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The Banff Winter Olympics: Sport, tourism, and Banff National Park

by

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Abstract

This case study deals with the failed bid by Calgary Olympic Development Association to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park. The bid committee argued that the international exposure garnered by a locality would result in economic growth and amateur athletic development. Opponents to the use of a national park as an Olympic site challenged the importance of the Games to Banff's identity as a world class destination, and the recreational role of national parks. Through textual analysis of newspaper and archival documents, and interviews, the case of the failed 1972 Winter Olympic bid reveals discourses of the role of national parks in the 1960s. As a result of the 1972 Winter Olympics bid, multiple constructions of Banff National Park emerged, as a site of importance for sport, tourism, and environmental protection.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Since the formation of the modern Olympic Games in the late nineteenth century, the right to host this hallmark event has been sought after by many localities in an effort to project a favourable impression of that location to the world. Hosting an Olympics may result in increased developments of sporting and other municipal facilities that remain after the Games are finished. According to Olson (1974), civic boosters in the 1960s who campaigned to host an Olympics hoped to develop and promote a sense of cosmopolitanism surrounding their locale. Such was the case with the failed bid by Calgary to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park. Following the January 1964 vote for the 1968 Winter Games that saw Calgary lose out to Grenoble, France by three votes, the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA)[1] set its sights on the 1972 Winter Olympics. Boosters, or "urban imagineers who give shape and substance and imagery to [a] city and seek to influence the (re)presentation of [a] city" (Short, 1999, p.40), hoped to establish Banff as a world-class winter alpine resort, and, by extension, establish Calgary as a major urban centre in Canada on par with Toronto or Montreal. CODA argued that the international exposure that Banff would garner from the Games would benefit the economy through increased tourism, increased investment, and the creation of jobs (Layzell, 1961). Opponents to the use of a national park as an Olympic site challenged the importance of the Games to Banff's identity as a world class destination, and the recreational role of national parks.

Much literature exists regarding the impact on municipalities of staging the Olympic Games (Booth, 2005; Cashman, 1999b; Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Deccio, 1995; Dunn & McGuirk, 1999; Hiller, 2000; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Kariel & Kariel, 1988; Lenskyj, 2002; Liao & Pitts, 2008; McCallum, Spencer, & Whyly, 2005; Oliver, 2009; Wamsley & Heine, 1996; Whitson, 2004;

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[1] Following the failed bid for the 1968 Winter Olympics, the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA) changed its name to Olympic '72 to distinguish between the bids. For simplicity, the group is referred to as CODA throughout the thesis.

Whitson & Horne, 2006). Specific case studies analyzing failed bids, however, have been minimal. The case of the failed 1972 Winter Olympic bid may reveal how Calgary Olympic boosters hoped to establish Banff as a site of importance on the world stage, while also providing a window to public debates regarding the role of national parks in the 1960s. The bid to host the 1972 Winter Olympics was represented to citizens of Calgary and Banff in many ways, and an assortment of dialogues regarding Banff, Calgary, and the national parks emerged throughout the bid process. In seeking the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park, three key themes emerged that resulted in three constructions of Banff National Park: the importance of the growth of amateur sport, the importance of economic and tourist development in the park, and the importance of maintaining the natural integrity of the national park environment. This study seeks to examine what narratives emerged in terms of hosting the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park, and how the bid was represented to citizens. In what follows, I outline the social significance of this study and the research questions that direct it. A brief review of the pertinent literature, including theoretical grounding for the research, is included. This is followed by a description of the research methods, including a textual analysis of relevant newspapers, primary archival sources, and interviews of key players who promoted or opposed the bids.

Significance of the Study

The Olympic ideals of promoting international cooperation and sportsmanship have considerable currency. Today, athletes from around the world gather every two years to celebrate either summer or winter sports in a locality that has fought hard for the right to host the Games. To many, the Olympic Games serve important purposes, including the celebration of human achievement through sport, the coming together of nations in a peaceful competition, the promotion of sport, and the encouragement of young people to participate (Brown, 2005; Girginov & Parry, 2005; MacAloon, 2008; Wamsley &

Young, 2005; Shaw, 2008). Pierre de Coubertin (1918), founder of the modern Olympic movement, characterized the ideal of Olympism as a “state of mind” that “‘advocates a comprehensive sporting education accessible to all, braided with manly [*sic*] valour and chivalrous spirit, implicated in aesthetic and literary manifestations, serving as a motor to national life and a focus to civil life’” (as cited in Loland, 1995, p. 63). These ideals are still propagated by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) today; the IOC (2007) has as a fundamental principle the goal to “place sport at the service of the harmonious development of man [*sic*], with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity” (p. 11). Even with these goals it is often an economic impetus that encourages cities to bid to host the Games rather than a goal of international harmony. The potential of increased tourist traffic, the creation of jobs, the legacy of Olympic infrastructure, the chance to project a new image of the city to the world, to establish world-class status, and the potential of economic benefits are the more common reasons that cities are lured to host the Olympics (Booth, 2005; Cashman, 1999; McCallum, Spencer, & Whyly, 2005; Oliver, 2009; Weed, 2008; Whitson & Horne, 2006; Whitson, 2004). Similarly, in the 1960s, different alpine locales bid for the Olympic Games in an attempt to establish international ski resorts (“California is losing,” 1961; Durslag, 1957; Olson, 1974; “Olympic dream,” 1960; “Olympics spurred growth,” 1964). Analyzing an Olympic Games bid is an important line of scholarly inquiry for investigating how the pursuit of an Olympics is sold to the public. It is also a significant means to understand how local identities are constructed through Olympic bids.

The case of Calgary’s 1972 bid is particularly intriguing given the resistance that emerged from environmental groups. An increasing amount of recent literature has been published on the resistance to Olympic bids in Toronto, Sydney, Salt Lake City, and Vancouver (Deccio, 1995; Kidd, 1992; Lenskyj, 1992; Lenskyj, 1996; Lenskyj, 2000; Lenskyj, 2002; Lenskyj, 2008). Most recently, scholars have analyzed the resistance to the Vancouver 2010 Winter

Olympics, with much attention focused on the controversy of the environmental implications of the Games (Lenskyj, 2004; Lenskyj, 2008; McDonald, 2006; Shaw 2008). The IOC first developed an environmental policy following the environmental damage incurred at the Albertville, France Winter Olympics in 1992. The Albertville Games were unique in that the events took place in 13 alpine locales spread over 1657 square kilometers (Cantelon & Letters, 2000). The environmental consequences of these Games included: soil erosion, avalanches and rock slides, contamination of lakes and rivers, depletion of clean water sources, air pollution, habitat destruction for non-human species, and, ultimately, depletion of non-human species (Kuziak, 1995). It was not until the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympics that the IOC put in place an environmental protection policy that had to be followed by organizing committees (Cantelon & Letters, 2000; IOC, 1998; Kuziak, 1995).

Environmental concerns with the Olympics Games, however, are not completely new; in the lead up to the 1972 Winter Olympic bid, over fifty conservation groups criticized the proposed developments required to host the games in Banff National Park. To stage the Winter Olympics required that new infrastructure be built, not only for the sporting events themselves, but also for "après-ski" activities for tourists and athletes (Simaluk, 1966a). This, however, would impact the environment of Banff and the surrounding Bow Valley. By pushing for growth and development, CODA generated resistance from environmental groups who saw the Olympics as detrimental to national park preservation. The opponents' objection to the Games focused public and political attention on the value of national parks (McNamee, 2008). Critics questioned the use of a national park as a site for the Olympics, generating local, national and international debate over a Canadian national park's proper use. As far as NPPAC and other conservation groups were concerned, it was a "serious miscalculation" of Olympic organizers to expect conservationists to accept the "deliberate breach of the principles that have been laid down to safeguard the integrity of our [parks]" (NNPAC, 1966, p. 6). This case study highlights a turning point in national park history when the question of whether or not too much recreational and tourism development would impair parks was brought forward (Bella, 1987; White & Hart, 2007). Though environmental policies were not in place with the IOC at the time of the 1972 Winter Olympics bid, this study draws attention to an early resistance to Olympic Games on environmental grounds.

The representation of the proposed effects of the 1972 Winter Olympics on Banff as a winter resort is of particular interest to this study. Essex and Chalkley (1999) note that only a small number of scholars have analyzed resistance to staging Winter Olympic Games, with most choosing to focus on examining resistance to the Summer Olympics (as cited in Weed, 2008). Though most scholarly literature regarding the Olympics is concerned with Summer Olympics, the Winter Olympics are understood to be just as important an event. In particular, the Winter Olympics play a crucial role in creating new tourism opportunities for the alpine destinations of the world (Wamsley & Young, 2005, p. xvii). Yet, it is predominantly only those who can afford to use the facilities following the event that benefit from such developments. Skiing has historically been a sport dominated by white, urban middle- and upper-classes that required the purchase or rental of expensive equipment, lessons, and payment of access fees to enjoy it (Coleman, 2004; Whitson, 2001). Although CODA promoted the Winter Olympics as having economic benefits for both Calgary and Banff, they also closely identified Banff with the affluent world-class ski resort image of places such as Sun Valley, Idaho, and Squaw Valley, California; to this end they foresaw Banff increasingly attracting more wealthy skiers from Europe and the United States (Simaluk, 1966a). This study seeks to understand how this imagined future for Banff was represented to the people of Calgary and Banff based on the Olympic bid.

This study builds on the existing literature of Olympic bids by analyzing the groups and individuals involved in the promotion and opposition to the Banff bid, and what themes emerged in the bid debate. The availability of archival evidence allows for a deeper analysis of the actions of those involved in the bids. This project also looks at local newspapers from Banff and Calgary. Local print media plays an important role in promoting local identity and shaping opinions (McDonald, 2006; Scherer, 1999). Accordingly, local and national newspapers, notably the *Calgary Herald,* the *Albertan,* the *Banff Crag and Canyon,* and the *Globe and Mail* are analyzed to understand how the bid was framed and represented to the public. Finally, interviews, an important source of rich, detailed evidence, are used to further understand how the bid was presented to the public by those opposed to or in support of it.

Research Questions

This study examines what public dialogues were brought to the forefront during the bid for the 1972 Winter Olympics. Specifically, it aims to reveal how the bid was represented to the Banff and Calgary communities, and what constructions of Banff National Park emerged. To this end, I ask three main questions: (1) how was the bid for the 1972 Winter Olympics framed and represented to the public in Banff and Calgary?; (2) how was Banff National Park constructed in relation to the Winter Olympics?; and, (3) how did those individuals or groups involved in the bid process promote or discourage these constructions? Through critical analysis of primary and secondary textual sources and semi-structured interviews, this study seeks to determine what emerged in the public debate over the bid to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 discusses literature related to national park history, Olympic bids in Canada, growth initiatives, and the role of media in society. Chapter 3 includes the theoretical grounding of the study, and describes the research methodology selected to respond to the problem. Chapter 4 presents and analyzes the data collected with a discussion of what themes and constructions of national parks emerged through the bids. Chapter 5 briefly outlines what occurred following the loss of the 1972 bid. The study concludes with Chapter 6, where a summary of conclusions is drawn from the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5, and where I present recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two: Parks, Tourism, Media, and the Olympic Games

In order to put the research questions into context, pertinent literature is reviewed. The literature review is divided into four sections: first, the history of national park tourism and preservation is reviewed; second, I examine historical and sociological analyses of Olympic bids in Canada; third, I explore how Olympic bids have been shaped by growth concerns; and finally the role of media in relation to the Olympic Games is considered.

National parks, tourism, and preservation

Though set aside as areas of untouched nature and examples of the landscape before the arrival of any human settlement, national parks are, and always have been, places humans have shaped.[2] As Cronon (1996) argues, wilderness is far from being the "last remaining place where civilization, that all too human disease, has not fully infected the earth" (p. 7), and is itself a human construct. As areas set aside to venerate this ideal of wilderness, national park lands are treated as icons; however, they are managed and used by humans, whose decisions and actions affect the environment. Although many people would argue that national parks should be kept as untouched wilderness and humans should be left out, this argument ignores the reality that humans had already shaped and influenced the landscape in national parks long before they were established as such (MacLaren, 2007). Some argue that facilities to promote visitation to parks are contrary to the original purpose of national parks, which, as stated in the Rocky Mountain Parks Act (1887), was to set aside tracts of natural beauty for the people of Canada to enjoy (as cited in Waiser and De Brou, 1992). Such arguments overlook the fact that recreational and cultural facilities have been a part of Canada's national parks from their establishment in 1885 (Nelson, 1970).

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[2] As understood then, national parks needed to be preserved as places untouched by humans, despite the aboriginal presence in the area of Banff for centuries (See for example Cronon, 1996; MacLaren, 1999; MacLaren, 2007)

A review of human involvement in Canada’s national parks shows that far from being refuges of civilization, they are examples of “the human [defining] the non-human” (MacLaren, 1999). National parks are indeed areas that have been protected, but protected for human use.

Since the discovery of the Cave and Basin mineral hot springs in 1883 near the present day town of Banff, the national parks have struggled to ensure that these areas could both be saved and made use of for the benefit of Canadians. A common understanding of the history of Canada’s Western national parks is that the federal government’s interests in these mountainous areas reflected an interest in resource development rather than wilderness preservation. This led Leslie Bella (1987) to assert that Canada’s national parks are parks for profit, rather than preservation. Cowan (1970) argues that “ecological considerations had almost no part in the establishment or design of any of the Canadian national parks” (p. 321). Canada’s first national park act, the Rocky Mountains Park Act (1887), seems to confirm this assertion. Under this legislation, the 673 km^2 of Rocky Mountains Park (which would later be renamed as Banff National Park) was set aside as a wilderness area that allowed for developments such as tourist facilities surrounding the hot springs, mines and mining interests, the cutting of timber, and the pasturage of cattle (as cited in Waiser and De Brou, 1992). Far from a piece of land set aside for the preservation of forests and wildlife, the federal government hoped that Rocky Mountain Park would contribute to the national economy. Sir John A. Macdonald (1887) explained the legislation was put in place because “‘the Government thought it was of great importance that all this section of country should be brought at once into usefulness’” (as cited in Brown, 1970, p. 49). Macdonald’s National Policy was intended to promote industry in Eastern Canada, unite the country with the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), exploit western Canada’s natural resources, and have a major influence on national park policies (Hildebrandt, 1995). National parks in the Rocky Mountains were a means to generate money for the federal government by exploiting the natural resources available. Therefore, Brown (1970) contends that from 1887 to 1911 the national parks were managed under a policy of "usefulness," asserting that for the federal government national parks were not useful unless they could be exploited for natural resource gain, including tourism.

Aside from resources from timber extraction, mining, and grazing, the economic potential for tourism in the mountain national parks was also harnessed, beginning a long-standing struggle between tourism developments and park preservation. According to the (then) dominion government, the mere idea that Banff would become a tourist resort was reason enough to protect the area as a national park. As Prime Minister Macdonald stated in 1887,

> [Banff] has all the qualifications necessary to make it a great place of resort… I have no doubt that [it] will become a great watering-place, and… there will be a very considerable town at that place. There will be a rental of the [hot springs]; that is a perennial source of revenue, and if carefully managed it will more than many times recuperate or recoup the Government of any present expenditure. (as cited in Brown, 1970, p. 50)

Banff was worthy of protection due to the possibility of the park attracting tourists with money rather than valuing the environment surrounding the springs. Accordingly, it was modeled and managed on the example of the Arkansas Hot Springs, a spa resort in the United States, rather than on Yellowstone National Park (Great Plains Research Consultants, 1984; Scace, 1982). A park at Banff that protected the hot springs would establish the area as an international tourist destination. Tourism development was paramount to Banff's success as a national park and to recoup costs incurred in building the railway across the country. Consequently the Rocky Mountain Parks Act (1887) provided a legislative framework for the string of developments that would ensure the "the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada" (as cited in Waiser and De Brou, 1992, p. 155). People, in this context, signified individuals who could afford the cost of luxury train travel and accommodations at the park (Hildebrandt, 1995; McNamee, 2008). Accommodating these visitors would require the development of tourist facilities in the park. A main prerequisite to a piece of land becoming a park, as it was understood in the 1880s, was the development of infrastructure to support tourism. As Brown (1970) notes, in 1880 it was only through the construction of roads, posh hotels, and a townsite to service tourists that a wilderness area became a park. Thus, CPR hotels were built along the railway, including the Banff Springs Hotel, Chateau Lake Louise, Glacier Park Lodge, and Mount Stephen House (Gagnon-Pratte, 1998a; Gagnon-Pratte, 1998b; Hart, 1983; McNamee, 2008; Robinson, 1973). By permitting the development of facilities to cater to tourists through federal legislation, the government established Banff National Park's future as a tourism and recreation resort.

The burgeoning tourism potential of the park emerged as an important factor in management decisions in the early days of Canada's national parks. Their establishment paralleled an emerging trend in North America for citizens to get "back to nature" (Altmeyer, 1995, p. 97). Concern over the stresses of modern urban life prompted the middle- and upper-classes to travel to rural areas in Canada and "[cultivate] enough exposure to wild nature, or the illusion of wild nature, to offset the debilitating effects of civilized life" (Jasen, 1995, p. 105). A form of medical treatment called a "wilderness cure" was prescribed for many ailments, and included trips to rural, usually forested areas to improve one's health and spirit (Campbell, 2005; Cook, 1881; Dubinsky, 1999; Gregg, 2003; Thompson, 1976). Banff's hot springs were especially popular and promoted to ease struggles of people suffering from ailments such as eczema or arthritis (Great Plains Research Consultants, 1984). National parks developed as tourist destinations were thus conceived as wilderness refuges that served as ideal spots for privileged travellers to recover from the ills of modern life. Not only did this attract new tourists to national parks, it also encouraged many individuals to think of nature in a more positive view, as a healer.

As a result, management of the park catered to a conception of wilderness that was ultimately riddled with contradictions. Centuries-old interactions between humans and the landscape ceased and only practices that promoted tourism developments were allowed. While aboriginals were no longer allowed to live in national parks, many non-aboriginals lived in the townsites set up in the parks to cater to the needs of visitors (Binnema & Niemi, 2006). Traditional hunting by aboriginals was deemed unlawful, although game hunting by tourists was promoted until 1930 (Jacoby, 2001; Loo, 2006; MacEachern, 1995). Fires, a natural and necessary aspect of forest ecology, were understood to be a threat to the landscape; preventing and suppressing them became standard practice in national parks (Gulig, 2002; MacLaren, 1999). What was perhaps most contradictory was that while tourism development in national parks was not motivated by an environmental ethic, protecting the landscape was central to ensuring tourists would visit the area.

Protecting the landscape for tourists played an important role in the emergence of preservation principles in the early twentieth century. According to Campbell (2005), nature travellers fronted the first preservationist movement. Along with the perceived need to recreate in natural areas for one's health, many began to consider the landscape of North America as worth more than a source for resource extraction. The near extinction of the prairie bison led many to question the limitless abundance of natural resources in the country (Altmeyer, 1995; Foster, 1978). Furthermore, the publications of John Muir, Ernest Thomson Seton, and Gordon Hewitt, all concerned with the disappearance of wilderness, resulted in many individuals calling for better protection of natural environs including the management of national parks (Altmeyer, 1995; Foster, 1978; Loo, 2006). J.B. Harkin, commissioner of national parks from 1911 to 1936, was strongly influenced by the works of Muir (MacEachern, 2001). Moreover, Harkin was a devotee of the idea and value of wilderness. Harkin believed that in order to encourage park preservation, Canadians needed to visit them to understand their worth (Harkin, 1914; Harkin, 1958); the more people visited the parks, the more they would act as stewards for park protection. In contrast to the United States, where the construction of roads into national parks spurred protest and launched wilderness movements, roads and trails in Canada's parks were considered necessary to increase tourism and thus appreciation for them (Alderson & Marsh, 1979; Reichwein, 1998; Sutter, 2002; Waiser, 1995; White & Hart, 2007). Tourism development and park preservation in Canada were not considered to be in conflict; rather, tourism was understood to support preservation efforts. By 1911, tourism came to be promoted as the most important industry in the national parks.

While industries such as mining and forestry continued in the parks until the 1930s, many felt that their inclusion was a threat to the beauty of the area and thus a park's tourism potential long before these industrial practices ended. For instance, when debating the 1887 Rocky Mountain Parks Act, some Members of Parliament raised questions regarding the suitability of industry in a national park (Brown, 1970; Foster, 1978; McNamee, 2008). However, only with the emergence of park preservation principles in the early twentieth century did economic exploitation of the national parks by mining, forestry, and hydro-electric companies come be considered at odds with the purposes of national parks. The Canadian National Parks Association (CNPA) was formed to "help preserve our nationally owned parks in their entirety for the use and benefit of the people of Canada" (Foster, 1924, p. 1). The group's battle to keep hydro-development out of Banff National Park culminated in the National Park Act (1930) and the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement (1930) that resulted in permanent exclusion of resource extraction from the parks (Flanagan & Milke, 2005; Gainer, 2005; Kopas, 2007; Markham-Starr, 2000; Reichwein, 1995; Reichwein, 1996). At the heart of the National Parks Act was the concept of inviolability. The inviolability clause suggests that national parks would be protected against "major development that would impair parks and reduce their ability to be enjoyed by all Canadians in perpetuity" (White & Hart, 2007, p. 189). According to the new Act (1930), the national parks were now dedicated "'to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment… [and] shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations'" (as cited in Waiser & De Brou, 1992, p. 299).

National parks were to be used by visitors while at the same time protected from the harms visitors could bring to them. This, argues MacEachern (2001), "has been the constant, unresolved problem at the heart of park history" (p. 15). This dual mandate dominated park management in the years following implementation of the 1930 Act, with decisions affecting parks being guided by the park manager's interpretation of ecological science. Ecological science understood ecosystems as relationships amongst organisms; an increase or decrease in the population of one species would affect other species. In national parks, this meant that natural systems needed to be managed more proactively (MacEachern, 2006). For example, foresters, often the decision-makers regarding vegetation in national parks, understood that untouched vegetation was not necessarily the best for an ecosystem. Forest management was increased following the 1930 Act. Timber cutting that resulted in forest thinning was often encouraged; timber was destined for use as building materials (Manry, 2001). Insecticide was increasingly sprayed to kill pest insects that spread forest disease (MacEachern, 2001). Although fire suppression had been practiced in the national parks for several years, suppression measures had been stepped up in the 1930s (Burns & Schintz, 2000; Pyne, 2007). Parks officials also took an interventionist approach to wildlife management as well. Wildlife considered too plentiful would be destroyed by park wardens; unwanted predators were targeted for disposal by wardens; and on some occasions the Park Branch removed animals to be sold to museums or zoos around the world (Burnett, 2003; Burns & Schintz, 2000; Loo, 2006; MacEachern, 2001, MacEachern, 2009). At the time, national parks were promoted as the best fishing destinations in Canada for anglers (MacEachern, 2006). Popular game fish were thus stocked in the lakes and rivers of the national parks, with then-unforeseen affects on the native fish species. Until the practice of fish stocking was stopped in 1988, nearly forty million game fish had been introduced into the Bow River watershed of Banff

National Park (Colpitts, 1993; Parks Canada, 2009a). Native fish species populations, meanwhile, declined. Though guided by science, park managers were also guided by the needs of the recreation and tourism industry, affecting the ecological health of the national parks.

