

Collaborate, Participate, and Skate:

A Case Study on the Planning Process of Calgary Skateboarding Amenities

by

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Abstract

Skateboarding is a global phenomenon that makes alternative use of the urban built form but is often met with opposition from the public and governing authorities. In Calgary, the skateboarding community has formed representative organizations that have collaborated with Council and Administration to address issues surrounding skateboarding. This research examines the process of the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary and how the perspective of the sport changed from a degenerative activity to a healthy lifestyle choice. The research methods include document analysis to comprehend the process of physical events that led Calgary to become a skateboard friendly city, and semi-structured interviews with professionals to provide intimate details cultivating the context of the process through lived experience. Collaborative planning and tactical urbanism provide the framework for the analysis. This research finds that the skateboarding community organizations and the City of Calgary have exercised a combination of collaborative planning and tactical urbanism to increase institutional capacity and positively change both the social and physical landscape of the city. The research concludes that communities need representation to effectively communicate with local government, formal and informal relationships between community and government strengthen process and results, and, once an objective has been identified, short-term action can provide a temporary solution during a period of planning for a long-term permanent solution.

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List of Acronyms

BOMA	Building Owners and Managers Association
BU	Business Unit
CA	Community Association
CASE	Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts
CC2S	Calgary Celebration 2000 Society
CDA	Calgary Downtown Association
CNS	Community and Neighbourhood Services
CPRIIP	Culture, Parks, and Recreation Infrastructure Investment Plan
CSAS	Calgary Skateboarding Amenities Strategy
DIY	Do-it-yourself
DP	Discussion Paper on Skateboard Amenities
FCS	Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders
LRT	Light Rail Transit
NIMBY	Not-in-my-backyard
NGO	Non-Governmental Association
SPC CPS	Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services
SPC TTP	Standing Policy Committee on Transportation, Transit, and Parking
SSR	Calgary Future Skateboarding Amenities Site Selection Report

Interview Participant Acronyms

Through this thesis, I refer to interview participants by their official title as they relate to the case Study. As some of these titles are quite long, I resort to using acronyms to identify the participants. Here is a list of the interview participant acronyms.

SSPD	Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development
RPS	Recreation Program Specialist
PRPS	Past Recreation Program Specialist
CR	Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts Representative
VDZR	van der Zalm + Associates Representative

NOTE:

At any point in the document when a word such as “City” or “Recreation” is capitalized, it refers to an official organization, such as The City of Calgary, or the City of Calgary Recreation business unit.

1.0 Introduction

Skateboarders are part of a long process in the history of cities, a fight by the unempowered and disenfranchised for a distinctive social space of their own.

Iain Borden, 2001, p.260

If the functions of a city make a rhythm, skateboarding is a polyrhythm. Skateboarding is a means of critiquing the norms of city functions that is “weak, yet ever defiantly aggressive” (Borden, 2001: 248). Born in conflict, skateboarding is a different and counter-intuitive way of using the city that was initially met with resistance from the general public and city officials. This dialectical relationship has shaped the growth of skateboarding and skateboard culture since the origins of the sport in the 1960s (Borden, 2001).

Two of the key concerns of skateboarding throughout history are property damage, and safety, with respect to practitioners themselves as well as nearby pedestrians. The initial response of many cities was to attempt to ban skateboarding entirely, as it has been viewed as a dangerous and disruptive activity by dominant societies (Borden, 2001). Despite these concerns, skateboarding enthusiasts countered these arguments through education on proper practice, safety equipment, etiquette, and worked to advance the idea that, while dangerous, skateboarding is not inherently life-threatening.

The current wave of anti-skateboarding legislation is based around skateboarding as a nuisance activity. Many authorities consider it to be a crime, resulting in skateboarders being treated similarly to the homeless (Borden, 2001). Since skateboarding does not usually create any tangible economic benefit, skateboarders are not welcome in public or private spaces. Skateboarders may face fines for skateboarding on sidewalks or after an imposed curfew, and in some cases, may even have their skateboards confiscated by authorities (Borden, 2001).

Infrastructure is even modified to discourage skateboarding, which ultimately makes everyday environments less convenient and less pleasant for everyone. Because skateboarding is viewed as a conflicting use of space, authorities reinforce negative discourse ultimately deeming skateboarders as “unruly and disorderly” (Németh, 2006: 315). This response is typical of cities around the world including major centres in Australia, Sweden, the United States, Canada, and more (Borden, 2001).

