change in North American's attitudes towards environmental issues.[70] By the 1970s, national parks became symbols of "pristine wilderness," devoid of human life.[71] Nature was valuable, and humans were responsible for protecting it. Parks were defined by scientific terms and viewing the landscapes as "playgrounds" became unacceptable. Instead, parks returned to "museums of nature."[72]

In the 1980s, ecological concepts expanded to include the notion that humans were present in natural environments and had been for centuries. This transformation highlights the

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[67] Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 107.
[68] Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 152.
[69] Paula Johanna Saari, "Marketing Nature: The Canadian National Parks Branch and Constructing the Portrayal of National Parks in Promotional Brochures, 1936-1970," *Environment and History* 21, 3 (August 2015): 407, 409-10.
[70] Saari, "Marketing Nature," 413, 416, 421, 434.
[71] Kopas, *Taking in the Air,* 12.
[72] Saari, "Marketing Nature," 436-438.

continually changing ideas surrounding parks confirming they are not created out of one dominating ideology. Parks are created through complex manifestations that lie within a dichotomy between environmental protection for preservation and political promotion of parks for commercial recreation.[73] They conform to culturally-constructed ideals that reflect society's changing views about natural landscapes.[74] Parks serve multiple government mandates and become symbols of recreation and public preservation. They become artifacts of Canadian natural history while continually evolving to reflect present conditions. This process is the subject of my next considerations.

Provincial Parks and Environmental Advocacy

In Canada, provincial protected areas grew after the 1893 establishment of Algonquin Park in Ontario. Utilitarian ideologies shaped the park's creation through the idea that natural resources should be protected for exploitation.[75] The land was set aside for protection as a forest reserve, fish and game preserve, and recreational area. Its primary mandate was not conservation; it was for recreation.[76]

Gerald Killian sees the creation of Algonquin Park as mostly utilitarian because, until the 1930s, it was rare people advocated for the preservation of land for its own sake. In 1931, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) formed to "champion an ecological or preservationist

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[73] Kopas, *Taking in the Air,* 12.
[74] Saari, "Marketing Nature," 402.
[75] Gerald Killian, "Ontario's Provincial Parks and Changing Conceptions of 'Protected Places,'" in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes,"* eds. John Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins, 34-49 (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1996), 34.
[76] Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55* (,2009), 27.

perspective in park policy," and Killian believes this marks the beginning of tension between utilitarian and preservationist ethics in Ontario.[77] In response, a multiple-use policy was introduced that would see a co-existence of recreation and logging usage in the park. This framework persisted into the 1960s until environmentalists and recreationists began to advocate against the year-round logging industry.[78]

Through an examination of the Ontario camping movement, Sharon Wall describes a dichotomous notion about space where natural areas offer what urban landscapes lack. Natural spaces became antidotes to the artificiality of urban life in the mid-twentieth century.[79] Algonquin Park was seen as a paradise for future camping that encompassed a pristine natural space.[80] It was valued for its perceived distance from urbanity while still being accessible to city dwellers and a place for their seasonal summer holiday dwelling even as others lived nearby or had lived and subsisted there as Indigenous hunters or shantymen loggers before its emparkment.[81] This idea is reflected in the creation of Kananaskis Country as an easily-accessible recreational area for Calgarians that had long been an Indigenous territory, then a logging and mining hinterland as well as a remote ranch district.

It is often argued the creation of provincial parks in British Columbia was fueled by ideals of environmental protection propagated by the provincial government. However, Phillip Van Huizen believes some parks were constructs of governmental desire to promote an image of environmentalism rather than to actually protect ecological resources or even to encourage

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[77] Killian, "Ontario's Provincial Parks," 38.
[78] Killian, "Ontario's Provincial Parks," 39.
[79] Wall, *The Nurture of Nature,* 27.
[80] Wall, *The Nurture of Nature,* 43.
[81] "Cultural History," The Friends of Algonquin Park, accessed May 3, 2018, http://www.algonquinpark.on.ca/visit/history/cultural-history.php.

tourism.[82] Environmental activism grew across North America in the 1960s and 70s, resulting in the formation of new environmental groups in British Columbia such as the BC Sierra Club (aligned with Sierra Club US), the Society for Pollution and Environmental Control, and Don't Make a Wave Committee. These groups joined forces with the already well-established BC Wildlife Federation and the Vancouver Natural History Society to oppose the High Ross Dam in Skagit Valley. Governments created parks for political statements to acknowledge environmentalism while maintaining an image and continuing to exploit natural resources. As stakeholders, ENGOs play a crucial role in natural resource protection and wildlife conservation.[83]

The Purcell Wilderness Conservancy in British Columbia manifested during the New Democratic Party's term and was shaped by the divergent perspectives of interest groups who saw different purposes for the land. While some saw ecological value in the natural area, others had built careers in the forestry industry and depended on resource exploitation. Jenny Clayton uncovers the "wilderness politics" and conflict that occurred in the creation of the Conservancy in the Kootenay region.[84] She formulates two interpretations of wilderness in British Columbia: the idea of logging as a means to maintain a certain quality of life, and a post-materialist culture that saw watersheds as more valuable if left untouched. Campaigns led by concerned members of the public reveal a shift towards environmental advocacy in British Columbia.[85] Voices of

[82] Phillip Van Huizen, "'Panic Park' Environmental Protest and the Politics of Parks in British Columbia's Skagit Valley," *BC Studies,* no. 170 (2011), 70.
[83] Huizen, "'Panic Park' Environmental Protest," 74, 92.
[84] Jenny Clayton, "'Human Beings Need Places Unchanged by Themselves': Defining and Debating Wilderness in the West Kootenays, 1969-74," *BC Studies,* 170 (2011), 94.
[85] Clayton, "Human Beings Need Places Unchanged," 118.

environmental activism, many local to the Kootenays, helped to shape the formation of provincially protected areas in British Columbia.

In his Master of Art thesis, Alan Mason investigates the development of provincial parks in Alberta and argues they were a manifestation of an "ad hoc process" shaped by a variety of factors over the course of many years.[86] The initial push for provincial parks came from former Premier John E. Brownlee's desire to "make Alberta a more aesthetically pleasing place in which to live."[87] Alberta's first provincial park, Aspen Beach, near Lacombe, was established in 1932 after passing the Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act in 1930.[88]

Guy Swinnerton views the development of provincial parks in Canada as "characterized by an ambiguity of purpose" which often lead to parks serving dual mandates of environmental protection and provision of outdoor recreation.[89] According to Lorelei Hanson, landscapes are social constructions that are culturally constructed and reconstructed, and the purpose of parks often changes with social values. Early public land was valued for agriculture and eventually petroleum because of postwar capitalist technological developments that allowed a utilitarian use of nature.[90]

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[86] Alan Gordon Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks" Master of Arts thesis for the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Alberta, 1988, 15.
[87] Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks," 51.
[88] Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks," 55.
[89] Guy S. Swinnerton, "The Alberta Park System: Policy and Planning," in *Parks and Protected Areas in Canada,* ed. Philip Deardon and Rick Rollins, 111-136 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), 11.
[90] Lorelei L. Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape: The Management of Alberta's Rural Public Lands," in *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, cultures, and Collective Action,* ed. J. Parkins and Maureen Gail Reed, 148-169 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 150, 156.

The Provincial Parks Acts of 1951 and 1964 saw an increase in attention towards natural resource protection.[91] Additionally, the Department of the Environment was established in 1971 to manage environmental policies, services, and programs; however, the Energy Resources Conservation Board would regulate environmental protection. Energy-based diversification was still prioritized over environmental protection and this was especially concerning on the eastern slopes where industrial development appeared "unchecked." A moratorium was placed on the area in 1973 and the Environmental Conservation Authority (ECA) conducted hearings on eastern slopes land use in the early 1970s which lead to the 1977 Policy for Resource Management of the Eastern Slopes. Eight land use zones were created that would permit and restrict various activities with a major focus on managing the watershed. While the policy seemed more conservation-focused, it was criticized for not being legislation.[92]

In 1974, the Provincial Parks Act was rewritten again to allow for "recreation areas" that would be different from provincial parks and prioritize outdoor recreation over preservation. The areas would be smaller than provincial parks and allow for extensive recreation in "natural, modified, or manmade settings."[93] At the same time, the Department of Lands and Forest began to focus on developing public lands for multiple-use. Albertans began to voice their disappointment with environmental regulations and land-use conflicts in the 1980s were not limited to only industrial resource development, but also recreational, agricultural, and traditional uses of land. Despite this, the government continued its multiple-use approach, and, by 1984, a

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[91] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings," 157; Swinnerton, "The Alberta Park System," 113.
[92] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings," 157-158.
[93] Swinnerton, "The Alberta Parks System," 113, 120; "Parks System" Alberta Parks, accessed April 30, 2018, https://www.albertaparks.ca/albertaparksca/management-land-use/parks-system/.

revised Eastern Slopes Policy focused on exploiting natural resources "and backed away significantly from the previous draft's more conservation-based principles."[94]

One critique Hanson provides of public land use in Alberta is that resources were often extracted from rural land for consumers in developing areas. This separates people in urban areas from the exploited land and the environmental consequences become hidden. Furthermore, in government policy, the rural landscape is thought of "not as a place of home/livelihood, as was common in the early 1900s, but as dumping ground, factory, and playground."[95]

Mason notes the creation of Kananaskis Provincial Park as the final developmental phase in the early Alberta Provincial Parks system. It was also the most extensive, with greater recreational pressure placed on it than experienced by any other provincial land after World War II. An increasingly prosperous population coupled with the election of a new government in 1971 fueled the area's establishment. It was the first provincial park within the Rocky Mountains, and Mason analyzes its development as being undertaken with concern for environmental issues.[96] However, Lorelei Hanson and Dave Whitson respectively argue the provincial government was more focused on the economic benefits of outdoor recreation and tourism.[97]

Kananaskis Provincial Park was part of a larger multiple-use area called Kananaskis Country that was managed by the Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee.[98] Mason

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[94] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings," 158, 160.
[95] Hanson, "Changes in Social Imaginings," 160-161, 164.
[96] Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks," 177.
[97] Hanson, "Changes in Social Imaginings"; Dave Whitson, "Nature as Playground: Recreation and Gentrification in the Mountain West," in *Writing Off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001).
[98] Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks," 166.

argues that "the impetus for the development of a large recreational area such as Kananaskis Provincial Park came not from within the park's administration but directly from the politicians." Political support was essential for park creation in the province.[99] The eastern slopes had previously been mainly used for agriculture. However, Canadians were beginning to value nature for leisure and recreational experiences. Protection of the environment became second to the tourism and recreation industry and Alberta Conservative governments, whether lead by Peter Lougheed, Don Getty, or Ralph Klein, were deemed not environmentally concerned.[100] Instead, the Progressive Conservative Party in Alberta favoured large "world-class" recreational resorts.[101]

There is limited historical literature detailing the development of Kananaskis Country and its protected areas. Ruth Oltmann's *The Valley of Rumours… The Kananaskis,* is one of the few published historical examinations of the area. She studies the history of Kananaskis from early Indigenous inhabitants and explorers, to industry, internment camps, recreation, rangers, and forest fires. Parts of Kananaskis were included in Rocky Mountain National Park in the early 1900s and Oltmann recounts the changes in environmental perceptions as Kananaskis evolved through the industrial age and acknowledges environmental conflicts that occurred. As industry declined and people became less dependent on the valley's resources, recreational activities increased, and people became more dependent on the landscape "for spiritual needs."[102]

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[99] Mason, "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks," 169.
[100] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 146; John McInnis and Ian Urquhart, "Protecting Mother Earth or Business?: Environmental Politics in Alberta," in *The Trojan Horse: Alberta and the Future of Canada,* ed. Trevor Harrison and Gordon Laxer, 239-253 (Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 1995), 239.
[101] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 156.
[102] Ruth Oltmann, *The Valley of Rumours… The Kananaskis* (Seebe, AB: Ribbon Creek Publishing Company, 1976), 127.

Jennifer Goertzen's MA thesis, "Controversy and Compromise: The Creation of Kananaskis Country," provides a historical inquiry into the development of Kananaskis Country in the 1970s and 80s. She situates her work to build on Ruth Oltmann's study by expanding the focus to query the factors that led to the establishment of Kananaskis Country and Kananaskis Provincial Park (later renamed Peter Lougheed Provincial Park). To echo Hanson and Whitson, Goertzen argues early provincial parks in Alberta were created for recreation and tourism and not for environmental protection. The contributions of former Premier Peter Lougheed, Clarence Copithorne, and Bill Milne are highlighted and Goertzen acknowledges the works of environmental groups who submitted briefs to the Environment Conservation Authority's hearings.[103] She argues that Kananaskis Country is "a valley of controversy, particularly in regard to development" and it is a responsibility that must be appreciated and protected.[104]

Geographers Herbert and Patricia Kariel examined tourism and sport developments in Kananaskis that lead to the 1988 Winter Olympics. They explore the vast landscape changes that took place in a short amount of time in the late 1970s and early 80s: the construction of three information centres, a large visitor centre, the William Watson Lodge, road upgrades, a 36-hole golf course, a service centre, a small store and restaurant, a private recreational vehicle campground, 3000 campgrounds, 125 day-use picnic areas, a riding stable, 1500 km of trails for biking, hiking and equestrian, and areas for off-road vehicles.[105] While the public favoured

[103] Jennifer A. Goertzen, "Controversy and Compromise: The Creation of Kananaskis Country," MA Thesis for the Department of History, University of Calgary, 2005, 119-120.
[104] Goertzen, "Controversy and Compromise," 121-122.
[105] Herbert G. Kariel and Patricia E. Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley Area, Alberta, Canada, and the Impact of the 1988 Winter Olympic Games," *Mountain Research and Development* 8, 1 (1988), 2.

environmental protection, the government envisioned Kananaskis Country as "prime recreational area" and began preparations to establish Kananaskis Provincial Park.

Mount Allan was identified as a possible location for the Winter Olympics' downhill ski events and was pushed through in the face of opposition.[106] While ten sites had been proposed as potential hosts,[107] Mount Allan was selected for the Nakiska Ski Resort development. Kariel and Kariel cite three main issues with the selection of Mount Allan: the deficiencies of the course and lack of snow, the selection process involved, and environmental concerns. Political and economic considerations became the most important factors for the government. There was already a golf course for summer recreation, so a need for winter recreational opportunities was recognized. While private investors were consulted for site submissions, Kariel and Kariel believe the government had already made its decision.

Various conservation groups expressed concern for wildlife and environmental protection during the Nakiska development. The landscape was renowned as an "exceptional wildlife area" with great density and diversity of species. It provided winter grazing for about 200 bighorn sheep and 120 elk and also provided habitat for moose, mule deer, white-tailed deer, grizzly bears, mountain lions, and mountain goats. Conservationists became concerned that ungulates would be greatly impacted by tourism developments.[108]

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[106] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 4.
[107] Alberta Government Library (hereafter PGL). John G. Oglivy Consulting and Ecosign – Mountain Recreation Planners Ltd., *Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: 1988 Olympic Alpine Venues, Kananaskis Country,* (Jasper, AB: John G. Ogilvy Consulting, 1982), 1.
[108] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 7.

Skiing, Olympic Games, Ecopolitics and Sport Landscapes

Zac Robinson explores early winter recreation in the Canadian Rockies with a focus on alpine ski mountaineering that developed parallel to front country downhill skiing. He examines recreational skiing and its contributions to the economic and cultural processes of the early twentieth century. Ski mountaineering was initially less accepted by Banff residents as it was deemed unsafe, but it grew in popularity throughout the 1930s as the ACC began to publicize it in their journal.[109] Skiing's popularity increased with the middle class in the 1920s leading to the formation of the Banff Ski Club and subsequent construction of the Mount Norquay ski lodge.[110] Ski lodges in Skoki Valley, Deception Pass, and Mount Temple were constructed in 1939 and facilities-oriented recreation with mechanized lifts rose in popularity at the expense of landscape impacts.[111]

Qi Chen and PearlAnn Reichwein investigate the proposed downhill ski resort for Village Lake Louise in 1972 and highlight the role played by conservation advocacy groups like the Canadian National Parks Association (CNPA), which later became the National and Provincial Parks Association (NPPAC), the ACC, and the Bow Valley Naturalists. The groups "[battled] tourism initiatives and the national parks administration" to infuse public advocacy with environmentalist values.[112] The paper illustrates a struggle between infrastructure development and environmental protection that eventually lead to new public policy for Canadian parks.[113]

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[109] Zac Robinson, "Off the Beaten Path? Ski Mountaineering and the Weight of Tradition in the Canadian Rockies, 1909-1940," *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* 24, 10 (2007), 1320.
[110] Zac Robinson, "Off the Beaten Path?," 1328.
[111] Qi Chen and PearlAnn Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise Controversy: Ski Resort Planning, Civil Activism, and the Environmental Politics of Banff National Park, 1964-1979," *Sport History Review,* 47 (2016), 93, 96.
[112] Chen and Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise Controversy," 95.
[113] Chen and Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise Controversy," 106.

An initial difference between the Lake Louise controversy and ski development plans in Kananaskis Country were snow conditions. Kariel and Kariel highlight concern voiced by skiers leading to the creation of Ski Action Alberta as a coalition between downhill skiers and conservation groups.[114] Mount Allan lacked snow and water for artificial snowmaking as it lay beyond the belt of high snowfall and was often subject to high winds. The course for the men's downhill event was not adequate and only barely met the minimum standards.[115] It appears the political and economic desires for a winter facility in a popular summer recreational area outweighed concerns from conservationists and skiers alike.

In her Master of Art thesis, Cheryl Williams analyzes the City of Calgary's failed 1972 Winter Olympic Games bid that attempted to promote Banff National Park as a winter skiing and tourism destination. Environmental groups disputed the use of Lake Louise as an Olympic site and questioned the role of recreation in national parks.[116] Local skiers in Calgary and Banff believed ski facilities were not expanding quickly enough to meet demand.[117] The Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA) used this to its advantage while promoting a bid for the Games. The Olympics would promote amateur sport in Canada and be a much-needed economic stimulus in the Bow Valley area. Increased winter recreational developments would boost tourism as well as appeal to the local skiing community.[118]

Williams further argues "the view that a major sports event, like the Olympics, could make or break a ski resort was promoted to the public by ski publications in the 1960s." CODA

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[114] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 7.
[115] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 8.
[116] Cheryl Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics: Sport, Tourism, and Banff National Park" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 2011), 1.
[117] Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 49.
[118] Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 57, 61.

focused on acknowledging the publicity Banff would receive as a host, often listing the numbers of media representatives that covered previous games as an incentive. As a bid committee, CODA constantly reminded the public of job creation and potential legacies of the Games but provided "vague numerical assurances [that gave] no indication of the number of permanent versus temporary positions to be created, whether these jobs were voluntary or paid, or whether locals themselves would be able to afford to attend the Games had the bid succeeded."[119] Williams sees the desire for Banff National Park to become a popular winter resort as an overarching motivational factor in the push to bring the Winter Olympics to the area. Economic growth was prioritized over environmental preservation.[120]

Kevin Wamsley and Michael Heine see Olympic Games as a "fallacious notion that equates the technical with social progress, inherent in many aspects of the Olympic movement, [and this] has rendered the hosting of summer and winter festivals a rather expensive and grand scale operation." Olympic organizers posit Games as socially and culturally important with economic benefits for host cities. The City of Calgary used concepts of heritage and tradition to link Calgarians to the Games and convince locals they "had a stake in the outcome." Meanwhile, the city would prosper economically.[121]

Calgary Olympic organizers used discursive strategies to mobilize volunteers and socially construct a public identity for Calgary. Wamsley and Heine note that although the discourse was "devoid of meaning" it was "powerful and evocative enough" to personally involve Calgarians in promoting the Games. Organizers focused on urban identity, modernity, and economic benefits;

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[119] Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 63.
[120] Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 98.
[121] Kevin B. Wamsley and Michael K. Heine, "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* V (1996), 81.

and they encouraged the media to deflect problems by highlighting benefits. For example, when downhill ski site selection issues were addressed in a *Calgary Herald* article, it "was juxtaposed with a piece on the high rates of unemployment in the city." Local elite Calgarians tried to legitimize Olympic development by promoting promised economic benefits.[122] Wamsley and Heine argue that "critical concerns about the Olympic movement were never raised and resistance to the event was limited to differences of opinion over site selection and the hiring and firing of personnel."[123]

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, demand for nature holidays complete with specialized goods and services increased. Dave Whitson places skiing in the context of increased tendencies towards family recreation in the postwar era. Albertans had more leisure time, increased disposable income, and wanted to escape urban life for rural recreational opportunities.[124] Private investors began developing and expanding ski resorts to create "mountain villages" that would attract tourists who desired more than just a ski hill. Resorts also needed to incorporate off-season activities to stay economically prosperous when ski season was over. This lead to many ski resort destinations developing (or being developed near) golf courses.[125] Golf became valuable to the economics of ski resorts in Canada. No longer small ski hills, world-class tourism destinations received strong opposition from environmentalists. As argued by Whitson, both sports "take up large tracts of land and require that the land be reshaped and groomed in ways that can have significant environmental effects."[126]

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[122] Wamsley and Heine, "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity," 82-83.
[123] Wamsley and Heine, "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity," 84.
[124] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 146, 148.
[125] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 150, 154.
[126] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 156.

Sociologist Mark Stoddart draws connections between skiing, nature, and pro-environmental values contained within the larger tourism network that produces high volumes of consumer waste and pollution. He argues downhill skiing discourse often reflects the "mountainous sublime;" in reality, most skiers participate within "resort naturecultures."[127] These "naturecultures" provide perceived wilderness to skiers while cultivating the mountain landscape into a skiing sportscape. Stoddart engages the concept of "ecological legitimacy" to show how environmental groups challenge ski resort developments in sensitive habitats and ask developers and governments to justify construction.[128]

Geographer John Bale believes the characteristics central to geography, space and place, are also central to sport. Sport is a spatial science that affects the landscape[129] and spreads outwards to encapsulate regions, nations, and in some cases, the world. He argues that profound landscape changes occur as sport spreads and that some landscapes become landscapes of sport – or sportscapes.[130] "Growth and locational adjustments made by modern sports have created significant changes to the landscape," and while some are temporary, Bale investigates more permanent changes from facilities like golf courses, stadiums, and ski resorts. He uses a humanistic approach to characterize a sporting landscape by its "gradual artificialisation" of the environment.[131]

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[127] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 41.
[128] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains*, 105.
[129] John Bale, *Sports Geography,* 2nd ed, (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.
[130] Bale, *Sports Geography,* 4.
[131] Bale, *Sports Geography,* 129.

The Dwelling Perspective

Martin Heidegger explores the activities of building and dwelling in which "earth is the serving bearer, blossoming and fruiting, spreading out in rock and water, rising up into plant and animal." Dwelling is to be, to remain at peace and to preserve. [132] He looks to the German word bauen, "building," and traces its origins to the Old English word, *buan,* which means "to dwell." The word *barren* means "to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil, to cultivate the vine." He argues that cultivation and construction are both modes of building; wherein the latter is "the raising up of edifices" and the former is the nurturing of land.[133]

Tim Ingold's notion of the 'dwelling perspective' draws on Heidegger's work to reconcile the barriers between biological evolution and cultural history to imagine landscapes as stories that are constantly influenced by humans. He argues that the notion of building was once found within dwelling, but this has now been switched. Reversal is crucial to the understanding of how construction and cultivation contribute to dwelling. The landscape acts as a living memory and its environment is constantly transformed by the organisms that dwell within.[134]

In Ingold's essay, "The Temporality of the Landscape*,"* he discusses the notion of landscape as a cultural story of dwelling. It encompasses the history of those who previously dwelled within and "and played their part in its formation." Therefore, by perceiving a landscape, we are enacting memorials and remembering becomes an activity of engaging with an

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[132] Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought* trans. By Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1971), 149.
[133] Heidegger, *Building Dwelling Thinking,* 147.
[134] Tim Ingold, "Building, Dwelling, Living: How Animals and People Make Themselves at Home in the World," in *Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill,* 172-188*,* (London: Routledge, 2000), 172-173.

environment to exhume the memories of the past.[135] The concept "landscape" is not depicted spatially as land or nature. It is not quantitative and homogenous like land and is not a physical reality like nature. It is qualitative, heterogeneous, and is within the domain of dwelling. Boundaries can be drawn into landscapes and meanings can be harvested. Landscapes "[are] the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them."[136] To temporalize a landscape is to acknowledge that it is dynamic, ever-changing, and shaped through dwelling.[137]

1.4 Methodology

This thesis project engages in historical and archival research through a qualitative methodological approach. This type of qualitative research will allow a detailed examination of historical documents that situate the place of Kananaskis Country tourism and recreational developments within contested politics.