Tourism development continued unabated during the 1930s to the 1960s. Make-work camps, developed to keep enemy aliens occupied and under government surveillance during the First World War, were resurrected during the 1930s to provide work for unemployed men during the Depression, and a new set of enemy aliens during the 1940s (Waiser, 1995). The construction of roads and other park infrastructure by the work camps, including the Banff-Jasper Highway, opened scenic routes and laid the groundwork for post-war tourist developments in the park. Those who could afford to visit parks still did so before the end of the war; over 2.5 million tourists visited Banff National Park between 1931 and 1945, with a high of 278,286 visitors in 1941 (Taylor, 2007). While the national parks did accommodate tourists during the 1930s and early 1940s, mass tourism did not take off in North America until after the Second World War, when the national parks swelled during the summer months with increasing numbers of tourists. A number of factors contributed to the parks' increased popularity as a tourist destination. This included vacations being formally mandated in labour laws and collective bargaining agreements in most areas of the continent, increased wages for many employees, and increased numbers of Canadians who owned automobiles (Dubinsky, 1999; Owram, 1996; Rybczynski, 1991; Taylor, 2007; Wilson, 1991). Nature tourists and recreationists in Banff rose from 46,000 visitors in 1946 to 600,000 in 1952, and reached over a million visitors by 1960 (Taylor, 2007). While motels, cafes, and shops operated in national parks before the war, many more facilities were opened following it. In particular, the government developed many areas as campgrounds for tourists, and furnished them with urban amenities such as showers, flush toilets, and laundry facilities (Taylor, 2007). These developments were not considered to be at odds with park policy. Although the development of campgrounds and tourist centres undoubtedly impacted the environment of these areas, such considerations were secondary to tourists' needs (Nelson, 1982). Just as Harkin had argued for more roads and trails to accommodate visitors in the 1920s, so did the developments before and after the war allow more visitors to enjoy *their* national parks. Increasing the number of recreational and tourist facilities in them simply catered to the needs of the growing visitor base.

The increases in tourism developments in the post-war period put more pressure on recreational land in the national parks. While many people welcomed the recreational opportunities the developments provided, some questioned whether recreation and tourism developments would impair parks in the same way that mining and hydropower had in the past (MacEachern, 2001). Yet, the government was simultaneously being pressured by business interests to allow more development in parks (White & Hart, 2007). As nature tourist numbers and tourist facilities grew, so too did pressures on the federal government to allow for further recreational developments in the parks. On the one hand, nature tourists visited parks to get closer to nature; on the other hand, the developments needed to facilitate and support such visits threatened the parks' environment. For individuals and groups concerned with park preservation, recreation and tourism were now considered a threat to the inviolability of national parks rather than a means to ensure it. From the perspective of conservationists, those who championed continued park development failed to understand that healthy ecosystems could not be measured by an area's appearance. Pro-development arguments, however, proliferated and maintained that development would not take away from the scenic beauty of the parks (J.D. Francis & Associates, 1966).

So great were the pressures for development in the national parks that Alvin Hamilton, minister in charge of Northern Affairs and National Resources (and thus the Park Branch), called for a pressure group to help withstand the demands for development in the parks (Bella, 1987). Similarly, the Resources for Tomorrow Conference, held in Montreal in 1961 to discuss the state of natural resources in Canada, called for "'an informed, organized, nongovernment association to promote the interests of park development and perform as a 'watchdog' over those areas now reserved for parks purposes'" (as cited in Bella, 1987, p. 112). The rise of environmental activism played an important role in the formation of such groups. Citizens were energized to demand government action to protect the environment, both inside and outside national parks (McNamee, 2008). A new watchdog organization, the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC), was formed in 1963 to safeguard the principles of national parks (Henderson, 1965). As far as NPPAC was concerned, development in the national parks – particularly the mountain national parks – was already out of hand. Any more would degrade what the group felt was their purpose: to protect areas of land so that all Canadians could enjoy and learn from nature. NPPAC wanted Canadians to know their parks, "and to get angry and militant whenever they [were] threatened" (Henderson, 1965, p. 3). One example of such an appeal to the emotions was that made by Farley Mowat in *Never Cry Wolf* (1963), resulting in many Canadians deriding the targeting of wolves by the Canadian Wildlife Service and the national parks for the decline in caribou and deer, and calling instead for the animals' protection (Jones, 2003). As pressure mounted to protect the environment, the Park Branch would need to determine how to better emphasize preservation over use.

In September 1964, the Park Branch released a new National Parks Policy aimed at clarifying how it planned to prioritize park preservation over park use. The 1964 policy emphasized that national parks management should be based on environmental protection (Kopas, 2007; MacEachern, 2001). Indeed, the policy acknowledged that the "most fundamental and important obligation in the administration of this Act is to preserve from impairment all significant objects and features of nature in the parks" (Canada, 1964, p. 5). At the time, the policy and the limits to development outlined therein were considered a detriment to the tourist industry in Alberta (Bella, 1987). A study released by the Alberta government understood that the policy was "to discourage virtually all forms of recreation and entertainment" (J.D. Francis & Associates, 1966). Although the policy stated that preservation was the Park Branch's most important obligation, development for the recreational needs of visitors did continue – but only for infrastructure deemed necessary to fulfill park purposes. Necessary developments included continued building and expansion of hotels, motels, and campgrounds, and continued developments for recreation such as hiking trails and ski hills (Canada, 1964). What the Branch did do was acknowledge that human use in all its forms impaired national park wildlife and ecology. The policy outlined what activities and infrastructure developments were considered to be at odds with the purposes of national parks, and which were not. Thus, the new National Parks Policy (Canada, 1964) stated that "[only] the wholesome outdoor types of recreation which are compatible with the natural atmosphere will be permitted" (p. 21) and "[recreational] developments considered necessary for full visitor enjoyment of a park should be constructed and administered by the [Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources]" (p. 25). Development could continue so long as careful planning was undertaken to minimize impairment of the park environment and to determine how it would fulfill park purposes.

Although development was allowed to continue, the 1964 National Parks Policy represented a turning point in national parks management. This policy was the first from the Park Branch to acknowledge the need to minimize impairment to the ecology of parks. The growing environmental concerns of the 1960s also increased public input on matters affecting the national parks. New provisional master plans on the mountain national parks brought hundreds of individuals out to public consultations to express their concerns over decisions the Park Branch was making, such as the expansion of the Lake Louise Ski Area (Canada, 1969; Canada, 1970; Canada, 1972). In 1988 an amendment was made to the National Parks Act. In the amendment, the Branch emphasized the need to reduce human effects on the environment, and the maintenance of ecological integrity became the first priority of national parks (Canada, 1988). Ecological integrity meant that park managers aimed to decrease human impact on the environment while at the same time actively managing systems to protect intact ecosystems (Hildebrandt, 1995; MacEachern, 2001). However, visitor use of national parks continued unabated. The number of visitors to the park tripled since 1970, to reach four million visitors a year in 1994, with an additional four million passing through the park (Parks Canada, 2009b). So detrimental was visitor use to Banff National Park's environment that in 1994 the Banff-Bow Valley Study was established to understand the impact of human use on it. The task force concluded that if human use continued at the same rate, "it [would] cause serious and irreversible harm to Banff National Park's… value as a national park" (Page, Bayley, Cook, Green, & Ritchie, 1995, p. 4). So severe has the human impact on Canada's national park environments been that Searle (2000) has argued that they are in peril. White and Hart (2007) suggest that the debates over park use (for example, tourism recreation versus park preservation) came to a head on the bids to host the 1968 and 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park. Banff National Park was thrust onto the international stage as debates over the overdevelopment of national parks played out.

This case study will thus shed light on an important time in national park history when park development became a battleground over its dual mandate. It also seeks to examine the diverse understandings of Banff National Park that emerged from different individuals and groups as a result of the 1972 bid. Although there was disappointment over the 1968 result, the groundwork that had been done in anticipation of the 1968 Games would carry forward to the 1972 bid. Developments had begun, studies had been completed, and the tensions between national park values versus winter facility development started to manifest. Together, these activities would affect the 1972 bid process, and spark a public debate over the proper use of national parks in Canada. Questions regarding what kind of developments were appropriate in national parks, and how much development should be allowed, arose to set important precedents for the parks. Were national parks meant to be used to the fullest extent possible as recreational sites? Or were they to be left untouched and enjoyed in a manner that did not impair their ecological health? The 1972 Winter Olympics bid brought these questions to the forefront, and this case study investigates how the national parks, and ultimately these debates, resulted in different constructions of national parks.

Olympic Games Research

Since 1924 athletes from around the world have gathered to compete in the Winter Olympics and represent their country on the international stage. The Olympics claim to celebrate greatness in athleticism, sportsmanship, the coming together of nations and cultures peacefully, and the glory of the human spirit (Girginov & Parry, 2005; McDonald, 2006). Indeed, the Games are touted as a celebration of nations through competitive sport with many commentators referring to the Games as “the world’s greatest sports festival” and “the largest peacetime event” (Cashman, 1999, p. 3). As far as the IOC is concerned, no other sporting event is as important as the Olympic Games (Barney, Wenn, & Martyn, 2002). For Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic movement, the Games were a celebration among athletes; according to Brown (2005), the Olympic Games were for the athletes themselves, rather than the global audience following the results. Many countries have sought to be a part of this movement by hosting Olympic Games. However, it is not only the lustre of the Olympic ideals that prompt localities to seek the Games; rather, the Olympic Games are a cultural, political and economic phenomena, that are considered by potential host cities as a “media event, a tourism attraction, a marketing opportunity, a catalyst for urban development and renewal, [and] a city image creator and booster” (Toohey & Veal, 2007, p. 6-7). The Olympic Games are a sought-after event aimed to increase a locality’s profile on a global scale.

Much of the Olympic Games’ scholarly literature concerns its use for nation building and identity construction in an increasingly global society. For these scholars, nationalism is an important part of the Olympic movement. According to Houlihan (2005) nationalism is the most entrenched Olympic narrative, due to:

> The opening parade of athletes in national groups (rather than by sport, for example); the wearing of national team colours on the kit (rather than Olympic colours); and the playing of national anthems and the raising of national flags at medal ceremonies (as opposed to an Olympic anthem and the Olympic flag). (p. 130-131)

While participating at the Olympics is one mode of promoting nationalism at home and abroad, so too is hosting the Games. Communities benefit from the international exposure that hosting Olympic Games afford; following the Second World War, in particular, the Olympic Games were sought as part of projects of local boosterism and identity construction, as well as an important arena for the "explication of national political statements" (Wamsley & Young, 2005, p. xix). This is most often observed during the opening and closing ceremonies of events. As Forsyth and Wamsley (2005) observe, host communities consistently use the Games' ceremonies to represent subjective versions of their national history and their current social, political, and economic status. Localities hope that the Games will project a positive image of their country and community both domestically and internationally. In this way staging the Olympics allows a country to represent itself outwardly while simultaneously serving as an identity-building exercise for its citizens (Brown, 2005). Whitson (2004) observes that hosting Olympic Games not only promotes a locality on the global stage but also brings international influences to the locals.

While there are several reasons cities bid to host the Olympic Games, scholars have identified similarities amongst different Olympic bids and organizing committees that are relevant to the current study. Frequently aspirations for hosting the Olympics come from the private business sector rather than publicly elected officials. For bid committees, hosting the Games yields both tangible and intangible benefits for the locality, including: economic benefits, increased infrastructure and facility development, information and educational opportunities for the public, and the memories of hosting such a grandiose event (Cashman, 1999b). In his examination of Calgary's bid for the 1988 Winter

Olympics, Whitson (2004) argues that hosting the Olympics would signal the city's transition from a resource centre on the periphery of Canada to a city of national and international significance. Although Olympic legacies appear to benefit a locality, members of the local Olympic committees can also profit from the Games. While they regard their goals as in the best interest of the public, they comprise individuals with their own goals and self-interests (Booth, 2005). Commonly a bid committee is initially formed by a consortium of business and sporting interests without input from local, regional, or national governments. These interests include individuals from the transport, construction, hotel and tourist industries, financial institutions, and the mainstream media (Toohey & Veal, 2007). In other words, the committees are often made up of individuals who may personally profit from hosting the Games. Increasingly, however, researchers are focusing on the motives of bid committees in their quest to bring the Olympic Games to a locality, critically analyzing the legacies that Olympic Games actually leave behind as well as questioning whether such events deliver the benefits that bid and organizing committees promise (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Kidd, 1992a; Lenskyj, 2008; Shaw, 2008).

Critical scholars have argued that, historically, the Olympic Games are not what they claim to be (Wamsley, 2004). Instead of catalysts for local pride, economic development, and amateur athletic legacies, as they would have been understood in the 1960s (Torres & Dyerson, 2005), some now see the Olympiic Games as problematic for communities and note the pitfalls of hosting them, such as environmental degradation or cuts to public sector funding in order to meet the cost requirements for Olympic development projects (Kidd, 1992a; Lenskyj, 2008; Shaw, 2008). Some scholars also suggest that the Olympics harm communities rather than aiding them (Brohm, 1978; Wamsley & Heine, 1996). One scholar particularly interested in analyzing the legacies of both Olympic failed bids (i.e., Toronto) and Games (i.e., Sydney and Vancouver) is Helen Jefferson Lenskyj (1992, 1996, 2002, 2008). Lenskyj (2004) demonstrates that these bids are not always met with support from local citizens. Unlike the claims by bid committees that suggest an entire region benefits from hosting the Games, Lenskyj (2000) insists that the contemporary Olympics are organized to maximize private sector investment, generate multi-billion dollar revenues for private investors, and capitalize on Olympic sponsorship. For example, while Chalkley and Essex (1999) note the tendency for the development of Olympic Games infrastructure to be a catalyst for wider urban development projects, Lenskyj (2008) argues these developments come at the expense of taxpayers, many of whom will not be able to enjoy the sporting facility and accommodation infrastructure themselves. She further notes that bid committees regularly rationalize inconveniences incurred by the hosting of the Olympics by promoting the "immeasurable benefits of 'world-class' city status accrued to Olympic hosts" (p. 18). These benefits are not only hard to document, but appear to last only a short period of time following the events. Whitson (2004) shows, for example, that while tourism in Calgary increased for a few years following the 1988 Winter Olympics, Calgary was not a well-recognized city name in the United States, and attracted more tourists due to the annual Calgary Stampede than the Winter Olympics in the years following the event. Hosting an Olympics may not bring about the expected positive changes a locality hopes for when seeking to host the games.

While critical examinations of hosting the Olympics continue to grow, studies that look at failed bids are fewer. This new approach has been taken up by only a handful of researchers thus far (Cochrane, Peck, & Tickell, 1996; Hiller, 2000; Kidd, 1992a; Kidd, 1992b; Lenskyj, 1992; Lenskyj, 1996; Olson, 1974; Swart & Urmilla, 2004; Torres & Dyerson, 2007). Only a few researchers have examined the failed attempt to bring the Winter Olympics to Denver in 1976, the first and only instance of a group of citizens overturning a decision to mount the Games in their city after the Games had already been awarded (Foster, 1976; Judd, 1983; Leonard & Thomas, 1990; Rothman, 1998). Others have analyzed the unsuccessful 2004 bid to bring the Olympic Games to South Africa in an attempt to bring Cape Town out of its apartheid past after decades of the country being banned from participating in the Games (Hiller, 2000; Swart & Urmilla, 2004). Manchester's failed bid for the 2000 Summer Olympics has been analyzed to determine how the city planned for the Games to reinvigorate it, and increase government expenditure on it (Cochrane, Peck, & Tickell, 1996). Studies that have looked at Canada's failed attempts to win the Olympics have also been produced, most recently with regards to Toronto's attempts to host the Olympics in 2000 and 2008. As was the case with Calgary's 1972 bid, Olympic organizers laid blame on local opposition rather than other political circumstances. In Toronto's case, other factors, notably corruption and strategic voting practices by IOC members, also contributed to its losses (Kidd, 1992a; Kidd, 1992b; Lenskyj, 1992; Lenskyj, 2008). This study of Calgary's failed attempts to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff will add another voice to this growing body of literature on failed bids. It will also present an early form of resistance to the hegemonic view that environmental concerns should give way to events such as an Olympics and their attendant developments.

It is important to acknowledge that contemporary understandings of the Olympic Games were not the prevailing ones at the time of the 1972 Winter Olympics bid, as the scale and size of the Games were much smaller than the Games today (John Gow, personal communication, January 19, 2010). Moreover, the Nagano bid for the 1998 Winter Olympics was the first Olympics that required an environmental assessment (Cantelon & Letters, 2000; IOC, 1998; Kuziak, 1995). So, it is important to recognize that current conceptions of the Olympic Games were not the same when Calgary bid for the Olympics in 1972. However, use of the contemporary literature can allow researchers to look on historical cases more critically and systematically (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999). Further, many factors regarding contemporary bids were also present in bids from the 1960s. For example, Olson (1974) shows that bid committees in the 1960s and 1970s shared many of the problems with power relations and politics that contemporary researchers identify. One concern throughout both the 1968 and 1972 bids was how the event would affect the area financially, through increased global exposure and tourism investment (CODA, 1964; “Olympic Games spurred growth,” 1964; “Olympics’ effect stressed,” 1963). Furthermore, although CODA argued that the benefits of hosting the Games would benefit everyone living in the Calgary and Banff areas, hosting the Olympics in Banff would benefit only a small percentage of the population; notably, ski hill operators and tourist businesses owners stood to benefit financially, while CODA hoped that the Olympics would establish Banff as an “exclusively posh resort amongst the skiing fraternity” (CODA, 1964; Hodgson, 1966a, “More facilities held ‘must,’ 1964, “Olympic benefits,” 1966; Simaluk, 1966a, p. 1). Thus, analyzing the Calgary bid for the Olympic Games provides an early example that contributes to the growing literature on Olympic bids that have met with resistance, as well as failed Olympic bids.

Promotion of Growth and Establishment of World-Class Status

As discussed earlier, bid committees are often made up of private interests and individuals who stand to gain much from their positions on these committees. As elites in society, these individuals share an interest in economic growth and frequently profit from hosting events such as the Olympic Games. Toohey and Veal (2007) argue that members of bid committees form urban growth regimes through their actions to promote local growth with a large-scale event such as the Olympics. Harvey Molotch’s (1976) growth machine thesis provides a window as to why communities seek to host hallmark events to stimulate growth. According to Molotch, local elites profit through the intensified use of land and local growth is a key motivation and common interest of local elites in a given locale. Although more than three decades have passed since Molotch published his work, it is still relevant today and is, according to Schimmel (2002), a pertinent work from which to draw upon for sport researchers interested in understanding the Olympics as a large-scale event. The growth machine thesis is also relevant to events that occurred before Molotch published it; Molotch bases many of his arguments on cases from the post-Second World War development that occurred all over North America (Molotch, 1976). The work speaks to the desire to expand a locality's reach, if only temporarily, for example through a hallmark event. Even in the 1960s, bid committees hoped that the Olympic Games would stimulate growth and development in a host area (Olson, 1974; Wenn, 1991). However, according to Molotch (1976) urban elites have in mind a future for a given locality that is almost certainly linked to the elites' well-being. According to Banfield (1961) elites will strive to enhance the land-use potential of the parcels with which it is associated. The same can be said for Winter Olympic sites – urban centres bidding for the Games can become associated with mountain resort communities where many events will actually take place (IOC, 1966a). Thus localities not truly in an alpine area can benefit from association with one, such as Calgary associating with Banff.

Even though Molotch's theory was published in 1976, it is relevant to events that occurred in earlier decades; in the era of post-war development, local elites acting as a hegemonic group pursued growth as a common desire (Molotch, 1976). Furthermore, while his thesis names cities as the main focus of his analysis, Molotch and Logan (1987) contend that the growth machine is present in any populated location, from a neighbourhood to a nation. Elites encourage economic growth as being in the best interests of everyone in a locality. Growth "brings jobs, expands the tax base, and pays for urban services" (Logan & Molotch, 1987, p. 33). Thus, growth is presumed to be in the interests of everyone, and the strategies to promote growth that are undertaken by elites are assumed to be agreed to by the public. In arguing that local elites are successful in maintaining growth strategies by convincing the non-elites that growth is necessary Molotch's work relies heavily on Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Through the hegemonic status of growth machine logic, the local population is encouraged to support such growth initiatives. Elites connect civic pride to a growth goal by tying the economic and non-economic benefits of growth in general to the local area (Logan & Molotch, 1987). In doing so, the benefits are represented as accruing to all; non-elites are more likely to support a bid specifically, and growth initiatives more generally.

Hosting an event the size of the Olympics is one way sport is implicated in growth strategies of local elites. Since the 1960s, the Olympic Games have acted as triggers to larger urban improvements that extend beyond the boundary of sports-related facilities, with non-sporting developments for an area being pushed forward under the guise of Olympic development (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001; Lenskyj, 2008; Liao & Pitts, 2008). The state of California, for example, spent an estimated nine million dollars to stage the Winter Olympics at Squaw Valley in 1960 in the hopes of establishing the area as a tourist park after the Games (“California is losing,” 1961; Durslag, 1957). Although television technology was relatively new in the 1960s, it still played a role in promoting Olympic cities around the globe. Starting with Melbourne in 1956, the Olympics began to be broadcast via television around the world; Olympic committees could argue, even in the 1960s, that the Games would provide unparalleled publicity for a locality, and thus promote development (Wenn, 1991; Wenn, 1994; Wenn, 1995). Furthermore, the post-war growth in alpine skiing led to many localities hoping to develop a local ski area into a large ski resort known the world-over seeking the Olympics (Coleman, 2004; Coleman, 1996; Olson, 1974). Such logic was not lost upon CODA which sought to transform Banff into a world-class resort, establishing it as an international centre for ski enthusiasts. Hosting represented the opportunity to attract enormous investment both locally and federally not only during but also after the Games that might otherwise not have occurred (Dunn & McGuirk, 1999; Whitson, 2004). Tourism promotion and economic growth are other important motivations for seeking the Olympic Games. Since Montreal’s first bid to host the 1932 Winter Olympics, ambitious Canadian cities have sought to host the Olympics not only to hold the sporting events, but also to attract economic growth and build facilities that would serve as attractions to make that location stand out (IOC, 1929; Whitson, 1999; Whitson & Horne, 2006). Staging such an event requires significant infrastructure developments if they are not already in place. According to Whitson (1999), investing in cultural facilities and attractions creates an image of a location “with the means to build ‘world-class’ facilities, and a population with the means to [enjoy] ‘world-class’ entertainment” (p. 310) that will, it is believed, attract further investments.