Despite the efforts of authorities to criminalize and eradicate skateboarding, the activity and culture has spread across the global. The issue of skateboarding stems from questions of ownership of space, normative use of space, and the response to appropriation and alternative use of space. Instead of engaging and working with the skateboarding community to create environments that accommodate everyone, authorities have tried to criminalize and eradicate the practice and culture. This response suggests that public space is intended only for the presence of certain groups, while unintended groups are denied access (Németh, 2006). Skateboarders in recent years have organized themselves and attempted to participate in the planning process to achieve what they want: a place to skateboard. Their efforts to collaborate with local authorities have been met with varying levels of success. Instead of the skateboarding community bringing their efforts to the planning boardroom, perhaps there is a way to engage the skateboarding community in terms that they better understand in an environment in which they are more comfortable.

1.1 Study Context: The Struggle for Skateboarding in Calgary

To set the context for this study, this section provides a brief history of skateboarding in Calgary. In 1976, the first skateboard shop in Canada was opened in Calgary and, by the early 1980s, Calgary had hosted two international skateboarding competitions and opened its first skatepark

but had to close it due to insurance costs (City of Calgary, 2011a). In the early 1980s backyard halfpipe ramps became a Calgary phenomenon that made headlines across the globe. In response, the City developed the first skateboard ramp bylaw in the country which prohibited the use of backyard ramps (City of Calgary, 2011a). Fast-forward to 1996 and the City has implemented the Calgary Traffic Bylaw, which made skateboarding illegal in the downtown core. This bylaw is still in effect today (City of Calgary, 2011a). Amendments to the Community Standards Bylaw were approved by Council on June 20, 2016, to allow for the development and use of backyard ramps (City of Calgary, 2016a).

Since the late 1970s, the private sector in Calgary has also tried numerous times to develop indoor skateparks with little lasting success. The parks all closed within a matter of four years. Unfortunately, the overhead cost of building and maintaining these parks prove time and again to be financially unfeasible (CASE, September 19, 2017). Momentum for the skateboarding community began to build when the city launched the first known mobile outdoor skatepark pilot program. In 1997, the City of Calgary engaged in deliberations with the Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA) at their request to discuss the issue of property damage on downtown buildings resulting from skateboarding. At the time, there was a non-profit group advocating for skateboarding in Calgary called the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders (FCS), who were also invited to participate in the discussions about what to do regarding skateboarding in downtown Calgary. A plan to develop a downtown skatepark and a temporary skatepark pilot project resulted from these discussions (City of Calgary. Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services, 1998). The pilot project evolved into the mobile skatepark program and involved the installment of temporary skateparks in community centre parking lots and outdoor hockey rinks across the city. The purpose of the program has

been to provide convenient short-term opportunities for skateboarders around the city to practice their sport locally. Data from the program has also been used in the site selection process for permanent outdoor skateparks. The success of the program demonstrates the unyielding desire for skateboarding in the city (City of Calgary, 2011a).

In the year 2000, Shaw Millennium Park was built on the west end of downtown; this included a “Youth Park” which was the decided location of the permanent skatepark from the initial BOMA, FCS, and City of Calgary discussions (see Appendix A, Map 2). At the time of its construction, it was the largest skateboard park in the world. A year later the City temporarily offered municipal land to the Westside Recreation Centre to build a second permanent outdoor skatepark. However, in preparation for the West Light Rail Transit (LRT) expansion and rapid bus transit hub, the Westside skatepark was demolished in 2009 and replaced with transit infrastructure (City of Calgary, 2011a). In 2013, with the construction of the West LRT transit line, Millennium skatepark land was infringed upon by the construction of light rail infrastructure. Pillars supporting an above-grade rail line now creep into the edges of the park.

The FCS disbanded in 2005, but a new organization, the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, was formed in 2008 to restart advocacy for skateboarding amenities. CASE approached the City of Calgary to develop a long-term skateboarding amenities plan, and through collaboration developed *The Calgary Skateboard Amenities Strategy* (CSAS). The six-section document details: the history of skateboarding in Calgary, the goals of the document, the need for greater skateboarding resources, the groundwork necessary to develop a network of skateboarding amenities across the city, and recommendations for funding and implementation (City of Calgary, 2011a).