1.4.0 Historical Research

Historical research strengthens human awareness through the re-creation of past events to offer novel interpretations.[138] It allows for a reconstruction of critical human questions from the examination of recorded events.[139] Primary and secondary sources provide a foundation for the

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[135] Tim Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape," in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill,* 189-208 (London: Routledge, 2000), 187.
[136] Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape," 192-193.
[137] Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape," 200-201.
[138] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History,* 5th edition (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2010), 53.
[139] Lynée L. Gaillet, "Archival Survival: Navigating Historical Research," in *Working in the Archives: Practical Research Methods for Rhetoric and Composition,* ed. Alexis E. Ramsey,

analysis to situate my topic in the history of Alberta provincial parks and protected areas. Primary sources are "original sources" of information that are contemporary with the studied event and provide first-hand evidence.[140] For this study, primary sources include government and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) reports, letters, meeting minutes, memos, campaigns, newspaper clippings, and photographs. Primary materials like newspapers and private organization or government reports are intended to be public and influence public opinion. Anthony Brundage highlights the importance of considering the political orientation of organizations that produced primary materials. Therefore, it is crucial to collect information on events from a multitude of sources.[141] For this research project, I cross-referenced findings between letters and various newspaper articles to ensure consistency. Secondary sources are constructed by those outside of the primary studied event using a variety of material such as essays, collective scholarship, books, and articles.[142] I will incorporate secondary sources in my literature review to analyze and compare with my primary source material. In some cases, I use secondary sources to cross-reference findings from my primary sources.

1.4.1 Archival Research

Primary sources of data for historical research are artifacts that provide an understanding of past events.[143] For this project, written sources are used as primary data and include records such as reports, letters, meeting minutes, memos, campaigns, newspaper clippings, and

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Wendy B. Sharer, Barbara L'Eplattenier and Lisa S. Mastrangelo, 28-39 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), 30.

[140] Tosh, *Pursuit of History,* 91.

[141] Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing,* 5th edition (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 23.

[142] Brundage, *Going to the Sources*, 24.

[143] Matthew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods,* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2013), 140.

photographs. Potential archives were visited ahead of the research process to "get a sense of manuscript or primary-document research" and to uncover potential questions.[144] In some cases, archival material and photographs were digitized, and available through online catalogues. I thoroughly reviewed available material both online and offline using card catalogues and online search engines. Subsequently, I have conducted extensive research at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton, the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, and the Whyte Museum and Archives in Banff.

1.4.2 Case Study

Matthew Lange refers to case study methods as within-case methods that examine a particular incident. He acknowledges the importance of spatial and temporal considerations when identifying a case.[145] Within-case methods consist of two basic types: primary within-case methods and secondary within-case methods. The former provides evidence for the analysis, while the latter allows for the synthesis of the information provided to determine a conclusion. Often, researchers use multiple types of primary methods but only one type of secondary method during analysis.[146] I have conducted archival research as my primary method and synthesized and analyzed my data to compare with secondary literature.

To ensure consistency and minimal bias, I triangulate my sources by gathering primary material from different mediums.[147] My data is all textual, and I have gathered correspondence

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[144] Gaillet, "Archival Survival," 32.
[145] Gaillet, "Archival Survival," 41.
[146] Gaillet, "Archival Survival," 42.
[147] Pirkko Markula and Michael Silk, *Qualitative Research for Physical Culture* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 201; Keith Taber, "Triangulation,"

from provincial government archives and ENGO fonds to compare and analyze closely with newspaper clippings. To extend this, I also cross-reference with secondary sources both academic and non-academic like contemporary newspaper articles that discuss a historical topic.

Educational Research Methods: A Site to Support Teaching and Learning, accessed May 5, 2018, http://people.ds.cam.ac.uk/kst24/EdResMethod/Triangulation.html.

CHAPTER TWO

Olympic Tourism Developments on the Eastern Slopes: A Closer Look at the Mount Allan Site Selection Process, 1981-1988

2.0 Introduction: Nakiska Ski Area and Mount Allan

The Nakiska Ski Area is located about ninety kilometres from the City of Calgary and is a short drive from mountain tourist hot-spots Banff and Canmore.[148] Upon being awarded the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, the city was tasked with finding a mountain that would meet Olympic requirements and be within an hour of the athlete's village. Federal policies constrained suitable mountains to those outside of the national parks, and the provincial government looked towards the eastern slopes for an Olympic hill.

Nakiska Ski Area was built as an Olympic and recreational ski hill. It is located on the eastern side of Mount Allan which is part of the Kananaskis Range. Mount Allan was named in 1948 after Dr. John Allan, who was a former head of the Department of Geology at the University of Alberta. Long before that, however, the Stoney Nakoda, with ancestral roots in the eastern slopes, called the peak Chåse Tida Baha and Wataga ipa which means "burnt timber hill" and "grizzly hill point" respectively.[149] The mountain is located within the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area in Kananaskis Country, which was established in 1982 and expanded for the development of Nakiska and Kananaskis Village in 1986. Earlier the area was provincial crown land and part of the Marmot Creek Watershed Research Basin which was established in 1962.

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[148] "Getting to Nakiska," Nakiska Ski Area, accessed January 18, 2018, https://skinakiska.com/discover-nakiska/getting-to-nakiska/#eluid2407ce66.
[149] Glen W. Boles, Roger W. Laurilla, and William Lowell Putnam, *Canadian Mountain Place Names: The Rockies and Columbia Mountains,* (Calgary: Rocky Mountain Books, 2006), 26; Alan Rayburn, *Naming Canada: Stories About Canadian Place Names,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 254.

The research basin provided much of the weather data for resort planning that later became crucial to the selection of the mountain for the Winter Olympics. The research program closed in 1986 for construction of Nakiska but was subsequently reopened in 2005[150] to continue watershed and snowpack research and potentially provide data for future Games.

Nakiska Ski Area was constructed on Mount Allan despite opposition from skiers and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs). Skiers and ENGOs coalesced to form Ski Action Alberta (SAA) and oppose the government's decision to develop Mount Allan. The group expressed concerns about a variety of factors such as the wind, Chinooks, warm temperatures, lack of natural snow, the costs of ongoing artificial snowmaking, terrain for novice skiers, and wildlife habitat. Skiers believed Mount Allan could not provide a legacy for recreational skiers in Alberta due to the need and reliance on artificial snowmaking and the significant ongoing costs incurred. Due to these environmental factors, they held that Mount Allan would be unable to provide sufficient intermediate terrain for recreational skiers. Environmental groups believed environmental considerations had been a low priority leading up to the 1988 Olympics and the government failed to recognize the mountain's role as an exceptional wildlife area that required protection.[151]

This chapter analyzes the site selection and planning process for the Nakiska Ski Area on Mount Allan. I argue that the Nakiska Ski Area was pushed forward as a key Olympic downhill ski site by the Government of Alberta because of its existing commitment and investment in the area despite environmental and feasibility concerns. The Province pursued this site even though

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[150] Alberta Community Development, Parks and Protected Areas Division, *Evan-Thomas Provincial Recreation Area Management Plan,* (Canmore, AB: Alberta Community Development, 2004), 1.
[151] Glenbow Archives, *Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds,* General Correspondence – 1984-88.

it lacked strong public support and demand. More suitable ski hills were located at Sunshine and Lake Louise in the nearby national parks in the main ranges of the Rocky Mountains, however, Parks Canada's policies did not allow for Olympic competitions within national park boundaries.

Economic and tourism imperatives overshadowed environmental concerns, issues of weather, and questions about a recreational legacy. Location, convenience, and costs further fueled the push for Mount Allan as it was located within an hour of the Athlete's Village (an Olympic downhill site requirement) and was already connected by a road to the Trans-Canada Highway so did not require further road construction. If the mountain failed to live up to Olympic standards, officials believed they could force a move to Lake Louise, despite national park policies. This would allow for both a new recreational ski resort that utilized an already developing area on the eastern slopes and an international mega-event nearby to attract tourism to the Bow Valley area. Lack of environmental protection and insufficient public consultation combined with a lack of inter-governmental coordination to result in a fast-tracked recreational development in response to Olympic development demands. The Alberta Government failed to recognize the limited resource potential of the eastern slopes and subsequently failed to place controls on development.

2.1 The Kananaskis Country Concept and Olympic Dreams

The Alberta Parks' website indicates Kananaskis Country was established after Bill Milne, a Calgary architect and environmentalist, and Clarence Copithorne, a rancher and MLA from the Banff-Cochrane area, invited Premier Peter Lougheed on a helicopter flight over

Kananaskis Lakes to showcase the region's beauty.[152] Milne wanted to protect the area from resource exploitation and create recreational opportunities and small villages.[153] The land was proposed to be designated as a multiple-use area for extraction of natural resources and for recreational and tourism developments. In 1975, Lougheed approved this "unique concept of land use," and it was largely considered a success "[proving] recreational development, resource utilization and environmental protection can be compatible, and [a] balance [can be] achieved that is in the best interest of all of our citizens."[154]

Historian E.J. Hart offers a different interpretation of Lougheed's decision to develop Kananaskis Country. The unexpected cancellation of the Village Lake Louise development was the first time since the 1920s that a major park development had been denied and Lougheed saw

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[152] "Kananaskis Country: History," Alberta Environment and Parks, https://www.albertaparks.ca/parks/kananaskis/kananaskis-country/information-facilities/history; Jennifer A. Goertzen, "Controversy and Compromise: The Creation of Kananaskis Country," MA Thesis for the Department of History, University of Calgary, 2005, 81. Copithorne was the minister of highways for the Lougheed government in the 1970s and is credited as coming up with the original idea to establish the new provincially protected area.

[153] Daryl Slade, "Farewell to a True Calgary Visionary; Calgary Tower, K-Country are Legacies of Bill Milne," *Calgary Herald,* February 8, 2008, https://search-proquest-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/canadiannews/docview/243485822/504F8DAA48C44E48PQ/4?accountid=14474; William G. Wilne fonds, PAA, accessed June 14, 2018, https://hermis.alberta.ca/paa/Details.aspx?ObjectID=PR2982&dv=True&deptID=1. Bill Milne was the architect behind the Calgary Tower, which was an important tourist spot during the 1988 Games. In the 1940s, he was captain of the University of Manitoba football team and Peter Lougheed played for the University of Alberta Golden Bears. Their shared interests may have spawned a connection before Kananaskis Country was established. James S. Edwards and Keltie Duggan, "The Lougheed Legacy," *The New Trail,* November 26, 2012, https://www.ualberta.ca/newtrail/winter20122013/features/thelougheedlegacy.

[154] William G. Milne, "K-Country Needs an Environmental Facelift: The Success of Kananaskis Country Proves that Economic, Recreational and Environmental Needs can be Balanced, Writes W.G. Milne, a Calgary Architect, Member of the Planning Commission and Former Vice-Chairman of the Kananaskis Country Citizens' Advisory Board," *Calgary Herald*, November 2, 1998.

this as an opportunity to develop areas outside the national parks.[155] The Environmental Conservation Authority in Alberta, established within the Department of the Environment under the provincial Environment Conservation Act of 1971,[156] supported the development of recreational facilities on the eastern slopes as a means of relieving urban stress from Banff National Park. Taking advantage of this need, Lougheed established Kananaskis Country.[157]

Recreational developments in Kananaskis Country would fall under the *Policy for Recreation Development of Kananaskis Country* published in 1977. Touted as "one of the largest pieces of developable land" the Evans-Thomas area was acknowledged as being extremely important for wildlife. Golf course, village developments, and trails would ensure minimal wildlife conflicts and allow animals to move throughout the valley easily.[158] It was anticipated that all recreational trails were to be constructed "with protection of the environment as a primary goal":

> Sensitive wildlife habitats will be avoided wherever possible and winter uses will be directed away from critical winter ranges. By concentrating visitors on these carefully planned and well constructed trails environmental damage will be greatly reduced and wildlife conflicts minimized.[159]

The City of Calgary was unsuccessful in their 1968 and 1972 Olympic bids due to environmental concerns and widespread public protests against using Banff National Park. The 1968 bid was criticized for being promoted by a small group of Calgarians seeking quick

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[155] Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies (hereafter WMCR), E.J. Hart, "The Great Divide: Conservation vs. Development in Alberta's Mountain National Parks, 1905-2005," U. of C. Department of History Colloquium Series, January 20, 2005, 11.
[156] Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter PAA), *An Administrative History of the Government of Alberta, 1905-2005,* (Edmonton, AB: Provincial Archives of Alberta, 2006), 190.
[157] Hart, "The Great Divide," 11.
[158] AGL, Alberta Recreation, Parks and Wildlife, *Policy for Recreation Development of Kananaskis Country* (Edmonton, AB: Alberta Recreation, Parks and Wildlife, 1977), 11.
[159] *Policy for Recreation Development,* 20.

financial gains while ignoring environmental concerns. The 1972 bid was led with Peter Lougheed, a Calgary lawyer and former CFL professional football player, as its spokesman. It failed. In what is considered the initial emergence of environmental advocacy groups in Olympic bid contestation, [160] the IOC awarded the 1972 Games to Japan instead of Banff on April 26, 1966. Opposition groups challenged the use of Banff National Park for the Olympics and drew attention to the role of recreation in Canada's national parks.[161]

Environmental advocates including the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, and various universities and fish and game groups were effective calling for a halt to the bid.[162] Having become Alberta's premier, Lougheed was able to turn his government's attention to another bid for the 1988 Winter Games. It had a strategic focus on the eastern slopes, and, in particular, Kananaskis Provincial Park, that ultimately led to the development of this area for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games.[163] The selection of the right mountain to host the downhill ski competition was a major pillar to any successful bid as promoters were aware.

2.2 Site Selection for the 1988 Winter Olympics

In 1990, an article in the *Globe and Mail*, titled "A Hill of Trouble," provided a retrospect on the construction of the Nakiska Ski Area on Mount Allan for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games. Al Strachan argued when politicians realized they could not convince Parks

[160] Hart, "The Great Divide," 7.
[161] Cheryl Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 91.
[162] Hart, "The Great Divide," 7.
[163] Hart, "The Great Divide," 11.

Canada to allow the use of Lake Louise or Sunshine as Olympic downhill ski venues; they turned their attention to the eastern slopes:

> But being politicians, the Albertans thought that they could overcome the forces of nature. They built a ski hill on a mountain that gets little snow and is subject to gale-force winds, often the famous Chinooks with their high temperatures.[164]

Prior to the Olympic Games, Mount Allan was critiqued as being a publicly financed "lavish experiment" that included the largest network of artificial snowmaking equipment in the Canadian Rockies.[165] It had already been rejected once for a ski resort development following the Canadian Forest Service studies of snow and wind conditions that showed the mountain was unsuitable for it. Nonetheless, the Lougheed government favoured development in Kananaskis Country as a way to showcase the new multiple-use area and Kananaskis Provincial Park[166] and establish a landscape with Olympic potential. But Mount Allan was not the original mountain selected for the Games.

The initial Olympic bid for the 1988 Winter Olympics in the City of Calgary was based on the use of Mount Sparrowhawk, Mount Shark, and Tent Ridge in the Spray Lakes Area of Kananaskis Country. However, in a preliminary study conducted in 1980, these sites had been deemed insufficient to support both Olympic and recreational skiing. Its final report was compiled by Bruce D. Wilson, a project manager with Travel Alberta, Lloyd Gallagher, an alpine specialist for Kananaskis Country, and Cliff White, a ski development expert from Banff[167] (and

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[164] Al Strachan, "A Hill of Trouble," *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1990.
[165] Robert Sheppard, "Olympic Mountain a Lavish Experiment," *The Globe and Mail*, October 29, 1984.
[166] Dan Smith, "It's an Uphill Climb to '88 Winter Olympics," *The Toronto Star*, April 4, 1983, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, A1.
[167] "Ski Area Evaluation Study: Preliminary Report," June 1980, Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter PAA), Kananaskis – Ski Area Study, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 5.

prime actor behind the early development of Mt. Norquay, a ski area in Banff National Park),[168] and it indicated weaknesses existed for each mountain under consideration. White believed a Mount Sparrowhawk development would be wasteful, stating "It would seem a shame to me to spend the required money and destroy the amount of wilderness that would be affected to build an Olympic downhill course in an area with almost no potential for ongoing use."[169]

Mount Shark and Tent Ridge were steep with limited terrain variation for recreational skiers of various abilities and "Tent Ridge appears to have almost no hope of an acceptable Olympic downhill run. The vertical drop of skiable terrain is just not available. It might even be difficult to provide an ideal giant slalom course in some years."[170]

White recommended an evaluation of Fortress Mountain, an existing ski area just south of Mount Allan with potential for expansion. He cautioned the provincial government about approaching Lake Louise ski area and Parks Canada. Mount Whitehorn (in Lake Louise) already met Olympic requirements. However, Parks Canada approval was unlikely "and may run the risk of inviting environmental groups to oppose the Olympics in a National Park and thus injure Canada's chance of getting them."[171]

In 1981, the provincial government publicly announced a new recreational ski area would be constructed on the eastern slopes to meet increasing demand and to enhance existing ski opportunities. The development opportunity was advertised and requested private developers submit proposals for alpine ski area expansion. Intentions were framed as recreational, but shortly after this announcement, the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA)

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[168] David Mittelstadt, *Calgary Goes Skiing: A History of the Calgary Ski Club* (Surrey, BC: Rocky Mountain Books, 2005), 21.
[169] "Ski Area Evaluation Study: Preliminary Report."
[170] "Ski Area Evaluation Study: Preliminary Report."
[171] "Ski Area Evaluation Study: Preliminary Report."

officially asked the provincial government for support to host the 1988 Winter Olympic Games.[172] Archival review indicates Olympic discussions had been ongoing in the late 1970s and that the Spray Lakes area was to be developed as a recreational ski resort with Olympic potential.[173]

The *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* prepared in June 1984, indicates the government's commitment to the Olympic Games included the "upgrading of an existing recreational ski area to Olympic competition standards." While the earlier proposal for a ski resort near Spray Lakes had failed, village development was already occurring near Mount Allan. Successful with their Olympic bid, CODA began an intensive evaluation of potential sites to replace the Spray Lakes proposal.[174]

Formed in April 1982, the 1988 Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO'88) was comprised of a Board of Directors, paid staff, and volunteers. Notable OCO'88 members include Frank King (member of CODA) as chairman, Bill Pratt (former general manager of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede) as president,[175] and Ralph Klein (mayor of Calgary) as a director.[176] CODA had already selected venues for all Olympic events; however, OCO'88 believed more economically and commercially viable sites may be available.[177] Ten sites were proposed as downhill ski venues and a private consultant, Aplan Recreation, was hired

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[172] AGL, Alberta Olympic Secretariat, *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* June 1984 (Edmonton, AB: Alberta Olympic Secretariat, 1984), 1.
[173] Frank King to Peter Trynchy, September 28, 1979, PAA, Kananaskis – Ski Area Study, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 5; D.A Hayes to K.C. Sears, December 4, 1979, PAA, Olympics 1988, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40, vol 1.
[174] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 1.
[175] Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, XV Olympic Games: Official Report. (Calgary, AB: Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, 1988), 53-54.
[176] "OCO'88 Update," XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee Newsletter, December 22, 1982, WMCR.
[177] XV Olympic Games: Official Report, 54.

to analyze eight of the ten sites deemed potentially sufficient. Aplan had already completed a location study for recreational ski sites in 1981, which agreed with the earlier government recommendation that the Spray Lakes development would not be suitable. The hired consultant believed better sites existed in Kananaskis that could be developed quickly and more economically. Specific concerns with the Spray Lakes region included limited ski terrain potential, limited runs for novice and intermediate skiers, high financial costs, insufficient vertical drop, low snowfall, limited potential for future expansion, accessibility, and wildlife concerns with its proximity to Banff National Park. Potential expansions would likely not occur as the Spray Valley mountains were thought to be too steep.[178]

In early 1982, Aplan completed "an intensive, short-term study of the Kananaskis Planning area" to further investigate potential sites. There was a perceived poor economic performance of existing skiing facilities in the Forest Reserve and a belief there would be limited expansion potential. The analysis examined topographic, meteorological, and location factors as well as planning philosophies for Kananaskis, infrastructure requirements, recreational potential for summer activities, forest cover, and ecological resources. The market for skiing was thriving and the government believed people were dissatisfied with the current facilities on the eastern slopes. It was also crucial for the site selected to have high summer and winter recreation potential as well as be acceptable for Olympic events.[179]

The eight sites identified and analyzed for potential development were Fortress Mountain, Mount Sparrowhawk, Mount Shark, the Battleship Group, Mount Odlum, Lake

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[178] AGL, John G. Ogilvy Consulting, *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation* (Jasper, AB: John G. Ogilvy Consulting Engineer Ltd., 1981), 17.
[179] AGL, John G. Ogilvy Consulting, *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: Kananaskis Country, 1988 Olympic Alpine Venues* (Jasper, AB: John G. Ogilvy Consulting Engineer Ltd., 1982), 1.

Louise Ski Area, Mount Allan, and Cox Hill. The Lake Louise Ski area, located in Banff National Park, was the only site selected outside Kananaskis and inside a national park. Fortress Mountain already had an existing ski area easily accessible from Calgary. Although Fortress Mountain was adequate for slalom events, additional facilities would need to be constructed to support downhill events. The ski runs met technical requirements; however, there were concerns about high winds and exposed runs.[180]

Mount Sparrowhawk, Mount Shark, and Tent Ridge were again considered insufficient for Olympic downhill ski events. Large avalanche run-outs on the steep mountains were deemed additional concerns and the area would have limited viability for commercial skiing. It was considered insufficient for both downhill and slalom events.[181] A thorough examination revealed The Battleship Group, Mount Odlum, and Cox Hill were all insufficient for recreational and Olympic skiing. Lake Louise ski area met all Olympic requirements; but, it was considered unacceptable due to policy issues regarding National Parks. It had been identified in Olympic proposals by the City of Calgary three times previously, and each had failed due to policy. Environmental groups strongly opposed hosting the Olympic Games in a National Park and public consultations indicated a desire to limit further development.[182]

Mount Allan was endorsed by Aplan as a suitable recreational ski hill and Olympic venue. The site was easily accessible from Calgary and already had developing accommodations in Kananaskis Village. Aplan believed the site's capacity could accommodate up to twelve thousand skiers a day and embodied a large area of developable terrain. It also met the priority to include summer recreational needs as this area included the Kananaskis Golf Course. Based on

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[180] *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: Kananaskis Country*, 13.
[181] *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: Kananaskis Country,* 21.
[182] *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: Kananaskis Country,* 35.

significant statistical data obtained on the Marmot Creek Research Basin, this was the only potential site that met the Fédération Internationale de Ski (F.I.S) requirement of snowfall for the previous ten years. Its only identified concern was the men's downhill course barely met the minimum requirement of an 800-meter vertical rise.[183]

Public frustration grew as the lengthy analysis of potential sites dragged on as newspaper clippings suggest. Crosbie Cotton, a *Calgary Herald* staff writer, provided a critique of the ongoing site examinations on September 20, 1982. He argues experts believed Mount Sparrowhawk was sufficient for the alpine events; but because it would not be recreationally viable, the government was not interested in its development:

> …the main criterion for selection will be economic viability. The Olympics are of secondary importance because, after all, the sports extravaganza lasts less than two weeks… The reason is also a golf course, a still-to-be built alpine village, and the more than $15 million in taxpayers' dollars the province has already spent building the golf course and putting in the infrastructure for the Ribbon Creek alpine village.[184]

Investment in mountain villages was considered crucial to attracting tourists in the 1980s. Resorts needed to be more than just ski hills, offering summer season activities like golfing, rafting, canoeing, etc. Golf was especially important and thought to be essential to creating a successful all-season resort.[185]

There was also a $7 million cost to build a new road to Mount Sparrowhawk, located 152 kilometers from Calgary. Mount Allan would not require highway construction and would be an

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[183] *Alberta Alpine Ski Area Site Evaluation: Kananaskis Country,* 39.
[184] Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (1) Newspaper Clippings Files, Calgary Herald, September 20, 1982, WMCR.
[185] Dave Whitson, "Nature as Playground: Recreation and Gentrification in the Mountain West," in *Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities,* ed. Roger Epp and Dave Whitson, 145-164 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 153, 155.

hour drive from the city. The government's main concern was to see the Ribbon Creek development thrive:

> The government policy is firm. The alpine village is the approved concept of how Albertans will be housed in the Kananaskis, and the concept will work. The government is now anxious to kill two birds with one stone – guarantee an accommodation base which will help keep the ski hill and golf course alive, while at the same time living up to its commitment to organizers of the XV Olympic Winter Games. There is no doubt that Olympic officials like Sparrowhawk much more than Allan. Privately, they believe Sparrowhawk could become a world-renowned downhill course. Allan will not be one, they say.[186]

During this time, site selection responsibility had transferred within the government from the provincial Recreation and Parks Department to the Tourism and Small Business Department, supporting Cotton's claim that the emphasis for selection was on the site's economic viability. Government officials stressed the mountain's selection was based on ease of access and mix of skiable terrain and not due to the developing alpine village.[187] Unless a private developer was willing to completely fund "an Olympic-calibre resort with little or no financial help from the province," Mount Allan would likely be the chosen site.[188]

2.3 Planning for Nakiska Ski Area and Resort

On November 9, 1982, OCO '88 announced Mount Allan as the site selected. The Alberta Government established a Ski Area Development Committee to organize the development of the master plan to ensure the mountain site met the needs of both recreational