Within the Canadian context, Montreal is an example of a city that saw the growth and development potential of staging hallmark events such as Expo 67, which displayed the country to the world as a “progressive, urbane, giant of a nation” (Litt, 2008, p. 33), and the 1976 Summer Olympics. Jean Drapeau, mayor of Montreal from 1954-1957, and again from 1960-1987, felt hallmark events would put the city on the international map, on par with London, Paris and New York (Artibise, 1988). With Expo 67, major infrastructure developments were able to move forward with the assistance of federal, provincial, and municipal funding.[3] Canadian architectural achievements, such as Habitat ’67, were seen to put Montreal on the international scene as a cosmopolitan centre (McMordie, 1976; Morin, 1998). One major development completed for Expo was the subway and *ville souterraine*, an underground pedway system linking metro stations with retail outlets, businesses, and hotels; both were considered necessary to establish Montreal on the world scene (George, 1968). In total, over $1.5 billion was spent on staging Expo 67 in the hopes of transforming the country’s international profile from a quiet backwoods country to a happening, modern one, with Montreal at its epicentre (Holmes, 1967; Levine, 2003). Furthermore, the event was also meant to be a significant boost to the Canadian economy not just during the event, but following it as well. It was estimated that following the Expo, Canada would have profited by $200-300 million (Cole, 1967). While the event did lead to an increase in tourists (especially from the United States) and $480 million was spent by tourists overall, the economic advantages of hosting it were not long lasting (Edmonson, 1956; Kwack, 1972; Ritchie & Belliveau, 1974;

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[3] 1967 was also Canada’s centennial year; the federal government, through the Centennial Commission, supported a number of events and celebrations across the country, including Expo 67, the Pan-American Games held in Winnipeg, and the creation of the Order of Canada. For mor information, see Boyne (2002).

Shirer, 1974). Nevertheless, hallmark events were considered important in the establishment of world-class status for Canadian locales in the 1960s.

In the 1960s, business elites believed hosting the Winter Olympics would put Banff on the map as a top alpine destination. One of CODA's main goals was the establishment of Banff as a world-class winter resort on par with resorts in Europe and the United States. According to some supporters, the Winter Olympics in Banff would promote the area as a major alpine destination (Simaluk, 1966b). Whitson and Horne (2006) note that recognition as a winter alpine destination is particularly important for Winter Olympic hosts; skiing "is so central to the winter tourism industry that the opportunity to showcase an area's skiing in Olympic Games telecasts is widely believed to make the global reputation of a winter holiday destination" (p. 74). As opposed to staging a Summer Olympics, hosting the Winter Games was an opportunity to drive tourists to the area in the winter. Consequently, supporters thought that the Banff Winter Olympics bid would prompt increased development of "après-ski" facilities by private enterprises, such as chalets, motels, restaurants, and cocktail lounges ("One step closer to Games", 1961). Ski vacationers expect not just good skiing from a ski holiday; they also expect an "attractive mountain village where destination skiers can enjoy fine dining, shopping, and other forms of après-ski entertainment" (Whitson, 2001, p. 153). The infrastructure and developments needed to host such an event are believed to entice tourists to visit the area, and to encourage governments and business to invest in the locality. Hosting an Olympics in Banff would have ensured that this type infrastructure would be developed and that Banff would have been known worldwide as a major alpine ski resort.

The Role of the Media

Local media played a role in presenting the debates surrounding the 1972 Winter Olympic Games to the public; therefore, an understanding of the role of the media in everyday life is important. The proposed study works from the perspective that how an event is covered in the newspaper is necessarily and always mediated through particular circulating ideologies in which both the newspaper and the journalists are enmeshed. As Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clark, and Roberts (1978) argue, “News is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (p. 53). Newspapers define for readers what is important and newsworthy. Essentially, information derived from the media “shapes the lived realities of [an individual’s] day-to-day lives and [his or her] understandings of important historical moments and events” (Jackson, Scherer, & Martyn, 2008, p. 179). Furthermore, because the media are often presenting information that is outside the experience of most readers, they may be the only source of information citizens can get about important events and topics (Hall et al., 1978; Jackson, et al., 2008). As a public mediator, a newspaper decides for the public what information individuals will receive on a topic. Due to this selectivity, print media plays an important role in how individuals perceive the world around them, particularly if the authority of the newspaper is not questioned. Hall et al. (1978) argue that the media not only define what events are of significance but also offer interpretations of how events should be understood; this process of giving meaning to certain events helps to construct a consensus in society. The media achieves this by providing selected versions of events that are naturalized as commonsense (Jackson, et al., 2008). Media interpret events for the public and this interpretation becomes a taken-for-granted consensus. More often than not, these interpretations are biased in favour of the elite group. Accordingly, the media are of importance in the struggle over hegemonic rule and counter-hegemonic forces (Nesbitt-Larking, 2007), as they often help to solidify the former.

Dominant ideologies are reproduced in mainstream media as commonsense beliefs held by all in a society. While the mainstream media do not themselves create news items, they are in a position to reproduce the views of the powerful in society and maintain an understanding of society at a commonsense level. One way this occurs is by privileging the voices and viewpoints of some individuals and not others in the dominant media sources. According to Nesbitt-Larking (2007) prevailing beliefs ascribe higher status to certain groups and individuals. As a result, "the voices and the positions of those with entrenched power are taken for granted and treated as natural" (Nesbitt-Larking, 2007, p. 90). This gives the powerful more access to the media and more opportunity to project their viewpoints. Hall et al. (1978) argue that while the media are over-accessed by those in powerful and privileged positions and tend to uphold the existing power structure in society, they do not simply create news items or blindly transmit the ideology of the ruling class. Rather Hall et al. suggest that mainstream media's structured relationship to power reinforces consensual notions "as if there are no major cultural or economic breaks, no major conflicts of interest between classes and groups" (p. 55). Nesbitt-Larking (2007) also contends that the media's reproduction of dominant ideas and ideals does not occur because they are told to do so but because "the idea of acting counter to the prevailing belief systems simply does not occur to most agents in the media" (p. 86). An exception to this is alternative media. While mainstream media sources may minimize negative aspects of the Olympic Games, the voices of those with social, cultural, or environmental concerns can be found in alternative media (Kirby, 2009; Lenskyj, 2008), thereby resisting the hegemonic ideology reproduced in dominant media sources.

Mainstream media sources, and local newspapers in particular, support the goals of growth for which local elites push. According to Molotch (1976), a local newspaper is the most important example of a business that has its interest anchored in a locality's growth. How growth occurs is not important for a newspaper, only that it does. At the basis of this argument is that although newspapers are assumed to be objective and neutral, they are primarily businesses interested in profit, which means their content is consistent with business values and interests (Jackson, et al., 2008). As the population of a locality grows, the circulation of a newspaper has the potential to increase, including its profit. Newspapers can also sell a larger number of advertisements at a higher cost with the argument that it has a rising circulation base (Logan & Molotch, 1987). As growth advocates, the media essentially play the role of boosters; they "congratulate growth rather than calculate consequences [and] compliment development rather than criticize its impact" (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Of particular interest to this study is Molotch's (1976) observation that though newspaper editorialists may care about the environment in his or her locality, they nevertheless tend to support growth strategies for the area. As a result, growth in all its forms is supported and this is mediated to the public. As supporters of growth, the local newspaper in Calgary may have potentially played an important role in framing the debates surrounding the 1972 Winter Olympic bids.

The media play a critical role in disseminating information about the Olympic Games and keeping the Games relevant; indeed, Gratton (1999) suggests that the international media is the most influential group that defines the reputation of the Olympics. He contends that bad and good press can drastically impact the Games, and/or the host city. The media are considered essential to draw the public's attention to the Games with significant consequences for the host city (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). As Wenn (1991) asserts, the selling of television rights for the 1960 Games in Squaw Valley and Rome for $440,000 USD had a significant impact on the future of the Olympics, both as a way to recoup revenue and to provide world-wide exposure. Host countries and athletes also use the media during the Games to perform symbolic political acts. Some examples include Adolf Hitler's use of the media at the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin to promote his racial ideology of Aryan supremacy; the "Black Power" salute by Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City; or the Munich Massacre at the 1972 Summer Olympics (Burstyn, 1998; Rinehart, 1996; Whannel, 2005). All three acts garnered media attention and demonstrate the media's power to communicate messages around the world.

While television is a major medium for the propagation of Olympic information, the newspaper was and remains an important medium for all involved in the Olympic industry, including the IOC and Olympic hosts. As Gratton (1999) explains:

> While the accredited photographers and journalists working at the Olympics may number only 5000, almost every one of those accreditations belongs to an opinion-maker – whether in words or pictures. Each writer or photographer will have an impact on what people read or see about the Games. And those images and articles live on, in contrast to the ephemerality of the small screen. (p. 120)

In the 1960s, print media was an important outlet for information for the public. In 1958, over a quarter-billion newspapers were circulated around the world every day (Kumata & Deutschmann, 1958). Major global events, including Olympic Games or World Expositions, often commanded foreign print news attention in the 1960s (Schwartz, 1970). Even in the early years of the Olympic Games, the written press played a major role in representing them to the reading public. For example, Morrow (1992) argued that in 1928: "[s]o significant was the print media to the promotion of the festivals that the executive committee for the Amsterdam Olympics guarded the world press by not allowing the results of contests to be radio broadcast" (p. 125); this, in turn, ensured that images of Amsterdam could be publicized through print media coverage. Similarly, O'Bonsawin's (2002) analysis of representations of two northern-Canadian Olympic Athletes from 1968-1985 shows newspapers were an important vehicle for informing the Canadian public of government initiatives in Canada's north and the success of government-sponsored programs of sport development for northern Canada's indigenous youth.

Print media is also an important source of data for understanding how the Olympics are represented to the public. The media play an indispensable role in shaping public understanding of the Olympic Games; this can be in terms of either providing a critical perspective on Olympic developments or boosting public support for growth relating to them (Girginov & Parry, 2005). Regarding the latter, mainstream media sources may act as gate-keepers of information, with the net effect being hegemonic ideologies can perhaps be maintained. Toohey and Taylor (2006) suggest that the media support hegemonic goals of Olympic development and growth in a number of ways: the selection of topics and concerns, how issues are framed, how information is filtered, and keeping debate in favour of the ruling class. As such, hegemony is facilitated through the selection of what is worthy of being read, heard, or seen (Bale & Christensen, 2004; Lenskyj, 2008; Toohey & Veal, 2007). The view of the world presented through mainstream media sources is represented as a commonly held goal of society that is agreed upon. By limiting the space for dissenting voices in the mainstream media, the public is more likely to consent to the dominant ideologies. In particular, Lenskyj (2002) notes that the treatment of environmentalists relative to Olympic developments is rarely positive, and those opposed to developments are blamed for thwarted Olympic goals. Many individuals accept that opposition to the Games is negative, and in turn view environmentalists and other opposition advocates as threats to the common good. The media consequently plays an important role in framing an Olympic bid.

This chapter aimed to highlight some of the influential works that have shaped my thinking throughout the research and writing of this thesis. By asking how the bid was framed and represented, what constructions of Banff National Park emerged, and how different actors promoted these constructions, this research combines these four seemingly disparate literatures to create a better understanding of the 1972 Winter Olympic bid. These research questions necessitate an understanding of multiple perspectives, combining environmental history, sociology, political sciences, and recreation and leisure studies. Different actors, such as bid committees, conservationists, governments, and the media each influence an Olympic bid. As a landscape devoted to both recreational use and preservation, Banff National Park could be considered a logical site for the expansion and growth of winter facilities. As with other localities, an Olympics bid could be a means to achieve this growth and development. The local media, meanwhile, plays an important role in normalizing acceptance of Olympic and growth initiatives. The differing literatures point to the interdisciplinary nature of the case, which highlights the connections of national parks interests and Olympic initiatives in Alberta as they bore on emerging environmental politics.

Chapter Three: Reflections on Methodology

Theoretical basis for the study

To understand how the 1972 Winter Olympic bid and Banff National Park were framed for the public, I draw on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Hegemony is the name Gramsci gave to "the successful saturation of the consciousness of a whole society by a view of life which suited the bourgeoisie and kept its ruling representatives in power" (Inglis, 1993, p. 76). Individuals in a society consent to life as they understand it not through force, but through the existence of ideologies that shape world views. Numerous scholars have scrutinized Gramsci's works and have broadened his theory beyond analysis of the working class and bourgeois power. While researchers may not agree on one definitive understanding of Gramscian hegemony (Crehan, 2002), the theory implies the ability of a group or organization to lead others by winning their consent (Steedman, 2006) and as such lends itself well to a study of how the Winter Olympics in Banff were represented.

In pursuing a study grounded in Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it is important to highlight certain assumptions that the theory holds. One is that power is unequally distributed in society. Thus, according to Rowe (2004), researchers must appreciate that conflicts exist among social groups based on factors including class, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender. Burke (2005) argues a hegemonic group "gains the consent of other [groups] and social forces through creating and maintaining a system of alliances by means of political and ideological struggle" (p. 23). Those in power are always struggling to maintain the consent of the subordinate groups in society because hegemonic power is never complete; though individuals can be coerced, they are never entirely lacking the potential to question what is suggested to them (Nesbitt-Larkin, 2007). This consent is historically given due to the confidence that the dominant group enjoys (Gramsci, 1971). An individual's world view is thus shaped by the hegemonic group, as s/he learns to "see society through [her/his] rulers' eyes thanks to [her/his] education and also to [her/his] place in the system" (Burke, 2005, p. 88). This understanding of the world ultimately maintains the status quo in society, keeping the hegemonic group in power.

Widespread acceptance of particular beliefs is necessary to sustain hegemonic power in a society. Ideologies hold the different groups in society together; these shared ideologies are what Gramsci (1971) calls commonsense, or "the conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man [*sic*] is developed" (p. 769). Largely unconsciously, individuals accept a view of the world, and this influences an individual's life and sense of understanding of his or her place in society. This commonsense ideology shapes the moral individuality of the average person (Crehan, 2002); it is the popular conception of the world "unimaginatively called 'instinct'" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 433). Nonetheless, these beliefs overwhelmingly benefit the hegemonic, ruling group. As a result what constitutes commonsense is often far removed from the interests of the subordinate group (Adamson, 1980). Furthermore, what is considered commonsense is constantly changing; it "is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 630). Commonsense changes over time to adopt new convictions and changing beliefs that come about as a result of resistance to the hegemonic power; to maintain its power base, new ideas are integrated into the commonsense of a populace over time (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemonic power can therefore be maintained, as the ideology shared by the public is flexible and can appear more favourable to the subordinate groups.

Maintaining consent not only involves establishing the dominant group's ideology as the prevailing commonsense, but it also requires the willingness of those in power to address the needs of the subordinate group occasionally. Hegemonic leaders cannot appear to be cut off from the needs of the subordinate group by only looking out for their own interests (Bocock, 1986). If the powerful appear to be strictly self-serving, they will not achieve hegemonic leadership. Rather, the powerful "must take into account the popular and democratic demands and struggles of the people" (Simon, 1982, p. 23). Gramsci (1971) called this the concept of the "national-popular" (p. 771). According to Rowe (2004) the concept of the national-popular implies that hegemonic leaders always hold out the possibility that the interests of subordinate groups will be met. For example, the Olympic bidding process often seems to appeal to public needs by stressing the intangible benefits of hosting the games such as the inspiration for youth and amateur athletes, the economic benefits that will trickle down to the public, and the creation of jobs. However, Rowe argues that sport is a site of national-popular conflict that works in favour of the hegemonic group by "distracting the proletariat with sporting 'circuses,'…turning athletes into 'robots' and spectators into disciplined, passive consumers, and creating further opportunities for capitalist exploitation" (p. 100). Hence bidding for the Games would be in the interest of the hegemonic group, though the proposed reasons for hosting the Games are represented as being in the interest of the entire population.

A key issue in hegemony is resistance. Regularly not involved in the decision-making process regarding Olympic development, citizens in host cities who oppose the Games may show resistance through protests. The impact of this resistance is frequently downplayed by local Olympic organizing committees who regularly silence opposing voices "to present their locations as having a homogenized, unified voice in support of investment, rather than fragmented voices expressing resistance to development" (Dunn & McGuirk, 1999, p. 23). At the same time, the dominant group is able to represent resistance in a "manipulated and rationalized [way] to serve new ends" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 561). This is commonly the case with Olympic supporters and opponents. Organizers argue that protests resulting in bid losses will be detrimental to the well-being of a locality and future sporting initiatives (Whitson, 1999), while Lenskyj (2008) notes that those who oppose Olympic development are dismissed as "the lunatic fringe" or "a small group of naysayers" (p. 52). Representing the opposition as a group of radical individuals stigmatizes them and winds up working in favour of Olympic organizers as citizens try to disassociate themselves from this stigma and support the Olympic bid. Meanwhile, this group is often blamed (or credited) when an Olympic bid fails (Lenskyj, 2008).

Resistance may be able to work in favour of the elite, but it can also act as a force of change in the dominant position as a result of that resistance (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004).   For example, the organizing committee for Calgary's 1988 Winter Olympics involved thousands of volunteers in decision-making and opened board meetings to the public out of necessity to ensure support from the public (Kidd, 1992). Similarly, opposition to the 1996 Toronto Olympic bid resulted in the municipal government enforcing several limitations on future bid committees, including that the organizing committee involve representatives from environmental groups (Lenskyj, 1992). Resistance is thus also an important source of change in hegemony, and can influence the outcome of relations between hegemonic and subordinate groups.

Gramsci (1971) identifies two structural levels that exist within society: civil society and political society or the state. Whereas political society is involved in coercion or "direct domination" (p. 145), civil society is where hegemony is exercised through the workings of an intricate network of individuals and organizations that help to organize consent. Civil society consists of private organizations within a nation, including religious, educational, and, most relevant to this study, media institutions (Bocock, 1986; Simon, 1982). According to Nesbitt-Larking (2007), the media play a central role in the production and reproduction of hegemonic consensus. He contends that while they are not directed to reproduce dominant ideas, the media do so because they are themselves embedded in the prevailing culture, and reproduce what is taken for granted, or commonsense. Since hegemonic leadership must continuously adapt to maintain its dominant power position, the media play an important role in sustaining consent (Hermann & Chomsky, 1988). As local media was the primary source of information for the public regarding the Olympic bid, the role of the media is an important inclusion for this study, specifically in terms of the ideologies reproduced through the media.

Research Methodology

I chose a case study method for this study to examine how the various actors involved in the bids, including the bid committee, conservationists, and governments, represented the 1972 Winter Olympic bid. A case study provides a rich, in-depth method of enquiry that focuses on a specific occurrence rather than a generalized overview of multiple events (McGloin, 2008). This case study consisted of three parts: a qualitative analysis of archival materials dealing with the bid; interviews with individuals involved in the support or opposition to the bid; and an examination of daily newspaper coverage and letters to the editors. As a study informed by Gramsci's theory of hegemony, this research is grounded in a critical research paradigm, which recognizes that:

> All humans are subjected to belief systems that make certain ways of life, certain values, and certain knowledges seem natural and just. The belief systems – the ideologies – are created to benefit the factions that hold power in the society. Through the ideologies, the powerful groups control and dominate us without our conscious knowledge. As a result, we are led to believe that our ideological beliefs are our own creations that will work for our benefit. We unknowingly support our own oppression through an uncritical acceptance of these belief systems. (Markula, Grant, & Denison, 2001, p. 253)

A qualitative analysis is used to interrogate the cultural meanings and ideologies (re)produced through the examined media, interviews, and archival representations. Qualitative research relies on non-numerical analysis to provide understanding, description, and meaning, resulting in rich and detailed data; it also works from the premise that reality is socially constructed (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) further add, “Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world [and] researchers [are] attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 3). Thus, this qualitative study allows me to understand the diverse meanings (re)produced and negotiated regarding the 1972 Winter Olympic bid and Banff National Park. The research consists of two parts: first, an analysis of primary and secondary archival materials, as well as select articles and editorials from area and national newspapers; and second, semi-structured interviews with key actors in the bid process. These two parts are described below.

An extensive review of newspaper articles provided detailed data to analyze. The daily local newspapers, the *Calgary Herald*, the *Albertan*, and the twice-weekly *Banff Crag and Canyon* were reviewed. As this study deals with national parks, the *Globe and Mail,* Canada’s only national newspaper, was also reviewed. CODA began promoting Banff as a site for the 1972 Winter Games soon after they lost the bid to host the 1968 Games in January, 1964. The 1972 bid was defeated in April 1966. This analysis thus considered newspaper articles from January 1964 to the end of May 1966, to capture the most intense period of media coverage and the reaction to the defeat. As Lenskyj (2008) observes, “By using materials readily available through the mass media” the researcher reads what would have been conveyed to the public, at least in terms of newspaper readers, about the bid (p. 4). At the time, the *Calgary Herald* had the largest circulation rate of any newspaper in the Calgary area, with an average subscription rate of 85,218 in 1965, while the *Albertan* subscription rate was 33,652 (Canadian Media Rates and Data, 1965). Circulation rates for the *Banff Crag and Canyon* were unavailable, though the population of Banff in 1966 was 3,381 (Hanson, 1968). Many individuals in Banff also received news from the *Calgary Herald* and the *Albertan* (Canadian Media Rates and Data, 1965).

Given the time frame proposed, articles were reviewed to determine any key themes that emerged. Highlighting the key themes that emerged provided a guideline for analysis. Letters to the editor were also included in this analysis.