Building on the guidance provided in the CSAS, a project team, including representatives from CASE, the City, and consultant, van der Zalm + Associates, determined the eight top ranked sites for new skateparks, highlighted community responses, and suggested recommendations for next steps in the 2014 *Calgary Future Skateboard Amenities Site Selection Report* (SSR). To further engage the community and reach out to as many potentially affected people as possible, the City of Calgary and CASE teamed up with the community associations where the potential sites were located. The engagement process involved open houses, online surveys and forums, social media interaction, newsletter coverage, design concept workshops, and an interactive web portal. Now six parks have been built, and two more are slated for development later in 2018. The eighth site, intended to be one of the first parks built, was met with intense opposition from the community association at a later stage of public engagement. As a result, the City has put the project on hiatus (CBC News: Calgary, 2015a). This allowed the project team to reconsider developing a park in other areas of the City that were still lacking skateboarding amenities.

The perspective on skateboarding in Calgary started as strongly negative, as evidenced by policies such as the 1980s bylaw that banned backyard ramps, and the 1990s bylaw “prohibiting skateboarding on streets, sidewalks and pathways” (Roe, 2016). Yet, since the late 1990s, great progress has been made to change these perceptions and develop inclusive environments for skateboarding. My thesis aims to understand the process of why and how these developments occurred.

1.2 Research Purpose and Questions

This research uses the case study of the Calgary process of skateboarding amenities development to explore a unique example of a collaborative planning process through which the skateboarding

community collaborated with the City to create positive change. I examine the relationships and collaborative measures between key stakeholders and the resulting impacts on skateboarding infrastructure development, user group activities, and municipal planning processes. The end goal is to identify key observations and lessons learned from this case that may be applied to other locations or planning processes.

To create a complete picture of the process of developing skatepark amenities, there are several objectives I address. I aim to identify the underlying political, social, and cultural context that led to the development of amenities. Second, I explore the mechanisms and process of collaborative planning in the case study. Third, I analyze the impacts of the planning process and the external factors that in turn impacted the process. Lastly, I conclude with lessons that can be learned from this case and provide applicable recommendations. The key questions that guide this research are:

1. What were the underlying political and social conditions that led to skateboarding amenities development in Calgary?
2. How have skateparks been developed to achieve the goals of the City of Calgary and the skateboarding community?
3. What policy (e.g.: by-law amendments), economic (e.g.: infrastructure investments), and social (e.g.: improved relations) impacts have the skateboarding amenities development process had on the skateboarding community in Calgary?
 - a. In turn, how has the skateboarding community impacted the development of skateboarding amenities (e.g.: changing or expanding the goals)?
4. What lessons can be learned from the Calgary process of skateboarding amenities development that may be applicable to other cities, communities, and initiatives?

1.3 Significance of the Study

As will be discussed in Chapter 2, there is a wide body of work on collaborative planning, a working foundation of tactical urbanism research, and a solid basis of academic writing on skateboarding in terms of planning. While these topics do cross over through the literature, there

is no distinct work that connects these ideas and explores their combined implications through a concrete case study. My research seeks to address this gap. It examines the process of collaborative planning and use of tactical urbanism between municipal and skateboarding advocacy organizations in a major Canadian city. Calgary's approach to the development of skateboarding amenities is positioned as a prime example of how relationship building and the use of temporary measures can lead to permanent change in the public realm of a city.

Navigating and enjoying the unique features of the urban fabric of a city is engrained in the skateboarding community, but they are rarely consulted on issues relating to public space. Thus, it will be key to understand how they were involved in this case and how their input affected the outcomes. The lessons learned from this research will be significant beyond the research community as there are potential real applications for other cities and communities.

1.4 Chapter Structure

To provide theoretical context to the case study and the core issues addressed through this thesis, Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework, including skateboarding and planning, tactical urbanism, and collaborative planning, that is later applied to the research conducted. Chapter 3 details the methods of data collection and analysis. The methods of collection include semi-structured interviews and archival research. I then coded and organized my data using a combination of manifest and latent content analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 present the research findings through a comprehensive history of contemporary skatepark development in Calgary, and the themes that surfaced through analysis. Chapter 6 distills the analysis from the preceding chapters by directly applying the theories to the research. Lastly, Chapter 7 summarizes the answers the guiding research questions, explains key discoveries and lessons learned, and a few

final thoughts. The appendices include supplementary information to the case study including tables, maps, and a sample interview schedule and consent form.