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[186] Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (1) Newspaper Clippings Files, Calgary Herald, September 20, 1982, WMCR.
[187] Meeting Minutes, May 10, 1983, PAA, Alpine Village Negotiating Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241.
[188] *Calgary Herald*, September 20, 1982, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (1) Newspaper Clippings Files.

and Olympic skiers.[189] The committee's duties were to coordinate and ensure development met the long and short-term needs of the recreational ski market in Alberta, maximized economic feasibility through planning and design, met technical and facility requirements of the OCO'88, guaranteed future competitive use of Mount Allan facilities, and coordinated input and active involvement of all departments and committees in planning.[190] Master-planning began in the fall of 1983, led by Alberta Tourism and Small Business in collaboration with the Landplan Group.[191] The site would still need to be approved by the F.I.S once courses were established.[192]

Initial reactions were mixed. The Spray Lakes Ski Development Corporation (SLSDC) had assisted the provincial government in the successful Olympic bid based on the use of Mount Sparrowhawk, Tent Ridge, and Mount Shark. President of the Corporation, Colin Jackson, expressed concerns that the corporation's $1 million investment would be wasted.[193] ENGOs, like the Sierra Club of Western Canada (SCWC), supported the SLSDC as they believed developing the Spray Valley area would be the least environmentally damaging. The SCWC was concerned about rumours Lake Louise would be used for the men's downhill and spawn further tourism developments in Banff National Park. They wanted to ensure Banff National Park was protected from development and would assist SLSDC with minimizing environmental impacts to the Spray Valley area.[194] Other developers and the Canadian Ski Association (CSA) criticized

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[189] AGL, Alberta Tourism and Small Business, *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* February 1984 (Calgary, AB: Alberta Tourism and Small Business and The Landplan Group, 1984), 3.
[190] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* 3.
[191] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 1, 3.
[192] *Calgary Herald,* April 21, 1984. WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[193] *Calgary Herald*, November 10, 1982, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (1) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[194] P.J Vermeulen to Colin Jackson, May 28, 1982. Glenbow Archives (hereafter GA), Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics, 1982-1984.

the economically viable choice as being unsuitable for downhill ski events. Only one of the previous proposals had called for the use of Mount Allan.[195]

By 1983, the Alberta Government finalized Olympic commitments and entered a legal agreement with OCO'88 with one of the commitments being the Mount Allan project.[196] Construction was estimated at $25.3 million to be funded by the provincial government. Project completion was expected in the winter of 1986-87 with creation of three chairlifts, thirty ski runs, and snowmaking for seventy-five percent of the area. Mount Allan ski area would accommodate up to four-thousand skiers a day and included cross-country trails for future winter recreation.[197] The new ski resort would "host high quality Olympic competitions [and] leave a legacy for Albertans; an economically viable ski area which would meet the needs of recreational skiers as well as training and competition athletes."[198]

In a letter to Raymond Perrault, Minister of Fitness and Amateur Sport with the Government of Canada, Peter Trynchy, Minister of Recreation and Parks with the Government of Alberta, and Frank King announced the development of Mount Allan and subsequent request to use Lake Louise for the men's downhill races. It was thought "little or no additional development will be required and as a consequence environmental impact should be insignificant."[199] Alberta Tourism and Small Business believed the "true merits" of the men's

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[195] *Calgary Herald,* November 10, 1982, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (1) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[196] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 1.
[197] "Alberta's Olympic Legacy," WMCR, Alberta Olympic Secretariat, 1983, 2.
[198] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 1.
[199] Peter Trynchy and Frank King to Raymond Perrault, April 29, 1983, PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1. Frank King was the chairman of OCO'88, see https://www.winsport.ca/files/Media%20Advisory%20-%20WinSport%20statement%20on%20the%20passing%20of%20Frank%20King.pdf.

downhill course on Mount Allan would not be known until tested, and that Lake Louise should serve as a back-up site.[200]

The provincial government "ignored a pledge not to hold Olympic events inside a National or Provincial Park and rejected the proposals they had called for from five developers for ski resorts at Allan, Sparrowhawk-Tent Ridge and Snowdance." This announcement compelled skiers and environmental groups to form a coalition called Ski Action Alberta (SAA) to formally oppose the selection of Mount Allan. It was believed the government was acting on its desire to make the Ribbon Creek property more viable.[201] The coalition "[supported] a new proposal [by Ski Action Alberta] for the development on Mt. Sparrowhawk/Mt. Lougheed/Mt. Bueller." D.A. Hayes, Assistant Deputy Minister of Alberta Tourism and Small Business, was concerned a formal application for the use of Lake Louise would create considerable opposition. In a letter to A.G. Mcdonald, Deputy Minister of Alberta Tourism and Small Business, Hayes elected to wait until 1986 when the merits of Mount Allan would be known. This would also give environmental groups less time to mount their opposition.[202]

On December 3, 1983, OCO'88 announced it would not seek out the use of Lake Louise for the men's downhill. This announcement referenced findings from the Citizens' Advisory Committee (CAC):

> OCO'88 should stay with its current policy of not having events in Provincial and National Parks. This is predicated upon the conclusion that an adequate men's downhill course can be developed upon Mount Allan, the site previously approved for all alpine events.

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[200] D.A. Hayes to A.G. McDonald, n.d., PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.
[201] "Uproar Over Olympic Decision," May 4, 1983, WMCR, Banff Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce Fonds – 1988 Olympics Information/Correspondence.
[202] D.A. Hayes to A.G. McDonald, n.d., PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.

> The environmental community expressed very strong opposition, and to ignore this when an acceptable alternative exists would be ill-advised… the incremental costs were unacceptably high. [203]

Using Lake Louise would not enhance the legacy of the games and would instead create substantial public opposition. Concerned with credibility and expense, OCO'88 pushed for the use of Mount Allan for all downhill ski events in an attempt to avoid negative public perception.[204] While some government officials seemed keen to move events to Lake Louise, Olympic organizers, fearing backlash, preferred to continue with development in Kananaskis Country. Premier Lougheed wanted both an Olympic Games and "a playground for Albertans,"[205] and developing Mount Allan as an Olympic-level ski resort next to a luxury golf course would be the catalyst to tourism in Kananaskis Country.

The five Mount Allan development proposals reviewed in 1983 were considered unacceptable as they lacked financial commitment. Honourable "Boomer" Adair, Minister of Alberta Tourism and Small Business, indicated the government would continue to negotiate with the private sector for future involvement while they proceeded with development plans. It was hoped the opportunity to integrate both recreational and Olympic potential would be viewed positively by private developers.[206] Provincial commitment to developing Mount Allan was poised as proof the government was committed to Kananaskis Country, although officials acknowledged the area was unproven as a tourism destination.[207]

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[203] OCO'88 Position Paper on Lake Louise, December 3, 1983, PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.
[204] OCO'88 Position Paper on Lake Louise, December 3, 1983.
[205] Lisa Church, "Resort's Survival Hinges on Tourists," *Calgary Herald,* February 15, 1989.
[206] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* June 1984 (Edmonton, AB: Alberta Olympic Secretariat, 1984), 2.
[207] Meeting Minutes, May 10, 1983, PAA, Alpine Village Negotiating Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.

Private business interests questioned the provincial government's motives behind rejecting the development proposals. In letters to Premier Lougheed and the IOC, David Morrison, President of the Banff/Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce, called the government's decision to use taxpayer's money to develop the mountain "preposterous." Morrison argued that if private investors would not fund such a risky development, it would be "unwise to invest taxpayer's money on the same venture." He believed the government would hold an unfair advantage in operating "business ventures in competition with existing private enterprise."[208] Former Banff/Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce president J.D. Anderson Jr. had insisted on development in Banff National Park for the 1972 Winter Olympic Games bid. He believed without an Olympic Games in Banff; it would not become a popular winter recreation area.[209] This sentiment was perhaps shared by Morrison, who strongly opposed development on Mount Allan. Others, like the Alberta Chamber of Commerce and the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, supported the provincial government in assuming the costs of ski hill development because "'parks' [could not] be the site of Games," and private sector proposals had been considered.[210]

The primary objectives for the development of the downhill ski area were threefold: 1) provision of a day-use recreational ski area; 2) a suitable venue for alpine Olympic events; and 3) a training legacy for competitive skiers in Alberta and Canada. Environmental concerns and the economic feasibility of the site were not primary considerations; however, they were included in other objectives identified. Additional objectives included the integration of the private sector in development and operations, minimization of environmental impacts, support for the short and

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[208] David G. Morrison to Premier Lougheed, June 13, 1983, WMCR, Banff Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce Fonds – 1988 Olympics Information/Correspondence.
[209] Williams, "The Banff Winter Olympics," 64.
[210] D.R. Stanley to David G. Morrison, June 27, 1983, WMCR, Banff Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce Fonds – 1988 Olympics Information/Correspondence.

long-term needs of the ski market, enhancement of Alberta's tourism market, and completion in time for the 1986-87 Olympic test competitions.[211]

To meet these objectives, a steering committee was created. Representation included OCO'88, the Canadian Ski Association, a private sector representative knowledgeable in ski area operations, and relevant Alberta Government departments (including the Chairman, Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters). There was no representation from environmental groups. Instead, various government departments held key responsibilities with Alberta Tourism and Small Business taking the lead. The Olympic Secretariat and Alberta Recreation and Parks were responsible for the Olympic upgrading program. The OCO'88 was responsible for festival costs and the staging of the Games. The Landplan Group, comprised of Landplan Associates Ltd., Ecosign Mountain Recreation Planners Ltd., and Acrop Thom Architects, were hired to design the master plan.[212] The master plan was completed in 1984 with the construction of Nakiska beginning in summer 1984.[213]

The Executive Summary in the *Mount Allan Ski Area Master Plan* indicates "extensive studies of numerous potential ski development sites over a three-year period concluded that Mount Allan was the most suitable site based upon the site's [natural characteristics]." Natural characteristics referred to the Mount Allan's natural slope gradients, protected exposures (from sun and wind), accessibility to the Calgary skier's market, and its proximity to existing infrastructure (sewage treatment plant, water, power). The master plan served as the tool to guide

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[211] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 2.
[212] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 3.
[213] *Mount Allan Master Plan Summary Information Document,* 1-2.

development while representing the government's desire for recreational skiing on the eastern slopes.[214] Issues with site selection were acknowledged:

> A number of policy issues and public concerns were identified prior to and during the planning process by way of public input, on-site investigations and preliminary design considerations. These issues and concerns related primarily to: climate; environmental quality; mountain and base area design parameters and concepts; Olympic courses and facilities; the integration of Olympic and recreational facilities; site access and infrastructure; and employee housing. While many of the issues and concerns were raised by the planning team and /or the Ski Area Development Committee, statements of public concern were also considered and incorporated into the Master Plan where applicable and feasible.[215]

An environmental protection plan, acknowledged in the master plan, would address the potential impacts of the Nakiska development. Although the master plan indicated a consultant was hired to complete the environmental protection plan, no name was identified in the document.[216] Environmental groups expressed concerns for the large herd of bighorn sheep that wintered on the mountain and requested completion of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).[217] No wildlife biologist had been involved in master planning and reviewers like Brian Horejsi, a biologist with a focus on grizzly bears and bighorn sheep, noted scientific evidence against excessive development near bighorn ranges had been ignored.[218]

Developers believed they could skillfully and sensitively design the ski area to minimize the possibility of impacts. Sensitive construction would be the most important measure of mitigation as most "residual impacts [could] be mitigated; certain potential impacts, particularly

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[214] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* i.
[215] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* ii.
[216] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* viii.
[217] Office of the Environmental Coordinator, *Press Release,* March 11, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 8, M-8546-92 – Office of the Environment Coordinator 1983-87; Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley,"7.
[218] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourism Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 8.

for wildlife, lack sufficient information with which to justify detailed mitigative measures."[219] To address this, an ongoing monitoring program was recommended for wildlife management. A number of other design considerations were identified: designation of starts for the Ladies' and Men's Olympic Downhill events; helicopter routes were "confined to Marmot Basin below timberline" with no flying allowed in the Wind Ridge area; and people management required to prevent access to the sheep and elk ranges. Wildlife habituation was also identified as a concern with the focus on nuisance and hazards resulting from animals.[220]

The SCWC met with OCO'88 to address environmental concerns in late 1982 and learned the committee would not accept responsibility for the environmental impacts of the Games. They had not considered environmental issues, nor had allocated budget to ensure ecological impacts were minimal. The OCO'88 placed responsibility on the IOC and the selected developer to ensure environmental assessments were completed. The SCWC called for a public environmental assessment of the Mount Allan site before "[irreparable damages]" occur. They believed it was necessary to form an advisory body that would be recognized by the Ministers of Energy and Natural Resources and the Environment of Alberta. With no private developer yet identified, they called on representatives from the Provincial Government, OCO'88 (an environmental expert), and one representative from each concerning Alberta ENGO to form the body.[221]

Environmental protection in Kananaskis Country had been acknowledged in the early 1980s. BEAK Consultants Limited was hired by the provincial government to oversee

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[219] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* viii.
[220] *Mount Allan: Ski Area Master Plan,* ix.
[221] P.J. Vermeulen to W.A. Ross, January 7, 1983.GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics, 1982-1984.

environmental matters in the recreation area[222] and they were responsible for all environmental impact assessments (EIA). However, some members of the Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee (KCIC), a government committee responsible for management of the area, questioned the necessity of EIAs on the proposed developments. Completion of EIAs was seen as a method to reduce government criticism instead of a means to protect the ecologically-sensitive mountain landscape.[223] In the 1980s, governmental concern for ecological protection was minimal, and according to John McInnis and Ian Urquhart, environmental spending fell by ninety-two percent.[224] BEAK proposed an environmental protection plan in early 1983, but the committee believed this was unnecessary and refused to proceed with any environmental assessment or monitoring projects.[225] One member of the committee, G. Smart, who was also with the Alberta Forestry Service, initially questioned measures of watershed protection, forest management, and forest fire prevention regarding the alpine village construction; however, there was minimal response from other members in the meeting

[222] Sixty-Sixth Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, June 17, 1980, PAA, Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.
[223] Eighty-Seventh Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, April 21, 1981, PAA, Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.
[224] John McInnis and Ian Urquhart, "Protecting Mother Earth or Business?: Environmental Politics in Alberta," in *The Trojan Horse: Alberta and the Future of Canada,* ed. Trevor Harrison and Gordon Laxer, 239-253 (Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 1995), 241.
[225] One-Hundred and Thirty-Third Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, April 26, 1983, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.

minutes.[226] Archival review indicates, that by August 1983, the KCIC was considering utilizing BEAK for an assessment. However, there is little indication if this occurred.[227]

By 1984, the province announced its inability to secure a developer to construct and operate a resort on Mount Allan because "private investors [would not] touch the deal." Therefore, the government invested the $25 million along with the expected initial loss of $400,000 in the resort's inaugural year to finance the ski area. Adair also promised environmental groups that "mitigating measures" would protect wildlife, particularly, the bighorn sheep herd.[228]

The situation of bighorn sheep and impacts was debatable. Letters between Kevin McNamee, National Program Director for National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC), Dr. Valerius Geist, Professor of Environmental Science at the University of Calgary, and Ronald Collie, OCO'88, indicate confusion surrounding the bighorn sheep issue. McNamee had been informed by Collie that Dr. Geist believed the "sheep herd would not be adversely affected if mitigative measures were put in." He wanted clarification that the government had in fact implemented Dr. Geist's suggestions to protect the large mammal habitat.[229] McNamee's concerns that Dr. Geist's position on the sheep herd had been taken out of context were

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[226] Sixty-Second Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, April 22, 1980, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5. Meeting minutes for the committee were often very brief with limited written feedback from other members. No first name for G. Smart was provided, and it is noted that he eventually left the committee for unknown reasons.

[227] One-Hundred and Fortieth Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, August 30, 1983, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.

[228] *The Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1984, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.

[229] Kevin A. McNamee to Ronald A. Colliee, January 20, 1984, PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.

supported in a letter from Dr. Geist to Collie that indicated he had not made the statement. In fact, he believed the government's actions indicated the big horn sheep issue would not be solved and that without the formation of an environmental committee to advise OCO'88 an "environmental scandal from the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympic Games" would not be averted.[230]

Dr. Geist's recommended that, along with the fencing proposed by provincial biologists, forage should be strategically located to minimize disruption of the bighorns. A barrier would need to be constructed to keep spectators away from the main sheep ridge. Measures to reduce stress on the bighorns would be inexpensive and simple, but Geist worried the lack of concern shown by the organizers and government would be an obstacle to mitigation.[231]

2.4 Initial Public Reactions, Snowmaking, Recreational Legacy, and Environmental Concerns

Public reaction to the selection and development of Mount Allan was mixed. Many people believed the province had created an "expensive white elephant" that would be detrimental to the environment, be too easy for Olympic competitors, and not leave the promised recreational legacy. The F.I.S. worried Mount Allan would be too steep and artificial snow too icy for future recreational use;[232] although, the F.I.S did eventually approve the runs for Olympic competition in 1985[233] after modifications were made to the men's downhill course.[234] The public shared concerns about the recreational suitability of the mountain:

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[230] Dr. Valerius Geist to Ronald A. Collie, February 1, 1984, PAA, Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 1.
[231] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourism Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 8.
[232] *The Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1984, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[233] *Calgary Herald*, October 25, 1985, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[234] *Calgary Herald*, March 22, 1985, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.

> The realities of the winter mountain climate of Mt. Allan cannot be ignored. Neither can Engineering principles of developing and operating snow making systems (reported elsewhere). Such considerations do not bode well for the feasibility of making Mt. Allan even marginally skiable.[235]

The Alberta Opposition Leader Grant Notley released a survey from Ski Action Alberta that argued: "high winds, lack of snow, frequent [Chinooks] and lack of vertical drop are all major drawbacks to Mt. Allan becoming a first-class resort." The government, however, believed these issues would be mitigated, and wind was a concern on any mountain. As the official developer of the site, the province would invest $4 million into snowmaking equipment for seventy-five percent of the mountain's runs to supplement natural snowfall.[236]

Many people were worried about the potential negative environmental consequences while others pondered the requirement for a recreational legacy. In a "Letter to the Editor," Robert Irvine discussed concerns surrounding the requirement of a legacy:

> The Mount Sparrowhawk, Mount Allan and Spray Valley area is now a beautiful one. It consists of high, soaring peaks surrounded by green valleys. One cannot drive in there. One cannot take a tram or a gondola to the mountain peak, look out over the clouds, buy a postcard, or a souvenir spoon, feed the wild sheep and then go home. One has to hike a trail up through the trees. One has to walk (which just happens to be slow enough to see the area – the flowers, the trees, the view.) If you stop to observe, you can watch a hawk soar up on high, you can hear the creek in the valley bottom, smell the fragrance of alpine meadows, feel the wind through the trees. You might see wild sheep, deer, bears, etc. Is not the majesty of the undisturbed wilderness a true legacy? Is this not the legacy that we need to preserve?[237]

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[235] WMCR, Banff Lake Louise Chamber of Commerce Fonds – 1988 Olympics Information/Correspondence.
[236] *Calgary Herald*, May 16, 1984, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[237] *Calgary Herald,* December 28, 1982, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (3) Newspaper Clippings Files.

Kananaskis Country was developed to be a multiple-use area incorporating alpine villages, and summer and winter recreational opportunities. The creation of a recreational legacy, along with economic viability, was considered the most important outcome for development. As a cultural landscape that is produced and reproduced by society, Kananaskis Country had been envisioned from the beginning as a multiple-use area that would see agricultural, industrial, and recreational compatibility through the Integrated Resource Planning process (IRP). Despite little public support for the IRP process and multiple-use management, the government continued to use this approach throughout the 1980s and 1990s.[238]

To address the public and environmental groups' concerns, Peter Trynchy, Alberta Parks and Recreation Minister, announced a special committee be appointed in July 1983 to handle these issues. The committee consisted of four members from the departments of Energy and Natural Resources, Environment, Parks and Recreation, and one member from OCO '88. This committee was mobilized to "fight the 'misinformation and misunderstanding' about the environmental impact of facilities" and to review concerns raised by environmental groups. Despite worries about the mountain's bighorn sheep herd, Trynchy believed no major environmental issues would arise because the provincial government was following the eastern slopes policy that "protects the mountain environment."[239]

Ski Action Alberta (SAA), the coalition between skiers and environmental groups, released a report accusing the government of providing incorrect weather and snowfall data

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[238] Lorelei L. Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape: The Management of Alberta's Rural Public Lands," in *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collection Action,* ed. J. Parkins and Maureen Gail Reed, 148-168 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 160.

[239] *Calgary Herald*, September 6, 1983, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (2) Newspaper Clippings Files.

during the site selection process. The SAA compiled a decade of data from Environment Canada and the Canadian Forestry Service to argue Mount Allan's climate was unsuitable for snowmaking. Furthermore, the government failed to advise the Colorado company evaluating the development proposals of the impacts from Chinooks and wind. The company was also provided incorrect trail maps; something the government and Olympic organizers admitted.[240]

In June 1983, SAA members met with government officials including Assistant Deputy Minister of Tourism and Small Business Don Hayes to discuss concerns. Alisdair Fergusson, SAA Chairman, presented snow and wind statistics indicating the unsuitability of Mount Allan. Impressed with SAA efforts, government officials agreed to meet once they had reviewed the information. The meeting never occurred, supporting SAA complaints that the government ignored public concern in a push for investment in Kananaskis Country tourism developments.[241]

Alpine site selection controversy put the government and Olympic organizers against environmental groups, skiers, and developers interested in the Sparrowhawk area. An article in *Business Weekly* pondered the move:

> The controversy centers around the decision of Olympic planners – some say at the insistence of the Alberta government – to shift the Alpine skiing events from Mount Sparrowhawk, named as the alpine site in Calgary's successful Olympic bid, to Mount Allan, a windswept, peakless hill nearby.

Further questions arose regarding the motive behind moving from an area that developers had planned to transform into a resort similar to Colorado's Vail and Aspen ski areas to a less-desirable mountain that would be close to the Government of Alberta's developing golf course. OCO'88 members Ralph Klein and Frank King admitted the mountain's faults, with King

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[240] *Calgary Herald*, April 6, 1983, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (2) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[241] *Calgary Herald*, August 16, 1983, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (2) Newspaper Clippings Files.

stating, “Mount Allan is unquestionably going to the most popular ski hill in Canada, though not necessarily the best” and Klein conceding that the “mountain [is] subject to quite critical snow deficiencies.”[242] With members of the organizing committee acknowledging issues with the mountain, it placed the selection of the alpine site under question and supported shared public claims that Mount Allan had been selected because of its location.

2.5 Missing and Edited Archival Information

During my archival review of documents at the Provincial Archives of Alberta, I noticed a few instances of missing information. The meeting minute documents for the Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee (KCIC) often had changes (from the previous meeting) and missing pages. It is important to note that not all items discussed by the KCIC were of importance for my topic, so some of the missing information and changes are irrelevant to this study. There is one instance, however, that is important for this project because it concerns the potential selection of the Spray Lakes area and the Olympic events. The one-hundred and tenth KCIC meeting minutes are missing from the box of archival material, and it is the only full meeting minute package missing.[243] The one-hundred and eleventh meeting minutes, dated May 4, 1982, contain changes to the previous minutes as follows:

> W. Warren noted that paragraph 2 lines 1-2 presently reads *W. Warren questioned whether we knew where the Olympic events will take place* [and] should read *W. Warren questioned whether the study of the Spray Lakes Area includes the study of proposed Alpine Village locations*.[244]

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[242] *Business Weekly*, July 9, 1984, PAA, 1988 Olympics Calgary, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40, vol. 3.
[243] Many of the meeting minute packages were missing pages that were under FOIP. This is the only instance where a package is completely missing without a FOIP insert in its place.
[244] One-Hundred and Eleventh Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, May 4, 1982, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.

Archival documents do not provide a first name for Warren. However, earlier meeting minutes list a B. Warren,[245] which may indicate he is Bill Warren, chairman of CODA.[246]

Shortly after this meeting, the F.I.S advised they would assess Mount Allan for Olympic suitability, with a final decision by the end of July 1982. The one-hundred and sixteenth meeting minutes, from July 27, 1982, note that the proposed facility zone in the Spray Lakes area has been deleted, but there is no other information regarding proposed sites.[247] The changes to the missing document suggest the committee wanted to show they were considering the Spray Lakes area, but subsequent minutes indicate a preference for Mount Allan. This is highlighted because the government was often accused of secrecy by the media, the public, and skier and environmental groups.

Letters from early 1981 also stand out in my archival analysis. In January 1981, a memorandum from the KCIC was sent to Bud Miller, associate minister of Public Lands and Wildlife from Margaret Ranson, secretary of the Cabinet Committees. The committee had agreed to bring the development of a day-use facility in Spray Lakes to Cabinet, followed by a public release.[248] In a February 1981 letter, E.S. Marshall, managing director of Kananaskis Country, informed Al McDonald, deputy minister of Tourism and Small Business, that the "memorandum

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[245] Forty-Sixth Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, August 28, 1979, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5.

[246] "About the BWTC," WinSport: Bill Warren Training Centre, accessed June 14, 2018, http://www.bwtccanmore.com/about. The Bill Warren Training Centre is located at the Canmore Nordic Centre and supports nordic sport athletes. It opened in 1994 and was financed by OCO'88. The website notes Warren contributed greatly to bringing the 1988 Games to Canada.