Though letters to the editor have not been studied extensively, they do allow readers' opinions to enter the public domain of a newspaper (Hall, et al., 1978). Since much knowledge regarding the bid was presented to the public through the newspaper, these letters demonstrated what themes regarding the bid and Banff National Park had been disseminated to the public. Hall et al. (1978) caution, however, that letter columns neither accurately represent public opinion nor are they free from the structured process of news construction in that these columns help the press organize and orchestrate the debate about public questions. As they argue, letter columns are "a central link in the shaping of public opinion – a shaping process the more powerful because it appears to be in the reader's keeping and done with his or her consent and participation" (p. 121). Thus, letters to the editor are important sites of analysis in determining the media's role in shaping public opinion and consent for events such as the Winter Olympics. Furthermore, these letters help researchers understand how citizens in Banff and Calgary saw their locales and understood the bids, as well as discovering what themes emerged in the public debate.

The analysis offered herein deploys Hall's (1980) critical media analysis method. This analytic frame contends that media texts have denotative (obvious) meanings and connotative (hidden) meanings that result in the possibility of multiple readings of texts. Meanings are encoded by the text producer with a preferred reading and are decoded by the reading audience. For example, Hall et al. (1978) contend that journalists will play up extraordinary, dramatic, and tragic elements in a story to enhance its newsworthiness; similarly, they do not reproduce every statement of a subject in full as this selectivity allows journalists to impose their own criteria on events, and thereby transform how the public understands them. Hall et al. (1978) speak to the example of hidden messages in their analysis of mugging in Britain. By asking questions such as: "How has the 'law-and order' ideology been constructed? What social forces are constrained and contained by its construction? What forces stand to benefit from it? What role has the state played in its construction? What real fears and anxieties is it mobilizing?" they sought to provide a deeper analysis of British society as represented in the media (Hall et al., 1978, p. vii). Just as themes of race, crime, and youth are condensed by the media into the image of mugging, my newspaper analysis attempts to uncover what themes were condensed into public understandings of the Olympics in Banff National Park for the people of Calgary and Banff. This was done by asking questions such as: How is the bid framed or represented? Whose voices are privileged? How is the problem being defined by these voices? Who is being represented as benefitting from the Winter Olympics? What tone is used to describe Olympic promotion and opposition? What role does this article play in maintaining hegemonic commonsense? Answers to these questions guided how the media represented meanings to the public and in turn, how the bid represented a hegemonic growth initiative.

Archival materials, including letters, minutes from meetings, speeches, newsletters and bid books, were also consulted. Such materials reveal information that otherwise would not have been available to the public at the time of the bid (Yin, 2003), thereby allowing rich and detailed data to be included in the study. In addition, these materials helped to cross-reference claims made by journalists and interview participants. Archival materials also provided data about individuals who were not available to be interviewed or who declined an interview. Thus they served to give me a better understanding of how and why particular representations came to be.

Certain news articles and archival materials were omitted because they did not reflect any themes relevant to the study. For example, some articles only mentioned the games in passing, and did not reveal any connotative or denotative meanings. Similarly, many archival materials available dealt with subjects outside of the scope of the research. The volume of archival materials also meant that not every item could be included in the data analysis. Objectivity in data selection was not of concern, since critical media analysis as outlined by Hall implies a subjective, critical paradigm, rather than a random selection of materials. Textual analysis in itself is subjective; as Fairclough (2003) argues, “In any analysis, we choose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and not other possible questions” (p. 14). Accordingly news articles and archival data were selected that answered research questions or addressed themes that emerged during data analysis.

Following textual analysis, semi-structured interviews with key individuals involved in either the support of or opposition to the bid were conducted as part of data collection. The interviews took place following the newspaper and archival data collection to ensure that I had the necessary background to explore themes with participants. Interviews provided rich data not available through the newspaper sources, and gave a voice to the individuals involved with the Winter Olympic bid. It also allowed for discussion of themes that emerged through the textual analysis, and served to corroborate information found therein. Conducting interviews allowed me to expand on information available in textual records and access detailed information not available in them (Markula, Grant, & Denison, 2001). Semi-structured interviews were used, that "[started] from a number of predetermined questions or topics, but then [adopted] a flexible approach for discussion with the interviewee" (Hemming, 2008, p. 153); this allowed me to expand on answers and discuss any new themes that developed with different interviewees. An interview guide (see Appendix A for sample interview guide) was used to ensure that all interviews were conducted with uniformity while also allowing for additional topics to be discussed as the interview progressed.

Interviews were conducted with individuals involved in the bid as either members of CODA, the Park Branch, or the ski industry in Banff. Interview participants included the president of CODA, CODA Manager Hans Maciej, CODA technical ski director Pat Duffy, national parks planner Hal Eidsvik, and ski industry manager John Gow. An interview was also conducted with a member of a conservation group spurred to become involved in national park issues as a result of development threats to Banff National Park; though not directly involved with the protest of the Olympic bid, this participant provided insight into why individuals became involved in national park preservation efforts in the absence of a conservationist involved in the Olympic protest to interview. This individual requested to be kept anonymous, and thus his/her name is not provided. Some interview participants were identified through the archival and media sources and contacted by telephone. Other participants were identified through snowball sampling, which involves gaining access to informants through contact information provided by other informants (Noy, 2008). Noy argues that this sampling method is particularly effective at obtaining information from hidden sources; for this project, this included individuals whose names did not appear in any texts analysed but who were still involved in the debates surrounding the 1972 bid.

The interviews were recorded on a digital audio recorder for transcription purposes with the participants' consent. Interview data was transcribed verbatim, allowing me to ensure that all direct quotes from interviewees were recorded accurately. Besides audio recorders, notes were taken during the interview to ensure that if there was any mechanical failing with the recorders information from the interview would not be wholly lost. Following interview transcription, a process of open coding was undertaken to link interview data with textual data. Open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data (Neibert, 2009). This process involved categorizing themes based on words that the participants used in the interviews. Themes that emerged or linked to the research questions were highlighted. These highlighted quotes were grouped into categories and cross-referenced and categorized with the data from the newspaper and archival textual analysis. This resulted in many categories, and the categories were merged through a constant-comparative process that combines categories with similar concepts and themes (Neibert, 2009). For example, categories of tourist promotion and the creation of jobs were combined under the theme of economic growth. Interview data was then used with the archival and newspaper data collected to deepen the analysis of the constructions and discourses surrounding the 1972 Winter Olympics bid.

Data was collected from various sites. The University of Alberta Library holds microfilm copies of *The Calgary Herald* and *The Albertan* from the 1960s, and was the primary location of data collection for these publications. Official bid publications, including the 1972 Bid Book submitted by CODA, were available through the Inter-Library Loan service.

Library and Archives Canada holds microfilm records from the Canadian Parks Services. The microfilms included reports conducted by national park employees in relation to the 1972 Olympic bid, minutes from meetings of park employees and bid committee members, and correspondence dealing with the bid.

The Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff, AB maintains a wealth of textual and photographic records regarding the history of Banff in particular and the Canadian Rockies in general. Most useful to this study were the microfilm records of *The Banff Crag and Canyon* from the early twentieth century to the present. Furthermore, many primary source documents dealing with the Olympic bids have been bequeathed to the Museum, such as letters between members of CODA, minutes of meetings for CODA and conservationists, as well as speeches made by both groups. Given the constraints of travel to Banff, microfilm records of *The Banff Crag and Canyon* were also reviewed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

The International Centre for Olympic Studies in London, ON, houses a copy of the Avery Brundage Collection, as well as the James Worrall Papers. Brundage was president of the IOC from 1952-1972, while Worrall was the equivalent of the Canadian Olympic Association (COA) from 1964-1968. These collections contain primary sources important to this study, including letters sent by members of CODA, the Canadian Olympic Association, the Government of Canada and various conservation groups both to IOC members and Brundage, along with Brundage's written replies.

The Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum in Calgary, AB holds the original bid books submitted by CODA to the Canadian Olympic Association and the IOC, as well as all administrative files of CODA during the time period pertinent to this study. These documents provided information regarding the development plans of CODA and how the Association outlined the benefits of hosting the Winter Olympics in Banff.

Ethics approval

Ethics approval was necessary for conducting interviews. Members of CODA who were contacted to be interviewed were well known in the media for their role in the bid; some had already been identified through the media. As a result, anonymity was not guaranteed for these interview participants. However, any discussion between the researcher and the participant that did not relate to the study at hand was not used in the research. Participants were made aware that anonymity could not be guaranteed. Most CODA members interviewed as well as the national park planner and ski industry employee interviewed agreed to be identified by name in the thesis. The CODA President, although identified by media sources used within this thesis, asked that in reference to his interview responses he be referred to as CODA President. Therefore, all instances where I have referenced his interview statements, I have not identified him by name; however, when referring to media or archival sources, his name is used. Consent to be interviewed and to be identified by name (if applicable) was received verbally and recorded on audio recorders at the commencement of the interview. The participants were provided with copies of the interview transcript as a gesture of thanks for their participation.

Validity

Validity in this study was assured in various ways. Yin (2003) identifies four tests to establish the validity of a study, three of which were pertinent to this particular research: construct validity, external validity, and reliability. To measure how the Olympic bids were represented to the people of Banff and Calgary and the constructions of Banff National Park that emerged, construct validity can be measured by using multiple sources of evidence. For this study, four newspapers, the *Calgary Herald,* the *Albertan,* the *Banff Crag and Canyon,* and *The Globe and Mail* were consulted, along with archival materials and interviews. Data collected through this study was substantiated by these three sources of evidence. Data was also collected at multiple sites. External validity of single-case studies can be measured by grounding the research in theory. This research was be grounded in Gramsci's theory of hegemony, while also employing Hall's method of textual analysis and open-coding to analyze the data. Reliability can be measured through the creation of a case study database, with the objective that documents are readily retrievable for later consultation. During the course of my research all notes, articles, and other data collected were saved in electronic format as well as in hard copy format. An annotated bibliography of these documents was made to assist in retrieving the original documents from the data collection site.

Chapter Four: The Contested Landscape of Banff National Park

The bid to stage the 1972 Winter Olympics, with its expected resulting commercial tourism development, marked a turning point in the efforts to establish Banff as a "world-class" winter resort. Compared to today, the town of Banff was small following the war, with a population that increased from 2,852 in 1951 to 3,381 in 1966 (Hanson, 1968). Most people in the townsite were actually tourists who primarily came during the summer months, with disproportionately fewer visitors coming in the winter ones (Taylor, 2007). Though alpine skiing exploded after the Second World War, creating a major industry in the form of alpine tourism, Banff and the nearby village of Lake Louise lagged behind American and European resort development (Coleman, 1996; Mittelstadt, 2005). According to Mittelstadt (2005), through the 1950s Banff was quiet in the winter since there was not much to do after coming off the ski hill, and few hotels were even open once the cold temperatures moved in. Much of this had to do with the lack of developments at the three major ski resorts in Banff: Norquay, Sunshine Village, and the Mt. Temple/Mt. Whitehorn area (now known as the Lake Louise Ski Resort). In the 1940s, the only chair lift in the Banff area was found at Mount Norquay, while two rope tows were used at Norquay and one at Sunshine; no lifts existed at the Mt. Temple/Mt. Whitehorn ski area until the late 1950s (Landman & Landman, 1949; Sandford, 1984; Touche, 2003). It was not just the locals, however, that knew of Banff's lack of developments; word also travelled through ski guides that reached skiers across North America and around the world. In *Where to ski: Ski Guide to the U.S. and Canada*, Landman and Landman (1949) state, "There are no developments in the Aspen or Sun Valley sense. Except for Mount Norquay, there are no lifts. 'Developments' are built around lodges and chalets where you try the fine downhill runs at your door or take more extensive tours into the higher country" (p. 313). With the city of Calgary growing and the winter facilities at Banff not expanding, skiers from Calgary and Banff felt the town's winter tourist services would need to change to keep up with the growing demand.

Though the Games were not sought until the 1960s, Calgary's establishment as a growing metropolis owes much to the discovery of oil at Turner Valley near Calgary on May 14, 1914 that resulted in a flurry of investment in the Calgary area (*History of Turner Valley*, n.d., ¶2). While the boom ultimately came to an end, it transformed Calgary from being a "provincial backwater" (p. 11) and agricultural centre to the administrative and financial centre of the Canadian petroleum industry with the highest number of head offices in the oil industry in Canada (Stamp, 2004). One of the effects of the oil boom in Calgary was an increasing population: between 1951 and 1966, its population increased 5.8 per cent annually from 142,300 in 1951 to 330,600 in 1966, with an additional 100,000 in areas surrounding Calgary – including Banff (Hanson, 1968; Stamp, 2004). According to Peach (1990), from 1947 to 1969 "Calgary's employment was at a new high, immigration at an all-time peak and commercial excitement was in the air" (p. 47). As a result of this increased population the very landscape of Calgary began to change, as the city limits expanded to include many surrounding communities (Dempsey, 1994; Foran, 2009). These changes prompted the *Calgary Herald* to publish a six-part feature entitled "What and why is Calgary?" in 1957. Therein Calgary was described as "a high-living, free-spending city where telephones jangle, horns honk, money is spent and big decisions are made to a greater extent and on a larger scale than in most other cities, particularly on the prairies" (Shiels, 1957, p. 1). In terms of a city image, Calgary identified itself as a growing, "happening" place that was making its mark on the Canadian stage.

While Calgary was still a small city by North American standards, "it had two things going for it: unbounded optimism and a strong collective outgoing personality" (Dempsey, 1994, p. 133). Business leaders in Calgary saw the city's potential to be a vibrant urban hub, and established many social, cultural, and recreational organizations that characterized the city as active and cosmopolitan (Foran & Foran, 1982). However, its recognition, both domestically and internationally, was nowhere near the status of Montreal or Toronto. As Dempsey

(1994) states, “Calgary was like a kid who wanted to be noticed by [his or her] big brothers… a budding oil town, it wanted everybody to sit up and take notice” (p. 133).

It was in this atmosphere that bids were made for the Winter Olympics in Banff National Park. As noted in Chapter Three, the data for this research encompassed newspaper articles, interviews and archival materials. My data analysis began with me reviewing articles from the four identified newspapers (the *Calgary Herald,* the *Albertan, Banff Crag and Canyon,* and *The Globe and Mail*) from January 28, 1964 to May 31, 1966 that dealt with the 1972 Winter Olympic Bid. In total 402 articles were written on the 1972 Winter Olympics bid. Of these, 102 of them addressed the bid in the context of the Games’ economic benefits, while 43 articles addressed it in terms of the park preservation. Eighty-three articles addressed both economics and park preservation in relation to the Winter Olympics. Other articles that mentioned the bid in passing, but did not present any particular theme, were also included in the 402 articles found. An illustration of an article representative of the latter category would be one that included a sentence or two, reporting, for example, that Hans Maciej was the new CODA manager for the 1972 bid, but did not provide any further details about it (“Olympic Manager named,” 1965). From the media sources, keywords were identified, coded and categorized. Two major themes emerged: economics and growth, and park preservation. Words relating to economics included economy, economic, tourism, developments, improvement, financial, commercial, jobs, spending, capital, growth, and industry. Words relating to park preservation included environmental, conservation, wildlife, national park, and wilderness. The quantitative results of the newspaper keyword search are included in Appendix D.

In addition to the media analysis, archival material collection, and interviews with key players, either in support of or in opposition to the bid, was completed. Similar to the newspaper articles, these data were subjected to a thematic analysis as the interview transcripts and archival texts were also coded and categorized. Like the newspapers, the themes of economic growth and park preservation emerged. However, a third theme emerged through the interview and archival analysis that had not been predominant in the newspaper analysis: the importance of the bid in promoting amateur sports in Canada. Thus, the three major themes examined in this analysis are: the importance of the bid to amateur sport development in Canada, the economic stimulus and growth that would result, and the consequences to national park values and principles. Through each theme, three main visions of national parks emerged: national parks as sites of sport and sporting legacies, national park as tourist playgrounds, and national parks as inviolate nature preserves. Different constructions of what national parks were and what they could become emerged. As a monument to the Olympic movement, a winter playground for the visiting public, or a museum of preserved nature, through the 1972 Winter Olympics bid Banff National Park was a contested landscape.

Amateur Sport and Olympic Ideals

One prominent theme that emerged through the interview and archival analysis was the importance of promoting amateur sports and Olympic ideals to the Canadian public through the staging of the Winter Olympics at Banff. At the time of the bid, amateur sport, wherein an individual participated for the love of sport and not extrinsic rewards, was perceived by amateur sport enthusiasts, including the IOC, to be threatened by the increased popularity of professional sports (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). The IOC promoted amateurism as a foundation for the Olympic movement, with its president, Avery Brundage, as amateur sports' staunchest defender (Schobel, 1968). Brundage's dedication to this ideal left him with disdain for athletes' attempts to profit monetarily from their sports participation. He likened professional athletes to entertainers, who were "part of a troop of trained seals for the amusement of the public" (Brundage, 1968, p. iv). According to Brundage (1965), the IOC needed to be "a beacon of light in this cloudy, materialistic world, teaching the principles of the Olympic Code and the values of amateurism as a philosophy of life" (p. 65). A similar dedication to amateur sport and Olympic ideals came forward during the bid to host the Winter Olympics in Banff.

The promotion of amateur sport was one of the guiding principles of CODA throughout its bid campaign. Many of its members got involved with the bid process due to their belief in Olympic principles. The president of CODA, for example, cited a long-time fascination with de Coubertin's Olympic philosophy:

> I was intrigued with [him] and what he was trying to do. Europe as you know had been involved intermittingly in 200 years of warfare, and he thought it would be helpful if he could get all the young people together in one place, talk to one another, and take out their competitive instincts with each other in a controlled environment. His motivation, that made me interested in the Games. (Personal communication, February 10, 2011)

For CODA members, the Olympic Games represented the ultimate ideal of a peaceful gathering where athletes could challenge themselves through sport. Supporting Canadian amateur athletes at home and abroad was thus an important goal of the group. Preceding the formation of CODA was the Calgary Booster Club (CBC), which was formed in 1951 by a group of sportsmen to "boost amateur sport and sports in general" in Calgary (Vern Carmichael, as cited in Elickson, 2003, p. 13). Although their name included Booster, the group was strictly involved in promoting amateur sport and was not a booster of civic growth; they did, however, seek to stimulate civic pride in sporting matters. The CBC supported athletic endeavours in Calgary, assisted with sporting events, and offered scholarships and grants to athletes (Elickson, 2003). Some members of the CBC were also members of the Canadian Olympic Association (COA). In 1955, members of the CBC formed CODA; the group was headed by Ernest McCullough, Jr., a former Olympic competitor ("History and structure," LAC, RG 84, microfilm T-16481, vol. 2146, p. 1). Although the CBC supported the latter group's pursuits and promotion of amateur sport, CODA was an autonomous organization independent from the CBC as the latter primarily promoted and supported Calgary amateur athletes, while the former championed the athletic pursuits of all amateur athletes in Canada (“History and structure,” LAC, RG 84, microfilm T-16481, vol. 2146). Additional members of CODA came from outside of CBC, including Pat Duffy.

Initially, CODA’s primary goal was merely to promote Olympic ideals in the Calgary area and raise money for the COA rather than seek the Olympics for the Banff area (“History and structure,” LAC, RG 84, microfilm T-16481, vol. 2146). From 1955-1957, CODA’s main goal was to “[raise] money for COA to finance the Canadian Olympic teams,” which was done by holding special events, such as fundraisers and bingos (Hans Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011). Hans Maciej, CODA’s manager, remembers one particular event, Olympic Week, held to raise money for the 1960 Summer Olympic Team:

> I invited Jesse Owens to come to Calgary and visit here and we ran his movie and he spoke in the theatre, and we had Montreal Canadiens hockey players here. In other words, we ran a week. That was our original idea, we ran the Olympic Week to raise money for the 1960 Summer Olympic Team, because we had one of our members that was a representative on the Canadian Olympic Association and he always had to raise his money single-handedly. All the directors [of the COA] always got a quota [of money they had to raise] and he always went to his friends [for donations]. And we finally said, look you [cannot] do that anymore, [let us raise money without relying on your friends and], and [that is what Olympic Week was] about… We had the Grey Cup here, and the Stanley Cup, and the Memorial Cup, and had it at displays at the zoo and people could visit and donate money. (Hans Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011)

Events like Olympic Week not only raised money for athletes, but they also raised public awareness about amateur sport and CODA. Calgarians would have been more supportive of CODA’s efforts once it did shift its focus from raising funds for athletes to seeking the Olympics itself. Having hosted numerous Canadian skiing events successfully, the prospect of hosting the Games in the Calgary/Banff area began to take hold (Pat Duffy, personal communication, January 7, 2011). As Hans Maciej explains:

> We decided that we were always sending our teams out of the country to participate in the Olympics, and when it came to the Winter Olympics we came to the conclusion that we probably had one of the best places in the world to hold [them], and so we indicated to the IOC in 1959 that we were interested in coming back with a formal bid. [In] the first place we were thinking about the impact that the Games might have on winter sport athletes in Canada, if they could participate and compete at home rather than travelling to all the other sites. So it was a matter of inspiring people to participate and at the same time also look at what the Games might do in terms of developing the Banff area as one of the leading sport places in the world. (personal communication, January 5, 2011)

Ski facilities were already in place, and ski competitions had been held in Banff National Park for years – so why not host the Olympic Games at Banff? CODA thus turned its attention towards attaining the Winter Olympics for Banff, and setting up an amateur sports complex that would leave a lasting sports legacy for future athletes. More than anything, CODA's first bid attempt in 1959 to host the 1964 Winter Olympics sought to put Banff's name on the IOC's radar, while its second bid for the 1968 Winter Olympics saw CODA lose to Grenoble, France by just three votes ("Report on the 1972 Winter Olympics," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-1, Vol. 2150). Hugely disappointed, but spurred on by what was believed to be an inevitable success, CODA (then renamed Olympic '72) set its sights on obtaining the 1972 Winter Olympics. Many individuals and local businesses willingly expressed a desire to invest in CODA's bid. According to CODA's President it only took a couple of weeks to raise $200,000 from private donors in Calgary to support the bid effort. He recalls, for example, calling on business people and local boosters for financial support of the bid, including administrative and promotional costs:

> I went to one of my friends in the private sector, his name was Max Bell. And Max was quite a promoter here in town; he had a newspaper called the *Albertan*... he said "[I will] put up $20,000." And he said "now, I have a friend...Red Dutton." Dutton had at the time the biggest construction company in Calgary and Dutton was an ex-Detroit Red Wing hockey player. So Max picked up the telephone, and said "Dutton, I have another one my schemes, and [it is] going to cost you $20,000" ... and we got it in the mail the next day. So that was $40,000. And then the [members] in [CODA] got together and they split the town up, and with Dutton... and Max Bell involved, it was just a question now of everyone in town [wanting] to kick in money, and [we] had the money within just a few days. (CODA President, personal communication, February 10, 2011)

Bell, owner of the *Albertan,* was not only a financial contributor to CODA promotional efforts, but was himself on CODA's Board of Directors (Provisional Organizing Committee, 1966). Seeking funds from a newspaper owner demonstrates how the hegemonic power of corporate elites comes to be solidified through the media's direct links to and support of growth initiatives. It also illustrates how the media, as businesses themselves, have their interests anchored in a locality's growth. As Logan & Molotch (1987) suggest, they essentially play the role of growth boosters, as Bell's actions clearly demonstrated.