2.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Skateboarding has been a contentious issue for the better part of half a century. Despite the sport's growth to the level of global phenomenon, it has not been a major topic of scholarly study, particularly in regard to urban studies and planning. Through this section, I explore the existing literature on skateboarding, collaborative planning, and tactical urbanism and how these ideas collectively inform the analysis of the proposed case study. Section 2.1 provides a look at the existing literature on skateboarding and planning, which primarily focuses on issues of exclusion and right to the city. This literature also highlights a need for further research on how planners and city officials might collaborate with unique stakeholders such as skateboarders. Section 2.2 elaborates on how tactical urbanism champions the idea of short-term and temporary action at the level of the individual citizen can act as an instrument for inspiring long-term change. Section 2.3 focuses on the definition and origin of collaborative planning. The purpose and process of collaborative planning are highlighted, describing the response to modernist methods of planning and laying the groundwork for the stages of collaboration. The Section also introduces the idea of institutional capital as a practical means of understanding the ability for an organization, or group of organizations, to achieve goals by mobilizing relationships and knowledge. Collaborative planning itself is not without faults. Thus Section 2.4 also raises issues and details counter-arguments through discussion of power relations, and the limitations of boardroom planning exercises. I end the section by tying these ideas together as the lens through which I later analyze the case of the planning and development process of skateboarding amenities in Calgary.

2.1 Skateboarding and the City

The literature regarding planning and subcultures, skateboarding, in particular, is still largely unexplored; however, there are a few key authors who have examined the subject since the early 2000s (Borden, 2001; Németh, 2006; Carr, 2010; Lombard, 2010). Iain Borden has written the most comprehensive book on the issues in skateboarding and planning to date, *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body* (2001). To understand how to plan for skateboarding, it is important to first understand the subculture of skateboarding and how it fits into the overarching social context of the city.

Skaters have created a culture in which they try to think outside the traditional normative forms of work, clothing, and music while attempting to refuse the institutionalization of the culture. That is not to say that the culture is anarchistic, as there is certainly a common use of language, economic and social behaviour (Borden, 2001). Skateboard magazines have become an integral part of the culture, and often include a wide variety in content, from “video and music reviews, to reviews on local scenes, to cake recipes, cats, soy milk, manga Japanese graphics, ice cream and alien sightings” (Borden, 2001: 168-169). Borden argues the reason behind this is to create comfort, or “counter-culture stability” within the skateboarding community, and a sense of belonging stems from interests beyond the activity of skateboarding itself. As skateboarding is an individual activity that is often seen in direct competition with normative social behaviour, it is vital to the stability of the culture that participants can relate to one another and find a communal solace.

To find their place in the city skateboarders need to be “brutally assertive”, and it is this notion, an alternative culture being forced upon those who identify with the leading social norms, that creates the great divide between cultures (Borden, 2001: 171). A key part of skateboarding is the production of space, or the social appropriation of space, or, if you will, DIY placemaking.

Borden defines skateboarding as “a physical activity, undertaken against the materiality of the modern city” and thus when it is practiced as a “simultaneously spatial, socially lived and temporal practice” a critique of the city emerges (Borden, 2001: 171).

An issue regarding access and use of public space rises from the lack of substance pertaining to subcultures in the literature. Németh argues that there are a plethora of literature about the exclusivity of space regarding race, age, gender, and class, but subcultural groups have yet to attain the same level of recognition (2006). Normative economic and political structures have created regulatory frameworks that direct perceptions of security and order. Those that fall “outside the parameters of this order are seen to be transgressive and are thus made marginal through their rejection from public space” (Németh, 2006: 298). The general fear is that the presence of transgressive persons, such as the homeless and skateboarders, in a public space will negatively impact the sense of place (Borden, 2001; Németh, 2006; Carr, 2010; Lombard, 2010). When reduced to the essence of the issue, it is about power and control over space and the right to the city. In the case of skateboarders, the struggle is between those championing for normal use of public space and those for alternative use. Carr adds the point that the context of public space in relation to skateboarding also includes semi-private spaces that often blur the boundary between public and private space (2010). In dealing with bodies of authority, skateboarders often face confrontation with security guards on private property as they do with police on public property.