[247] One-Hundred and Sixteenth Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee Meeting Minutes, July 13, 1982, PAA, Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee, accession no. GR 1996.0435, box 5. It was also thought that Spray Valley should "be left in a wilderness state" because it is rugged and not conducive to "tourists." Current users enjoy the *wild* experience.

[248] Margaret Ranson to Bud Miller, December 31, 1980, PAA, Ski Area Study – Kananaskis Vol. 1, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 6.

amounted to marching orders and that [the] responsibility for the implementation of the wishes of the Cabinet Committee [were to] start marching and keep marching [until the] memorandum [is] modified or rescinded." The letter finished by stating alternate ski areas would continue to be studied.[249] This further corroborates that government officials were hesitant to select the Spray Lakes area but were not ready to publicly announce intentions to find another ski site. This is earlier than the missing meeting minutes, and it is speculated the desire to use Mount Allan had been shared by government officials early in the Olympic process.

2.6 Mount Allan as a Sport Landscape

Before the construction of Nakiska Ski Area, Mount Allan was a forested mountain within a watershed and wildlife habitat that saw low-impact use from local hikers. The Rocky Mountain Ramblers Association had constructed the Centennial Ridge Trail on Mount Allan over three summers to celebrate Canada's centennial in 1967. It was completed in 1968, and it led hikers from the Ribbon Creek area up to the summit of Mount Allan.[250] Still in existence today, it is the highest maintained trail in the Canadian Rockies with a summit elevation of 2819m.[251]

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[249] E.S. Marshall to Al McDonald, February 11, 1981, PAA, Ski Area Study – Kananaskis Vol. 1, accession no. GR 1996.0241, box 6.

[250] Wally Drew, *The First Twenty-Seven Years: The History of the Birth and Growth of the Rocky Mountain Ramblers Association of Calgary, 1954-1981* (Calgary, AB: Rocky Mountain Ramblers Association, 1983), https://www.ramblers.ab.ca/WDHistory/hist196667; Gillian Daffern, *Kananaskis Country Trail Guide: Volume 1,* 4th edition (Calgary, AB: Rocky Mountain Books, 2013), 75.

[251] Alberta Parks, "Centennial Ridge Trail," Alberta Environment and Parks, https://www.albertaparks.ca/parks/kananaskis/kananaskis-country/advisories-public-safety/trail-reports/kananaskis-valley/centennial-ridge.

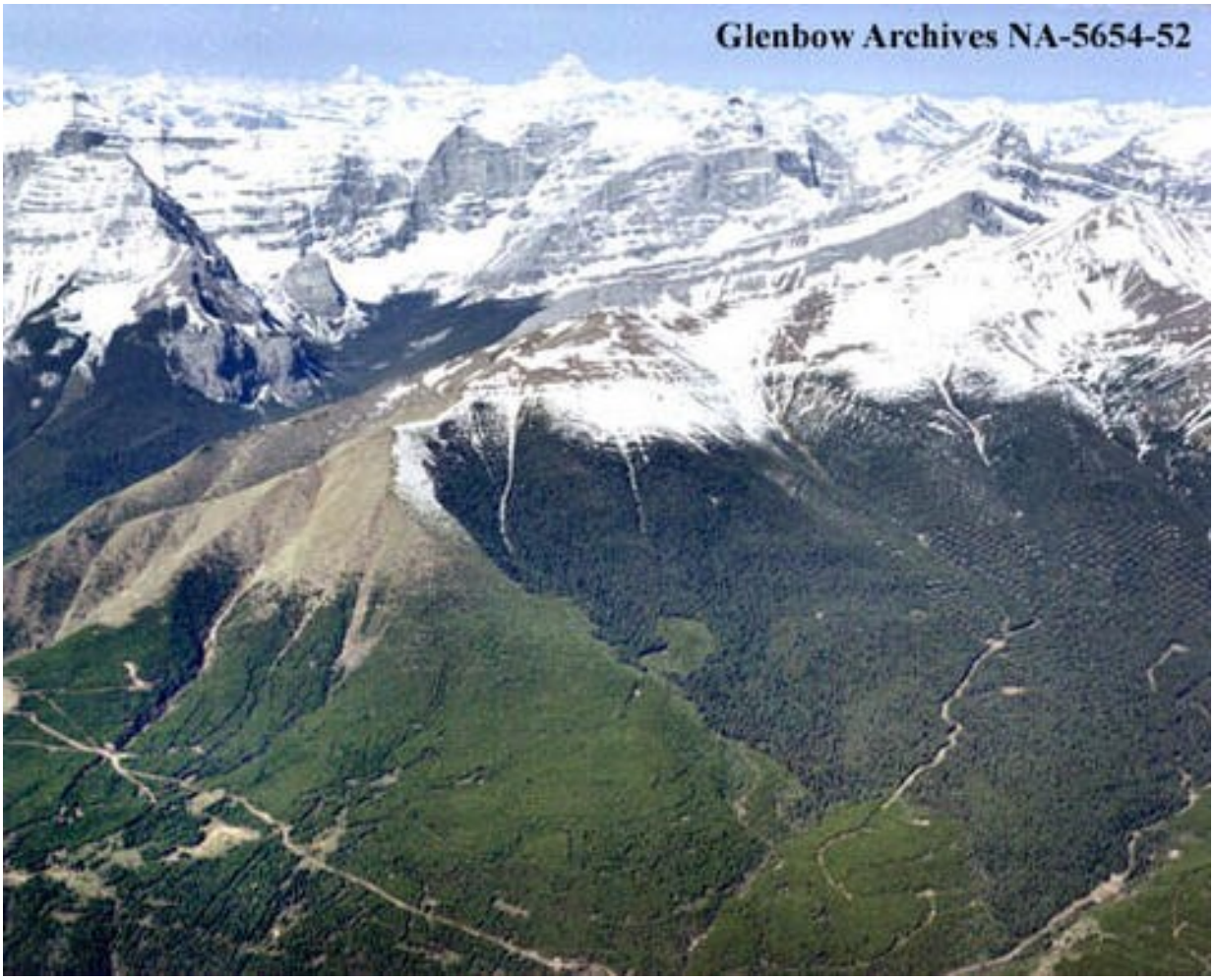

Fig. 3: Aerial View of Mount Allan Prior to the Construction of Nakiska Ski Area, June 2, 1984. Source: Glenbow Archives, Jim Hall Fonds, glen-3237-is-glen-1588.

The eastern slopes landscape has changed considerably from an agricultural area to a system of provincially protected multiple-use areas that see a large amount of recreational activity. With an increased demand for nature vacations, rural recreation has become commercialized and skiing has become a form of cultural capital.[252] In the 1980s, an increasing desire for outdoor recreational facilities on the eastern slopes coupled with economic and tourism

[252] David Whitson, "Nature as Playground: Recreation and Gentrification in the Mountain West," *Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 146, 149.

benefits motivated the provincial government to approve ski resort creation on Mount Allan. It was thought deficiencies of the ski runs could be dealt with and potential environmental issues were left unacknowledged. A combination of a golf course and ski resort was deemed imperative to create a "world-class" destination,[253] and thus the provincial government chose to reject issues presented to them by ENGOs, skiers, and the public. The Mount Allan landscape would be reconstructed from a lightly-used hiking area and wildlife habitat to a landscape for skiing that would create a new type of dwelling for tourists.

John Bale approaches the word landscape cautiously. Originally referring to paintings of natural beauty, landscape became a verb that meant to "prettify." Bale argues the sports landscape does not arise from "prettification" and instead can be compared to cultural landscapes. These are landscapes in which body culture takes place, and he argues that ski-slopes are human landscapes that visibly reflect public values and aspirations.[254] Tim Ingold states "the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them," and it consists of many layers of human involvement in the environment.[255] At the expense of aspirations for conservation from various pressure groups, Mount Allan's landscape was reproduced to reflect a governmental desire for an "outdoor playground" and "world-class" resort.

Recreational areas like ski-slopes and golf courses are given less attention than landscapes that symbolize dominant culture like gardens and impressive architecture. However, they reflect human existence and values and can be analyzed and investigated through

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[253] Whitson, "Nature as Playground," 155-156.
[254] John Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* (Leicester: Leicester University, 1994), 9.
[255] Tim Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape," in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling & Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 193, 208.

geographic paradigms.[256] By engaging Bale's idea of interpreting landscapes to explore meanings assigned to them, the Mount Allan ski area can be placed within a broader social and cultural context that reveals the operations of power. When examining the social construction of the sports landscape, Mark Stoddart engages concepts of discourse and power from philosopher Michel Foucault as tools to understand the production of the landscape. Power is exerted through discursive techniques and operates in various macrosocial and microsocial settings. Stoddart extends Foucault's research to investigate the political ecology of skiing to understand social power in terms of sport and leisure.[257] Foucault's idea of "bio-power" represents "forms of power exercised over persons specifically in so far as they are thought of as living beings: a politics concerned with subjects as members of a *population.*"[258] By regulating populations through various techniques, bio-power is important to capitalism and works through "the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations."[259]

Through an exercise of power, the Government of Alberta resisted public opposition to Mount Allan and utilized discursive techniques to instead promote the mountain as a recreational site worthy of a mega-event like the Olympic Games. To address environmental concerns, Alberta Parks and Recreation Minister Peter Trynchy created a special committee that would investigate important ecological issues. Their mandate was to "fight the 'misinformation and

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[256] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 9.
[257] Stoddart, *Making Meaning Out of Mountains,*"29-30.
[258] Colin Gordon, "Government Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality,* ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 1-51 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5.
[259] Michel Foucault, "Part Five: Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction,* 135-145 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), https://soth-alexanderstreet-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/cgi-bin/asp/philo/soth/getdoc.pl?S10021790-D000012, 143.

misunderstanding' about the environmental impact of facilities," [260] because these issues were publically perceived by the government as being of minimal importance.

The idea of biopower further fits the vision of Kananaskis Country as a multiple-use landscape capable of hosting a variety of sport and recreation interests. The multiple-use area is separated into different parks and zones to fulfill different functions deemed important by the Province.[261] The environment is "broken up into populations or natural resources and fit into management regimes oriented toward productivity." To extend biopower into Stoddart's idea of ecopolitics, Mount Allan nature is managed by administering systems of natural resources useful for capitalist production.[262] In this case, managing the natural resources of Mount Allan to transform the landscape into a successful sports landscape was deemed crucial to economic prosperity on the eastern slopes.

[260] *Calgary Herald*, September 6, 1983, WMCR, Olympic Games (Winter) (1988) (2) Newspaper Clippings Files.
[261] "Kananaskis Country: Park Management," Alberta Parks, accessed May 5, 2018, https://www.albertaparks.ca/parks/kananaskis/kananaskis-country/park-management/.
[262] Stoddart, *Making Meaning Out of Mountains,* 109.

Fig. 4: Aerial View of Mount Allan After Construction of Runs for Nakiska Ski Area, September 15, 1984.
Source: Glenbow Archives, Jim Hall Fonds, glen-3237-is-glen-1656.

To return to the examination of the Mount Allan landscape transformation, Bale adopts Donald Meinig's idea that landscapes can be interpreted in ten different ways. Landscapes like Mount Allan are interpreted as a "sport, landscape and habitat" as well as "sport landscapes as systems." Often depicted as anti-nature, certain sports and recreational activities may utilize an area briefly without modifying it and never return. The landscape is not "sportised" permanently. This notion is reflected in previous recreational activities that took place on Mount Allan as hikers did not largely transform their environments. Initially a bush-whacking trail, Mount Allan was minimally modified when the Rocky Mountain Ramblers Association constructed the

Centennial Ridge Trail. Despite this, the human impact is slight when compared to development for competitive sport and a mechanized landscape terrain.

Landscapes that are "sportised" become human habitat with a "conscious decision having been made for slopes, soils, elevations, sites and routes, fields, channels or relief features to be used as homes for sport." Nature is rearranged to fit human desires[263] by subjecting mountains to biopower through logging, grooming of runs, and construction of facilities like chairlifts and lodges.[264] Bale's discussion of "sports' fixation with improving on nature and artificializing the landscape in its quest for the optimal sporting milieu,"[265] reflects the Government of Alberta's plans for Kananaskis Country, the Ribbon Creek property, and the Mount Allan ski area. The construction of the resort and ski area would improve on Mount Allan's "nature" to provide an artificial landscape that would serve competition and recreational interests as well as provide economic benefits for the province.

Sports landscapes, like ski hills and golf courses, are transformed to provide recreational pleasure and reveal power and human domination over nature. Nature is civilized through recreational developments, but they do not depict anti-nature emotions. Building on ideas from Yi-Fu Tuan, Bale analyzes the underlying meaning of "domination" to argue that a softer form, which grows out of affection, produces landscapes analogous to gardens. Nature is exploited to serve humans, but the human affection towards it makes development seem more acceptable – however, "even if we appear to be kind to nature we still exert power and dominance over it."[266] By framing Kananaskis Country as a protected multiple-use area, the Government of Alberta

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[263] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 10-11.
[264] Stoddart, *Making Meaning Out of Mountains,* 109.
[265] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 40.
[266] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 44.

exerts dominance over nature by transforming the landscape for recreation and sport in a seemingly tolerable way while disregarding the environmental implications of developing in ecologically sensitive areas. Despite advice from ENGOs and environmental professionals like Dr. Valerius Geist, government officials framed environmental assessments as unnecessary for the nature of the developments. Ski resorts are often thought of as ecologically benign and portrayed as a means of appreciating nature; but they are sites of bio-power relationships between humans, wildlife, and flora.[267]

Stoddart engages a Foucauldian approach to view ski resorts as areas of bio-power. However, Bale views the development of sports landscapes for golf and skiing as an environmental fixation that seeks to improve upon and artificialize nature.[268] Notions of bio-power and environmental fixation can be combined to view the dominance and reproduction of the Mount Allan landscape. The Nakiska Ski Area needed considerable amounts of artificial snow to be viable both for the Olympic Games and for recreational skiing. To revisit an earlier quotation, we see that a mountain deemed unfit for skiing would be improved and artificialized to become a suitable sports landscape:

> But being politicians, the Albertans thought that they could overcome the forces of nature. They built a ski hill on a mountain that gets little snow and is subject to gale-force winds, often the famous Chinooks with their high temperatures.[269]

Bale equates this to a fixation with interference in a natural environment. Sporting "bureaucracies" like the Government of Alberta, developers, and the IOC believed Mount Allan could be enhanced and reproduced. Through extensive artificial snowmaking equipment, Mount Allan would be dominated and modified into a sports landscape worthy of the Winter Olympic

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[267] Mark Stoddart, *Making Meaning Out of Mountains,*" 105-106.
[268] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 40.
[269] Al Strachan, "A Hill of Trouble."

Games and viable for future recreational use.[270] The mountain was desirable because of its accessibility and the province's previous investment in the Ribbon Creek property nearby. Despite its unreliable snowfall, it would be transformed into the mountain needed for the Games and future recreational skiing. It would be transformed into a piece of the outdoor playground that Peter Lougheed long envisioned for Albertans as we will see in the overarching study of Kananaskis.

2.7 Conclusion

The Government of Alberta had established policies in 1977 to govern recreational developments in Kananaskis Country with environmental protection listed as a primary concern. Despite statements that sensitive habitats, especially critical winter ranges, would be avoided by "carefully planned and well-constructed trails,"[271] the province developed a ski resort in important wildlife habitat and ignored recommendations from biologists.[272] A push for recreational developments that would economically benefit the province overshadowed concerns about large mammals and limited resources. An international event like the 1988 Winter Olympic Games would bring worldwide attention to Alberta and boost tourism revenues, which emerged as an overriding imperative.

Although criticisms over the selected downhill ski site and subsequent recreational area were wide-spread, government officials ignored public concerns and framed the development as an ecologically-benign opportunity that would provide a recreational legacy for Albertans, rather than an ecological withdrawal or financial liability engrained in path dependency. Environmental

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[270] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 46.
[271] *Policy for Recreation Development,* 20.
[272] Kariel and Kariel, "Tourist Developments in the Kananaskis Valley," 8.

protection issues highlighted by ENGOs and the public were disregarded and considered easily dealt with through mitigation and sensitive construction. Alberta had cultivated a reputation that environmentalists would be ignored while "polluters" would be allowed to continue. The mayor of Calgary, Ralph Klein, criticized environmental groups for misrepresenting Alberta's environmental regulations.[273] Concerns about warm temperatures, little snowfall, and strong winds were discounted, and the site further justified with extensive snowmaking equipment and commonsensical notions that wind would be a problem on any mountain.

The understanding that large-scale events like the Olympics contribute to ecological problems is relatively new. Although the sports landscape is "an environment of power," those that exploit nature for sport may not understand the implications placed upon the environment. Unlike industrial areas, ski landscapes are a source of pleasure and may be aesthetically-pleasing to users; but, the landscape cannot de-emphasize "the impact of human power evidenced in the brutal effects of sport-related concrete, gasoline and noise on the landscape."[274] The ski landscape becomes akin to an industrialized landscape, with lodging facilities, mechanized lifts, grooming and snowmaking equipment, and large concrete parking lots. Ecological footprints for carbon extend impacts even farther. Serious sport takes precedence over the detrimental environmental effects of landscape transformation.

German sociologist and historian Henning Eichberg posits the Olympic Games as a social and political problem that is maintained by "an oligarchic, self-co-opting organisation with worldwide monopolistic tendencies [that] lacks democratic structure, legitimation and control from below." Economic interests dominate over environmental protection in the paradigm of

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[273] Frank Dabbs, *Ralph Klein: A Maverick Life* (Vancouver and Toronto: Greystone Books, 1995), 81, 83.
[274] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 65.

IOC mega sport events,[275] but Eichberg sees a reactivation of simple outdoor games and sports that promote "adventure in the countryside" and "open [landscapes]" that allow people to experience the outdoor world.[276] He proposes a "green wave" that devalues expensive facilities, artificial turfs, and large parking lots as an alternative to dominant Western models. Dominant ideologies focus on the production of results while subsequently exploiting the environment. A new ideology would "[oppose] industrial annihilation" and promote alternative expressions of physical culture to manifest new social and political relations to nature.[277]

Investment in sport and the belief that humans are external to nature will continue to create tension in power relations.[278] The Government of Alberta failed to acknowledge the complexities surrounding development on Mount Allan and instead sought to exert bio-power on the mountain through the production of a sports landscape. Concerned voices from the recreational and competitive skiing community were ignored, while those supportive of the development were emphasized. The government maintained the mountain could be improved upon to create an ideal ski facility and Olympic downhill site. It was accessible and close to Calgary, and the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area needed a ski resort to become a world-class tourism destination. Adding to the multiple-use landscape of Kananaskis Country, this development would further enhance Calgary's "playground."

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[275] Henning Eichberg, "Olympic Sport: Neo-Colonialism and Alternatives," in *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space, and Identity,* (London: Routledge, 1998), 100.
[276] Eichberg, "Olympic Sport," 104.
[277] Eichberg, "Olympic Sport," 104.
[278] Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport,* 65.

CHAPTER THREE

Ecological Protection Versus Recreational Development: Environmental Advocacy, Pressure Politics, and Contested Development in Kananaskis Country, 1980-2000

3.0 Introduction

Contestations surrounding the development of Alberta's parks were ongoing even before the selection of Mount Allan for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games. Calgary's earlier 1972 bid was considered the first appearance of environmental advocacy groups in contestations over the Olympic Games. Opposition to the earlier bid came at a time when ecological awareness was growing in North America. Rachel Carson's 1962 book, *Silent Spring,* had acted as a "watershed moment" and public concern for environmental protection lead to the creation of Earth Day in 1970.[279] The 1960s and 1970s are considered the second wave of the environmental movement, and Canadians were beginning to understand the impact humans had on the environment. A third wave occurred throughout the 1980s and 1990s allowing non-government organizations (NGOs) to strengthen their roles in Canada.[280]

Once the City of Calgary was awarded the 1988 Games, environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) became concerned Lake Louise would be the selected downhill ski site and had already begun mounting a campaign. Developing Lake Louise for the Games would "cause irreparable harm to Banff Park [and] would also be a complete betrayal of the public participation process which has produced the present compromise development plan

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[279] "The History of Earth Day," Earth Day Network, 2018, accessed April 26, 2018.
[280] Monte Hummel, "Environmental and Conservation Movements: The Environmental Movement Seeks to Protect the Natural World and Promote Sustainable Living," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* last modified July 18, 2016, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/environmental-and-conservation-movements/. The first wave began in the late 1800s and ended in the early 1900s.

for Lake Louise." The Sierra Club of Western Canada (SCWC) thought the selection of Lake Louise would diminish Parks Canada's credibility and trustworthiness with the public.[281] The club sent letters to top government officials including Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the President of the International Olympic Committee J.A. Samaranch, the Executive Director of the U.S. Olympic Committee S. Don Miller, and other elected officials within the Canadian government. The SCWC emphasized their large North American membership and strong voice as an effective means of nation-wide opposition to the selection of Lake Louise.[282]

When Mount Allan was announced as the downhill ski site, the SCWC criticized the government for selecting a mountain unsuitable for the downhill ski events. It appeared to be a tactical move to force a Lake Louise decision at the last minute; however, this move would be detrimental to the grizzly bears and go against national park policies. Environmental concerns also plagued the Mount Allan choice. ENGOs believed development would negatively impact the bighorn sheep herd that wintered on Mount Allan, would threaten the ecosystem through hotel expansions, and that development would be completed without an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). This would be in violation of both the Land Surface Conservation and Reclamation Act (1973) and Canada's endorsement of the World Conservation Strategy in 1981.[283]

This chapter analyzes environmental contestations and advocacy in Kananaskis Country between 1980 and 2000 with regards to ski resorts. An investigation of the role played by

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[281] P.J. Vermeulen to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, April 7, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[282] P.J. Vermeulen to J.A. Samaranch, April 15, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-1984.
[283] Patricia E. Kariel and Peter J. Vermeulen, *Position Paper re: Mount Allan as Site for 1988 Winter Olympic Games,* September 25, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

ENGOs in Kananaskis Country planning provides insights to the politics that surround development and conservation imperatives as well as the nature and effectiveness of environmental advocacy at the time. ENGOs were strategic and elicited support locally, nationally, and internationally. They built coalitions with organizations that shared their interests and utilized these connections to gain public support and pressure government decisions. I draw on environmental sociologist Mark Stoddart's ideas that skiing is often portrayed as an attractive development since it does not seem to exploit landscapes for natural resources and appears benign and non-consumptive, yet it is challenged at times by environmental groups "over the ecological legitimacy of new development projects."[284] Power relations between humans and non-human animals exist at the heart of ski resort development which Stoddart labels "ecopower." Ski resorts may legitimize construction through environmental stewardship programs; but, environmental groups question their usefulness and underlying motives.[285] Using Stoddart's work, I also investigate animals as symbols of "nature" used by environmental groups to draw attention to threatened landscapes.[286]

ENGOs lost the battle over the selection of Mount Allan. However, they successfully drew attention to issues surrounding increased development in Kananaskis Country and the eastern slopes of Alberta. Archival evidence indicates the Government of Alberta diffused calls for environmental protection, but the influence of ENGOs and the public forced some attention

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[284] Mark Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains: The Political Ecology of Skiing,* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 134. Stoddart uses the term "ecological legitimacy" to reflect ENGO questioning of environmental justification for ski resort developments. Resorts frame themselves as ecologically benign because they allow humans to interact with nature and highlight mitigation measures and environmentally-friendly procedures like waste reduction as environmental stewardship.
[285] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains*, 105.
[286] Mark Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas: Animals and the Meaning of Skiing Landscapes in British Columbia, Canada," *Nature and Culture* 6, 1 (Spring 2011), 50.

to conservation. The debate over Nakiska assisted the later protection of Spray Lakes and demonstrated the public's desire to preserve the eastern slopes and reduce development. Information from these historical examples can be gleaned to inform future development prospects as pressure on the eastern slopes grows and the City of Calgary explores a bid for the 2026 Winter Olympic Games.

This chapter argues that through symbolic mobilization of "wild" animals, the SCWC and allied ENGOs drew attention to the provincial government's lack of environmental concern towards ski developments on the eastern slopes. The politics of advocacy were leveraged in Alberta throughout the 1980s and 1990s and culminated in a consensus to protect the eastern slopes. Kananaskis Country acts as a landscape artifact of park planning and multiple-use zoning that attempted to satisfy the variety of economic and conservation interest groups. Increased environmental contestations and advocacy exposed government discrepancies and forced a reconsideration of further development in Kananaskis Country leading to a moratorium on development placed on Kananaskis Country in 1999.

3.1 Advocacy in Alberta's Parks

Environmental issues were not important considerations in the early public policy development for national and provincial parks. Ecologists stressed the need for species and habitat protection; but, most wildlife work was concerned with management and decreasing mortality of game animals. In, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century,* Tina Loo highlights the passing of the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act in 1962 as an early move towards conservation. It forced governments to examine land

classification and assess suitability for agriculture, outdoor recreation, and habitat for ungulates and waterfowl.[287] Habitat protection became more important to preserve game animals.