Throughout the group's efforts to obtain the Games during the 1960s, its constitution listed two primary objectives: "to obtain [the] Olympic Winter Games for the Calgary-Banff area and… to promote good fellowship and sportsmanship" ("Provisional Organizing Committee," LAC, RG 84, microfilm T-16485, vol. 2149, p. i). The group emphasized that in addition to attaining the Winter Olympics, promoting amateur sport in general would be its other main objective. Every CODA newsletter, for example, ended with quotes regarding

Olympism, amateurism, or the importance of sport to youth. These included quotes by de Coubertin about how the Olympic movement “brings together in a radiant union all the qualities which guide mankind [*sic*] to perfection” (“Manager’s letter, September 1965,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2147, p. 3); as well as from Brundage who claimed that “friendly association on the fields of sport leads to mutual understanding and peace” (“Manager’s letter, July 1965,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2149, p. 5). By 1964, when the group began campaigning for the 1972 Games, the group had spent nearly ten years promoting the Olympics.

Staging the Winter Olympics in Banff was seen to be an important step in motivating Canadian youth to become involved in sports for the sake of sport itself, rather than monetary gain. For example, one of the main themes throughout the 1972 Banff bid book was “that Canada needs the Winter Olympics now for the sake of the Olympic movement and amateur sport in our country” (“Manager’s Letter, November-December 1965,” LAC, RG 84, microfilm T-16485, vol. 2149, p. 2; Provisional Organizing Committee, 1966). In much of its correspondence and interactions with the IOC, CODA highlighted the need to inspire Canadian youth and instil in them Olympic values such as amateurism. In its official presentation of the bid to the IOC, CODA argued that:

> With the trend toward a materialistic and commercial approach in the world today, our young people have in common with the young people of other countries the problem of glamour and financial recognition by turning to professionalism. This is a constant problem with us, as it is with others, and the best way to overcome this problem is to focus the young peoples’ attention on the Olympic Games and their amateur ideals. (“Draft of speech to I.O.C.,”CODA, CODA I, Series II, Box 4, File 175 (15-62-1), p. 6)

Without the Games, CODA argued, amateur sport in Canada would be threatened. The group frequently pointed to the desire to inspire Canadian youth to get involved in amateur sports, with hosting the Winter Olympics being necessary inspiration for them to do so.

The federal government was also committed to supporting amateur sporting endeavours through the Banff bid. In the years following the Second World War, Canadian amateur athletes performed poorly on the international stage, stirring concern over Canadian national unity[4] and the physical fitness of Canadians (MacIntosh, Bedecki, & Franks, 1988). The federal government recognized that international sport could be used for international relations and foreign diplomacy. For instance, in 1949 Lester Pearson stated, “International sport is the means of attaining triumphs over another nation” (as cited in MacIntosh & Hawes, 1994, p.6). Athletes projected a national image of Canada both at home and abroad; succeeding internationally in sport was/is viewed as signifying the strength of the nation to both domestic and foreign audiences. In an effort to support these athletes and provide the programs to get more Canadians involved in sport, federal Cabinet ministers approved the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (hereafter FAS) in August 1961. The FAS called for the: establishment of a national fitness, recreation, and amateur athletic program, establishment of provincial governing bodies, and development of programs by sport organizations to advance amateur sport nationally and Canadian athletes’ international competitiveness (Dinning, 1974; Harvey, 2001; MacIntosh, Bedecki, & Franks, 1988; Paraschak, 1978). Having a training site in western Canada would be a major step in developing future amateur athletes at home, before sending them abroad to compete. Additionally, during the first five years after the FAS became legislated, the federal government promoted the hosting of amateur competitions in Canada. It contributed large sums of public money to events that it felt would strengthen the amateur sports system and showcase Canadian athletes to the nation and the world (McCloy, 2006; McCloy, 2009). Initially Cabinet approved a $35,000 grant to the

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[4] As MacIntosh, Bedecki, and Franks (1988) note, during the 1950s there was growing concern over Canadian nationalism and identity. Televised losses to Soviet hockey teams in particular resulted in drives to produce better international sporting performances. Producing athletes who could compete abroad became a source of national pride, especially when tied to Canada’s national winter sport.

Calgary bid committee to support the Banff application, with matching grants to come from the provincial and municipal governments; furthermore, had the Banff bid been successful, the recommendation was made that $1,345,000 be charged to the FAS Directorate budget for grants and subsidies to promote the Banff site and establish winter sports facilities in the park ("Cabinet Conclusions, 1962/05/21," LAC, RG2, Series A-5-a, Vol. 6192; "Cabinet Conclusions, 1962/03/29," LAC, RG2, Series A-5-a, Vol. 6192). Supporting the Banff application would not only establish a sports training centre in the national park, but also showcase Canadian amateur athletes to national and international audiences, thereby being a reflection of Canada's strength on the world stage.

CODA argued that without facilities of their own to develop world-class athletes, however, Canadian athletes would fall behind in winter sports. At the time, for example, bobsled and luge athletes had to leave Canada to train since there were no training facilities for them at home. Canadian bobsledder Vic Emery, an advisor to CODA, noted that Banff needed the Olympics "to establish these last of the truly amateur and great sports on an international level on Canadian terrain" ("Notes of speech," CODA I, Series II, Box 4, File 175 (15-62-1), p. 2). Such facilities in Banff would further the objectives not only of the federal government, but also CODA's goal of promoting the Olympic movement by providing training facilities for up and coming amateur athletes. They would then be better prepared to represent Canada on the world stage. Proposed developments for the Winter Olympics in Banff, as outlined by CODA (Provisional Organizing Committee, 1966), included: expansion of the Norquay, Sunshine, and Lake Louise ski hills, the construction of a large spectator lodge at Mt. Norquay, a stadium constructed at Taylor Creek where courses would also be cut and cleared for cross-country skiing, the construction of a ski jump tower at Mount Norquay, the construction of a two-lane road to Mt. Norquay and Lake Louise, the cutting of bobsled and luge runs, and the erection of an Olympic Centre covering 30 to 40 acres, that included facilities for hockey, figure skating, speed skating, practice rinks, communication and administration, and medal ceremonies. Following the Games, these facilities would stand as centres where future athletes, both competitive and recreational, could come to develop their athletic and fitness potential. According to Pat Duffy, CODA’s technical ski director, developing Banff National Park as an Olympic site would provide not just facilities, but also training programs, competition development, training for sports officials, and would improve Canadians’ physical fitness levels.

By establishing Banff National Park as a national sports training center, it would stand as a monument to amateur sports and the Olympic movement, while the facilities developed would become a legacy for amateur athletes and sports officials to use for years to come. CODA argued that Banff was ideally suited to host the Games, since “Banff can provide the best possible venue for a restoration of the basic ideals of amateurism, wherein sportsmen from the World over will live together… in harmony with nature in the most idealistic setting and in the true interests of sportsmanship” (“Notes of speech,” CODA I, Series II, Box 4, File 175 (15-62-1), p. 3). The hegemonic notion of amateur sport as the purest form of sport was well situated in Banff National Park, a site that also carried the hegemonic identity of national parks as the purest form of nature. Promotion of the natural wonder of Banff National Park, itself a symbol of wilderness, consequently became wedded to the promotion of athletic development at an amateur level, with both serving the ends of nation-building both domestically and internationally. Staging the Olympics in Banff was thus advanced as a means to develop athletes who could learn for themselves the joys of winter sports for their own personal fulfilment, and possibly represent Canada on the world stage at future Winter Games (“Speech delivered by E. Trafford,” LAC, RG84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2143). Through the Winter Olympic bid, Banff National Park was constructed as an Olympic centre and therefore site for the development of amateur winter sports athletes in Canada.

World-Class Winter Resort

CODA framed the 1972 Games as a necessary step to develop Banff as a top ski resort and as a needed economic stimulus for the Bow Valley area. As noted earlier, CODA members frequently highlighted the fact that skiing was the fastest growing tourist industry in North America (“Letter from Davis to McCabe,” CODA I, Series II, Box 2, File 104 (15-21)). Further development of the Banff ski areas would mean more visitors would be attracted to it over other ski areas in Canada or the United States. Skiing was indeed one of the fastest growing winter recreational activities in the post-war years; in Banff, Park Branch and ski resort employees calculated that the number of skiers coming to Banff increased by 24.7 percent each season from 1960-1965 (Canada, 1965b). CODA encouraged investment towards skiing facilities in Banff National Park by reproducing the commonsense belief that growth would be beneficial to the locals that Molotch’s (1976) growth machine identifies. Additions to the park, such as new recreational facilities, improved roads, and more winterized accommodations, were seen to be beneficial for Banff to enhance its appeal as a tourist destination and to keep up with the demand from local skiers (“Letter from Davis to Coutts,” CODA I, Series II, Box 3, File 138(15-37)). In other areas of the world, ski hills were allowed to develop small villages at their base; although CODA had this in mind for Banff, it never came to be realized (Hans Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011). With less development on the hills and few year-round accommodations available, CODA felt Banff would need to develop similar infrastructure to what was found at other ski destinations.

Historically, Banff had always relied on Calgary as a major source of its winter visitors (Hart, 2003). For example, a ski study conducted at Norquay in 1965 showed that 80 per cent of its skiers came from the Calgary and Banff areas, while 16 per cent came from other parts of Alberta (Canada, 1965a). Due to the slower pace of development found in the Banff area, the economic potential of ski resorts also lagged behind that of other North American ones. As Walter Fisher, manager of Sunshine and Norquay ski hills in the 1950s, stated, “It was very hard to make money at Norquay in the winter. During the week there would be very few skiers: some days when it was cold there would only be one or two, and the ski school [would not] give a lesson for a whole month" (as cited in Hunter, 2000, p. 32). Meanwhile, Brewster Transport, operator of the Sunshine ski area through the 1940s and early 1950s, operated at an annual deficit of $10,000, and sold the facility because it was not making a profit (Hart, 2003; Sandford, 1984). Expanding runs and developing more amenities just for weekend traffic would not have been economical. Members of CODA felt that the three Banff area resorts needed to expand, in order to attract skiers from further afield, and to put their name on the map. One way was to develop more accommodations on the hill. As Maciej states:

> Looking at the leading winter sports places in the world, you do have accommodation at the bottom of the hill. And there was… a serious proposal to correct that at Lake Louise, and have a place on the first level of the mountain, where there would be some motels and accommodation. That would have helped a lot in [making] that place more popular than it already is. (personal communication, January 5, 2011)

CODA members argued that the Olympics would stimulate economic growth in the area, and establish Banff as a ski centre. CODA's President, for example, stated that prior to taking on his role, he had done a cost-benefit analysis of the bid and found that the games would make, rather than lose, money. This, he says, "cinched [his] involvement; the Games were not only a benefit to [Canada] as a country, but were positive on a cost-benefit basis" (personal communication, February 10, 2011). 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. *Western Canadian Ski News*, for example, wrote that:

> There can be no doubt that the Olympics made Chamonix. The same goes for St. Moritz in Switzerland which hosted the Games in 1928 and again in 1948. Before 1936, Garmisch-Partenkirchen was just a three-month summer resort similar to Banff. Today it is almost

> impossible to get a room in Garmisch during the skiing season without six-month advance booking. Cortina d'Ampezzo, little known before the 1956 Winter Games, is now one of the most popular skiing resorts in northern Italy. And everybody knows the success story of Squaw Valley. ("Canada and the 1968 Olympics," 1962, p. 7)

As a member of the local growth machine, these types of media had their interest anchored in the success of the Banff bid. A local ski publication would have much to gain from an Olympics in the area and it acted as a booster for the bid. One of the strategic ways in which CODA shored up consent for the event was by focusing on the publicity Banff would receive as a result of hosting the Games. In local newspapers, internal documents, and talks to public groups, CODA repeatedly noted the $25 million in advertising that Squaw Valley garnered through the staging of the Olympics, and how over 1,000 journalists, broadcasters, and telecasters covered the 1964 Innsbruk Winter Games ("Highlights taken," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, vol. 2145). As Molotch's (1976) growth machine thesis identifies, the bid committee emphasized the positive repercussions that awaited the Banff and Calgary areas as a result of Olympic developments. It estimated that the Games would infuse $11 million into the area (Layzell, 1961). As Molotch observed, elites emphasize the number of jobs that growth can create, as well as the intangible benefits of legacies that would be left behind. Though CODA never made any concrete numerical projections, the group promised that the Olympics would create countless jobs in the tourism industry due to the 60,000 people that would be attracted to the park for the event and from the world-wide publicity that would generate post-games visitation ("The situation today," CODA I, Series III, Box 6, File 24). These vague numerical assurances gave no indication of the viability of sustained growth due to the bid; for example, there was 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. CODA purported that the Olympics would substantiate the park's claim to be a winter resort and support the Canadian tourism industry in the winter. According to CODA's President, the area simply lacked "the few million dollars and the publicity necessary to make use of these investments for the winter months" ("Talk on the Winter Olympics by Davis," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2149, p. 18). So strong was the conviction that the Olympics would have a positive economic effect, it led J.D. Anderson Jr., president of the Banff Chamber of Commerce, to assert that the Banff-Lake Louise area "may as well be written off" as a winter recreation area if it was not named as the site of the Winter Olympics (as cited in "Loss of Olympics Feared," 1961, p. 1). As a result, CODA's repeated insistence of the assuredness and benefits of growth through staging the Winter Olympics, which had to be taken advantage of, formed the taken-for-granted commonsense of the day.

Over $20 million was invested in the Banff area from public and private sources prior to the bid decision, and even more was expected to be invested if the bid had been successful ("Banff on Inside Track," LAC, RG84, Winter Olympics—Clippings File Re: Banff Bid for Olympics Site, part 4, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150). As outlined in the *Banff Crag and Canyon*, this $20 million was specifically allocated:

> Total public and private investment in the Games will be about $20 million, of which about $6 million will be put up by private developers for ski facilities, motels, and hotels. Between now and 1967, as a result of parks policy changes, $15 million is likely to be spent in the Banff-Lake Louise area to improve skiing facilities and expand the number of motels and other accommodation. Most of this will be invested regardless of the prospects for the Games. Some $6.4 million will be spent to improve skiing facilities at the Temple-Whitehorn area, while $708,000 will be spent at Mount Norquay and $947,000 at Sunshine. ("'72 Olympics automatic," 1965, p. 1)

CODA, in turn, also promised that Calgary would financially benefit from visitors that would have to pass through or stay in the city for the Games ("Letter from

Maciej to Forbes," CODA I, Series II, Box 2, File 114 (15-23)). Facilities developed there, such as accommodations, would bring an influx of visitor dollars, while Banff's improved infrastructure would also enhance Calgarians' recreational opportunities (CODA President, personal communication, February 13, 2011). CODA very much operated through the hegemonic belief that growth was good as it consistently highlighted the economic benefits to accrue to all locals if the bid was successful. The expansion of facilities at Banff's ski areas was understood as benefiting all locals, regardless of one's status as a skier, tourist promoter or park enthusiast.

CODA set to work promoting the advantages of hosting the Winter Olympics to the people of Banff, Calgary, Canada, and the world. Maciej and other CODA members gave media interviews. Public awareness of the bid was also raised through a number of strategic events and projects. This included staging a national competition to design the Olympic Centre at Banff, putting the Banff bid book on public display for viewing at various locations across Calgary and Banff, and distributing a monthly newsletter, sent out to CODA members highlighting the bid's progress ("Letter from Davis to Monteith," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2145; "Manager's Letter, January 1966," LAC, RG 84, Winter Olympics—Banff Bid for 1972 Winter Olympics, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148). Excitement for the bid resulted in CODA receiving requests for public presentations from business and sports groups such as the Kinsmen Club of Calgary, the Calgary Rotary Club, the Banff Chamber of Commerce, and the Calgary Ski Club; these talks outlined the bid proposal and CODA's aims while also highlighting the economic benefits of hosting the Olympics and expanding winter facilities in Banff ("Banff Canada: Proposed site," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2151). For example, CODA member Ted Trafford highlighted that "the area will attract [a] substantial winter tourist trade… Such a programme will be beneficial to the national economy" ("Speech delivered by E. Trafford," LAC, RG84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2143, p. 5). CODA's President, in a meeting to the Rotary and Junior Chamber of Commerce in Calgary, also noted "Just what [the

Olympics] will mean to Calgary and the Banff-Lake Louise area in dollars alone is something to make businessmen like yourselves shake your heads in disbelief" ("Copy of a talk on the Winter Olympics," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2149, p. 2). Presentations such as these would reinforce the importance of the Games in transforming the Banff area into a major international ski destination and winter tourist playground. CODA maintained alliances with members of business-oriented groups. In turn, these groups would not have been openly critical of CODA's bid; rather, alliances would have been strengthened through the mutual pursuit of growth.

The media also played a role in promoting the economic value of the Olympic Games to the Banff and Calgary areas. Maciej described the local media as "very supportive" (personal communication, January 5, 2011). In all four newspapers examined, encouragement was shown for the bid, which was represented as an important way of developing the Banff area ski facilities and increasing international tourist attention of the area. *The Globe and Mail*, for example, described Europe's view of Banff as "nothing more than two hotels on some hills in Western Canada, about 65 miles from Calgary, which is no metropolis" and argued that the Olympic Games were desperately needed to develop the area's winter potential, "where a fortune in real estate can be made by staging the games" ("Losers consider Grenoble poorest," 1964, p. 38). An article in the *Banff Crag and Canyon*, for example, stated that "[the] holding of the Games in Banff will be just what is needed to develop the area as one of North America's top winter resorts – both for skiers in the Edmonton-Calgary, northwest U.S., and lower B.C. regions and for world-traveled skiers" ('72 Olympics automatic," 1965, p. 1). As noted earlier, Banff ski area owners and Calgary skiers also expressed a desire to see Banff's winter facilities expanded. The Olympic bid, then, was strategically situated within a growth initiative taking place in the Banff area. This provides one illumination of how growth initiatives begin; convergent interests of media owners, skiers, ski owners, and tourist operators combine to present a unified voice in favour of growth, subsequently pressuring governments to accommodate their needs. One cannot argue for certain that Banff's winter facilities would never have expanded had it not been for CODA's three bids. Similarly, one cannot know whether CODA's bid would have made it beyond the Canadian Olympic Association had there not been a desire to expand ski facilities. However, growth through the Olympics was defined as a positive step forward for the national park. Local and national newspapers advanced the belief that a successful Winter Olympics would make Banff a world-class alpine resort known around the world.

At the same time, the local newspapers operated as an important site in the growth machine circuitry by reproducing CODA and ski area operators' belief that Banff's facilities needed to be improved by having more lifts, ski chalets on the slopes, accommodations in town, and small-scale entertainment for the evenings. For example, in Max Bell's paper, the *Albertan,* Pete Cooper (1964) reproduced expert opinions about the quality of Banff's facilities, quoting ski photographer Hans Gmoser's[5] opinion that "'[we] will have to bring our facilities up to standard in the Banff area, or Banff will be bypassed by development outside the parks'" (p. 19); while the *Calgary Herald's* Vern Simaluk (1966a) argued that "Banff will have to offer more than darkness as a post-skiing recreation" (p. 1). An article in the *Globe and Mail* also purported that in addition to good snow, to make an area attractive "[there] must be attractive tourist accommodation, there must be efficient organization of the various winter sports, and there must be promotion" ("Lady of the snows," 1964, p. 6). To this end, the media highlighted that through the Olympics, millions of dollars would be invested into the Banff area through public and private contributions, thereby ensuring the 'needed' development. Indeed, the prospect of economic stimulus buoyed Banff's local paper to declare confidently that "the Banff-Lake Louise area could turn into the St. Moritz of America" ("'72 Olympics automatic," 1965, p. 1). In reproducing the views of CODA members, the media naturalized the belief that staging the Winter Olympics would positively stimulate growth in the Banff and Calgary areas. Conspicuously absent in both CODA and the media's promotional efforts regarding the bid was the reality that only a privileged few in the world would be able to enjoy the facilities of a St. Moritz in Canada.

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[5] Hans Gmoser was a champion of backcountry skiing in Canada, and well-known ski photographer and filmmaker. He is also known as the pioneer of heli-skiing. For more information, see Scott (2005).

Some articles reported that Calgarians would benefit in innumerable ways by staging the Games in Banff. For example, CODA claimed that the Games and the resulting tourist increase in the years following the games would create "countless" jobs for Calgarians since "the city's service industry will have to double its capacity to meet this short-term demand of the Games" **(**Simaluk, 1966b, p. 18). Calgary businesses were also suggested as potentially profiting. The media assured the public that the financial benefits to the city would be enormous. For example, the *Calgary Herald* reproduced CODA's assertions that it was easy to "'visualize the financial benefits to the Calgary business community [since] most of the visitors to the games would... stay in or pass through Calgary'" ("Olympic 72 Receives City Grant," 1965, p. 36); no critical or comprehensive analysis was provided regarding CODA's assertions, rather the article whole-heartedly accepted its claims that Calgary would "benefit significantly" (p. 36). By directly quoting CODA, the writer both conveyed his/her acceptance of and reproduced the commonsense that CODA hoped to establish.

Local newspapers thus furthered the belief that the Olympics were important to Banff, and reproduced the belief that tourist and economic growth was needed in the Banff area. This corroborates Logan and Molotch's (1987) observation that local media not only act as advocates for growth, but also are important sites through which hegemonic notions of growth come to be normalized to the public. By reproducing CODA's projections of Olympic economic benefits, the newspapers, as Hall et al. (1978) would argue, helped to construct a hegemonic consensus that the Olympics would be good for the area. With multiple local newspapers reporting the same viewpoint, that the development of Banff would financially benefit the Calgary-Banff areas, the media facilitated and normalized CODA's positive economic projections.