The battle over LOVE Park in Philadelphia is a well-documented example of the struggle between skateboarding and regulated authority. The park, built in the 1950s, was later seen as a Mecca for skateboarders, featuring a wide array of architectural elements perfect for performing skateboard tricks. In the early 2000s, city policymakers worked on a plan to redevelop the park,

while simultaneously implementing a strict municipal code that banned skateboarding from the park. To further enforce the new rule, 24-hour police presence was posted at the park and skateboarders faced fines of \$300 and possible imprisonment (Németh, 2006).

The issue brought about competing ideologies and opinions that divided City Council and became a major debate topic in the 2003 Philadelphia mayoral election. In 2004, three local advocacy groups (Young Involved Philadelphia, the Independence Hall Association, and the Skateboard Advocacy Network) formed the non-profit Coalition to Free LOVE Park. The Coalition consulted numerous community and stakeholder groups and devised a balanced solution to accommodate both skateboarders and pedestrians in the space. The resulting comprehensive plan made it to City Council on two separate occasions and was defeated both times (Németh, 2006: 301-202).

In other US cities, namely Portland and Seattle, there are more progressive examples of governments addressing the issues of skateboarding and public space. In Portland, skateboarders appropriated a derelict space underneath Burnside Bridge and began building their own DIY skatepark without any sort of approval from City officials. Their persistent presence forced others who frequented the space, primarily drug dealers and the homeless, to move out of the area. While the City was displeased with the unauthorized construction, it was widely accepted that their actions had actively and peacefully changed the sense of place for the better. The City allowed the skatepark to remain, with the understanding that the skateboarding community would remain the stewards of the unconventional facility. Since its construction, Burnside park has “served as a model for claiming and rehabilitating otherwise unused governmental property for user-designed-and-built guerrilla skateparks” leading to the development of similar projects in Seattle, Los Angeles, and a variety of international cities (Carr, 2010: 996-997).

In the spirit of reclaiming space and recognizing opportunity to work with official and authoritative bodies, the skateboarding community in Seattle “pursued a mix of traditional formal political activism, partnerships with NGOs, and even grassroots expropriation of the industrial landscape to reclaim a portion of the city” (Carr, 2010: 996). These efforts are undertaken by the entire community; older skaters help in leadership and organization roles, and younger skaters through volunteering and voicing their opinions through public forums. More media-savvy activists have engaged news networks and other media platforms to bring skateboarding to the City’s attention, and have put skateparks on the Council agenda. In response to the skateboarding community’s unyielding efforts the Seattle Parks Department “created a standing ‘Skatepark Advisory Committee’ to inform skatepark use, siting, and design policies” (Carr, 2010: 999).

Through these few examples it is evident that, while certain prejudice against skateboarders may still exist, there are municipalities that recognize and respect the activity and surrounding culture. Collaborative efforts are being made by both parties to create spaces that accommodate the alternative uses of space practiced by the skateboarding community. The gap in literature exists in relation to location and planning process. Most of the literature is centred on the United States and the United Kingdom and focuses primarily on the issue of the right to the city. While there is a base of work addressing collaboration between the skateboard community and government, my research will closely examine collaborative planning processes and policies in a Canadian context. Planning can be a collaborative exercise between stakeholder groups that can lead to mutually satisfactory results, but first, all parties must understand not only the issue at hand but the process by which it will be resolved.

The process of daily use of public space is another type of process that must be considered. Citizens of any city understand certain processes in public space to be commonplace and conduct themselves accordingly. If skateboarding is seen as a dangerous or disruptive activity that the general public is occasionally faced with, it is understandable that initial reactions may be negative, projecting distrust and disdain for the activity, culture, and practitioners.