Leslie Bella investigates the history of national parks in Canada and asserts parks were created for profit. Provincial parks were established later than national parks; however, the concerns addressed by Bella regarding national parks parallel those of provincial parks. In her conclusion, she identifies the main concerns of national parks relate to boundary erosion, multiple resource exploitation, disestablishment, commercial tourism, and budget cuts.[288] These same issues are present in Kananaskis Country and a careful examination of commercial tourism and tensions between preservation and recreation is important. Only comprising a small percentage of the population (about fifteen percent in the 1980s), environmentalists need greater support to resist tourism expansion in parks.[289] As Canada is a capitalist society that affords citizens the right to profit in national parks, Bella stresses that "environmental groups face the challenge of organizing support for the parks that extends beyond the middle-class professionals that currently form the backbone of the environmental movement."[290] Parks survive because they are profitable; but, it must be recognized these areas are "worthy of preservation, independent of economic factors." This allows an alternate vision of parks to be formed; one where their future purpose is to preserve.[291]

National park history is ripe with tensions between conservation and development. By the 1980s, governments adopted more conservative attitudes regarding development in parks; but,

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[287] Tina Loo, "From Wildlife to Wild Places," in *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 183.
[288] Leslie Bella, "The Future of Profit and Preservation," in *Parks for Profit,* (CITY: Harvest House Ltd., 1987), 152.
[289] Bella, *Parks for Profit,* 158.
[290] Bella, *Parks for Profit,* 160.
[291] Bella, *Parks for Profit,* 162.

ski resort construction was still supported. The Canadian National Parks Association (CNPA) represented the public in conservation advocacy with important campaigns such as the opposition to the 1920s hydro dam developments and the principle of "inviolability" in the National Parks Act of 1930. Environmental groups like the CNPA acted as advisors to park policy development in the 1960s when public consultations were lacking. Established in 1963, the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC) played a critical role in the battle against the Village Lake Louise expansion. They believed the village would serve only elite tourism interests and they were concerned about the lack of environmental impact studies. Echoing Bella's concerns about growing recreational erosion in national parks, the NPPAC placed pressure on the government to consult the public.[292]

The Village Lake Louise project was criticized for its secrecy and its lack of environmental concern resulting in ENGOs launching a campaign to oppose the development.[293] Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed opposed the Village Lake Louise proposal but supported ski development outside of the national parks. This changed Alberta's position and Jean Chrétien, the Federal Minister responsible for parks, turned down the village proposal on July 12, 1971. Chrétien believed the project was not worth the environmental harm it would cause.[294]

E.J. Hart sees the rejection of the Village Lake Louise expansion in 1971 as an opportunity for Premier Lougheed to develop a ski resort outside a national park.[295] Development on the eastern slopes was supported by the provincial government under the

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[292] Chen and Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise," 95-97.
[293] Chen and Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise," 98.
[294] Chen and Reichwein, "The Village Lake Louise," 103.
[295] E.J. Hart, "The Great Divide: Conservation vs. Development in Alberta's Mountain National Parks, 1905-2005," U. of C. Department of History Colloquium Series, January 20, 2005, 11, WMCR.

Environment Conservation Act of 1971[296] and to a degree relieved tourism pressures on Banff National Park. Dr. Brian Horejsi, a Calgary biologist and activist with a research focus on grizzly bears and bighorn sheep,[297] critiqued Lougheed's government as being "anti-wildlife, anti-public lands, anti-conservation," and worried these Olympic dreams would be environmentally costly.[298] Lougheed's desire to see Calgary host the Winter Olympic Games fueled the push for development in Kananaskis Country. Calgary had already lost the Olympic bid three times due to opposition to the development and use of Lake Louise ski runs and facilities on Mount Whitehorn. In particular, the 1972 bid was considered the first appearance of environmental advocacy groups in contestations over the Olympic Games. Ultimately the bid went to Japan instead of Banff as a strong opposition formed by environmental advocacy groups including the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, the NPPAC, and various universities and fish and game groups lobbied the IOC.[299]

In the 1970s, with Lougheed as premier, the Government of Alberta set its sights on developing an area along the eastern slopes as a recreational ski resort with Olympic downhill competition capabilities. Hearings regarding development on the eastern slopes were held by the Environmental Conservation Authority in 1974, and it was recommended that tourist facilities be built outside of the national parks. With this in mind, Kananaskis Country and Kananaskis Provincial Park were established in 1977.[300] Perhaps to satisfy a variety of environmental,

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[296] PAA, *An Administrative History of the Government of Alberta, 1905-2005* (Edmonton, AB: Provincial Archives of Alberta, 2006), 190.
[297] "Brian Horejsi," *Onearth,* n.d., accessed April 26, 2018, http://archive.onearth.org/author/brian-horejsi.
[298] Brian L. Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics: Political and Biological Realities," Paper Submitted to the Northern Wild Sheep and Goat Council, Proceedings of the Fifth Bienniel Symposium, 1986, 318.
[299] Hart, "The Great Divide," 7.
[300] Hart, "The Great Divide," 11.

recreational and economic interests, the multiple-use concept was adopted to inform planning and development decisions.

3.2 Site Selection for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded the 1988 Winter Olympic Games to the City of Calgary based on the use of Mount Shark, Mount Sparrowhawk, and Tent Ridge. However, perceived deficiencies with the sites initiated a new site selection process. Provided reasonable environmental safeguards were followed, the SCWC, Ski Action Alberta (SAA), and various other national and international ENGOs supported the winning bid of Mount Shark, Mount Sparrowhawk, and Tent Ridge. Development in these areas was considered to be the least environmentally damaging,[301] although concerns surrounding grizzly bear habitat came to the forefront in the 1990s. Mount Allan, considered more environmentally sensitive, was beyond the belt of high snowfall and historically faced irregular weather.[302] In 1979, the Alberta Fish and Wildlife Division listed Mount Allan as an important wildlife habitat, especially for the large bighorn sheep population. They entered into an agreement with the Department of Tourism to ensure development would not occur in this habitat. In a "[betrayal] by elected people entrusted

[301] Letters to and from the SCWC, the Sierra Club (American Chapter), the Wilderness Society, the National Parks & Conservation Association, Petroleum Ski Club indicate an approval of the Spray Lakes development. P.J. Vermeulen to Colin Jackson, May 28, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84; Ivan Hnatuik to the Presidents of All Ski Clubs in Western Canada, Environmental Groups, and Political Groups, 6 December 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, Series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84; Paul C. Pritchard to Pierre E. Trudeau, February 28, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

[302] P.J. Vermeulen to Colin Jackson, May 28, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

with safeguarding the province's wildlife heritage," the Government of Alberta ignored the agreement.[303]

Concerns mounted that this was being used as a tactic to move the downhill events to Lake Louise in an "eleventh-hour decision." Chairman of the British Columbia SCWC group, Jim Bonfonti stressed the "prime concern is the protection of such areas from activities of man which cause permanent modifications to the most noteworthy of our pristine natural landscapes." Public consultations had already confirmed development was not desirable in national parks. Lake Louise ski resort was already established and if Mount Allan's deficiencies were highlighted, a hasty move into the national park might be granted by the federal and provincial governments.[304]

Using national and international pressure tactics, the SCWC reached out to local developers, government officials, the OCO'88, the U.S. Olympic Committee, and the IOC. The SCWC chairmen, P. J. Vermeulen of the Alberta group and Jim Bonfonti of the British Columbia group, expressed concerns that public hearings conducted by Parks Canada had been ignored. Bonfonti wrote to the IOC President Juan Antoni Samaranch in 1982 and indicated national park development was not popular:

> We have some concern that the new location will not meet Olympic standards, and that another change of venue will yet take place. In particular, our fear is that an eleventh hour decision will be to relocate some of the Olympic ski events to Lake Louise in Banff National Park.

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[303] Brian L. Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics: Political and Biological Realities," Paper Submitted to the Northern Wild Sheep and Goat Council, Proceedings of the Fifth Bienniel Symposium, 1986, 319.
[304] Jim Bonfonti to J.A. Samaranch, December 15, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

> I hope the IOC will make it clear to the host committee for the 1988 Winter Games that it is not your wish to see the staging of these games used as an excuse to allow commercial development in such a remarkable area of great natural beauty.[305]

The absence of an environmental assessment on the Mount Allan project supported SCWC claims that OCO'88 disregarded environmental concerns. Vermeulen sent a letter on January 7, 1983, to Dr. W.A. Ross, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games:

> At the meeting with the Committee we were astounded as well as dismayed to learn that the Committee accepted no responsibility for the environmental effects of the Games it was vigorously promoting, had not considered such effects for the plan so far decided, and despite budgeting hundreds of millions of dollars for Olympic facilities and operations not one cent had been allocated for ensuring that the Games would produce acceptable minimal environmental impact at the proposed sites. Furthermore, the Committee considered that any environmental assessments to be carried out would be entirely on the initiative of the bodies who would ultimately benefit from the facilities developed.[306]

Vermeulen further called on the Government of Alberta to conduct an environmental assessment and to form an advisory body with membership from the government, the OCO'88, an environmental expert, and representation from each Alberta environmental group concerned with the project.[307]

On March 11, 1983, the Office of the Environmental Coordinator circulated a press release regarding the lack of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in Kananaskis Country. It was sponsored by the Alberta Wilderness Association (AWA), Calgary Fish & Game Association, Federation of Alberta Naturalists, NPPAC, SCWC, as well as several affiliated

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[305] Jim Bonfonti to J.A. Samaranch, December 15, 1982, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[306] P.J. Vermeulen to W.A. Ross, January 7, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[307] P.J. Vermeulen to W.A. Ross, January 7, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

ENGOs. They indicated site selection should initially investigate suitable ski areas; but, an EIA is imperative because development involves "public pride, lands, and funds, [and] should be made in full public view, with the available information, environmental and otherwise, available in a coherent format to the public…"

The timeframe to complete an EIA was shrinking quickly and no group had accepted responsibility for its completion. An "atmosphere of secrecy" had evolved in the Olympic planning process and the ENGOs needed to provide the public with an "objective analysis and opinion." The Kananaskis Country concept provided limited information about resource potential before development planning. ENGOs wanted an environmental expert to be appointed to the OCO'88.[308] At a joint news conference between the Calgary Olympian Taxpayers Association and various sports and environmental groups, the provincial government and OCO'88 were accused of "being secretive and failing to respond to environmental concerns."[309]

In April 1983, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) addressed issues about the selected downhill site. Acting Director General of the IUCN, Peter H. Sand, forwarded a briefing document to government officials and IUCN contacts including Secretary of State for Canada, Gerald Regan, and Premier Lougheed.[310] OCO'88 indicated a lack of funds was to blame for the missing EIA. They would "encourage their major partner, the Alberta Government, to do so" and it was recommended an environmental committee of thirty to forty people be established. Echoing the concerns expressed by the Environmental Coordinator, the

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[308] Office of the Environmental Coordinator, *Press Release*, March 11, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[309] Barry Nelson, "Edgy about Olympics," The *Globe and Mail*, March 19, 1983.
[310] Peter H. Sand to Peter Lougheed, April 8, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

IUCN believed OCO'88 and the provincial government were not acknowledging the seriousness of the environmental issues. The result was that the committee was not established.[311]

The IUCN believed the "complex of tall mountains containing Mount Allan, Mount Lougheed, Mount Sparrowhawk, the Three Sisters, Wind Ridge, and Pigeon Mountain [was] an exceptional area of great significance for the conservation of large mammals, particularly the bighorn sheep." Favourable geologic conditions had generated rich soils which, along with the climate and slope aspect of the area, produced a large bighorn sheep population of about two hundred and fifty animals and an excellent elk population. Alpine in nature, the sheep herd was considered immune from a type of pneumonia decimating other North American herds at lower elevations. The Mount Allan/Mount Lougheed herd was a "vitally important herd" for long-term conservation of the species.[312]

The IUCN worried a potential "halo effect" would emerge with the Kananaskis Village development and expansion of the Canmore area. New facilities would create further encroachment into the mid-winter bighorn sheep ranges with the future development possibilities on Pigeon Mountain, Wind Valley, and Mount Sparrowhawk. Mount Allan's bighorn herd would become surrounded by infrastructure. A similar herd in Colorado had been inundated with construction projects; after dividing in an attempt to escape development, the herd eventually succumbed to pneumonia. Under stress, the Mount Allan herd might be forced to relocate to the

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[311] Peter H. Sand, *Brief Received from IUCN Contact in Canada on a Meeting to Discuss Plans and Intentions of the Olympic Organizing Committee Pertaining to Environmental Matters*, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

[312] Peter H. Sand, *Brief Received from IUCN Contact in Canada on a Meeting to Discuss Plans and Intentions of the Olympic Organizing Committee Pertaining to Environmental Matters*, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

nearby Wind Ridge, which was already occupied by another herd. Biologists worried this could create a social upset that would force animals to move off of the mountain to their demise in unsuitable and stressful habitat. According to the IUCN, the incremental effects of multiple developments posed a real threat to the herd.[313]

The SCWC felt the delay in the announcement of Mount Allan as the downhill ski site was a deliberate attempt to avoid completion of an environmental assessment that may discourage organizers and the IOC from developing the site. The Mount Sparrowhawk/Tent Ridge site and the Mount Warspite and Snowdance sites were considered the least environmentally damaging,[314] but detrimental to the government's investment in the Ribbon Creek Village area near Mount Allan. Mount Sparrowhawk "was on the wrong side of the mountains" and Mount Allan by a thirty-six-hole golf course, an alpine village, and a hotel. Environmental consultant, Brian L. Horejsi criticized the site selection process as a façade; in reality, the site had been chosen in advance of the public call for proposals.[315]

Vermeulen argued that by completing a full Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process, Canada could regain respect within the international environmental community rather than being seen as a "butcher of wildlife." European environmental groups watched the situation carefully and eventually called for the games to be moved to ready-made facilities in Cortina, Italy, or Innsbruck, Austria. In Europe, an "Ecological Charter for Alpine Regions" was being constructed and it was hoped Canada could develop something similar to stand out as a

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[313] Peter H. Sand, *Brief Received from IUCN Contact in Canada on a Meeting to Discuss Plans and Intentions of the Olympic Organizing Committee Pertaining to Environmental Matters*, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[314] P.J. Vermeulen to Honourable John Roberts, April 22, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[315] Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics," 318.

leader in environmental issues regarding alpine developments.[316] Canada had endorsed the World Conservation Strategy, but SCWC pointed out that failure to complete environmental assessments was considered a violation of the strategy as Vermeulen wrote to the Minister of the Environment John Roberts in 1983.[317]

In April 1983, the Government of Alberta and the OCO'88 requested the use of Lake Louise for the men's downhill events. In his letter to Roberts, Vermeulen labelled this a "foot in the door" technique that could see other events slowly trickle over to Lake Louise. The SCWC had been largely unsuccessful in influencing the OCO'88, the IOC, and the Government of Alberta on environmental issues like the bighorn sheep. Vermeulen held these groups accountable for ignoring issues of ecological destruction. The pressure placed on the federal government was ineffective and officials were often slow to respond. Roberts informed the SCWC that an environmental review of the proposed provincial ski developments would not be conducted by the federal government.[318] Provincially funded parks were not within the jurisdiction of the federal government and, therefore, could not be subject to federal policies.[319]

Concerned the 1988 Winter Olympic Games would become "an environmental disaster," Vermeulen wrote to Michael McCloskey, executive director of the Sierra Club in the United States, to push for an opposition of international scope. ENGOs would either force a compromise or wait until after the 1984 Winter Olympics to contact international media about Olympic

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[316] Brian L. Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics," 318.
[317] P.J. Vermeulen to Honourable John Roberts, Spring 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[318] P.J. Vermeulen to Honourable John Roberts, June 30, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84; Honourable John Roberts to P.J. Vermeulen, July 14, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[319] R.J. Perrault to P.J. Vermeulen, July 14, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

environmental issues. Vermeulen proposed pressure tactics involving Canada, the United States, and Europe as the best option to force a compromise:

> The United States pressure depends on the Sierra Club's influence with Congress with respect to the acid rain issue, which Mr. Roberts would dearly wish to see resolved by the U.S. taking positive action to reduce emissions. I see Sierra Club lobbying in support of Canada's position in return for Mr. Robert's pressure on the Alberta Government and Olympic Committee, as the first tactic. The second tactic concerns the Alberta Government's desire to maintain a good price for the sale of its natural gas to the United States. Representatives Tom Corcoran and Dick Gephardt have bills which would deregulate the border price or would give Canada/Alberta a chance to renegotiate existing contracts voluntarily, respectively. The Corcoran bill could be supported as a punishment to Alberta for its bad environmental record (richly deserved) or the Gephardt bill if a clause concerning the environment and the Olympic Games could be inserted… The third tactic would involve asking American and European environmental groups and the German Green Party to support us in demanding that the Winter Olympic Games be withdrawn from Calgary to either Cortina or Innsbruck…[320]

Meanwhile, Calgarians minimally supported the selection of Mount Allan due to concerns over high expenses and recreational legacy. Their minimal support and pressure tactics would worry the IOC, who would then consider withdrawing the Games from Calgary. Vermeulen saw this as the most practical tactic; there was "enough bungling" to demand withdrawal and the attention would subsequently build SCWC membership.[321]

Responding to calls for a committee process, the Olympic Secretariat and Alberta Recreation and Parks announced the formation of a Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters (SPRWE). It was comprised solely of government and Olympic organizers with no public or ENGO or Indigenous representation; despite the committee's responsibility for ensuring development would not negatively affect the

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[320] P.J. Vermeulen to Michael McCloskey, June 21, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

[321] P.J. Vermeulen to Michael McCloskey, June 21, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84. The public worried about the increasing costs of a publicly-funded ski resort that would be insufficient for recreational skiing because of low snow-fall and warm temperatures.

environment. The committee requested a public call for submissions regarding the Mount Allan development with a deadline of September 30, 1983.[322]

Interested parties had a short two-month turnaround to prepare submissions regarding Olympic development. This, coupled with the lack of public or environmental group representation in the SPRWE, disappointed the SCWC. This "superficial lip service" approach was an attempt by the government to reassure the public on the importance of environmental issues while continuing to ignore them. Once again, the SCWC requested the inclusion of an ENGO representative to provide professional advice on developments.[323]

The Alberta Wilderness Association, Federation of Alberta Naturalists, Great Divide Trail Alberta-British Columbia, SCWC, and NPPAC all requested copies of the public input.[324] A citizen's committee was appointed to study the consultation results; the results showed strong opposition to the use of Lake Louise for downhill ski events.[325] The provincial government was also accused of spending more time and money convincing the public no impact on the mountain's environment would occur rather than compiling ecological data about its large mammals.[326]

The SCWC passed a resolution to officially oppose Mount Allan's development for the Olympics and as a recreational ski resort. They cited concerns for the bighorn sheep population,

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[322] George de Rappard, Olympic Secretariat *Terms of Reference*, July 22, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[323] P.J. Vermeulen and Patricia E. Kariel to the Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters, September 25, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[324] Diane Pachal to Bill Pratt, October 19, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[325] Barry Nelson, "Winter Games Body Fires Media Director," *The Globe and Mail*, October 20, 1983.
[326] Brian L. Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics," 313.

threat to the ecosystem from residential and hotel developments, the existing alpine village constructed without an EIA, and the potential use of Lake Louise for the men's downhill. They believed the government's ignorance and lack of an EIA violated both the Land Surface Conservation and Reclamation Act (1973) and Canada's endorsement of the World Conservation Strategy in 1981.[327] In collaboration with the AWA, the Federation of Alberta Naturalists, and the National and Provincial Parks Association, the SCWC requested Premier Lougheed and the Government of Alberta change the Olympic venue to either Mount Sparrowhawk or Mount Warspite. They would endorse either site on the condition that an EIA is completed with "full public participation" along with an environmental management plan and ongoing environmental monitoring.[328]

3.3 Lake Louise and National Park Advocacy

The SCWC's resolution was released shortly after a government announcement indicating Lake Louise would be considered for the men's downhill events. Premier Lougheed and Alberta Parks and Recreation Minister Peter Trynchy endorsed this move since the construction of the recreational ski hill would still be on the Eastern Slopes. However, Bill Pratt, president of the OCO'88, and Frank King, chairman of the OCO'88 soon reminded the government that the current policy was for the use of Mount Allan. In additional, they reminded

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[327] Patricia E. Kariel and Peter J. Vermeulen, *Position Paper re: Mount Allan as Site for 1988 Winter Olympic Games,* September 25, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[328] *Draft Resolution*, October 29, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

the provincial government many interests would oppose moving the men's downhill ski event to Lake Louise.[329]

The Petroleum Ski Club did not support the use of Lake Louise. They felt recreational skiers would be short-changed in the promise of a new Olympic-level facility along the Eastern Slopes.[330] Various ENGOs cautioned development in Lake Louise due to its impact on the productive grizzly bear habitat that spanned across the Bow Valley near the village and all the way up the slopes of the ski hill where natural vegetation attracted feeding bears and cubs in summer season. Of concern was the additional snowmaking equipment which would extend the ski season into spring, when grizzlies awaken from hibernation, creating increased contact between bears and humans. Further opposition came from international organizations based in the United States, such as the National Parks and Conservation Association[331] and the Wilderness Society that lobbied the federal government in Canada to adhere to its Parks Canada policy, "when there is doubt as to development for skiing or preservation of important features of national parks, the decision must favor park values." These ENGOs encouraged their large international memberships to pressure both the federal and provincial governments to protect important habitat.[332]

The potential Lake Louise site drew national interest as well. President Daniel F. Brunton of the Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club sent letters to Minister of the Environment John Roberts:

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[329] Barry Nelson, "'88 Olympic Ski Site Comes Under Attack," *The Globe and Mail*, November 21, 1983.
[330] Ivan Hnatuik to Frank King, December 9, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[331] Paul C. Pritchard to Pierre E. Trudeau, January 6, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[332] Ronald J. Tipton to Kevin McNamee, February 28, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

> I must say the seemingly endless series of developments within our national parks does little to instill a sense of confidence in the natural environment protection objectives of Parks Canada. If it isn't gypsum deposits being given away in Wood Buffalo, it's expansion of facilities at Sunshine Village in Banff… or any number of other destructive and irretrievable damaging actions in other parks. It's almost disturbing and throws a very poor light on Parks Canada's management record.[333]

Challenging the use of national parks for international events, Brunton asked for assurances that the Olympics would not take place in national parks even if Mount Allan proved to be inadequate.[334] Minister Roberts' response acknowledged Parks Canada's policies to minimize environmental impact and provided a vague explanation of current work on a long-term protection plan for each national park. "Quality developments" aligning with national interests would be allowed within Banff National Park boundaries provided there was minimal impact on the environment.[335]

Disappointed, Brunton questioned the term "national interest" asking "how can you effectively argue against resource extraction or hydro developments which offer nationally significant economic opportunities? In other words, this will have established what national parks are and we are now just haggling over the price!" His letter concluded with remarks on the Olympic site selection process, one that echoed concerns from other environmental groups:

> Mount Sparrowhawk facility has never been considered a serious option [it was] proposed only as a smokescreen to avoid a public outcry against the use of Banff facilities. The strategy is to leave us with this illusion until the last minute (relatively speaking) and then to 'discover' that Mount Sparrowhawk would not be suitable and to demand that Banff facilities be utilized.[336]

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[333] Daniel F. Brunton to John Roberts, January 26, 1982, PAA, 1988 Olympics Calgary, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40.
[334] Daniel F. Brunton to John Roberts, January 26, 1982, PAA, 1988 Olympics Calgary, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40.
[335] John Roberts to Daniel F. Brunton, April 26, 1982, PAA, 1988 Olympics Calgary, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40.
[336] Daniel F. Brunton to John Roberts, May 12, 1982, PAA, 1988 Olympics Calgary, accession no. GR 1994.0146, box 40.