Support for the ideology of growth was not just reproduced by the media; the federal government also helped to normalize the logic of growth as beneficial. Government policy before the 1964 National Parks Act encouraged development of Banff National Park. Although national parks were legislated to leave the parks unimpaired for future generations, in the early 1960s "the first priority for parks was the provision of economic development opportunities" (Kopas, 2007, p. 27). The promise of increased tourism and the additional jobs needed to support such growth encouraged certain federal civil servants to support the bid, including Banff National Park regional supervisor Harry Dempster. According to CODA's President, "we had tremendous support from Harry Dempster… He himself was an ardent skier" (personal communication, February 10, 2011). One national parks ski patrol member recalled that "Harry Dempster was the most enthusiastic Superintendent as far as skiing went. We noticed that after a fresh snowfall he always arrived on the mountain for an inspection. Harry enjoyed a powder run as much as anyone [did]" (Meggs, as cited in Hunter, 2000, p. 34). By using the park superintendent's enthusiasm for skiing to promote its development goals at the federal government level, CODA had a connection to influential staff in the Park Branch. This sheds light on some of the power relations inherent in a hegemonic growth initiative. Developing the ski hills would be of benefit to the Calgary and Banff skiers by making new areas of the hill more accessible through the addition of new lifts and facilities. In this way, as Molotch suggests, the future envisioned for Banff was linked to their own well-being and quality of life. At the time, downhill ski hill development was not considered at odds with national park development. In 1965, the Branch released a winter sports development policy, which outlined that winter recreation was "a desirable objective in national parks both from the point of view of public benefit through outdoor experience and considering the economics or public and private investment in facilities" (Canada, 1965b, p. 4); thus the tourism value of alpine skiing was seen as a positive addition to national parks (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). More generally, by allowing certain on-hill developments to go ahead, the federal government implicitly conveyed that increased expansion of Banff's ski facilities, and the economic stimulation that was believed to result, would benefit the public of Canada. In doing so, belief in such growth initiatives was normalized, and thus more likely to be supported by the general public who saw themselves as potential beneficiaries of facility development in Banff.

Arthur Laing, who as Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources was responsible for the national parks, insisted that the Park Branch wanted to see as much winter use of the parks as possible; while the Park Branch supported the objective of establishing new facilities for competitive sporting events, it was done under the condition that they would be open to public use after the Games ("Press Release: Policy and Development," ICOS, ABC, Box 190, Reel 108 (26/20/37)). To that end, the Park Branch encouraged the development of new facilities at ski resorts, and enabled the expansion of existing ski hills that would ensure skiers of all abilities, not just competitive athletes, could enjoy downhill skiing in the parks. For example, Mount Norquay had previously been a hill that catered mostly to expert skiers due to its steep terrain (Pat Duffy, personal communication, January 7, 2011). To increase its usage by skiers of various abilities, the federal government permitted the cutting of new runs on Mount Norquay that were less steep, allowing less experienced ones to enjoy the hill's runs (Canada, 1965b). The Park Branch similarly felt that CODA's proposed development of cross-country ski facilities within the park would be a beneficial way for Canadians to recreate in Banff; thus the winter sports policy specifically outlined that cross-country ski trails should be developed in the park (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011; Canada, 1965b). From the Park Branch's perspective, skiing and winter tourism developments were seen as important steps in establishing Banff as a winter tourist resort that could be achieved through hosting the Winter Games. In this way the government allowed for the "resources which [would] enhance the growth potential of the area" (Molotch, 1976, p. 311). By providing the necessary planning framework and financial contribution, the federal government promoted the development of ski facilities in Banff, arguing that these developments would benefit all Canadians, as well as visitors from other countries.

With the expectation that the bid would be successful, physical preparations began in earnest for the Games. CODA stressed the need for an early start on all projects relating to Olympic development. Specifically, its President highlighted the need to assemble information needed by the IOC to determine Banff's ability to stage such an event ("Letter from Davis to Monteith," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2145). CODA and Park Branch officials made trips to Squaw Valley, California and Innsbruck, Austria to assess the facilities used in the 1960 and 1964 Winter Olympics, respectively, in an effort to generate ideas for Banff (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011; "Report on Squaw Valley trip, LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2152). This gave CODA a better idea of what Banff would need in order to successfully host the Games. CODA, in meetings with Branch staff, insisted that physical work and plans begin as quickly as possible for projects; as a result, engineering studies and surveys were carried out, cross-country ski courses were surveyed and mapped by air, water and sewer systems were installed at Norquay and Lake Louise, Olympic slalom courses had begun to be cleared at Lake Louise, and Sunshine Village began construction of on-hill accommodations even before Banff's bid was submitted to the IOC (CODA, 1962; Hart, 2003; "Minutes of the sixth meeting," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148).

Money for these projects came from the federal government through the Park and the FAS Branches. The provincial government also contributed to CODA's promotional efforts. For example, it agreed to "make available for the managing of the Games the facilities of the Banff School of Fine Arts for use as an Olympic Village and [would] further construct and make available whatever additional structures, works and facilities" were necessary to convert the school for the Games ("Four party agreement, LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2146, p. 6). Furthermore, if the bid had been successful, the provincial government would have supplied and borne all the costs related to telecommunications needs and operation for the Games ("Four party agreement, LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2146). It also indicated that a widening of the Trans-Canada highway from Calgary to the national park boundary (although happening regardless of the bid) should be considered part of the province's contribution ("Minutes of four party agreement meeting," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2146). The City of Calgary would have contributed to the Games by staging entertainment and arts events for CODA's proposed cultural program, as well as hosting IOC members when not in Banff ("Four party agreement, LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2146). This indicates how staging international events, like the Winter Olympics, were accepted as a means of securing growth. The interests of business elites were accepted as commonsense amongst both the media and government officials. Indeed, the worthiness of such an investment was seen as self-evident by the government which readily provided the funds to begin developing the Banff area prior to the bid even being delivered to the IOC.

In addition to the construction of Banff National Park as a site for amateur athletic development, the bid for the Winter Olympics presented a second construction of national parks: as winter playgrounds. As CODA moved forward with its bid for the 1972 Winter Games in early 1964, one of its focuses was to establish Banff National Park as a world-renowned winter resort. Members of CODA, for instance, frequently referred to the park as a "glorious natural winter playground" ("Speech delivered by E. Trafford," LAC, RG84, Winter Olympics – Skiing part 7, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2143, p. 4) and felt that recreational facilities were as natural to the park as trees and animals since both were tourist attractions. From the perspective of CODA's President, the tourist attraction of a ski hill in the winter "would not interfere in any way with the lives of the animals, who live there and afford such a wonderful tourist attraction in the summer" ("Reply to Mr. Brundage's letter," CODA, CODA I, Series II, File 151 (15-41)). CODA considered the physical alteration of Banff's natural features to be an acceptable consequence that could be overlooked given the publicity the Games would garner, and that such changes could be restored simply by replanting the area following the event ("CODA's Comments," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2152). Throughout the bid, CODA felt it was working in the park's best interest by envisioning it as a recreational centre. In turn, the Park Branch was on board with expanding the ski facilities to increase winter tourism to the area, demonstrated through its decision to allow for the expansion of Banff's existing ski facilities by "the cutting of new ski runs as well as development by private owners of additional lifts and accommodations" ("Laing sees Banff," 1964, p. 1). The Olympic Winter Games would improve the tourist climate of the Park by pushing forward the developments seen as needed by local business owners to attract more winter skiers to the national park, extending the tourist season in Banff to a year-round operation. The Winter Olympics would confirm Banff's status as a recreational playground for tourists, Canadian or otherwise.

Park Values and Principles

When the bid for the 1972 Winter Olympics came about, concerns emerged regarding the environmental effects the Games would have on the national park, which in turn brought into focus the purpose of national parks. On the one hand, as CODA argued, a park could benefit from the world-wide publicity of the Winter Olympics, with the result of greatly increased tourist traffic ("CODA Submission," WMCR, 435/20). On the other hand, park managers had an obligation to protect the park against "overuse, improper use, and inappropriate development" (Canada, 1964, p. 4). Consequently, certain groups and individuals (which included some park employees), who believed that national parks were meant to be preserved for future generations, were concerned about the environmental ramifications of staging the Winter Games, and therefore opposed the site of Banff National Park as a venue for the Olympics.

Initially, CODA was not concerned with the Games' environmental impact on the Park. Here CODA's perspective was illustrative of the normative way in which natural integrity was thought about in relation to Olympic developments in the 1960s and earlier, given that environmental assessments were not required as part of an Olympic bid. It is important to recall that environmental activism was just beginning to emerge in the form of a second conservation movement (Bella, 1987; McNamee, 2008; Pat Duffy, personal communication, January 7, 2011); similarly, there were multiple understandings of the purpose of national parks (Hans Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011). Therefore, it was not surprising that CODA interpreted their impact on the park in terms of appearance rather than ecosystem integrity ("Banff gets blast," 1966). When selecting locations for facilities such as the Olympic Centre, spectator seating, and parking, CODA's main considerations were the convenience and economics of the location, appearance of the site to all press, radio, and television media, and impressions left on visitors ("CODA's Comments," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2152). CODA's preliminary assessments were limited to the areas of communications, accommodations, eating establishments, entertainment, promotion, advertising, and traffic surveys ("CODA Economic study," WMCR, 435/19). CODA insisted that the surrounding environment would not be spoiled, as "the Olympics' effect on the park's scenic and aesthetic values [would] be kept to a minimum" ("Banff gets Blast," 1966, p. 1). Although the Winter Olympics would cause damage to the environment of Banff National Park, these concerns were considered negligible by CODA. The perception that the Games would not damage how the park looked reveals the priority that economic growth took over environmental protection; park health, after all, cannot be measured by a park's appearance.

In contrast to CODA's perspective on the environmental cost of the Games, conservationists felt national park values were under threat due to the environmental degradation that they viewed as an inevitable consequence of staging the Olympics. Although the Park Branch was intrigued by the possibility of increasing tourism to Banff National Park, its employees were also committed to preserving its environment. As outlined in the Branch's 1964 National Parks Policy, the national parks were moving towards prioritizing environmental protection over recreational development. Illustrative of federal-provincial tensions, the Alberta government responded to the policy by releasing a commissioned brief titled *The detrimental effect of the National Parks Policy on the tourist industry of Alberta* in January 1966. Therein, the writers insisted that "Alberta's tourist industry is being seriously hampered by the present National Parks Policy and the outlook is for a much more critical situation to develop within the next decade" (J.D. Francis & Associates, 1966, p. 8). Arthur Laing (1967) wrote a brief in response, where he stated, "Rather than the parks being a serious detriment to Alberta's tourist industry they are probably the greatest tourist attraction that Alberta has" (p. 21). This demonstrates that even within a growth initiative that shares a common goal of tourist development, different stakeholders, such as the provincial and national governments, have differing objectives which in this case centred on land use and economic agendas.

Nevertheless, having already committed to the failed 1968 bid, the federal government again pledged support for the 1972 bid ("Laing pledges full support," 1965). This time, however, the Branch considered the Games an imposition upon the park. With the increased knowledge of environmental management and the emergence of ecological science (MacEachern, 1995), some members of the Park Branch recognized the potential environmental cost of the Winter Olympics, with its primary concern being the impact of heavy crowding within the park and the extent to which facilities would have to be developed for spectators (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). As a result, the 1964 National Parks Policy[6] stated that the "development of facilities in a park to accommodate international events such as the Winter Olympics … is not in accordance with the purposes of [national parks];" however, the policy maintained that if "a park is best suited for such an event, and [the event] is in the national interest … then the [national parks] should permit the intrusion" (Canada, 1964, p. 25). This policy exception suggestively points to the hegemony of growth logic that presumes an economic stimulus strategy, such as the hosting of an international event, would be in the nation’s best interest, and should supersede environmental protection. Pressured by the federal government’s support for the bid, the Park Branch included this clause; thus, though the Branch may not have felt the Games were suitable in a national park, the federal government had already provided support for the previous two bids, and would not have withdrawn their support for the 1972 bid (“Laing pledges full support,” 1965). What the clause, the government’s support, and the FAS financial contribution suggests, however, is that the economic and athletic potential of the Games was in the national interest, while the natural integrity of the park was not. The hegemonic belief that economic values outweighed environmental ones is apparent – although environmental concerns were expressed, they were nonetheless set aside to support the economic growth of the national park. The Olympic Games, from the perspective of the Park Branch, would ultimately be seen as an intrusion in Banff but would be tolerated; however, it also meant that when it came to decisions of where to build facilities for the Games, the Branch would have the final say.

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[6] The 1964 National Parks Policy was released in September 1964 following the loss of the 1968 Olympics bid in January 1964.

Despite CODA’s desire to control all Winter Olympic developments, and the group’s stated intention to “circumvent the Branch to achieve their objective of creating a permanent competition sports centre” by appealing directly to the Prime Minister and other federal departments, the Park Branch would have ultimate control of what would be allowed in Banff National Park (“Planning implications,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150, p. 1). Even ski enthusiast regional supervisor Dempster stated that CODA was using the bids “as a device to force change in established national park purpose” (“Planning implications,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150, p. 2) and that he was “extremely concerned in case [CODA goes] ahead on [its] own making certain plans which [the park] might find unacceptable … but the discovery of this would be too late to prevent it”(“Letter from Dempster to the Deputy Minister,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2149, p. 2). This reflects the attitude of the Park Branch towards CODA, and the desire to maintain control of decisions that would affect the park. As Hal Eidsvik states:

> You [cannot] walk into somebody's house and say "Hey, [we are] going to build this in your house." No, the final authority of what was going to be developed and where it would be developed rested with the [Park] branch, the minister literally, but certainly not with the Olympic development committee. They could propose what they wanted, obviously, but then it would have to fit in with what national parks found to be acceptable within park policies. (Personal communication, January 13, 2011)

The Park Branch's primary objective thus became to minimize any effects on the national park environment and prevent any long-term environmental effects. For example, when selecting locations for facilities, the Branch considered "which site when fully developed as a major winter sports area will be most beneficial to the Canadian people as a whole," and whether "the development of the considerable facilities required for the staging of the Olympic Games [would] be detrimental to Banff National Park and incompatible with national park purposes" ("Banff versus Garibaldi," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2149, p. 3). Private developers would not be permitted control of facilities developed for the Olympics; rather future use of the facilities would be regulated by the Branch. The Branch felt that permanently altering the park landscape for an event that lasted only a few days was not a good option; careful planning would therefore be required to ensure that the impact of temporary facilities be kept to a minimum.

While the Park Branch was unable to keep developments for winter sports out of the park, (and, indeed, encouraged it) it was intent on limiting some large scale Olympic developments. Some of the facilities proposed by CODA would not be allowed within national park boundaries; specifically, the opening and closing ceremony venues, and the skating rinks would be required to be located outside of the park (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). The permanent nature of the proposed facilities also concerned the Branch, particularly their post-Games use. Accordingly, developments with little perceived post-game use would be temporary structures or built outside the park boundaries ("Letter from Laing to Causer," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148; "Review of recent developments," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150). The last thing the Branch wanted was to be responsible for permanent but underused facilities after the Games; it deemed that even mass attendance at such an event could not justify major changes to Banff National Park's landscape, since the number of visitors attending would be there temporarily ("Precis on Oberlander report," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2152). Although the Branch shared CODA's ambitions of bringing more tourists to Banff, park values also needed to be taken into account when making decisions concerning Olympic development. By controlling Olympic developments themselves, Branch staff believed that the park environment could be preserved.

Despite the Park Branch's assurances that it would protect Banff's environment, resistance to the Games came from individuals and groups concerned with park conservation. The Olympic Games bid occurred at a time of increased environmental awareness, with many new environmental groups and environmentally-conscious individuals demanding more action from Canadian politicians to protect the environment (McNamee, 2008). A conservationist active in Banff following the bid argues that after the increased post-war development across North America, people began to see a need to protect undeveloped natural areas, including national parks:

> By the mid 60's people were starting to look around them and realize that… there are limits, and you [cannot] have everything [built] everywhere. So I think some lines started being drawn to try to prevent every place becoming like every other place. (Personal communication, January 19, 2011)

Several groups from Canada and around the world publicly lobbied the Canadian government and the IOC to not support the bid, including the Kingston Field Naturalists, the Edmonton Bird Club, the Edmonton Natural History Club, the Canadian Audubon Society, the Canadian Wildlife Federation, the International

Union of the Conservation of Nature, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the Wildlife Management Institute, the Alberta Fish and Game Association, and the Canadian Society of Wildlife and Fishery Biologists (CSWFB); many members from these various conservation groups were collectively members of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC) ("Wildlife groups protesting," 1965). They felt not only was Banff an inappropriate choice for the Games given its status as a national park, but also that park conservation should take precedence over its use. CODA's Pat Duffy, a forester with close ties to environmentalists, said his antenna was raised following the failed 1968 bid for the Games. As Duffy recalls from a meeting with one conservationist, "He started the conversation over a nice lunch saying 'you know Pat, [I have] never been to Banff. I just [do not] feel it is right to use a national park.' So [you are] talking about a philosophy here that was catching fire" (personal communication, January 7, 2011). The CSWFB passed a resolution in April 1965 stating that:

> Whereas this Society considers that the holding of Winter Olympic Games in National Parks would cause serious localized changes in the environment, and whereas the holding of such events is incompatible with the primary function of National Parks, namely to preserve the natural features of National Parks unimpaired for future generations. Therefore be it resolved that this Society opposes extension of facilities in Banff National Park to accommodate Games; expresses concern over the likely destruction of some of the natural features of the park; and strongly recommends holding the Olympic Winter Games at some other location. ("Resolutions," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150, p. 1)

Foreign publications, such as *Animals* out of the United Kingdom, also began reporting on the bid and its effect on the park, stating that "immense construction projects involving access roads and hotel accommodation as well as the many facilities for the athletes' use would inevitably destroy the natural environment for many years, perhaps forever" ("Editorial from August 17th edition of *Animals,"* LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2145, p. 1). Letters from around the world were sent to Laing and Pearson. For instance, one writer from Surrey, United Kingdom, wrote that “[many] people here in England regard Canada as a land containing wonderful natural resources and will regard with horror this decision to violate a sanctuary which was intended to preserve these resources” (“Letter from Washington to Laing,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148, p. 1).

To these individuals, park development in general was out of hand, and the facilities needed for the Olympics would open the door to greater expansion of private interests in the Park. From the conservationists’ perspective the park was becoming increasingly commercialized and was at risk of producing irreversible environmental damage: “How long would these parks remain tourist attractions if we turn them into Coney Islands or open them for developments that would degrade their special and unique features?” (“Introducing the NPPAC,” WMCR, 13.111 H38 Pam, p. 8). From the vantage point of conservationists, Olympic development was viewed as being a thin edge of a wedge that would lead to increased pressure for more activities and development in the park (Nicol, 1968). As the executive director of NPPAC, Gavin Henderson (1965), argued:

> Apart from the permanent damage to Banff Park … the strongest argument against [the Games] is the precedent it sets, and the encouragement … to the would-be exploiters of the parks [that] have been itching for years for an excuse to cash in on the parks in a big way. Now they have it. (“Introducing the NPPAC,” WMCR, 13.111 H38 Pam, p. 5)

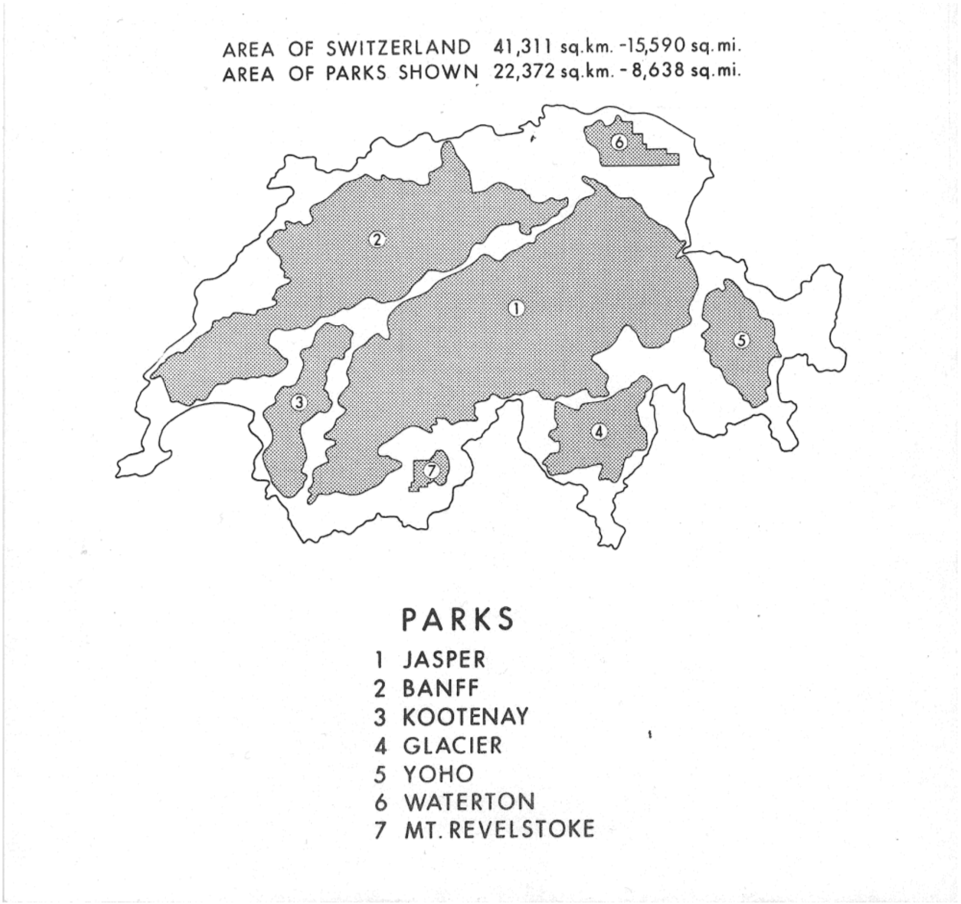
Although the national parks had been created as tourist centres and already had recreational developments in place, this was seen as no excuse to allow further developments to move ahead. Conservationists warned that following the end of the Games, the park would be left desecrated, with the Olympic Centre serving as a monument to its ruination (Balla, 1965).