Through skateboarding, participants find alternative ways of using physical infrastructure for unintended purposes to temporarily transform the space from one of practical function to one of recreation. For example, a stair-set with a handrail out front of a building transforms from a functional and safe way for people to move from the street level to inside the building, to a temporary playground for skateboarders who may perform tricks down the stairs that involve jumping, board flipping, rail grinding, and other innovative ways of using the space. Another body of literature delves into the temporary transformation of space with the purpose of creating change. While skateboarding itself may not aim to create change, in this case, the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts is looking to create change to produce more sanctioned spaces for skateboarders to practice their sport. Not all decision-making processes are formal, and in some cases, they may even be unsanctioned. Tactical urbanism is a theory and practice that focuses on informal processes and actions and strengthens the connection between the literature on skateboarding and planning, and collaborative planning.

2.2 Tactical Urbanism

Tactical urbanism offers an “approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies” (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 2). It is a tool that can be used by citizens, organizations, and governments alike to create short-term action for

long-term change. This tool was born from a growing frustration with the planning process and a lack of action resulting from consultation and planning exercises (Lydon and Garcia, 2015).

Tactical Urbanism aims to address community desires through quick, informal interventions and pilot projects in urban spaces (Davidson, 2013). Though the concept is relatively new, it has gained a momentous presence in popular culture and implementation in more politically liberal cities.

Also known as “Do-It-Yourself (DIY), guerrilla, pop-up urbanism and city repair”, tactical urbanism “is a play on the physical and political landscape, manifested as a design intervention” (Davidson, 2013: 5, 9). While these interventions are not meant to be permanent, the goal is to force locally interested citizens, organizations, and governments to think about a particular space and the different uses that could take place with alterations to form, function, and policy. This is what Lydon and Garcia refer to as “breaking through the gridlock” of “Big Planning” (2015: 3).

While planning takes place on a variety of scales from regional to site-specific, tactical urbanism focuses on the latter. A few well-documented examples exist that have spread in popularity and presence across a variety of cities and countries. PARK-ing Day is a prime example of a short-term change intended to provoke thought and discussion about space. Through this day-long annual event, street parking spots are converted into temporary parklets and other micro pedestrian-oriented public spaces. What started as the exploitation of a loophole in a parking regulation, paying a parking meter for the day and filling the parking space with pedestrian infrastructure instead of a vehicle, led to an official parklet program supported by the City of San Francisco (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 134-136). Through Chapters 4 and 5, I discuss the mobile skatepark program, which, like PARK-ing day, temporary changes the use of parking

amenities. In offering the program, the City of Calgary visibly supports unintended uses of public space by various means including adjusting policies and writing new plans.

Planning efforts lead to the development and implementation of strategies. While these strategies are effective in some cases, “entrenched interests remain recalcitrant, outdated policy barriers stymie progress, and leadership voids leave well-considered plans, and their strategies, on the shelf” (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 9). Tactical urbanism can be used as a tool to bridge the gap between idea and implementation, and offers a low risk means to test a pilot project temporarily and gauge civic reaction before committing to a permanent program or infrastructure. The issue tactical urbanism faces is “whether citizens, developers, and civic leaders can effectively collaborate to make permanent change” in a manner that respects and is informed by a “broad cross-section of community desires” (Saitta, 2013). Tactical urbanism offers a new means through which citizens can engage with their cities and participate in the planning process. In accordance with the theories of collaborative planning, stakeholders can relocate their involvement from the boardroom to the physical environments of their planning efforts.

It is important to note that the case study of the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary, in particular, the mobile skatepark program, is not a classic example of tactical urbanism, in that it was not an initiative led by citizen advocacy but instead initiated through collaboration between the City of Calgary and a non-profit society. That said, the notion that temporary interventions can create permanent change and relationships between involved parties are key in analyzing this case study. Both tactical urbanism and collaborative planning touch on the relationships between actors of different capacities and agendas, and informal and formal processes. While tactical urbanism focuses on the physical attributes of public space,

collaborative planning details the arenas, relationships, and processes necessary for collaborative decision-making.