3.4 Conservation Advocacy, Recreational Legacies, and the Bighorn Sheep

Claiming Alberta would be "a [laughing] stock of the world," environmental groups and Ski Action Alberta (SAA) sponsored a public forum titled "1988 Winter Olympic Downhill Ski Races: Delight or Disaster" on December 6, 1983, to educate interested public members on mountain site selection issues. ENGOs involved included the Alberta Wilderness Association, Federation of Alberta Naturalists, NPPAC, and the SCWC. Allisdair Fergusson, President of SAA, and Maryholen Posey, President of the Federation of Alberta Naturalists, stressed the need for an adequate downhill course that would provide a recreational legacy for Albertans without sacrificing environmental quality. The forum included a panel comprising geographer Terry Beck, wildlife biologist Ray Stemp, and Calgary oilman Ed Wolf as a representative of the Calgary Olympic Taxpayers Association. This seemingly unusual group of professionals united in advocating against the provincial government and Olympic organizers.[337]

Ivan Hnatuik, the president of the Petroleum Ski Club (PSC) and member of SAA, called on the public, along with western Canadian ski clubs, environmental groups, and political groups, to voice their opposition of Mount Allan. Only two groups supported the Mount Allan site – the provincial government and OCO'88.[338] The PSC supported the Spray Lakes and Snowdance sites as "superior alternatives to Mount [Allan]" that would provide the promised recreational legacy.[339]

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[337] Doug Kariel and Pat Kariel, *News Release,* November 22, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[338] Ivan Hnatuik to the Presidents of All Ski Clubs in Western Canada, Environmental Groups, and Political Groups, December 6, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[339] Ivan Hnatuik to Frank King, December 9, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

With international support from the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club U.S. and the National Parks and Conservation Association in the United States,[340] the Sierra Club of Western Canada continued its campaign to opposition the Games. Chairman Doug Kariel believed it would become the most important issue since the establishment of the club locally in 1973.[341] Subsequently, grizzly bears and bighorn sheep became symbols of ski development opposition in Lake Louise and Mount Allan. The perception was the public would be forced to choose between the two species as the government was unwilling to reconsider the Spray Lakes development.[342]

The Office of the Environmental Coordinator framed its opposition around these two main issues. The Mount Allan site was a world-renowned alpine bighorn sheep habitat that provided an isolated landscape to protect the herd from pneumonia. Stress from heightened human activity could cause pregnant females to lose their young and force sheep off the mountain to perish in poor conditions. The Lake Louise site had been consistently opposed by the public for twenty years to ensure national park values were upheld. A consultant report from 1979 was highlighted showing the best solution to maintain the Lake Louise grizzly bear population was to remove all recreational facilities. In a compromise, it was decided that current facilities would remain; but, the mountain would be spared further development. It was argued this "compromise that exists at Lake Louise between the protection of national park values and

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[340] Ronald J. Tipton to Kevin McNamee, January 6, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84; Doug Kariel to Denny Shaffer, January 12, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

[341] Doug Kariel, *Sierra Club Newsletter*, February 20, 1984, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

[342] Many letters and newsletters in the Sierra Club fonds stress the importance of the Mount Allan bighorn sheep herd and the Lake Louise grizzly bears. See Office of the Environmental Coordinator, "The 1988 Winter Olympics: What Kind of Legacy?" *News Release*, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

development of recreational facilities will be [seriously] jeopardized if the men's downhill is held at Lake Louise." The question was asked, "how many times need the public say 'no' to Lake Louise?"[343]

Fig. 5: Images of a Bighorn Sheep and Grizzly Bear from a Press Release. Artist unidentified. Source: GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, Series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84, Office of the Environmental Coordinator, "The 1988 Winter Olympics: What Kind of Legacy?" *News Release*, n.d.

Although assurances to protect the bighorn herd were made, Doug Kariel reiterated no mitigation plans existed to keep the public from the sheep. Both starts for the men's and women's downhill events were within the sheep habitat, even though the provincial government insisted facilities would be designed to avoid these sensitive habitats.[344] The SCWC continued to symbolically mobilize the bighorn sheep as symbols of the threatened landscape.

Despite recommendations to reduce human-animal conflict, a report released by the Government of Alberta in 1988 indicated that the bighorn sheep population on Mount Allan had declined by fifty sheep between 1985 and 1986, concurrent with Nakiska's public opening. To minimize the impacts on the sheep during the Games, the OCO'88 used fencing, trail

[343] Office of the Environmental Coordinator, "The 1988 Winter Olympics: What Kind of Legacy?" *News Release*, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[344] Doug Kariel to Danny Shaffer, n.d., GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.

restrictions, avoided flying helicopters over the grazing range, and feeding stations as reported in *The Washington Post*. The environmental issues of the Games drew international coverage.[345] Frank Cardinal, Director of the Alberta Fish and Wildlife Division's East Slopes Region, worried the sheep would be frightened by people on the mountain, stated "[a] lot of people just didn't realize what important wintering ranges these areas are… In fact, a lot of people don't seem to know that many animals use different parts of the mountains in winter and summer."

The fencing plan implemented by the OCO'88 did little to keep the sheep off the newly groomed ski runs and they often visited over the course of the Olympics as reported by *The Chicago Tribune*.[346] Additionally, the Special Committee for Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters, which was established in response to environmental group protests, was critiqued as "a complete failure" and a "shield for the Premier and his colleagues, a vacuum that prevented the penetration of public concerns and interests to the elected cabinet." The critics identified the following concerns with the committee: members lacked expertise in bighorn sheep or large mammals, members were all government employees, there were no attempts to collect data or establish monitoring programs, and the committee did not have decision-making power or funds to support research and mitigation work.[347]

3.5 Spray Lakes Resort and Development Pressure in Kananaskis Country 1988-1999

In November 1985, Premier Don Getty was elected with a Progressive Conservative (PC) government and replaced Premier Peter Lougheed. Getty was opposed to "anything that changes

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[345] "Mount Allan Skiing is Tough on Sheep," *The Washington Post*, February 24, 1988.
[346] John Husar, "BAAAA on Olympics, It Was Their Hill First," *Chicago Tribune,* February 25, 1988.
[347] Horejsi, "Bighorn Sheep, Mount Allan, and the 1988 Winter Olympics," 321.

the basic nature of Kananaskis Country," however some of his MLAs and key cabinet ministers wanted to "open up" the area. Proposals for golf courses, new hotels, and housing were supported by Recreation and Parks Minister Norm Weiss and Environment Minister Ken Kowalski, both MLAs from northern Alberta. After the Olympic Games, pressure for Kananaskis Country to become a destination tourism area resurfaced in new ways. The original plans for the alpine village development had included four separate villages but only one (the Ribbon Creek Alpine Village) had been created.[348]

The Spray Lakes Ski Resort had been proposed prior to the 1988 Olympic bid and predated the establishment of Kananaskis Country. In the late 1960s, Underwood McLellan & Associates approached the provincial government with a mountain resort proposal in the Spray Valley area. Assiniboia would serve as the anchor for a service station, residential area, and provide summer and winter recreational opportunities to tourists. Despite access issues (it would be outside of the Canmore corridor with major road-building required), the resort was poised as an answer to the stress of increased development in the national parks. Underwood McLellan & Associates sold their work to the Spray Lake Ski Corporation Ltd., who continued to pressure the provincial government to approve the Spray Lakes Ski Resort.[349]

By 1976, resort plans had been delayed by the provincial government. Officials cited the need for public hearings and exploration of other potential sites as the main reasons for the stall.[350] In 1979, the Spray Lake Ski Corporation Ltd. drafted an application for resort construction and sent it to Bud Miller, Associate Minister of Public Lands and Wildlife. The

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[348] "Cabinet Split on K-Country," *Calgary Herald,* August 25, 1988, GA, Newspaper Clipping Files, Kananaskis Country – 1978-1988.
[349] Spray Lake Ski Corporation Ltd., *Proposed Spray Lake Ski Area: Application for Preliminary Disclosure,* (Calgary: Spray Lake Ski Corporation Ltd., October 1979), 20-21.
[350] "Skiing: Assiniboia Resort Plan Delayed," *The Globe and Mail*, October 27, 1976.

proposed project established a seven-thousand-acre recreational ski resort serving as both a summer and winter recreation destination. It would conform to the Alpine Village concept under Kananaskis Country policy and provide opportunities for downhill skiing, cross-country skiing, snowshoeing, winter camping, swimming, tennis, hiking, climbing, summer camping, cycling, picnicking, and fishing.[351]

The Spray Lakes development was not the alpine village envisioned by the provincial government for the Olympic Games, so approval and development stalled. After the Games, interest in Spray Lakes recreational development gained momentum with the province, yet again, accused of secrecy surrounding development projects in Kananaskis Country. In a *Calgary Herald* article titled, "Next, Disney North?" the Government of Alberta's willingness to entertain various development proposals in Kananaskis Country was critiqued. The public, environmental groups, and the provincial government held different views with regards to Kananaskis Country's mandate. The province saw the enhancement of recreational and commercial opportunities as a means to increase economic development; whereas, environmental groups and hikers argued for "pristine wilderness closed to anyone without hiking boots."[352]

Much like the secrecy surrounding the Lougheed government's Nakiska development plans, Getty's government was accused of "secrecy and favoritism" when they approved a renewable Crown lease and development permit to allow a fifty-room resort in the Spray Lakes area. New Democrat Party Leader Ray Martin asserted Getty had "awarded rights to Crown land from behind closed doors to a friend of his government." The *Calgary Herald* reported:

> Getty was under opposition attack in the legislature after it was revealed the province has quietly given the Airdrie contractor a 25-year renewable Crown lease and development permit to build a 50-room resort on the southern tip of Spray Lakes. The multi-million-

[351] Spray Lake Ski Corporation Ltd., *Proposed Spray Lake Ski Area*, 1-2.
[352] "Next, Disney North?," *Calgary Herald,* May 17, 1991.

> dollar project includes a 100-seat restaurant and three convention rooms, with future plans to double the facility's size and add 20 chalets.[353]

Officials noted the project was only in the preliminary stages and would follow Kananaskis policy regarding public consultations. Environment Minister Ralph Klein assured the public an EIA would take place.[354] An additional proposal, for a heli-ski development on Mount Sparrowhawk, further angered ski resort development opponents. The heli-ski proposal was from the Kananaskis Pathways Corporation, an organization that shared its president, Harry Connolly, with the Spray Development Corporation. Connolly, a developer who had previously worked on the Olympic Games bid, had been attempting to establish skiing in the Spray Lakes area for over a decade by 1991.

Vivian Pharis, President of the Alberta Wilderness Association, accused the province of betraying the public trust and Dr. Niels Damgaard, President of the Alberta Fish and Game Association, asserted environmental concerns "have again taken a back seat to the economic potential of Alberta's natural areas." Damsgaard further stated his association "has almost come to accept that wildlife will have to step aside for major tourism projects." Furthermore, an EIA had again not been completed and, again, its necessity questioned by government and developers.[355] Environmental groups challenged the legitimacy of approving another development in Kananaskis Country.

Development approvals stalled throughout the 1990s as private investors struggled with financial and economic challenges;[356] however, Connolly and the Spray Development

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[353] Ashley Geddes, "Resort Skirts Environmental Review; Getty's 'Love Letters' to Developer Assured no Obstacles, NDs Charge," *Calgary Herald,* May 17, 1991.
[354] Geddes, "Resort Skirts Environmental Review."
[355] Chris Dawson, "Kananaskis Heli-Ski Plan Stirs Storm," *Calgary Herald,* May 8, 1991.
[356] "Green Light: K-Country's Mountain Majesty is a Good Place for Planned, Thoughtful, Development," *Calgary Herald,* October 9, 1995.

Corporation continued to gain exposure in the media. Connolly believed a destination resort, with accommodations for skiers, was needed in Alberta. Nakiska had been designed as a day-use area, and although the nearby Ribbon Creek Village had lodging, Connolly argued a ski resort with onsite accommodations was needed.[357] Bill Milne, the Calgary architect credited by Alberta Parks in assisting with the establishment of Kananaskis Country, supported increased recreational development in the area. Milne believed Kananaskis Country was always designated for multi-use recreation and not to preserve the environment. In 1996, he had proposed a $35-million alpine village at Evan Thomas Creek, near Nakiska, as a second alpine village for the area. It was one of approximately sixty sites proposed for new privately developed recreational areas.[358]

Environmental groups challenged Milne's perception of Kananaskis Country. CPAWS leader Wendy Francis contended Kananaskis Country's main goal had always been environmental protection and the various development proposals threatened wildlife habitat.[359] In 1996, the Kananaskis Country Interdepartmental Committee conducted public surveys as part of a review of the area. Findings indicated the public wanted minimal development with no new town sites, no sale of crown land, and investigation of new developments on a "social, environmental and economic sustainable basis." The AWA obtained similar findings in their surveys, and groups like the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) and Trout Unlimited also agreed with

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[357] "Massive Resort Planned for Eastern Slopes (Kananaskis Country)," *Canadian Press NewsWire,* December 15, 1996.

[358] Vicki Barnett, "Report Backs Development in K-Country," *Calgary Herald,* September 18, 1991. Milne had argued for environmental protection and recreational use, but here he is criticized for a lack of environmental concern. Vicki Barnett, "Architect Proposes Second Village for Park," *Calgary Herald,* September 4, 1995. He was also critiqued for wanting to relocate bears away from recreation areas. "Bear Problems Have Profound Moral and Ethical Implications," *Calgary Herald,* December 4, 1992.

[359] Barnett, "Report Backs Development in K-Country."

minimal development.[360] Hikers like Bruce Masterman, a *Calgary Herald* reporter, shared the sentiment:

> Nobody I've talked to on the trails, along the lakeshores and riverbanks or in the campgrounds has ever told me Kananaskis Country needs more development. In fact, they say, its appeal lies in its limited development. Granted, I don't hang around the golf course or luxury hotels in Kananaskis Village, where pro-development sentiment is more likely to surface. Although I seek out campgrounds without power, playgrounds, showers or stores, I don't begrudge people who prefer paved pathways, or microwave their lunch from the comfort of motorhomes. But for many users, K-Country is developed enough.[361]

On November 28, 1996, the Kananaskis Country Coalition (a coalition of ten ENGOs), rallied in opposition to development in Kananaskis Country at the Calgary Jubilee Auditorium. Nine hundred protestors were fuming and argued for proposals to be "thrown in the wastebasket," as newly considered proposals called for a new ski resort, condominium development, and a new golf course. Wildlife biology professor Dr. Stephen Herrero, chairman of the Eastern Slopes Grizzly Project and an SCWC member, expressed concerns that new development would be detrimental to grizzly bear movement in wildlife corridors. This would subsequently increase in human-animal conflicts.[362] Herrero was a scientist and renowned for his grizzly bear research in the Canadian Rockies.

Around the same time as the rally, the Leader of the Opposition Grant Mitchell, a Liberal, brought forward Bill 206 – the Kananaskis Park Act. The Bill called for a new park in the northern part of Kananaskis Valley and Spray lakes which would protect the area from new development. This issue was part of Mitchell's election platform as the Liberals maintained that Alberta "lags behind other provinces in its protection of parks." The party saw a public

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[360] Susan Scott, "No Rush: Kananaskis Report Months Away," *Calgary Herald,* August 9, 1996.
[361] Bruce Masterman, "Passionate Hikers Call Kananaskis Country God's World," *Calgary Herald,* August 11, 1996.
[362] Monica Andreeff, "900 at Rally on Future of Kananaskis Country," *Calgary Herald,* November 29, 1996.

consensus leaned in favour of protection and supported it, also sensing an environmental issue that could galvanize voters. The Bill also proposed to "forbid new leases for grazing, timber, mineral exploration and the hunting of grizzly bears and wolves in the area."[363] It put pressure on the Progressive Conservative Premier Ralph Klein who rose from being the mayor of Calgary during the Olympics into provincial politics and later succeeded Don Getty in 1992. Even though survey results indicated Albertans opposed development, the Kananaskis Country Coalition worried Premier Klein would continue approving proposals much as he had earlier as Minister of the Environment. Klein stated little room existed in Kananaskis for more facilities; but, his government was willing to consider future proposals and would not retract current approvals.[364]

Genesis Land Development Corporation, owned by former oil and gas professionals Gobi Singh and Arthur Wong, purchased the rights to the Spray Lakes developments from Spray Lakes Development Corporation in December 1998. Opposition to the development gained national interest when an article was published by the *National Post* on February 5, 1999, titled, "Genesis Resort Plan Hits Protest: Purchase in Kananaskis Region Prompts Fears Over Grizzly Habitat."[365] In November 1999, Spray Development Corporation and Kananaskis Pathways Corporation, subsidiaries of Genesis Land Developers Ltd., released project descriptions for Spray Resort and the Mount Sparrowhawk Heli-Cat Ski Operation. The Spray Resort consisted of accommodations, a ski resort, cross-country terrain, a golf course, facilities for water recreation, conference capabilities, and interpretive programs. It would be a "world-class year

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[363] David Steinhart, "Liberals Focusing on K-Country for Election," *Calgary Herald,* November 29, 1996.
[364] Monte Stewart and Steve Chase, "Conservatives Bashed on Environment," *Calgary Herald,* March 8, 1997.
[365] Johnnie Bachusky, "Genesis Resort Plan Hits Protest: Purchase in Kananaskis Region Prompts Fears Over Grizzly Habitat," *National Post,* February 5, 1999.

round recreation and tourist destination [that would] attract, accommodate, inform and entertain tourists from around the world."[366] The group believed "that among the area's greatest attractions are its beauty and the presence of wildlife in a natural setting," and steps would be taken to "maintain the integrity of the natural environment and to capitalize on the opportunity it provides for education and enlightenment of visitors to the area."[367]

The Heli-cat ski operation located on Mount Sparrowhawk would be the first of its kind in Alberta.[368] Environmental impacts would be minimized through specific measures and Genesis would incorporate a recycling and waste reduction program into the operation.[369] The manager of planning with Genesis, Jeff Blair, stated: "while the resort will mean the loss of some wilderness and more people visiting the area, the company feels it will benefit many Albertans."

On January 4, 2000, *Canadian NewsWire* published information provided by fifteen national and regional ENGOs advocating against the Spray Lakes resort development. David Poulton, with the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS), likened the severity of the project to the Cheviot mine debacle.[370] The Cheviot mine was an open-pit coal mine project that would sit two and a half kilometres from the east Jasper National Park boundary. Debate over the mine centred on political conflict between a resource-extractive economy and a "new" environmental economy that sought a protected mountain landscape.[371] According to ENGOs,

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[366] Genesis Land Developers Ltd., *Spray Development Corporation Project Description & Kananaskis Pathways Corporation Project Description & Proposed Terms of Reference for EIA Report,* (Genesis Land Developers Ltd.,December 1999), 1.
[367] Genesis Land Developers Ltd., *Spray Development,* 11.
[368] Genesis Land Developers Ltd., *Spray Development,* 1.
[369] Genesis Land Developers Ltd., *Spray Development,* 7.
[370] "15 Conservation Groups Declare Opposition to Genesis Development in Spray Valley," *Canada NewsWire,* January 4, 2000.
[371] Ian Urquhart, "Blind Spots in the Rearview Mirrors: Livelihood and the Cheviot Debate," in *Writing Off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural*

there was evidence that a project in Spray Valley would destroy grizzly bear habitat, diminish an important wildlife corridor, impact wildlife in nearby Banff National Park, and would commercialize "a popular wild recreation area." The Spray Lakes development became framed as resource-extractive as it would decrease the amount of "wilderness" available for wildlife and hikers.

Opposition grew quickly, and public consultations opened on January 11, 2000. Alberta Environment had already received forty responses by February 8. Hikers, environmental groups, and the general public argued that the Spray Lakes ecosystem was unique and should not be modified for resort developments.[372] By the end of the public consultation period in March, the government had received thousands of letters and phone calls. It was clear development was not wanted in Kananaskis Country by a vast majority of respondents. Using the Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act, and the Water Act, the provincial government used its authority to deny the development on the basis it would not be in the public's best interest. Instead, the province would establish a new provincial park – Spray Lakes Provincial Park. [373]

While Genesis called the project cancellation "a political move," Premier Klein stated that it would "[strengthen] the intention of Kananaskis Country to preserve an important part of our province as a legacy for generations of Albertans to come."[374] CPAWS and other environmental groups applauded the decision as "the last piece of the puzzle" to allow for

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Communities, ed. Roger Epp and David Whitson, 145-164 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 127-128.
[372] Grady Semmens, "Spray Lakes up for Development," *Calgary Herald,* February 8, 2000.
[373] Eva Ferguson, "Province Rejects Plan for Mountain Resort: Mar Opts to Create Provincial Park in Spray Lakes Area," *Calgary Herald,* June 2, 2000.
[374] Ferguson, "Province Rejects Plan for Mountain Resort."

protection of the grizzly and wolf habitat.[375] However, park creation and protection could be critiqued as a political move by Klein. Serving as environment minister, he established public consultations under the auspices that he valued environmental protection. This continued when Klein was elected as premier in 1992. These consultations have been investigated as manipulative attempts to convince the public of his government's environmentally-concerned position.[376] With another election approaching in 2001, Klein needed public support, and park creation would be an appealing legacy of his government.

Spray Valley Provincial Park was established in December 2000,[377] and a spring provincial election soon afterward brought Premier Klein back with a landslide majority in March 2001.[378] Park-making and conservation was a win-win with the public and voters. Along with the adjacent Peter Lougheed Provincial Park (formerly Kananaskis Provincial Park), almost two-hundred thousand acres of land within the Bow River watershed would be protected from new development; hydro-electric dams constructed in 1932 and 1955 by Calgary Power would remain.[379] Environmental groups were pleased with the establishment of the new park. A wildlife corridor stretching from Kakwa Wildland Park to Glacier National Park in Montana would now

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[375] Grady Semmens, "Spray Lakes Area Named Province's Newest Park," *Edmonton Journal,* September 21, 2000.
[376] McInnis and Urquhart, "Protecting Mother Earth or Business?," 242, 247.
[377] Alberta Wilderness Association, "Kananaskis: History," *Alberta Wilderness Association*, accessed April 12, 2018, https://albertawilderness.ca/issues/wildlands/areas-of-concern/kananaskis/#parentHorizontalTab4.
[378] Trevor W. Harrison, "Ralph Klein," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* last modified March 4, 2015, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ralph-klein/.
[379] *Peter Lougheed & Spray Valley Provincial Parks: Management Plan,* Alberta Community Development Parks and Protected Areas, April 2006, https://www.albertaparks.ca/media/447232/plppsprayplan_webversion.pdf, 1.

be protected from development intrusions.[380] Similar to the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force in the late 1990s, it reflected a shift toward larger corridor models of wildlife conservation.[381]

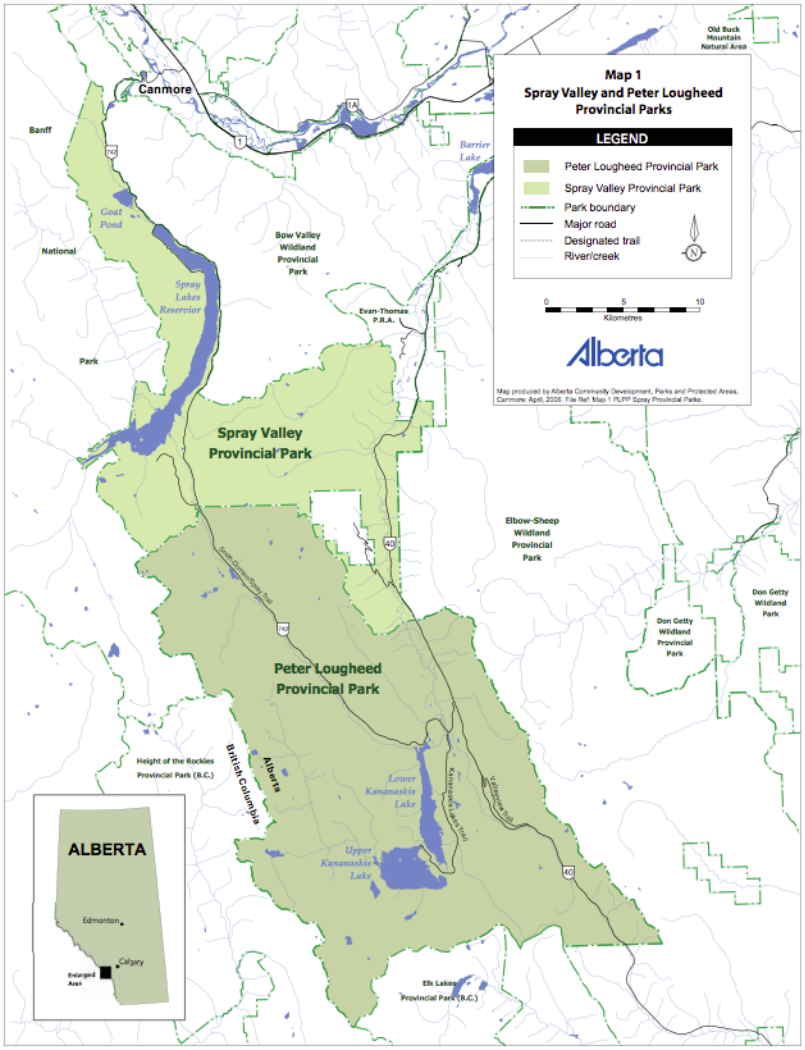

Fig. 6: Map of Spray Valley and Peter Lougheed Provincial Parks.
Source: *Peter Lougheed & Spray Valley Provincial Parks: Management Plan*, Alberta Community Development Parks and Protected Areas, April 2006,
https://www.albertaparks.ca/media/447232/plppsprayplan_webversion.pdf.

[380] Sylvia LeRoy, "How Much is Enough? Moving Targets Lock up Land use in Alberta," *Calgary Herald,* August 4, 2001.
[381] Robert Page, Suzanne Bayley, J. Douglas Cook, Jeffrey E. Green, and J.R. Brent Ritchie, *Banff-Bow Valley: At the Crossroads, Summary Report of the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force,* (Banff, AB: Department of Canadian Heritage, 1996).