Concerns over the environmental destruction of the park led conservationists to rally together around the principle of national park inviolability in opposition to the Winter Olympics bid. As a result, a cry went out for groups and individuals concerned with staging the Games in Banff to “get angry and militant” about the threat to the park (“Introducing the National and Provincial Parks Association,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148, p. 4), and to “start raising hell” (“Laing’s Parks Policy,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2150, p. 1) against the encroachment of Olympic facilities in it. Over fifty conservationist organizations coordinated a massive write-in campaign to the IOC. Its President, Avery Brundage, claimed he received up to three letters a day concerning the Banff bid from around the world leading up to the 1972 Winter Olympic bid decision (“Letter from Brundage to Davis,” CODA I, Series II, Box 3, File 151 (15-41)). In these letters, opponents cited the number of construction projects that would alter Banff’s landscape; one member of KFN stated that “as naturalists we are opposed to the alteration of this fine area chiefly in the interest of the personal profit of those who may wish to exploit this great natural treasure commercially” (“Letter from Edwards to Brundage,” LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2148, p. 1). Conservationists’ letters also warned, “If your committee should decide on Banff, then we, of necessity, will do everything possible to mobilize an effective protest before, during, and after the event, to try to ensure that no nation makes the same mistake again. Wilderness is that precious, make no mistake” (“Letter from La Roi to Brundage,” ICOS, JWC Box A, Folder 14, p. 3). Such a threat would be considered very serious to Brundage. He held very strong convictions about politics and the Olympics being separated, stating, “[The IOC] is doing all in our power to get political... interference out of the Olympic Movement” (Mulligan, 1968, p. 152). Brundage would not look favourably on the Games being turned into a political battleground between conservationists and Olympic members, stating that the IOC needed to “[stick] to its own affairs, [avoid] involvements of any kind, and [keep] its own house in order” (Brundage, 1964, p. 64).

CODA members refuted the concerns of the conservationists and their letter protests to Brundage. Initially, they addressed members of environmental organizations directly. In some instances, CODA members met privately with conservationists to discuss the matter. For example, Maciej met privately with

Peter Scott of the World Wildlife Fund and recalled, “I pointed out to him that the issue is a purely domestic one and suggested that interference from outside Canada has already caused concern and will result in further resentment if pursued” (“Manager’s report on the European Trip,” ICOS, JWC, Box A, Folder 15, p. 2). Members of CODA and COA also wrote directly to individuals or groups who had contacted Brundage, Laing, or Pearson on the matter. Central to CODA’s refutation was the claim that the Park Branch’s support for the Games proved that the flora and fauna of Banff were not at risk. For instance, when CODA presented their bid to Brundage and the IOC, they cited a letter from Pearson to Brundage, in which Pearson stated, “This location is within a National Park and the Department of National Affairs and Northern Resources which has jurisdiction over the National Parks of Canada, was fully consulted, went into the matter of facilities for the Games, satisfied itself that holding the Games will not impair park values and, therefore, fully supported the choice” (“Letter from Pearson” CODA, CODA I, Series III, Box 6, File 21, p. 1). The group reasoned that Pearson’s assurances of the safekeeping of Banff’s environment were sufficient, since the “national parks are completely under the control of the federal government in Canada… The Canadian federal government is thus the custodian of our national parks – the prime minister, therefore, speaks for all Canadians on this matter” (“Speech to the International Olympic Committee,” CODA, CODA I, Series III, Box 6, File 2, p. 4-5). All Canadians were grouped together as consenting to CODA’s goal of hosting the Olympics; in representing unanimous support for the bid in this way, CODA implied that those who resisted it could not be considered to be truly Canadian. This was part of the hegemonic construction that naturalized the view that everyone should support the bid lest they be considered unpatriotic.

CODA’s President purposefully chose not to get into a war of words with the conservationists. He felt that “conservationists are motivated by the heart, not necessarily by logic, and arguing with someone who is dedicated [like that] leads to newspaper controversy... We felt... a heated discussion [that] would hit the press would do us more harm than good" (personal communication, February 10, 2011). Furthering the conflict publicly risked providing conservationists with more media coverage and opportunity to have their views reproduced in the newspapers. This, in turn, would potentially undermine the normalized consent for the bid that CODA sought to secure. Rather, CODA adopted a strategy of focusing on assuring Brundage that no wildlife would be harmed by hosting the Games in a national park. For example, CODA's President advised Brundage that recreational downhill skiing had taken place in Banff since the 1920s "without affecting the lives of the deer, mountain sheep or wapiti who live in the area" ("Letter from Davis to Brundage," CODA I, Series II, Box 3, File 138(15-37), p. 1). Similarly, Canadian IOC member Sidney Dawes assured Brundage that animals could be moved "from one place to another by the [g]ame [w]ardens using opened bales of hay and salt licks just as it is done each summer" in an effort to divert animals away from Olympic venues ("Letter from Dawes to Brundage," ICOS, JWC, Box A, Folder 14). CODA's exhibit at the Rome IOC vote to determine the 1972 Winter Olympic host included a map showing the four contiguous mountain national parks – Banff, Jasper, Yoho, and Kootenay – and compared this to the area that would be taken up by the Olympic venues (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). From CODA's viewpoint the area required was inconsequential and not damaging to the park's ecosystems (see Figure 2).


AREA OF SWITZERLAND 41,311 sq.km. -15,590 sq.mi.
AREA OF PARKS SHOWN 22,372 sq.km. - 8,638 sq.mi.
①
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④
⑤
⑥
⑦
PARKS
1 JASPER
2 BANFF
3 KOOTENAY
4 GLACIER
5 YOHO
6 WATERTON
7 MT. REVELSTOKE

Figure 1: "Comparison of national parks in Banff area to Switzerland." [Illustration]. Reprinted from "Reference on aspects of conservation and the use of National Parks" by CODA, 1966, Calgary: CODA. (CODA I, Series III, Box 6, File 21). Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, Calgary.

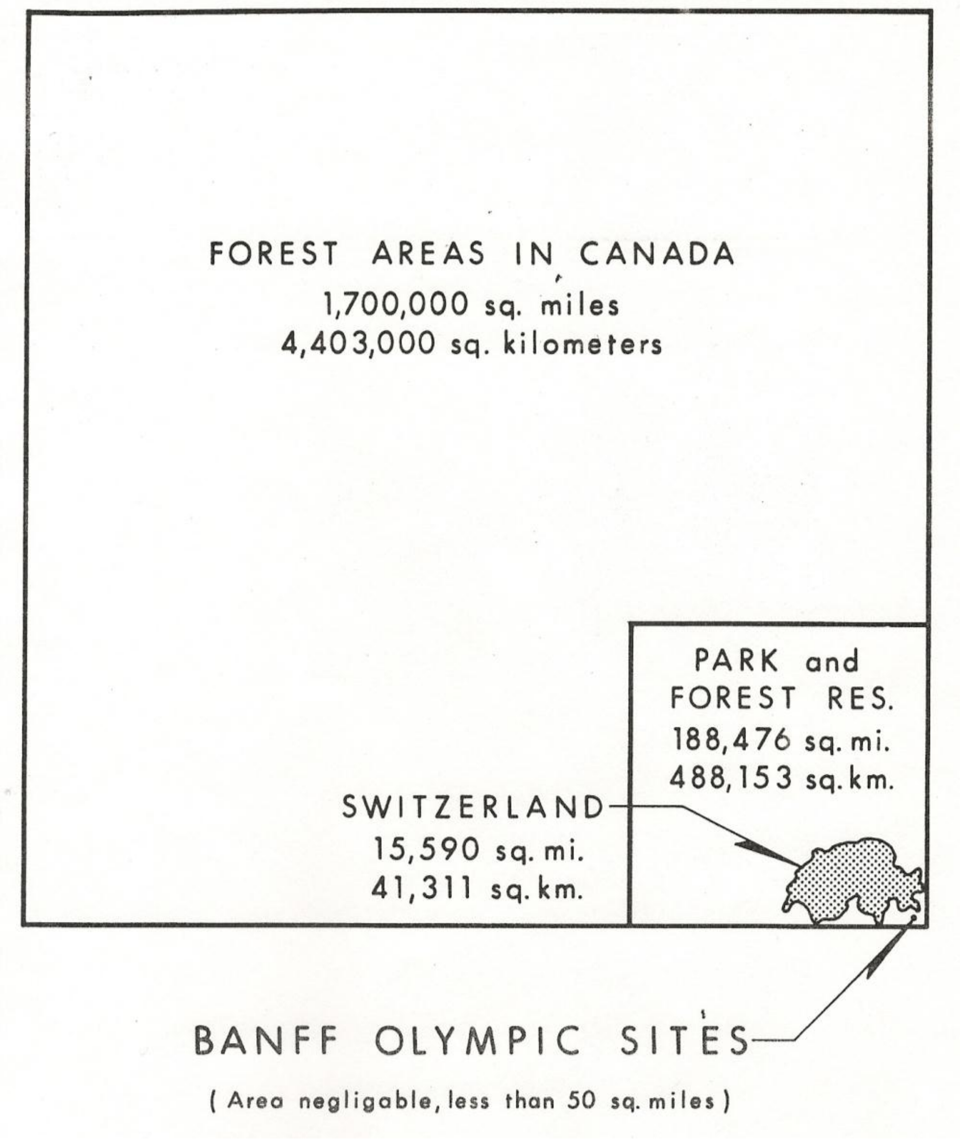
FOREST AREAS IN CANADA
1,700,000 sq. miles
4,403,000 sq. kilometers
PARK and FOREST RES.
188,476 sq. mi.
488,153 sq. km.
SWITZERLAND
15,590 sq. mi.
41,311 sq. km.
BANFF OLYMPIC SITES
(Area negligable, less than 50 sq. miles)

Figure 2: "Comparison of forest areas in Canada to Banff Olympic sites." [Illustration]. Reprinted from "Reference on aspects of conservation and the use of National Parks" by CODA, 1966, Calgary: CODA. (CODA I, Series III, Box 6, File 21). Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, Calgary.

Some local journalists were indeed sympathetic to those opposed to holding the Olympics in a national park. These journalists represented the bid as a threat to national park principles. Certain columnists for the *Banff Crag and Canyon* and *The Calgary Herald*, for example, acknowledged that the Winter Olympics would be a violation of park values. Peters (1965), a writer for the *Calgary Herald,* reproduced the conservationists' beliefs that "the site of Banff National Park [is] a blatant violation of principles and purposes" (p. 25). Another writer for the *Banff Crag and Canyon* wrote, "Though it can be generally stated that the majority of Canadians favoured [the] Olympics in Canada an important segment of the population had no alternative but to resist the choice of a National Park for the event" ("Reclassification of parks," 1966, p. 1). Some journalists did indeed challenge the representation of the Banff bid as a positive economic stimulus to Banff. Maurice Western (1966), writing for the *Albertan,* commented that what the economic lobby wanted to do was "kill the park's goose so that special interests can clutch the golden eggs" (p. 4). Meanwhile, Robert Turnbull (1966) of *The Globe and Mail* claimed that "it is all too evident that the National Parks are a golden apple that some Albertans want to swallow, leaving only a useless, gnawed core for future generations" (p. 34). Framing these articles as support for national park principles highlight a desire within the newspapers to represent both points of view. By providing space for the voices of conservationists' resistance to the bid, the newspapers appeared to have the interests of the subordinate groups opposed to CODA's bid in mind. Indeed, CODA attempted to keep the interests of conservationists in mind during the bidding process by assuring the public that "'the [Park] branch working with [CODA] has established a program so there will be no developments at odds with national parks policy'" ("For the record, 1966, p. 4). In doing so, hegemony can be maintained; by providing a voice to those opposing the bid, the media is implying that they have a role in the debate. In this way, the media can argue that they have presented the conservationists fairly, all the while maintaining an ideological stance that supports the growth initiative and ultimately coming down on the side of CODA.

In particular, while some articles did address park preservation concerns with regards to the bid, many refuted the claims of the environmentalists. By presenting the views of both conservationists and CODA members, the local newspapers illustrated Molotch's (1976) point that although newspaper writers may be concerned about the environment they are nonetheless motivated by ideological dynamics that support business and growth initiatives. Other articles presented both points of view within the same article, but doing so in such a way as ultimately to undermine the conservationist view. For example, one *Banff Crag and Canyon* article reproduced a conservationist view that the Olympics would bring "'desecration, exploitation, and prostitution of national parks,'" only later to undercut this view by agreeing with CODA vice-president Peter Lougheed's assurances that conservationists' fears were "groundless" ("For the record," 1966, p. 4). By acknowledging the conservationists' arguments followed by assurances that refuted their concern, resistance to the bid would have been manipulated to be more favourable to CODA's point of view. This would be done by suggesting the conservationists' concerns were unfounded, thereby guiding the readers' understanding of the debate. One *Calgary Herald* sport editorialist claimed that the letter campaign to the IOC was the work of "cranks" (Hill, 1966, p. 1). Privileging CODA's views of the Games' benefits normalized the group's beliefs while at the same time marginalizing dissenting voices. Giving meaning to the debates in this manner helped to construct a consensus in society whereby economic concerns override environmental ones. Framing these opponents as "cranks" would have played a role in eliminating public criticism for the bid, while naturalizing CODA's claims, particularly economic ones. As one writer for the *Albertan* asserted, environmental concerns due to staging the Olympics were "unsound and unrealistic" and that "conservationists who fear the Olympics don't understand what the games can do for Canada" ("Olympic '72 man," 1965, p. 11). As Hall et al. (1978) suggest media writers reinforced hegemony by assuming that there is unanimous consent for the bid across Canada, rather than acknowledging that the bid was a highly charged debate with multiple interests between groups. As a result, opponents were classified as individuals who did not appreciate the benefits of growth.

In the *Calgary Herald*, CODA members diminished the worth of the conservationist perspective by describing its proponents as “foolish,” (“A needless protest,” 1965, p. 4), “ignorant,” (Nagel, 1966, p. 2), and “selfish” (A silly view,” 1966, p. 4). Indeed, one of its editorialists claimed that conservationists were exhibiting “undue anxiety” (“A needless protest,” 1965, p. 4). Although these examples illustrate quotes from specific newspapers, many quotes were reproduced in articles in all newspapers, illustrating how consensus can be constructed through the media, as selected interpretations are naturalized as commonsense (Jackson et al., 2008). Although environmental concerns were presented by local media, certain journalists refuted these viewpoints by reproducing or sharing CODA’s response that “other great mountain sports capitals of the world… have suffered no damage but have gained immeasurably through recreational development” (“A silly view,” 1966, p. 4). Other influential individuals lambasted the conservation groups, with one writer for the *Calgary Herald* quoting Industry and Development Minister Russell Patrick who stated that the opposition displayed a “narrow, selfish attitude” (“Banff bid opposition,” 1966, p. 1), while another writer from the same newspaper quoted Banff-Cochrane MLA Frank Gainer who claimed that criticisms against the use of Banff National Park “‘[sprang] from the daydreams of a few conservationists’” rather than fact (“Banff Games critics,” 1965, p. 21). This demonstrates how the mainstream media reproduced the views of the influential groups in society. In doing so, they helped to maintain the commonsense view that development and growth were good initiatives to support. By presenting articles both supporting and marginalizing conservationists, the newspapers played an important role in the growth machine; they could appear to be impartial in their coverage all the while promoting the growth the Games were projected to bring about and overshadow the pertinent concerns some individuals had regarding the effect of the Games on the national parks environment. As Jackson et al. (2008) argue, the illusion of objectivity was maintained while leaving the ideological interest in growth and development unquestioned. While the conservation concerns inherent in the bid were acknowledged, they were consistently followed with viewpoints that suggested their reasons were unfounded, since recreation was framed as natural in the parks. As a public mediator, the newspapers framed the bid debates for local readers in Calgary and Canada, and played an important role in making the bid meaningful for them in a particular way. In doing so, while they may have conveyed some of the concerns regarding the park's landscape, most articles normalized the view that this could be overlooked given the economic benefits that would accrue. As businesses themselves, newspaper editors and journalists were thus enmeshed in the hegemonic growth initiatives of CODA's bid; despite concerns that the editors and journalists may have had for the environment, they were ultimately entangled in the hegemonic growth initiatives being pursued by CODA.

A third construction of Banff National Park was thus also represented through the Winter Olympics bid: the Parks were an inviolate place to be preserved for future generations; accordingly only certain forms of low-impact activities, such as hiking or nature study, were viewed as being appropriate in them. As a result, the proposed use of a national park for an Olympic site, with its concomitant recreational developments, was challenged by conservationists. As Hal Eidsvik recalled, "[The conservationists'] view of a national park was that it was an interpretive area… with minimal development, and certainly major facility development such as the Olympics were absolutely out of the question as far as those organizations were concerned" (personal communication, January 13, 2011). Groups and individuals opposed to the bid felt national parks should be places where ecological health took precedence over recreational needs. On the other hand, Olympic supporters argued that the landscape and the wildlife of Banff could tolerate the development required for the Games. According to CODA, the park would not be affected by the presence of the Games, no more than the park suffered during the high tourist season of the summers. What resulted was a debate over the future of Banff National Park, with some arguing that the Winter Games and its attendant facility development would add to the park, while others felt it jeopardized park values. The principle that national parks should remain in an unchanging state for future generations to enjoy was once again promoted both by those concerned with park environments, and park planners themselves. All the same, the convergent interests at play in national park values came to a head with the bid. With pressure for more recreational development in national parks, some saw a growing need to protect the landscape of national parks.

Chapter Five: Fallout after the bid loss

On April 26, 1966, the 1972 Winter Olympic Games were awarded to Sapporo, Japan, who won the bid in the first round of bidding (IOC, 1966b). Many individuals felt they knew who to blame: the conservationists who had written directly to the IOC to protest Banff's application. One common argument against them was that they had a different perception of the environmental impact of the Games than Olympic supporters, who felt that the appearance of the park would not be harmed. This view was reproduced by an editorialist in the *Calgary Herald***:**

> Banff National Park covers a considerable area and, given proper planning, it seems rather foolish to assume that its natural beauties will be impaired by the expansion of sports facilities in the specific areas where considerable activity of this nature already exists. Indeed, the federal government has reaffirmed its responsibility to preserve these natural beauties unimpaired for future generations. At the same time, the provision of additional facilities for the Winter Olympics need not be incompatible with this purpose. ("A needless protest," 1965, p. 4)

The conservationists were branded disparagingly in a variety of ways, including as "militant bird watchers" ("The Olympics," 1966, p. 4) and as members of a "Grizzly Bear Protective Society" (Hodgson, 1966b, p. 1). Other journalists questioned how the conservationists could know that the Olympics "would disrupt the house-keeping habits of birds and animals" (Beddoes, 1966). Conservationists were also considered selfish for impeding winter resort growth in Banff; as one *Calgary Herald* editorialist argued "the national parks and other natural assets in this province belong to all people, not just a few with narrow and selfish targets to pursue" ("A silly view," 1966, p. 4). In their attempts to protect the national park, the conservationists' protests were characterized as threats to the recreational and economic pursuits of Canadians who viewed parks as tourist and recreation centres.

As disappointed Olympic bid supporters searched for answers to explain Banff's defeat, revealed following it were many political motivations for choosing Sapporo, Japan over Banff. With Canada mounting two bids for IOC consideration to host the Olympics – Montreal for the 1972 Summer Olympics, and Banff – some journalists claimed that Canada did not appear unified to IOC members, while other writers suggested Canada was selfish to go after two bids ("Letter from McFarland to Nicol," LAC, Winter Olympics—Organization and Staff Departmental Group, part 1, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2145; Sigurdson, 1966; Tate, 1966). Given that only two cities from outside Western Europe and North America were vying for the1972 Summer and Winter Games, Munich, Germany, and Sapporo, Japan, the IOC chose to extend its Olympic reach to them, rather than to countries that had dominated modern Olympic hosting. At the time of the 1972 bidding process, for example, the IOC had a goal of internationalizing the Olympics by hosting the summer and winter events outside of Western Europe or North America; this included a rule that consecutive Olympics could not be staged on the same continent (MacAloon, 2008; Whitson, 2004). Hosting the Olympics outside of these areas would include more countries in the Olympic movement, and help to globalize its movement. The IOC would also be extending their mandate of peace and international cooperation by awarding the Summer and Winter Games to Germany and Japan – two countries that had fought the Allied countries in the Second World War ("Letter from McFarland to Nicol," LAC, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Vol. 2145). Despite the fact that Sapporo would also hold skiing events in a national park, CODA's President recalled that:

> Japan did have a lot of sympathy going for them; they had been bombed rather cruelly [in WW II], they had suffered badly, and they had a lot of the world's sympathy with them in their struggle to rehabilitate. And I think that a lot of the members of the IOC felt that they needed the Games and sort of overlooked the fact that it was in a national park. (Personal communication, February 10, 2011)

Extending the Olympics to these countries would symbolize a new acceptance towards them, and encourage goodwill among nations in the name of the Olympic movement.

The Japanese delegation, for its part, was very astute at lobbying IOC members. For example, it admitted to cozying up to IOC delegates from countries such as South America, Latin America, and Africa, who at the time did not send athletes to the Winter Olympics, whereas CODA spent much more time proving Banff's technical merits to sports associations around the world ("Beer party planned, 1966). The Japanese argued to IOC delegates from these continents that Europe and North America had a monopoly on the Olympics, despite the fact that Tokyo had hosted the 1964 Summer Olympics ("Japan and Germany," 1966). Although these southern hemisphere countries would not have been involved in the Winter Olympics, they would have had knowledge of Japan's ability to stage an Olympic Games. The Japanese also had Denver's 1976 Winter Olympic bid committee lobbying on its behalf (Olson, 1974). Since the IOC's new policy would not allow both the 1972 and 1976 Winter Olympics to be held on the same continent, it was to Denver's advantage that Sapporo win. The Japanese delegation also lobbied IOC delegates through gift giving – considered by some CODA members to be a form of bribery. Maciej, for example, recalls that the Japanese had given out pearl clusters and diamonds in exchange for votes. Following the vote one IOC member had his pearl cluster evaluated for insurance purposes, with the value rated at one British pound (personal communication, January 2011).