2.3 Collaborative Planning

In a democratic society, citizens should have more power in decision-making than simply voting for candidates to represent their neighbourhood, city, province, or country. Collaborative planning presents ideas on how democratic decision-making can be more inclusive to the community at large. As identified by various authors (Healey, 1997, 2007; Allmendinger, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2010), there are three key philosophies that have shaped collaborative planning. These ideas stem from Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens and have been refined through increased consideration of the work of Michel Foucault. Collaborative planning theorists (Healey, 1997; Forester, 1999; Harris, 2002; Allmendinger, 2002, 2009) recognize that Habermas identified three types of rationalities at work in society based on science, morality, and art. Habermasian thought argues that modernist planning practice, the dominant ideology through the mid 20th century, was based on scientific rationalities, or instrumental rationality. The Habermasian notion of communicative rationality focuses on rebalancing societal and decision-making processes by attaining objective agreement through “free and open discourse” (Allmendinger, 2009: 200). As opposed to advocates of post-modern thought who, as Allmendinger notes (2009), wished to abandon the modernist way and start fresh, Habermas wanted to build on modernism, arguing that while each scenario may be unique, there is still a common set of rules that may apply.

As Healey (2007) notes, Giddens introduces the institutionalist school and the notion of inter-related co-existence through connecting social networks. His work focuses on the relationships between structures and agents in various scales (individual case, encompassing

process, and overall culture), as well as in a variety of arenas (resources, authority, systems of meaning) (Healey, 2007). Giddens lays the groundwork for beginning to understand the applications of communicative rationality while addressing the power relation limitations mentioned in Foucauldian literature. Collaborative planning expands on these influences and the connections between them, but before addressing the limitations and applications of the theory, it is important to understand the theoretical definition.

2.3.1 Defining Collaborative Planning

First appearing in the work of Patsy Healey, collaborative planning is a well-documented theory detailed by several key authors (Healey, 1997, 1998; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Innes and Booher, 2010, 2016). This theory, as described by Healey (1997), is a multifaceted process involving a physical governmental policy component, and an experiential component based on consensus building and mutual learning. Critiques of contemporary planning systems state that planning has overly rigid rules and is subject to private influence. Other common conceptions suggest that government activities are “ill-informed, oppressive, inefficient, unaccountable, insensitive to diversity” (Healey, 1997: 200). Collaborative planning offers a new approach to address these issues, reinventing the overarching planning system deemed an outdated institution from the modernist era.

Collaborative planning stems from a desire to create a more balanced approach to planning by emphasizing decision making based on social and cultural reason as well as more scientifically validated rational reason. Through interaction and debate, priorities and strategies of implementation for collaborative action can be realized. By invoking open public discussions involving a wide diversity of people, we can move towards a more collaborative means of planning (Healey, 1997).

Collaborative planning is grounded in communicative rationality and communicative action. Communicative action is at the core of communicative rationality. These actions are actions based on “discussion and the socialization of members of the community” (Allmendinger, 2009: 203). Communicative rationality then, is the extension of these actions and how they are reflected in procedural contexts related to the agents, or members of the community.

2.3.2 Purpose and Process of Collaborative Planning

Collaborative planning developed as a progression from the “command and control” and “urban managerial” forms of modernist planning to a more democratic form of planning (Healey, 1998: 1533), or in Habermasian terms, a shift from instrumental rationality to communicative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2010). This theory recognizes that government alone cannot provide all the necessities of contemporary society and must rely on private, non-profit, and community organizations to fill the gaps in services. As provision of services shifts, urban governance policies regarding power and responsibility also shift (Healey, 1998: 1533).

Partnerships and collaboration between the different organizations have become a more common means of completing development and redevelopment projects. However, issues often arise as the primary objectives of each organization, private, public, or otherwise, do not align. For instance, a public agency may have the primary interest in creating a better community, whereas a private agent may be primarily interested in maximizing profits. By viewing any particular issue from different angles, it becomes clear that each agent has a different idea of what is reasonable and what course of action should be taken.

Building on the collaborative planning adaptation of Habermas’ work, Innes and Booher (2016) define the process of collaborative planning through ideal communicative rationality.

While no realized process is perfect, the closer a process is to the ideal the more apparent the benefits of collaboration become. To achieve collaboration, a wide variety of points of view must be considered, including those that may be outliers pushing inconvenient opposition. The focus of the process should be based on a problem of shared interest, thus providing an incentive for stakeholders to work together to arrive at the best course of action. The early stages of participation should be focused on building a shared understanding of the situation before any positioned discussion incurs. An unbiased moderator is required to ensure no one person or group dominates discussions and to maintain “focus, civility, mutual comprehension, legitimacy of participants’ claims, and testing of evidence” (Innes and Booher, 2016: 9). Without effective management, it is difficult to achieve conclusions and agreement or define the next steps required. Professional and community-based knowledge are both required to settle discrepancies and achieve shared confidence in the information. All ideas should be explored as it is possible that unconventional approaches will lead to agreement and action. The process should exhaust all issues and address all potential actions before any decisions are made. Simple majority rule is inappropriate, as it leaves many people dissatisfied with the decisions made to move forward, but it is recognized that a unanimous decision is highly unlikely. Innes and Booher suggest the aim of the collaborative planning process should be to achieve 80% consensus (2016).