3.6 The Construction of Ski Resorts and the Preservation of Mountain Landscapes

Through Tim Ingold's 'dwelling perspective' Kananaskis Country can be viewed as a multi-layered cultural landscape artifact of development versus conservation politics. When thinking about landscapes through the dwelling perspective, Ingold believes there is no separation between the mind and nature. Buildings are not placed upon landscapes but materialize in a constantly-changing world engrained within human dwelling.[382]

The 'dwelling perspective' draws on Heidegger's earlier work to reconcile the barriers between biological evolution and cultural history to imagine landscapes as stories that are constantly influenced by humans. 'To dwell' is to construct, but it can also be extended to show cultivation and preservation. The landscape acts as a living memory and its environment is constantly transformed by the organisms that dwell within.[383] Contested ski resorts on the eastern slopes are artifacts and cultural manifestations of constructed and preserved land. Environmental groups and ski resort developers placed different meanings on Mount Allan, Spray Lakes, and Mount Whitehorn which led to fierce debate surrounding their development and use.[384] Additionally, Indigenous peoples dwelled in these territories and their meanings were another overlay often overlooked at this time despite proximity to the Stoney-Nakoda reserve and traditional territories throughout the Kananaskis area as well as east-west migratory routes of various Indigenous peoples and early paleo-humans crossing the Rockies.

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[382] Tim Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape*,"* in *Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 206.
[383] Tim Ingold, "Building, Dwelling, Living: How Animals and People Make Themselves at Home in the World," in *Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 185-187.
[384] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 27.

Kananaskis Country ski resort contestations in the 1980s and 1990s focused on the ecological impacts of new developments and threats to wild animals that dwelled within the contested landscapes at Nakiska and Spray Lakes. ENGOs called out Olympic planners (e.g., OCO'88, Government of Alberta) for the lack of environmental assessments and the lack of accountability for a group to accept EIA responsibility. When pressure mounted, the provincial government created a Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters, but membership was limited solely to government officials. After a brief public consultation period, the committee was accused of being a public façade to diffuse ecological concerns.[385] ENGOs were poised against the provincial government and Olympic organizers in a debate between development and conservation.

Ski areas are often depicted as an attractive development because they do not extract natural resources from the landscape. The experience of skiing is sold to consumers, who may not readily understand the landscape changes required when constructing a new resort.[386] Urban Albertans in the 1980s and 1990s were part of the dominant culture that consumed rural areas as recreational playgrounds ripe with natural resources.[387] However, environmental advocates saw the construction of ski resorts as a transformation of habitat into "cultural spaces for mass tourism."[388]

Philosopher Michel Foucault introduced the notion of "bio-power" in *The History of Sexuality,* volume 1, in 1976. It represents types of power exerted over people and populations

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[385] P.J. Vermeulen and Patricia E. Kariel to the Special Committee for the Review of Wildlife and Environmental Matters, September 25, 1983, GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84.
[386] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 105.
[387] Roger Epp, "Two Albertas: Rural and Urban Trajectories," in *We are all Treaty People,* 165-186 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), 184.
[388] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 3.

and through the regulation of bodies, bio-power becomes imperative to capitalism.[389] Bio-politics are "techniques of power present at every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions," which "[operate] in the sphere of economic processes."[390] Instead of traditional power over lives, bio-power monitors and manages populations in regards to productivity and health.[391] This can be extended to "systems of environmental power and knowledge that define non-human populations and make them manageable."[392]

By drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of bio-power and Paul Rutherford's notion of environmental power, Mark Stoddart introduces "ecopower" to skiing – the relationships and power exerted on skiing landscapes between ski resort operators and non-human nature. While ski resort development does not transform the landscape the same way as extractive resource industries, it still becomes entangled in bio-power relationships between humans and nature. Skiing as a physical activity is framed as a "non-consumptive experience of mountainous nature," but its production requires deforestation and significant energy use for transportation, facilities, and snowmaking equipment. Pollution and emissions act as undesired additions to mountainous nature, and contemporary ski resorts are called upon by environmental groups and citizens to improve environmental practices. This becomes enmeshed in existing political and

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[389] Colin Gordon, "Government Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality,* ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 1-51 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 4-5; Michel Foucault, "Part Five: Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction,* 135-145 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), https://soth-alexanderstreet-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/cgi-bin/asp/philo/soth/getdoc.pl?S10021790-D000012, 140.
[390] Foucault, "Part Five," 141.
[391] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 108.
[392] Paul Rutherford, "The Entry of Life into History," in *Discourses of the Environment,* ed. Eric Darier, 37-62 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) cited in Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 109.

economic structures and ski resorts must find a balance between habitat stewardship and economic benefit.[393]

Stoddart engages the term 'ecological legitimacy' to show how environmental advocates question the relationship between skiing and nature.[394] Olympic organizers and the Spray Lakes developers disregarded environmental concerns and chose to view ski resort developments as ecologically benign. However, significant withdrawals from sensitive habitats would still result from the clearing of runs and energy consumption of equipment and chairlifts. The construction of Nakiska, the potential use of Mount Whitehorn, and proposed development at Spray Lakes showcases the government's utilization of ecopower on an area depicted as a recreational playground for Calgarians. Nakiska and the Spray Lakes lie within provincial government control as part of the Kananaskis Country multiple-use area. The nature of Kananaskis Country was subject to control by political and economic forces, both before and after the moratorium on development. Landscapes were constructed to fulfil human desires for what was deemed acceptable within the eastern slopes. Ski resorts were thought to be critical to increasing tourism and incurring economic benefits and were therefore prioritized over conservation.

Contemporary ski resort developers often voice their environmental commitments and awareness as a means to position skiing as ecologically benign.[395] Historically, this was less utilized to justify resort construction. Until the 1980s, land was deemed valuable for agriculture and petroleum production with technological developments and capitalism creating a utilitarian view of nature. Alberta land-use conflicts in the mid-1980s were not only limited to industrial resource development, but expanded to include recreational, agricultural, and traditional uses of

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[393] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 134.
[394] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 105-106, 123.
[395] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 119.

land. Albertans were disappointed with environmental regulations, but the provincial government continued its multiple-use approach to public land.[396] In attempts to alleviate public discern, the Government of Alberta emphasized sensitive construction and mitigation techniques that would reduce the environmental impact of Nakiska.[397] With regards to the 1990s Spray Lakes proposal, Genesis implemented minimal mitigation techniques but drew attention to their environmental stewardship through a waste and recycling program.[398]

In both cases, limited details about the mitigation of environmental impacts were provided publicly which led to increased criticism from ENGOs. The recycling and waste reduction program could further be critiqued as a strategy to distract from environmental harms related to resort development and perhaps even as a method to reduce waste disposal costs. This strategy is also apparent in modern ski resorts like Whistler Blackcomb and Mount Washington.[399]

In "Government Rationality: An Introduction," Colin Gordon examines Foucault's bio-power further to show how "strategic reversibility" can create resistance within power relations.[400] I extend this to analyze Mount Allan as a landscape of resistance. The mountain itself was known by the public, skiers, ENGOs, scientists, and even developers and the government to be not ideal for skiing. Weather conditions like low snowfall, Chinook winds,

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[396] Lorelei L. Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape: The Management of Alberta's Rural Public Lands," in *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action,* ed. J. Parkins and Maureen Gail Reed, 148-168 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 156, 160.
[397] *The Washington Post*, "Mount Allan Skiing is Tough on Sheep."
[398] Genesis Land Developers Ltd., *Spray Development,* 7.
[399] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 120. Whistler Blackcomb acknowledges a commitment to sustainability through lower energy consumption, waste reduction, habitat management, and pedestrian-friendly areas. Mount Washington uses its website to showcase its environmental education programs.
[400] Gordon, "Government Rationality," 5.

flooding potential, and warm temperatures created a form of environmental power that resisted viable ski resort production. Without technology like snowmaking, the mountain would be unsuitable and would fail as an Olympic site. The government utilized extensive snowmaking to overcome this and continued to dominate the landscape. However, with a changing climate, the resort's long-term viability (both economically and recreationally) comes under question.

Wild animals that dwell within Kananaskis Country act as another site of power resistance. The bighorn sheep of Mount Allan and the grizzly bears of Spray Valley were highlighted by ENGOs as critical to the areas under development. As Stoddart states:

> As skiing collectives take shape, some animals are incorporated through productive forms of biopower, while those that cannot cohabit with skiers, hotels, lodges, and chairlifts are pushed out… animals that do not fit into our vision for the landscape move out.[401]

While bio-power is exerted on wildlife, in the cases of Mount Allan, Spray Lakes, and Mount Whitehorn, a form of resistance to power is seen. The bighorn sheep of Mount Allan persisted and forced ski run construction to take place around their grazing area. Along with the grizzlies of Spray Lakes and Mount Whitehorn, they were also mobilized by ENGOs to garner public opposition locally, nationally, and internationally. Ecopower in the form of resort construction and mountain cultivation was exercised by the government, but a resistance manifested from weather conditions and wildlife.

The constructions of wild animals through discourse can be examined to provide insight into how humans interact with wildlife historically and culturally. They become symbols of wilderness that are sublime and potentially threatening while also eliciting emotional responses that lead to human protection. While ski resorts may link their constructed landscapes to nature

[401] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 135.

by utilizing animals in imagery and resort discourse, environmental groups symbolically and scientifically mobilize wildlife to focus on the negative impacts of the ski industry.[402]

Eastern slopes conservation discourse among ENGOs positioned skiing against wild animals, in particular, the bighorn sheep of Mount Allan and grizzly bears of Mount Whitehorn and Spray Lakes. Ski resorts convert landscapes "into social spaces for recreation and mass tourism, as deforestation for ski runs and resort infrastructure risk displacing sensitive animal species.[403] Stoddart believes some modern ski resorts, challenged by environmental values, use animals as symbols of wilderness in an attempt to link the facilities to "nature and an environmentalist standpoint," but environmentalists often use these same symbols to showcase the negative impacts of the ski industry.[404] ENGOs that argued against the development of Mount Allan, Spray Lakes, and potential use of Mount Whitehorn enlisted wild animals in conservation discourse to showcase environmental threats and convey high stakes.

The focus on particular wildlife within ENGO letters, newsletters, and press releases was mostly written scientific text, but sometimes small drawings were included as artwork and visual texts. In an undated news release from the Office of the Environmental Coordinator titled, "The 1988 Winter Olympics: What Kind of Legacy?" hand-drawn images of a bighorn sheep and a grizzly bear were framed with broad scientific information about the stress ski development would incur on them. Messages about government decisions and park policy further emphasized the risks associated with each site.

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[402] Mark Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas: Animals and the Meaning of Skiing Landscapes in British Columbia, Canada," *Nature and Culture* 6, 1 (Spring 2011), 41-42.
[403] Stoddart, *Making Meaning out of Mountains,* 127.
[404] Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas," 41. Similarly, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was considered successful because she focused on "a single biological class (birds)." See John Paull, "The Rachel Carson Letters and the Making of Silent Spring," *SAGE Open* (July-September 2013), 8.

THE 1988 WINTER OLYMPICS: WHAT KIND OF LEGACY?

Environmental groups support the 1988 Winter Olympic Games realizing they are an important international event to Canadians. In that light we have attempted to assist Olympic organizers in choosing the best possible site for the Olympic alpine skiing events.

We present the following information in the interest of ensuring the best possible Olympic Winter Games and the best legacy for Albertans.

WHAT HAPPENED TO MT. SPARROWHAWK?

The Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA) won the bid for the 1988 Winter Olympics with Mt. Sparrowhawk proposed as the Alpine skiing venue. The Sierra Club of Canada supported CODA's choice and other conservation groups did not oppose it.

However, on April 29, 1983 the Government of Alberta announced its selection of Mt. Allan as the Olympic alpine venue. On the same day the government and the XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO) asked the Federal Government to consider the availability of Lake Louise for the men's Olympic downhill.

WHY was the site changed? WHY consider Lake Louise?

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO MT. ALLAN AND LAKE LOUISE?

In assessing the current proposals for Mt. Allan and Lake Louise, the public should not be forced into a choice between bighorn sheep and grizzly bears, between development and national park values. What are the alternatives?

On December 1, 1983 Ski Action Alberta unveiled an expanded proposal for the Mt. Lougheed - Mt. Sparrowhawk - Mt. Buller area.

An initial overview of the proposal indicates that it would be more environmentally acceptable than CODA's original proposal which would have placed a recreational facility close to a wilderness area. The current proposal is further removed than the other ski area proposals (Mt. Warspite, Tentridge, Mt. Allan, Lake Louise) from wilderness areas such as Banff National Park or Mt. Assiniboine and other critical wildlife habitats.

This proposal would provide:

- a world-class competitive ski terrain for the Olympics and thereafter.
- a world-class training facility.
- a legacy for recreation skiers, beginners to experts.
- an area with suitable climatic conditions for skiing.

Another alternative site is at Panorama with its internationally approved ski runs and new snowmaking.

WHY IS MT. ALLEN UNACCEPTABLE?

A large world-renowned alpine bighorn sheep herd would be seriously threatened. The following points elaborate on this:

- Because the herd is isolated year-round in high mountain environments, it is believed to be safer from a pneumonia that periodically decimates North American sheep herds.
- Development on Mt. Allan will drive the sheep from their alpine habitat into lower valleys, rendering them more susceptible to the deadly pneumonia through contact with other domestic animals.
- Stress would be created by intense human activity during the Olympics which would include 24-hour security patrols and frequent helicopter flights.
- This intense activity will certainly stress female sheep who are pregnant with their young at the time of the Olympics. The fetus are highly susceptible to stress.

Several Calgary Recreational Ski Associations have concluded:

- Mt. Allan has very poor potential for recreational skiing due to the nature of the terrain, poor snow conditions, frequent and intense chinooks, strong winds, and a short ski season.
- The proposed downhill race course would be only marginal for international competition.

Therefore:

- There would be no recreational legacy for Albertans.
- There would be no world-class training facility for racers and no legacy for future Olympians.

WHY IS LAKE LOUISE UNACCEPTABLE?

Over the past 20 years, the public has consistently upheld national park values through its adamant rejection of any plans to expand the village of Lake Louise, to provide on-slope accommodation, or to develop Lake Louise as a destination tourist resort.

A 1979 consultant's report to Parks Canada stated the **IDEAL** solution for maintaining the excellent grizzly bear habitat at Lake Louise was to remove existing recreational facilities such as ski runs and swimming pools.

A tenuous compromise was struck whereby the current development at Lake Louise would remain but further development would be thoroughly reviewed and strictly controlled.

OCO's plans for Lake Louise and Olympic requirements are more elaborate than for any other previous ski competition held at Lake Louise and those allowed for in the recently approved Lake Louise Ski Area Development Plan.

Clearly, the compromise that exists at Lake Louise between the protection of national park values and development of recreational facilities will be SERIOUSLY jeopardized if the men's downhill is held at Lake Louise.

There still exist a number of unresolved environmental problems at Lake Louise:

- Lake Louise is excellent grizzly habitat. Construction activity and increased visitation and use will more than likely increase bear/man contacts, with the grizzly the ULTIMATE loser.
- Lake Louise soils have demonstrated their ability to slide and erode when disturbed.
- The installation of snowmaking may extend the skiing season into the time when grizzlies are leaving their winter den.
- The development of ski areas has already resulted in a 50% reduction of the mountain goat herd in the area. There are concerns for further reductions.

In addition:

- Holding the men's downhill at Lake Louise will cost taxpayers an estimated $5 million extra with no permanent skiing facilities left as a legacy.
- There will be no world-class training facility legacy.

Parks Canada Policy for Downhill Skiing (1975) clearly states, **"WHEN THERE IS DOUBT AS TO DEVELOPMENT FOR SKIING OR PRESERVATION OF IMPORTANT FEATURES OF NATIONAL PARKS, THE DECISION MUST FAVOR THE NATIONAL PARK VALUES."**

The pressure to develop Lake Louise could **FURTHER COMPROMISE THE PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL PARK VALUES.**

HOW MANY TIMES NEED THE PUBLIC SAY "NO" TO LAKE LOUISE?

CONCERNED? Here is what YOU can do:

- State your support for Mt. Sparrowhawk and concern over the choice of Mt. Allan by contacting your MLA. Your MLA's name and number can be obtained by phoning the Premier's Southern Alberta office at 297-6464.
- State your concern over the use of Lake Louise by writing:
  Hon. Charles Caccia
  Minister of Environment
  House of Commons
  Ottawa, Ontario
  K1A 0A6

THE QUALITY OF THE LEGACY THAT THE 1988 WINTER OLYMPICS WILL LEAVE ALBERTANS AND CANADIANS DEPENDS ON YOUR VOICING YOUR OPINION ... NOW!

For more information contact:
OFFICE & ENVIRONMENTAL COORDINATOR
ALBERTA FEDERATION OF NATURALISTS - ALBERTA WILDERNESS ASSOCIATION - NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PARKS ASSOCIATION

SIERRA CLUB
455 - 12 St. N.W. Calgary, Alta.
Phone 283-1576.

Fig. 7: News Release from the Office of the Environmental Coordinator. Artist unidentified. Source: GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, Series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84, Office of the Environmental Coordinator, "The 1988 Winter Olympics: What Kind of Legacy?" ***News Release*****, n.d.**

The animals became symbols of Olympic protest that focused on the "ecological harms of new [and old] ski resort development."[405] ENGOs rallied support through the generation of threatened wild animals and constructed meaning within the mountain landscapes.[406]

These natural history style pencil-drawings were representations of threatened wild animals and replaced the scientific viewpoint "with an artistic frame of vision." Dianne Chisholm notes that artistic depictions of animals might allow humans to develop a sense of how the animal and its habitat are affected by developments. Her work investigates a 2003 Canadian

[405] Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas," 50.
[406] Stoddart, Grizzlies and Gondolas," 57.

film about caribou that was created to oppose oil and gas development in the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge and raise awareness to conserve migratory caribou. She argues the imagery and discourse is a form of ecological activism that draws attention to a threatened animal.[407] Contemporary ENGO strategies often include documentaries to showcase a particular animal or habitat that is threatened by resource extraction and development.[408] For example, *Jumbo Wild* is a documentary produced in 2015 that was considered effective in detailing the debate over a proposed ski resort within the Jumbo Valley (west of Invermere, B.C. and in the Purcell Mountains).[409] The Jumbo Valley project has been stalled, and while film was not utilized by ENGOs concerned with the studied ski resorts in the 1980s and 1990s, this type of public engagement could have been an effective means of conveying important information about the critical habitats. Instead, scientific information was heavily mobilized in public campaigns and letters to government officials as a method of showcasing threatened wildlife and portray how the animals would be impacted by developments. While unsuccessful in opposing the Mount Allan development, ENGO methods are considered successful in ending pressuring the government to reject Spray Valley development and use of Mount Whitehorn.

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[407] Dianne Chisholm, "The Becoming-Animal of Being Caribou: Art, Ethics, Politics," in *Sustaining the West: Cultural Responses to Canadian Environments,* ed. Liza Piper and Lisa Szabo-Jones, 87-107 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 88. The film included biologist Karsten Heuer and filmmaker Leanne Allison and followed them as they spent five months tracking a Porcupine Caribous Herd migration in the Arctic.

[408] See https://vimeo.com/210812190 for a Caribou documentary released in 2017 that is utilized by wildsight.ca to advocate for caribou in the South Purcells. Also see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNRYgn7T2C4 for the *Jumbo Wild* trailer that advocates against potential ski resort development in B.C's Jumbo Valley and https://www.keepitwild.ca/ for information about Jumbo Valley and grizzly bear advocacy.

[409] Garrett Grove, "Documentary Describes Debate Over Jumbo Glacier Resort Proposal," *The Globe and Mail,* September 24, 2015.

In the 1980s ENGOs focused on scientific information and sketches or photographs of threatened animals.[410] Although it appeared the public was opposed to increased development on the eastern slopes, discursive conservation tactics did not leverage enough political pressure to reject Mount Allan as the Olympic mountain. Wamsley and Heine argue that news articles depicting site selection issues were often juxtaposed with information on unemployment rates in discursive strategies used to draw attention away from the environmental issues.[411]

In the 1990s, ENGOs challenged the provincial government to justify approval of the Spray Lake Ski Resort. Although the groups had supported its use for Olympic developments in the early 1980s, more development in Kananaskis Country was opposed. The Eastern Slopes Grizzly Bear Project, led by biologist and SCWC member, Dr. Stephen Herrero, had commenced in 1994 with an emphasis on science-based bear conservation.[412] Using the grizzly bear in advocacy, Dr. Herrero met with Alberta's Environment Minister Gary Mar to provide a summary of the habitat threat and was successful in educating the minister to push for protection of Spray Lakes.[413] More development projects were expected to diminish wildlife corridors and augment human-bear conflicts.[414] An awe-inspiring large mammal, the grizzly bear was symbolically and

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[410] See GA, Sierra Club of Alberta Fonds, Series 3, M-8546-15 – 1988 Winter Olympics Correspondence, 1982-84; various newspaper articles regarding Mount Allan, Spray Lakes, and Lake Louise also include scientific information about the bighorn sheep and grizzly bears.
[411] Kevin B. Wamsley and Michael K. Heine, "Traidition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* V (1996), 83.
[412] Stephen Herrero, ed., *Biology Demography, Ecology and Management of Grizzly Bears in and Around Banff National Park and Kananaskis Country: Final Report of the Eastern Slopes Grizzly Bear Project* (Calgary, AB: Faculty of Environmental Design, University of Calgary, 2005), vii.
[413] Nigel Douglas, "Stephen Herrero – Scientist, Advocate, and Wilderness Defender," *Recall of the Wild* 19, 5 (October 2011), https://albertawilderness.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2011-stephen-herrero_20111000_ar_awa_recall_SH_ND.pdf, 29.
[414] Andreeff, "900 at Rally on Future of Kananaskis Country."

scientifically mobilized to showcase potential environmental impacts in political opposition to ski landscape transformations.[415] A campaign that appeared to place a higher priority on the scientific information garnered from the ESGBP, coupled with a longer public consultation period and stronger representation of ENGOs through the Kananaskis Country Coalition created a larger opposition that pressured the government to rethink development in Kananaskis Country.

Relationships of bio-power and eco-power between the provincial government, Olympic organizers, developers, ENGOs, the public, the mountains, and wildlife are analyzed in this chapter. While the government, Olympic organizers, and developers focused on constructing ski resorts in mountainous landscapes through strategic discourse, deforestation, facility construction, wildlife mitigation, and cultivating an ideal skiing landscape; ENGOs mobilized wild animals as a form of resistance and "strategic reversibility of power relations."[416] Through these relationships of eco-power, the mountain landscapes are cultivated and preserved by those who dwell within them. The contested ski resorts become artifacts and cultural productions and reproductions of constructed and cultivated landscapes that serve as reminders of historical conservation politics.

3.7 Conclusion

Kananaskis Country and the eastern slopes of Alberta are prominent in both development interests and conservation discourse. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, ENGOs and many citizens challenged new ski development projects questioning their necessity and ecological legitimacy. The Government of Alberta and private companies justified ski development projects

[415] Stoddart, "Grizzlies and Gondolas," 58.
[416] Gordon, "Governmental Rationality," 5.

by insisting that they had minimal environmental impact and were in the best interest of Albertans. They argued these projects provided beneficial recreational opportunities, showcased Kananaskis Country, and provided interpretation and environmental education to tourists. Many ENGOs challenged these sentiments by demanding environmental impact assessments on ski resort development and leveraging wild animals as symbols of threatened landscapes.

Early management policies for public land in Alberta were framed by the dominant utilitarian views of how to best use and conserve natural resources. In 1977, a Policy for Resource Management of the Eastern Slopes designated eight land zones that would allow and restrict different activities, with emphasis on watershed protection. The policy was revised in 1984 and it "backed away significantly from the previous draft's more conservation-based principles." Instead, significant focus was placed on natural resource extraction.[417] Both policies were under the government of Premier Peter Lougheed. In a preface to the revised edition, Associate Minister of Public Lands and Wildlife Don Sparrow indicated the revisions "have been made in order to keep the policy current and consistent… is intended to reflect the realities of the economic situation in Alberta, and to provide for the maximum delivery of the full range of values and opportunities in this important region." Tourism developments would be prioritized because of the scenic value of the landscape and the private sector would be heavily engaged to emphasize economic benefits under the new policy provisions.[418] In other words, Kananaskis was open for business but the watershed went less protected.

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[417] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape," 158; see also Keith Brownsey and Jeremy Rayner, "Integrated Land Management in Alberta: From Economic to Environmental Integration," *Policy and Society* 28, 2 (2009), 127. The Environment Conservation Authority, a provincial government agency, conducted public hearings regarding eastern slopes land management in 1972.

[418] Alberta Energy and Natural Resources, *A Policy for Resource Management of the Eastern Slopes Revised 1984* (Edmonton: Alberta Energy and Natural Resources).