Avery Brundage also played a role in the Japanese delegation's drive to secure the Olympics, as he arguably overlooked its lobbying efforts. For example, while it was considered a violation of protocol to host any receptions for IOC members in advance of a vote, Brundage gave his permission to the Sapporo group to do so the evening before the vote ("Report on the 64th session," CODA I, Series II, Box 1, File 93 (15-4)). Such a decision would leave many IOC members to believe that Brundage personally endorsed the Sapporo site. So why did he show this preferential treatment towards the Japanese delegation? Speculation abounded that it had to do with Brundage's affinity for Asian art (Schobel, 1968). According to Maciej, the Japanese delegation promised Brundage rare Japanese artworks in exchange for him using his influence to ensure Sapporo won the Games (Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011). Suggestively, the conservationist letters to the IOC would have helped Brundage convince other IOC members to vote against Banff. One conservation protest letter came from Peter Scott, then-president of the WWF, and a former Olympian with connections to Brundage. Although Brundage advised CODA about the protest letters and asked it for an explanation, he also encouraged Scott to continue writing and to share his letters with all the members of the IOC, stating that "Banff occupies a very strong position since it was the runner-up the last time and there are only four candidates, some with dubious qualifications. I think, therefore, that a personal letter from you in your capacity as Chairman of International Conservation organizations would be distinctly helpful to your cause" ("Letter from Brundage to Scott," ICOS, ABC, Box 190, Reel 108 (26/20/37), p. 1). Brundage also used letter-writing to Japan's advantage. He read not only protest letters against Banff just before the IOC vote, but also a letter from a well-regarded IOC member from Japan, Dr. Takaishi, who could not attend the vote due to terminal illness. In the letter, Dr. Takaishi stated that his dying wish was to see Sapporo awarded the Games ("Report on the 64th session," CODA I, Series II, Box 1, File 93 (15-4)). Brundage employed this letter as an emotional tug to convince IOC delegates to vote for Sapporo, and not let their colleague down. Members of the Sapporo group were so convinced Brundage would secure the games for the Japanese resort that before the vote began they told the Banff group it should just go home, as the decision was already made (Hans Maciej, personal communication, January 5, 2011). Thus, while the failed bid was represented as being in large part due to the efforts of conservationists, facts surfaced afterwards which showed that there was more to Banff's loss than the conservation movement alone.

Letters to the editor indicate that Calgary and Banff locals were split on who to blame for the loss of the bid. In the four newspapers analyzed, eighteen letters showed support for the Olympic bid, and twelve opposed the use of a national park. Such a balance, Hall et. al (1978) argue, indicates an attempt by the newspapers to "provoke public response, [and] lead to lively [debates]" (p. 121). The published letters indicated a desire to shape opinions by furthering one's own cause and beliefs. Although not indicative of the actual number of letters received by the newspapers, this does reveal their role in shaping public opinion by profiling more letters supportive of the bid than those opposed to it. Like CODA, many letter-writers scorned the conservationists who objected to Banff's candidature. These writers argued that as a result of the write-in, Canada's youth would be short-changed, and would sink into the role of spectators rather than becoming involved in amateur sport (Jonassen, 1966). Some, such as Sid Smith (1966), argued that there was no sense in keeping development out of national parks, since anything in national parks could alter the environment, including wildlife, lightning, and avalanches. To him and like-minded letter-writers, tourism development in national parks was inevitable given Banff's historic status as a tourist area. Others questioned how much damage an Olympics could do to natural areas in a country as large and vast as Canada, and argued that, "If we choose to build a resort on every mountain peak… that is our business" (Patterson, 1966, p. 5). Suggestively, what Patterson did not problematize is who actually constituted the "our" to which he referred. Still, from the perspective of others, it was not up to the IOC to judge what Canadians did with their parks, especially given Canada's large size as compared to many other countries around the world where Olympic developments might have had a more noticeable impact. For instance, one letter writer to the *Calgary Herald* argued:

> Canada has an area of 4,000,000 square miles, with a population of approximately 21,000,000. Banff, Jasper, and Kootenay parks would hold the country of Switzerland (15,941 square miles with a population of nearly 10,000,000). Would Mr. Brundage… care to define a park? The usual

> definition is ‘a large tract of land kept for public recreation.’ It appears to me that, in Olympic sports, as in wars, Americans are having the last say. (Patterson, 1966, p. 5)

These letters suggest that many in Calgary accepted CODA’s assertion that the environment would not be damaged, and were very quick to place blame on the conservationist write-in. They further indicate the power of the media’s hegemony at play, in that many of the writers’ ideas of the bid were shaped by what was chosen to be published by the newspapers in the lead up to the bid. The normalized view that winning the Games would be beneficial to locals was accepted by many writers.

Some individuals, however, defended those who did not want to see Banff National Park as the site of an Olympics. McLean (1966), for example, asked why Banff National Park should be sacrificed for a week or two of prestige when what made the park prestigious, its plants and wildlife, would suffer. One writer even criticized how the media handled the bid’s defeat, stating that:

> I distinctly received the impression from our many media… that anyone against the idea was an oddball, wildlife type. There was little or no respect shown for the opinions of dissenters. There are probably many people like myself, who happen to love the national parks and who want to preserve them as a museum of nature for future generations. (J.W., 1966, p. 5)

As demonstrated through J.W.’s comments, there were individuals within the public who critically unpacked how the newspapers essentially attempted to normalize consent for the bid by labelling opponents as, for example, “ignorant” (Nagel, 1966, p. 2). Importantly, although letters-to-the-editor in support of the bids were featured in the newspaper prior to the IOC vote, no dissenting ones were. The active muzzling of public debate in these sections prior to the bid’s loss illustrates how the media operated to solidify the hegemonic power of bid proponents.

Despite most of the blame being laid on the conservationists, several other factors surfaced following the loss revealing that the conservation protest was only one of a number of factors contributing to Banff's failed bid. The IOC's determination to internationalize the Olympic Games, backroom dealing on the part of the Japanese delegation, and Brundage's personal support for the Japanese site all played a role in the bid loss. Meanwhile, Calgarians were split on both sides of the debate – letters sent to newspapers indicate that while some members of the public believed CODA's choice of Banff, other individuals also felt that Banff should not be used as an Olympic site. Regardless of who is to blame or to thank for Banff's failure to host the Winter Olympics in 1972, the struggle between development and preservation played out on the international stage before the IOC. Banff, a small national park town, was on the radar of snow-seekers around the world.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The drive to bring the Winter Olympics to Banff National Park was part of a larger project to develop the park as a world-renowned winter sports resort. The bid formed part of a growth ethic in which development was seen as advantageous be it through increased tourism in Calgary and Banff, the creation of jobs, or the development of winter facilities for those financially able to take part in a resort lifestyle. Other values, such as the importance of ecological preservation in national parks, were marginalised. As revealed through this study, the 1972 Winter Olympics bid served to initiate a conversation about the role and purpose of Banff National Park for Canadians. The bid, and therefore implicitly the purpose of the park, was represented by CODA to the public as a means of development both athletically, in terms of amateur athletes and facilities, and economically. In addition to these representations, from the federal government's perspective, the bid was also framed as being a stimulus to recreation amongst Canadians. That said, it also engendered critical debate about the principle of park inviolability.

Three main social constructions of Banff National Park were produced through the Olympic bid. The Park was constructed as a winter sports centre for Canada, a world-class winter tourist resort, and as a landscape to be preserved intact for years to come. CODA, the Park Branch, and conservationists all had different beliefs on what was an acceptable use of Banff National Park. Whether or not the Olympics should have taken place in Banff was complicated by the diverse meanings that national parks took on for Canadians. A winter resort, summer spa, nature preserve, Olympic Winter Games venue–all these meanings and experiences were possible in Banff, a national park dedicated to all Canadians. Privileging one use over another left certain park users out. As a result, the many uses of national parks came to a head with the Winter Olympics bid. CODA represented its constructions of Banff National Park by promoting economic growth and amateur athletic development. Conservationists mobilized in defence of the park principle of inviolability. The Park Branch, meanwhile, maintained Banff's historical role as a tourist attraction and a preserved landscape. These opposing uses of mountain parks point to the fact that parks are invariably human creations – places where nature is used and manipulated for humans use. Despite having failed, the bid played an important role in demonstrating how an Olympic bid is represented to the public, and how different cultural constructions of landscapes can emerge or be reinforced through such endeavours.

CODA acted as a hegemonic group during the bid to host the Winter Olympics in Banff National Park. The Association relied on commonsense beliefs that economic growth was always beneficial, and equated it with progress. Many individuals of this group were members of elite Albertan society, whether this was in terms of politics or businesses that would directly benefit financially from the hosting of the games ("Olympic bid aided," 1966). CODA did not engage members of the public or environmentalists in consultations regarding the bid; rather bid-related decisions were communicated to most members of the public via the local media ("Eleventh hour concern," 1966). The group actively marginalized resistance put up by environmental groups, calling their concerns "unfounded," despite not conducting any impact assessments of their own ("Games men want wildlife meeting," 1966, p. 19). All three levels of government supported the hosting of the Games in Banff, as they took on CODA's representation its perceived social and economic benefits. This included significant financial contributions to CODA's endeavours, particularly from the federal government. Conservation groups, on the other hand, did not receive such financial support (Balla, 1966).

While not opposed to the Winter Olympics in and of themselves, individuals and groups concerned with overdevelopment in national parks objected to the use of one as the site of such an event. As Chernusheko (1994) argues, some scholars consider the 1976 Denver rejection of the right to host the Winter Games, due to its perceived effect of overdevelopment, habitat destruction, and gentrification, to be a watershed moment in the Olympic movement when environmental considerations began to at least register on the IOC radar. However, as this study shows, conservationists became involved in opposing Olympic bids on environmental grounds even earlier, and provided the IOC with reasons to deny the Banff bid, fearing politicization of the Games through protests. While many 1972 Olympic bid supporters felt that the conservationists' predictions were exaggerated, in the decades following Banff's bid citizens began to see firsthand the environmental problems associated with the Olympics. Residents of Lake Placid, for example, argued that the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics destroyed Adirondack Park and opened the doors to private development therein (Kuziak, 1995). Moreover, when Calgary hosted the 1988 Winter Games, concerns again arose over issues of wildlife protection in Kananaskis Country and Canmore (Kariel & Kariel, 1988). That said, it was only after the 1992 Winter Games in Albertville, which were considered to be "seriously damaging" to the environment due to the "construction of highly technological installations and urban infrastructure over a large area in a fragile alpine setting" (Kuziak, 1995, p. 2), that the environmental impact of staging the Games was addressed during the Olympic bidding process in a substantive policy way. Environmental advocates that resisted the hegemonic view that environmental needs could be set aside in the name of a large-scale event acted as a force of change in the IOC. The Banff Winter Olympic bid and the conservationist opposition to it can thus be seen as part of this resistance to the hegemony of the Olympic Games and bid organisers that privilege economic and development goals over environmental sustainability. As a result, this study draws attention to early resistance to bids.

The pursuit of the Olympics is intimately tied to the growth and development of a locale, whether the bid is successful or not. Within the context of the 1972 Banff bid what the latter type of analysis also demonstrates was how bid debates can be used to push forward different agendas. Despite the IOC's ideals of cooperation and removing itself from politics, Brundage may have employed the conservationist opposition to his own advantage, thereby politicizing the process. Despite CODA's loss of the 1972 Winter Olympics, the bid for the Games produced significant consequences for the Banff area. First, skiing in Banff National Park was placed on the international radar as a result of its ski terrain being advertised through CODA publications and events, such as when it brought the International Ski Club of Journalists to Banff to highlight the area. As Pat Duffy explained:

> Calgary was very promotional in its bid. And they had very good people in Calgary. I remember this man called John Francis he was basically a communications specialist, and he said "there is this club in Europe called the International Ski Club of Journalists. We have got to bring these people over here to see our facilities." So we spent $300,000 to do that. Everything from Bulgaria, to England, Norway, France. We brought these people to Paris, flew them to Calgary, [and] brought them to Banff. [We] showed them everything. We held ski races for them at Lake Louise… We had millions of dollars worth of media coverage. In those days it was seen as a remarkable thing to do but it really worked. (personal communication, January 7, 2011)

The failed bid also focused federal government attention on the ski industry in the park. Banff held a historical role as both a tourist destination and a national park where nature is preserved. Tourism was therefore seen as a logical development for the Branch to pursue, particularly during the winter months when tourist numbers dropped in Banff. As Hiller (2000) has noted, failed bids give insight into political decision-making and growth initiatives; the environmental concerns registered regarding the Games ultimately gave way to the economic and nationalistic development the federal government believed would result from staging them in Banff. As guardians of the national park, the federal government ultimately determined what could and could not happen in the park. In their role of providing promotional funding, conducting logistics plans, and pledging additional funding had the bid been successful, the federal government played a large role in how the winter recreation facilities in Banff came to be further developed. In addition to the funds FAS provided to CODA, the federal government allocated more than $15 million to improve Banff's ski facilities between 1965 and 1967 ("'72 Olympics automatic," 1965). Consequently, many planned developments for Norquay, Lake-Louise, and Sunshine ski hills went ahead despite the loss (Nagel, 1966; "Ski lift project," 1966). Furthermore, recognizing the popularity of the ski hills, the Branch permitted the development of Marmot Basin Ski Area in Jasper National Park to accommodate skiers from the Edmonton area (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). Regardless of the bid's loss, ski hill development continued to grow to meet the demands of international skiers. Banff National Park was established as an international skiing destination, with the Winter Olympic bid facilitating that development.

Another result of the failed bid was that following the IOC's decision, the Park Branch began to prioritize environmental protection over recreational use. The drive to protect parks also resulted in greater public involvement in national park decisions from the late 1960s (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). With the increased development of ski hills that came about following the Winter Olympics bid, park watchdogs remained vigilant about the need to keep in check the expansion of winter facilities in national parks. The threat of winter development, as proposed through CODA's plans for Banff, resulted in many individuals and groups protesting further growth of such facilities in national parks. In the years following the bids, conservation groups such as the NPPAC would play an active role in regulating how downhill ski facilities could develop and expand (Banff conservationist, personal communication, January 19, 2011). Concern for the principle of park inviolability also served as a lightning rod for increased public involvement in park planning decisions. Following the bid, for example, nearly 1500 Calgarians sat in on public meetings hosted by the Branch to protest the expansion of the Lake Louise Ski Hill (Hal Eidsvik, personal communication, January 13, 2011). Moreover, when Calgary again applied to host the Winter Olympics in 1988, conservation groups kept the events outside of Banff National Park. National park values were seen to be protected as a result of a new ski hill that was developed in Kananaskis Country, an area of the Bow Valley just outside of the National Park. Although Kananaskis Country had once been part of Banff (Flanagan & Milke, 2005), the line on the map that distinguished the park from the rest of Alberta meant that the NPPAC would not be a threat to what would prove to be a successful Olympic bid.

One important aspect of analyzing a failed bid is the implications that these failures have on future bids. Despite the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics' impact on the environment (Kuziak, 1995), the event may not have been as successful had it not been for the work of CODA in the 1960s. Hans Maciej feels that CODA's three failed bids in the 1960s helped to convince IOC members that Calgary was a suitable locale for hosting the games (personal communication, January 5, 2011). By the time Calgary was awarded the 1988 Games, much of the planning legwork had been done by CODA in the 1960s, and the IOC was already aware of the Calgary and Banff areas. The 1988 group could also look to CODA's bid and learn from their experience. Frank King, chair of the 1988 Winter Olympics organizing committee, acknowledged one important lesson was learned from CODA's failed bid: do not disregard park watchdogs (King, 1991). Perhaps most importantly, the group chose not to stage the Olympics within Banff National Park, assuring the cooperation of conservation groups. Due to CODA's activity at the international level in the 1960s, Calgary's bid was known to the IOC, and the bid was stronger as a result. In some ways, therefore, one could argue that the 1972 bid was successful, in that it assisted with Calgary eventually wining of the Games.

While the 1988 organizing committee said it would address various environmental concerns during the construction of Olympic venues, very little money was actually spent on measures to mitigate any consequences (Kariel & Kariel, 1988). Instead, the game organizers spent a significant amount of money to reshape nature: artificial snow with man-made bacteria and chemicals was used, snow was trucked in to supplement the natural snow on the cross country ski runs, and mountains were reshaped to create technically perfect ski runs (Kuziak, 1995). The selection of Mount Allan as the venue for ski events also threatened wildlife that lived in the area, particularly the largest healthy herd of big horn sheep in North America that wintered on the mountain ("Wildlife Threatened," 1986). Given the proximity of Kananaskis to Banff National Park, the environmental effects of the 1988 Olympic events would surely impinge on Banff National Park's ecology. However, since the Games were not taking place within national park boundaries, no environmental protest occurred. What is the difference between Lake Louise and Mount Allan? As Kevin Van Tighem (1988) argues, "Lake Louise is [part of] a national park. Mount Allan is not. National Parks are sacrosanct. Mount Allan can be sacrificed" (p. 38). This leads one to question whether the concerns of conservationists regarding the 1972 bid were truly about the environment's integrity, or simply the belief in the sanctity of parks and the principles underlying them. Perhaps a more apt term to characterize those who fought against the bid, I believe, would be park preservationists rather than conservationists.

Although national parks do protect vast areas of natural space, they are also cultural landscapes imbued with meaning by humans. The activities that are considered acceptable in national parks shift through time, and serve different purposes to different people. For some, a ski area in a national park makes perfect sense, since some of the best ski terrain in Alberta happens to be locked within the boundaries of Banff National Park. To others, recreational use in national parks needs to be limited. What constitutes the "proper" use of national parks has been an on-going question since their creation, and will undoubtedly continue to be in the future as perspectives on natural areas change. As this research has shown, the Banff Olympic bid became a focal point on which three different constructions of national parks emerged.

This study has expanded the research on recreation development and national parks through the case of the bid for the 1972 Winter Olympics. One presumption that requires further study is the tourist value of the Winter Olympics. More research is needed to determine the true economic impact of an Olympics, in terms of both benefits and costs, and whether this impact is sustainable. Based on the findings of this research, one can readily question the differential valuing of the environment in relation to its location inside or outside of national parks. The value placed on national park landscapes has resulted in increased development pressures being placed on natural landscapes on the outskirts of national parks, as is evidenced through the example of Canmore, Alberta. This has resulted in large-scale downhill ski resorts being developed adjacent to national parks (e.g., Revelstoke Ski Resort and Kicking Horse Ski Resort are both outside national parks in British Columbia), where arguably the environmental impact is the same, particularly in terms of the migration routes of wildlife that know no boundaries. As recreational demands on alpine landscapes increase, alpine environments are threatened by the development of summer use facilities at ski resorts for activities such as downhill mountain biking or paragliding. The environmental impacts of such activities are not yet known, particularly the recent popularity of downhill mountain biking. More research is needed to determine what effect these activities have on alpine environments, particularly as more and more ski resorts push to offer summer use. A consideration of the expansion of winter recreation facilities is significant when one considers the pressures on national parks from large ski resorts that often demand expansion and improvements to stay current with competitive commercial tourism markets.

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Appendix A – Interview Guide

1. How were you involved in the 1972 Winter Olympics bid or opposition?
2. If you were involved, what made you want to become involved?
3. What was the significance of the Olympics to Calgary and/or Banff? What impact would they have on the area?
4. What arguments were put forward regarding the significance of the Winter Olympics for the Banff area?
5. What arguments were put forward to dispute hosting the Olympics in Banff?
6. How did you promote your beliefs regarding the impact that the Olympics would have in Calgary and/or Banff?
7. What was the role of the national parks agency throughout the bid process? What was your organization's relationship to the three levels of government involved?
8. How would you describe the relationship between bid committee members and wildlife and park activists during the bids?
9. In your opinion, why did park activists get involved the bid campaign?
10. Why do you think wildlife and park activists only campaigned against the 1972 bid and not the 1968 bid?
11. In your opinion, what was the public involvement in the bid process?
12. How would you describe the business atmosphere of Calgary in the 1960s?
13. In your opinion, what was the role of the media during the bid?
14. How comfortable were you with the media's coverage of the bid process and the aftermath of the decision to hold the Games in Sapporo, Japan?
15. How would you describe the local newspaper's involvement during the Olympics 1972 campaign?
16. What was your organization's involvement with the media during the bid campaign?
17. Looking back, how do you think the campaign to host the Winter Olympics in Banff changed the park's value as a winter resort?

Appendix B – Letter to potential interview participants

(To Whom It May Concern:)

My name is Cheryl Williams and I am a master's student in the department of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. I am currently writing my master's thesis that explores Calgary's bid to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff. In particular, I would like to find out more about the bid and the role of the major players in the bid and the defeat of the bid, including the goals of the bid organizers, how support and opposition for the bid was generated, and the legacy of the bid for Banff National Park.

An objective of this study is to give voice to those involved in the negotiations and debates surrounding the efforts to secure the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff. I am therefore contacting individuals involved in the bid to ask them to participate in an interview with me to discuss these topics. The interviews will take place in January, and will take approximately 45 minutes maximum to complete. Most interviews will take place over the telephone given travel and time constraints. Participating will give you the chance to give your perspective on how the bid process unfolded. You will have the chance to expand on your experiences, and take part in a study that increases understanding of an important moment in Banff National Park's history.

You will be offered the choice of being identified by name or as a member of the bid committee. However, because of the publicity of the bid, the availability of files relating to the bid in public archives, and the small number of people involved in the study, there is a chance that you will be able to be identified through your responses in the final written thesis.

I would appreciate the chance to discuss these topics with you. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me either by phone or by email. My supervisor Dr. Lisa McDermott can also be contacted by phone or by email.

Thank you,

Cheryl Williams

Appendix C – List of Interviewees

Hans Maciej, Manager of CODA, personal telephone interview, January 5, 2011

Dr. Patrick Duffy, CODA technical ski director, personal telephone interview, January 7, 2011

Hal Eidsvik, national parks planner, personal telephone interview, January 13, 2011

Member of Bow Valley Naturalists, personal telephone interview, January 19, 2011

John Gow, Former Lake Louise ski area employee and Sunshine Ski Area management, personal telephone interview, January 19, 2011

President of CODA, personal telephone interview, February 10, 2011

Appendix D

Daily newspaper quantitative review – number of articles dealing with CODA's 1972 Winter Olympic Bid

Name of newspaper	Total number of articles	1972 Winter Olympics and economics	1972 Winter Olympics and environment	1972 Winter Olympics economics and environment
The Calgary Herald	170	38	17	38
The Albertan	155	40	18	28
Banff Crag and Canyon	40	13	3	7
The Globe and Mail	37	11	5	10

Frequency of keywords in daily newspapers

Name of newspaper	Total number of Articles	Olympics and Economic	Olympics and environment
The Calgary Herald	170	419	269
The Albertan	155	325	224
Banff Crag and Canyon	40	85	34
The Globe and Mail	37	101	98