The policy would be guided by the government's integrated resource plans (IRPs), which were introduced in the early 1980s to diversify the provincial economy away from its reliance on oil and gas development as well as guide resource conflicts. By the mid-1980s, the shortfalls of multiple use regimes emerged as "it was becoming apparent that the integrated planning process was failing to meet its objective of coordinating resource and land use activities."[419] Hanson notes the government was aware of the conflicts regarding agricultural, recreational, industrial, and traditional land use; but it persisted with its multiple-use approach. The Government of Alberta was able to separate economic consumption of resources from their ecological origins (forests, rivers, etc.) and alienate people from the site of resource exploitation.[420] However, by the 1990s, IRPs were further criticized as being unable to address the growing recreational and industrial pressures placed on the eastern slopes.[421]

The changes and criticisms of eastern slopes policies reflect the development of tourism facilities in Kananaskis Country. When the eastern slopes policy was revised in 1984, it allowed the government to increase recreational developments and entertain more private developer proposals. Construction of Nakiska and expansion of the Ribbon Creek Alpine Village in the mid-1980s followed the IRP process and fit in with the province's mandate to capitalize on tourism. When the Spray Lakes proposal was ultimately rejected, this revealed the underlying issues of IRP and multiple-use areas. Albertans had indicated environmental regulations were not strict enough in 1981, but it took until the late 1990s and early 2000s before the provincial government began to follow through. To show commitment to Canada's national conservation strategy, the Government of Alberta established the Special Places 2000 program and by 2001

[419] Brownsey and Rayner, "Integrated Land Management in Alberta," 126.
[420] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape," 160.
[421] Brownsey and Rayner, "Integrated Land Management in Alberta," 129.

the province had "eighty-one new and thirteen expanded conservation areas."[422] Premier Ralph Klein stated the Special Places 2000 program:

> Represents an important component of our commitment to sustainable development. Ensuring that the complete diversity of Alberta's unique landscapes exists for future generations is a reflection of the leadership required to effectively manage our resources.[423]

Spray Lakes Provincial Park was designated in 2000 in response to policy changes created by the Special Places 2000 program and the Kananaskis Country Recreation Policy created in 1999.[424]

The Special Places 2000 program faced a multitude of conflicts. Early in the planning process Klein had indicated the program might be detrimental to the oil industry.[425] Environmentalists like Ray Rasmussen, former president of the CPAWs Alberta Chapter, criticized the program for its tourism and economic goals that would continue the multiple-use strategies of allowing grazing, industrial developments, and tourism and recreation facilities in areas labeled as "Wildlands."[426] Rescinding on some of the proposed protection, the government removed a few areas along the eastern slopes for oil and gas exploration in 1999. This change led several conservationists to quit the Special Places 2000 coordinating committee citing it appeared biased towards industrial developments. It was thought to be "a strong signal to industry that the Alberta government is now finished with the Special Places 2000 program it launched four years ago to protect Alberta's wilderness."[427]

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[422] Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape," 161.
[423] Alberta Environmental Protection, *Special Places 2000: Alberta's Natural Heritage, Policy and Implementation Plan* (Edmonton: Alberta Environmental Protection, March 1995).
[424] Alberta Community Development, Parks and Protected Areas, *Peter Lougheed & Spray Valley Provincial Parks* (Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, April 2006), 1.
[425] Vicki Barnett, "Klein Warned by Environmental Activists," *Calgary Herald,* July 3, 1994.
[426] Cathy Lord, "'Depressed' Over Special Places 2000; What are Protected Areas?" *Edmonton Journal,* March 26, 1995.
[427] Ed Struzik, "Government Invites Development on Environmentally Sensitive Land [Special Places 2000 Program]" *Canadian Press NewsWire,* January 11, 1999.

The controversy surrounding the Special Places 2000 program echoes the conflicts surrounding Mount Allan, Spray Lakes, and Mount Whitehorn. A lack of environmental perspectives coupled with a dominance of economic interests fueled tourism development in Kananaskis Country and multiple-use policies across the eastern slopes. Albertans had indicated a strong preference for protection of natural resources, but the government faced pressure from tourism and industrial interests. In the 1980s and 1990s, ENGOs strategically used ecological science and engaged wild animals as symbols to gain public support locally, nationally, and internationally. This drew attention to the provincial government's poor environmental assessment process and exposed that ski resorts were not ecologically benign.

Returning to Ingold's dwelling perspective, the eastern slopes as a cultural landscape became artifacts of disputes and contested views that positioned conservation and development imperatives against each other. Social and natural forces influence government designations of landscapes that "feed into social transformations by affecting perceptions of not only the land but also what is understood as nature and society."[428] By challenging the environmental justification and mobilizing wild animals as symbols of threatened landscapes, ENGOs attempted to articulate a landscape where humans cultivate habitat while protecting and preserving wildlife. By contrast, developers and boosters sought to construct a ski resort landscape for those who viewed the eastern slopes as Calgary's playground for another kind of animal and for investment outcomes related to profit. Making a living on the land was a common thread between these perspectives but they had disparate impacts for different species and their tenuous dwelling.

[428] Ingold, "Building, Dwelling, Living"; Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape," 149.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

4.0 Research Summary

This research project explored debates surrounding ski resort developments in Kananaskis Country between 1980 and 2000 to investigate the government's management of concern for the environment and to highlight the emergent role of conservation advocacy. I aimed to understand the process that led to the selection of Mount Allan for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, the justification for the mountain's development, and the environmental concern showed by the Government of Alberta and Olympic organizers. I also examined conservation politics regarding Mount Allan, Lake Louise, and Spray Lakes to look closely at the role played by environmental non-government organizations (ENGOs) in eastern slopes planning and uncover conflict between development and conservation imperatives.

The project's major findings include that, in the 1980s and 1990s, despite a growing public concern for the environment, the Government of Alberta failed to enact proper controls on the development of natural resources and failed to consult the public properly. Site selection and master planning of Nakiska focused on tourism and economic benefits as well as the creation of a viable ski hill. Concerns about ski run quality, snowfall, Chinooks, and wind were ignored because the province had already invested in the area and wanted to create a summer and winter tourism destination outside of the national parks. Environmental assessments and strict regulations were deemed unnecessary for ski resort development because perceived issues were considered dealt with through sensitive construction. ENGOs cautioned developers, organizers, and the government against constructing ski resorts in important mountain habitats and were strategic in eliciting support locally, nationally, and internationally. They formed coalitions with

other ENGOs, recreational ski groups, hikers, and members of the public to increase pressure on the provincial government. They also scientifically and symbolically mobilized the interests of wild animals to gain public attention and support. An environmental ambiguity exists within ski resort development; ENGOs worked to expose it and hold governments accountable for the risks and realities of ecological destruction. They were not alone as many Alberta residents, citizens, and voters, as well as voices from other jurisdictions, also supported conservation on the eastern slopes as articulated in the debates of civil society.

My thesis argued that in the 1980s and 1990s the Government of Alberta employed the multiple-use concept when establishing Kananaskis Country to fuel developmental desires along the eastern slopes with limited value placed on environmental knowledge and expertise. This was vehemently opposed by ENGOs and members of the public who utilized environmental discourse strategically to highlight environmental issues and threatened wildlife. ENGOs placed pressure on the government through public campaigns, some international in scope, that forced the government to reconsider Kananaskis plans in attempts to maintain public support. Power relationships between the government, the mountain landscape and its wildlife inhabitants, ENGOs, and the public created tensions and conflict that eventually lead to a moratorium on development in Kananaskis Country.

4.1 The Future of Kananaskis Country

Despite the 1999 moratorium, contemporary Kananaskis Country is under increasing pressure to exploit natural resources and develop new recreation and tourism destinations. Current debates focus on the demand for increased logging along the Highwood River Valley, the development of Smith Creek near Canmore, the expansion of the Delta Lodge at the

Kananaskis Village, the reconstruction of the Kananaskis Golf Course, campground and water recreation upgrades, and a potential bid for the 2026 Winter Olympic Games.[429] Similarities can be drawn between recent investment in recreation and tourism developments in Kananaskis Country and the increased investment seen before the 1988 Winter Olympic Games.

Citizens, recreational users, scientists, and ENGOs such as Yellowstone to Yukon (Y2Y) and Take a Stand for Kananaskis and the Upper Highwood (TSKUH), have voiced concerns over wildlife, flooding, water treatment, and aesthetics that would be impacted as a result of logging near the Highwood Junction at the south end of Kananaskis Country. As a tributary of the Bow River, the Highwood River is an important watershed for the City of Calgary. Environmental groups called for a governmental review to ensure the protection of watersheds and other natural resources within Kananaskis Country.[430] At the time of writing this thesis, the first phase of logging has almost been completed by the British Columbia contractor in early 2018. Close to fifty businesses have coalesced with conservation groups and nearby municipalities to oppose the project and advocate for the protection of the area's wildlife and scenery. They argue that the removal of trees will affect trout in the Highwood River[431] and TSKUH hopes to draw attention to the conflict by showing a documentary on the impacts of logging on the Ghost area north of

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[429] "Smith Creek," Three Sisters Mountain Village, accessed December 20, 2017, http://www.tsmv.ca/planning/smith-creek/about; "Calgary and Area Citizens Support Protection of Kananaskis Forests," Yellowstone to Yukon, July 25, 2017, https://y2y.net/news/media-releases/calgary-and-area-citizens-support-protection-of-kananaskis-forests; Dan Healing, "Delta Lodge at Kananaskis to Undergo $26-million upgrade," *Calgary Herald*, September 11, 2015; Jordan Small, "Kananaskis Golf Course Decision Will Affect Valley," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, March 26, 2015.

[430] "Calgary and Area Citizens Support Protection of Kananaskis Forests," Yellowstone to Yukon, https://y2y.net/news/media-releases/calgary-and-area-citizens-support-protection-of-kananaskis-forests.

[431] Bill Macfarlane, "First of Several Planned Clear Cuts in Southern Kananaskis Nears Completion," CTV Calgary, April 17, 2018.

Kananaskis Country.[432] From High River to Cochrane and beyond, rural and urban residents share in these concerns connected to rural landscapes, private property investment, and flood hazard liabilities. Even as it is contested, eastern slopes protection remains a broad concern for broad constituencies.

Another area of conflict focuses on village development near Canmore. The Three Sisters Mountain Village properties has submitted additional applications for expansion in the Smith Creek area[433] as a continuation from the original 1992 project proposal to construct resorts, golf courses, and subdivisions along the valley. While the original plan was approved 1992 on the condition that wildlife corridors be left alone, the current proposals are a concern to ENGOs like the Y2Y.[434] The area is an important wildlife corridor that allows animals to navigate around Canmore to reduce human-animal conflicts. In attempts to mitigate impacts, the province is currently reviewing the construction of a wildlife overpass that would allow animals to cross the Trans-Canada highway and bypass the intensely developed area.[435]

The Kananaskis Village near Nakiska is also under pressure for more development. In 2015, the Delta Lodge at Kananaskis Village was purchased by the Pomeroy Lodging group, and they announced a $25-million upgrade that would see the lodge turn "into a four-star conference and destination resort." Kananaskis Country had suffered extensive damage from flooding in 2013 that caused the Kananaskis Golf Course to shut down indefinitely. Despite this closure, the Delta Lodge believed the upgrades would bring tourism to the region and subsequently add to

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[432] Krista Conrad, "Documentary Shows Affects of Logging," *Okotoks Western Wheel,* April 18, 2018.
[433] "Smith Creek," Three Sisters Mountain Village.
[434] "Canmore's Three Sisters Corridor," Yellowstone to Yukon, https://y2y.net/news/updates-from-the-field/canmores-three-sisters-corridor.
[435] Cathy Ellis, "Wildlife Overpass Design to go Ahead," *Rocky Mountain Outlook,* April 5, 2018.

the "competitive stock of large conference facilities."[436] Expensive four-star accommodations, serve a higher end market more than a broader public, although Pomeroy takes pride as a western Canadian corporate entity invested in sustainable communities. The company grew from simple beginnings when in 1941 Ralph Pomeroy purchased the first Pomeroy hotel in Fort St. John, B.C. It has since grown into Pomeroy Lodging LP to streamline operations between the company's four brands.[437] As its newest property, the Delta Lodge is a continuation of the family's hotel management legacy and is the accommodations centre for the summer and winter tourism destination in the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area.[438]

Operated by Kan-Alta Golf Management Ltd, the Kananaskis Golf Course opened in 1983 and was destroyed in the 2013 floods. Construction of the golf course and subsequent flood mitigation efforts in 1995 were firmly opposed by ENGOs concerned for the Evan-Thomas Creek fishery. It was thought the creek was being sacrificed for the golf course, and despite rechanneling for flood prevention in 1995, the course was destroyed in 2013. A complete shutdown and significant investment by the Government of Alberta was required to rebuild. The thirty-six-hole luxury golf course had brought in sixty-thousand golfers annually and was labeled a "key component and major economic stimulus in the valley."[439] The newly rebuilt course would see increased flood mitigation and wildlife movement incorporated into its design. While

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[436] Dan Healing, "Delta Lodge at Kananaskis to Undergo $26-million upgrade," *Calgary Herald*, September 11, 2015.
[437] "History," Pomeroy Lodging, accessed May 6, 2018, http://www.pomeroylodging.com/about-us/history/.
[438] See https://www.albertaparks.ca/parks/kananaskis/evan-thomas-pra/information-facilities/special-facilities/kananaskis-village/ for a map of the Evan-Thomas Recreation Area and location of the Kananaskis Village. The Kananaskis Golf Course is also depicted on the map.
[439] Jordan Small, "Kananaskis Golf Course Decision Will Affect Valley," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, March 26, 2015; Mark Brody, "Area Courses Hit Hard by Flood; Kananaskis Closes for Season," *Calgary Herald,* June 24, 2013.

the Progressive Conservative (PC) government had committed to fund the reconstruction, the 2015 provincial election "threw a wedge into that process" when the newly-elected New Democratic Party (NDP) government asked the auditor general to complete a review.[440] The PC government had been accused of spending tax-money in a "secret deal [with a] party-connected company" to rebuild the destroyed golf course.[441]

The general manager of the Delta Lodge, Dan DeSantis, believed the golf course was critical to recreation in the Bow Valley area.[442] This sentiment echoes government leanings in the 1980s and 1990s.[443] However, Carolyn Campbell, with the Alberta Wilderness Association (AWA), criticized the decision to rebuild the golf course:

> "[It is] an ecological mistake to try to reroute a mountain river prone to flash flooding away from a golf course [and] to spend scarce public dollars battling Mother Nature makes no financial sense at all."[444]

The Government of Alberta argued that the cost of repairing the golf course was comparable to the cost of restoring it "to its natural state" as a means to justify reconstruction.[445] The AWA argued that the golf course would see flooding again in the future and flood mitigation efforts

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[440] Tanya Foubert, "Kananaskis Golf Course Makes Time for Post-Flood Restoration," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, October 19, 2017.
[441] Matt McClure, "Wildrose Would Scrap Golf Deal, Sell or Lease Kananaskis Course," *Calgary Herald*, April 9, 2015.
[442] Trevor Howell and Bryan Weismiller, "Kananaskis Golf Course Facing Uncertain Future," *Calgary Herald*, July 2013.
[443] Dave Whitson, "Nature As Playground: Recreation and Gentrification in the Mountain West," in *Writing Off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2001).
[444] McClure, "Wildrose Would Scrap Golf Deal."
[445] Matt McClure, "Kananaskis Commitment Under Review; Province Rethinks Decision to Chip in for $18-million Golf Course Rebuild," *Calgary Herald*, March 20, 2015.

would affect fish and other wildlife.[446] Public and environmental organizations' opinions became lost in economic and tourism interests.

While campaigning for the 2015 provincial election, Wildrose Party (official opposition to the PC government) leader Brian Jean critiqued the "secret deal [with a] party-connected company [as a means to] to rebuild a taxpayer-owned golf course and compensate the private firm for losses while the flood-ravaged facility was shuttered." He further stated the "PC party [is] doing what they've done for years, which is give their friends special perks."[447] The notion of PC party secrecy regarding the Kananaskis Village development is uncovered throughout this research project and carries through into current developmental contestations. The restored Kananaskis Golf Course opens May 2018.[448]

By 2017, the Pomeroy Lodging Group had invested $35-million into Delta lodge renovations that included a 50,000-square foot Nordic spa as well as interior renovations for rooms, common areas, and restaurants. It is thought a Nordic spa will help to attract more winter guests to "[brave] the elements and [face] cold temperatures and snow on the ground" which will enhance the overall spa experience. There are additional plans to further upgrade the existing hot tub and pool area with a water park in 2018.[449]

Increased developments in the Kananaskis and Canmore areas foreshadows the hope for another potential mega-event. The City of Calgary is currently exploring a bid for the 2026 Winter Olympic Games with hopes of utilizing existing facilities built for the 1988 Winter

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[446] Matt McClure, "$18M to Restore Kananaskis Course Called a Waste by Group; Province Says Facilitie a 'Vital Part' of Tourism," *Calgary Herald,* July 19, 2014.
[447] McClure, "Wildrose Would Scrap Golf Deal."
[448] "Alberta's Premier Golf Course," Kananaskis Country Golf Course, accessed April 30, 2018, https://www.kananaskisgolf.com/.
[449] Tanya Foubert, "Alberta-company Investing $34 Million into Delta Kananaskis," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, October 19, 2017.

Olympic Games.[450] Initial debates reflect concerns heard in the past. Possible venues for the downhill ski site include both Mount Whitehorn (Lake Louise) and Nakiska Ski Area. Although international mega-events are not allowed in national parks, the 2026 Calgary Bid Exploration Committee (CBEC) has expressed interest in a Lake Louise event.[451]

The potential use of Lake Louise is reminiscent of previous bids. The City of Calgary lost its bid for the 1972 Winter Olympic Games when opposition mounted against hosting downhill events at Lake Louise in Banff National Park. Over fifty environmental groups publicly opposed the bid, which is thought to have "invigorated the environmental movement in Alberta." For the 1988 bid, Olympic organizers tried to move the men's downhill ski events to Lake Louise but were met with strong opposition and forced to keep all of the events at Mount Allan.[452] Although it was selected for the 1988 Olympics, Mount Allan had been critiqued as unsuitable and too easy for Olympic-level downhill skiing. Furthermore, the mountain had poor snow conditions and was often subject to warm temperatures and high winds. Many wondered why the government had pushed for the development of Mount Allan.

Anne-Marie Syslak, executive director of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) southern Alberta chapter, worries the 2026 bid will push for Lake Louise once again. The increased disturbance will impinge on ecological values and open the doors for more development. Syslak also draws attention to the grizzly bears that inhabit the district of Lake

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[450] Gary Mason, "If Calgary Bids for 2026 Winter Olympics, it will Probably Win," *The Globe and Mail*, November 25, 2017.
[451] Cathy Ellis, "Banff Candidates Weigh in on Olympic Games Participation," *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, October 5, 2017.
[452] Megan Atkins-Baker, Simran Sachar, Cassandra Woods and Jeremy Klaszus, "'We Don't Want This in our National Parks': Olympics in Banff Debated Once Again," *The Sprawl,* February 7, 2018.

Louise. Called an "indicator species" grizzly bears can inform ecosystem health. [453] Her concerns reflect similar arguments made by environmental groups in the 1980s when increased development and its impacts on wild animals were central to the debate. There is a historical resonance of ongoing discussion as the Lake Louise corridor continues to be a vital crossing for grizzly populations that are still under pressure today.

Mount Allan was also criticized by environmental groups in the 1980s that initially had supported a bid for Mount Sparrowhawk, Tent Ridge, and Mount Shark. Skiers believed the mountain was not suitable and would not provide them with a recreational legacy. Environmental groups contended that Mount Allan was environmentally sensitive and provided critical habitat for a sizeable alpine bighorn sheep herd. Although the sheep herd survived and is currently thriving, mitigation was required to minimize threats to habitat. Kevin Van Tighem, former superintendent of Banff National Park, states that a resurgence of Olympic development on Mount Allan may "pave the way for larger projects in wildlife habitat" and "create momentum for development."[454]

A significant concern with the current 2026 bid has been a lack of public engagement. An April 2018 debate argued for a thorough and transparent engagement process to allow for public input that would inform a potential bid. City of Calgary Councilors want the inclusion of critical voices in the exploration of an Olympic bid to maintain transparency and understand the impacts of hosting an international mega-event.[455] Additionally, the Olympic Oversight Committee has

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[453] Atkins-Baker et al., "'We Don't Want This in our National Parks.'"
[454] Van Tighem cited in Atkins-Baker et al., "'We Don't Want This in our National Parks.'"
[455] Jeremy Klaszus, "Sprawlcast Slice #1: The Olympic Bid Lives on," April 16, 2018, produced by The Sprawl, podcast, 00:09:20, accessed April 17, 2018, https://sprawlcalgary.com/sprawlcast-slice-the-olympic-bid-lives-on-88ccc915de40.

been criticized as being "stacked with Olympic boosters."[456] Will a bid move forward and would the IOC's Sustainability Pillar make any difference to environmental impact? This question remains to be studied more closely with attention to how to avoid potential and real environmental impacts of facilities such as ski hills, related facilities, and intensification of use and visitation. Mitigation may not be enough to truly avoid environmental impacts such as new ski runs and service centre development not to mention ecological footprint related to mega sport tourism events.[457]

Conflicts over increased development and resource exploitation, use of national parks for mega-events, government and organizing committee transparency, and public consultations continue to plague the eastern slopes and Kananaskis Country. ENGOs with interest in the area are strategically mobilizing supporters to advocate for protected areas and oppose development in important habitats and watersheds. These examples also underscore not only the long-term and cumulative accretion of development pressures and development changes that are ongoing through decades, but also the ongoing efforts of civil society and governance to shape conservation priorities in critical mountain valleys and drainages that continue to be contested into the 21st century. Kananaskis Country will continue to be subject to pressures to fulfill its role as a multiple-use area, but it is also subject to tensions to redefine that role in service to competing interests as time moves forward. The multiple-use model of Kananaskis in the 1980s

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[456] Trevor Howell, "Olympic Oversight Committee Boss Promises Transparency as Calgary Considers 2026 Bid," *The Star Calgary,* May 1, 2018.

[457] The IOC incorporated the Green Pillar as the third pillar central to Olympism in the 1990s, after the 1988 Games. "Olympics + Sustainability: Olympism's Third Pillar: Environment," The Challenge Series, accessed May 6, 2018, http://www.thechallengeseries.ca/chapter-02/olympics/. In 2016, the IOC renamed it the Sustainability Pillar and created the IOC Sustainability Strategy as part of Olympic Agenda 2020. "Sustainability," The International Olympic Committee, accessed May 6, 2018, https://www.olympic.org/sustainability.

may no longer be current to meet the intensified challenges of 2018. Park management and governance models shift as do knowledge and civil society. A debate is needed to determine the best approach to manage and govern public land for the public good.

4.2 Final Reflections

A retrospective analysis of ski resort development in Kananaskis Country and environmental contestations allows for a longer-range assessment to inform current and future tourism developments and Olympic bids. Limited academic literature exists that historically investigates recreational development and environmental advocacy in Kananaskis Country. This thesis research fills an important gap by providing a new understanding of the 1988 Winter Olympic Games site selection and master planning process. It also draws attention to the role of ENGOs and their importance as advocates for environmental protection in civil society. Furthermore, it underscores political consensus that existed among Alberta citizens toward the conservation of the Kananaskis and eastern slopes as early as the 1980s. This is important today in the midst of current efforts to protect the headwaters and eastern slopes of the Rockies north and south of Kananaskis.

The historical analysis of conservation contestations in Kananaskis Country questions the continued use of the multiple-use model by arguing that it was created to serve competing interests between conservation and development. The Peter Lougheed government established Kananaskis Country to appeal to public demands for protection with an underlying motive for recreational facilities and Olympic-quality ski resorts. As tension built throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the government changed the Kananaskis Country concept by placing a moratorium on

development and creating a new provincial park right before the provincial election. Despite this, the area continues to be subject to developmental pressures and conservation politics.

The purpose of parks often changes with social values.[458] A re-evaluation of the multiple-use concept is critical to the future of Kananaskis Country. With increased pressure on public lands, it is necessary conservation and development issues be thoroughly researched and addressed. Containment of the existing recreational footprint and strict enforcement of policies governing national and provincial parks is important to the management of Alberta's natural resources. While a mega-event in a national park with excellent snow and course conditions might seem attractive to Olympic organizers, it is important to question its necessity and understand the implications placed on the environment. Is a two-week event worth the potential environmental destruction? German sociologist and historian Henning Eichberg views the Olympic Games as a social problem dominated by economic interests that disregard environmental protection. As a solution, he calls for reactivation of simple outdoor adventure games and sports that cultivate an appreciation for the environment. A devaluation of expensive recreational facilities and promotion of a new physical culture "to manifest new social and political relations to nature."[459] This idea could be extended into a new vision for Kananaskis Country that promotes outdoor education and low-impact recreation in sensitive mountain habitats while moving away from intensive developments. Sustainable recreation and tourism are critical to cultivating a new Kananaskis Country landscape. The area is a living landscape artifact

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[458] Lorelei L. Hanson, "Changes in the Social Imaginings of the Landscape: The Management of Alberta's Rural Public Lands," in *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, cultures, and Collective Action,* ed. J. Parkins and Maureen Gail Reed, 148-169 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 150, 156.

[459] Henning Eichberg, "Olympic Sport: Neo-Colonialism and Alternatives," in *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space, and Identity,* (London: Routledge, 1998), 100, 104.

of public land in Alberta that reflects a changing politics and governance in civil society as well as concerns about wildlife, sport, recreation, and tourism. It is also an intergenerational legacy and call for environmental stewardship for future generations.

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