Clear communication between parties is a necessity in collaborative planning. Allmendinger (2009), and Innes and Booher (1999; 2010), draw on Dryzek’s theory of discursive democracy (1990), which provides six conditions for rational communication necessary to reach consensus. These conditions are: interactions free from (1) domination (exercise of power), (2) strategizing by actors involved, and (3) deception (external or internal); (4) all agents are equal and capable of deliberating arguments; (5) no participatory restrictions;

(6) The only authority is the strength of good arguments. Understandably, these conditions are ideal and are commonly criticized as being unattainable and too abstract. It is difficult to understand how communicative rationality might work without comprehensive cases. Healey (1998) provides that context by applying communicative rationality to the realm of planning.

In developing place-based initiatives, policy should focus on a strong integration between economic, social, and environmental perspectives. Moving beyond collaboration on individual projects, collaborative planning aims to inspire regular cooperation between public, private, non-profit, and other community organizations to develop and strengthen an ongoing synergistic partnership. By developing a broader base of stakeholders, more in-depth knowledge about particular issues may be unveiled, and actions can be coordinated more effectively. While it may be easy to collect and evaluate quantitative data regarding economic and environmental factors and potential impacts, it is difficult to evaluate social factors and impacts through the same methods. Thus, a key reason for involving a wide array of stakeholders is to achieve a more intimate understanding of local knowledge only possible through lived, local experience. In order to develop a framework in which effective, respectful, and trustworthy communication can occur a “rich social infrastructure of positive relationships between governance, citizens, and companies” needs to be present (Healey, 1998: 1540-1541).

Such a network for sharing knowledge becomes denser with relationships and partnerships between different stakeholder groups. The level at which stakeholder trust, mobility, and understanding exists is often referred to as “institutional capacity”, and the more institutional capacity a place has, the more rapidly forms of collaborative planning can develop (Healey, 1998: 1541). Both Healey and Innes and Booher write about the process, though Healey uses the term institutional capacity, whereas Innes and Booher discuss the process in terms of consensus

building. Innes and Booher (1999) define three intangible products of building consensus: social capital, intellectual capital, and political capital. Healey et al (1999; 2002; 2003) use the same ideas to define institutional capacity, but use different terms: relational resources, knowledge resources, and mobilization capacity. Social capacity, or relational resources, is building trust and social understanding through of a range of relationships that comprise social networks. Institutional capacity, or knowledge resources, the capacity of openness and the ability to learn new ideas through a range of experiential and data-driven knowledge that influences a frame of reference surrounding issues. Lastly, political capital, or mobilization capacity, is the ability to make decisions and proceed to actions based on relationships and knowledge (Innes and Booher, 1999; Healey et al., 2003). In creating the conditions for mobilization, different arenas for deliberation are formed and used, and repertoires of mobilization methods are developed by stakeholders. The process needs change agents, or champions, to carry initial concepts and decisions through to implementations and actions (Healey et al., 2003).

Single-loop learning, an idea Innes and Booher (1999) adapted from Argyris and Schon (1974), is a key element in building consensus and institutional capacity. The concept is characterized by mutual learning and change can lead a group to new problem-solving methods. The extended double-loop learning occurs when groups working together possess conflicting opinions and reassess the situation and change directions. Participating groups can find ways to reach decisions that reflect the needs of all parties without adversely affecting any one group (Innes and Booher, 1999). The effects of this process and mutual learning between groups can lead to a shared view of the issue, fostering an arena for collaboration. Innes and Booher (1999) describe such outcomes of a project through orders of effects. First-order effects include the expansion of institutional capacity and the development of high-quality agreements and

innovative strategies. Second-order effects are longer term impacts including the development of ongoing partnerships, implementation of strategies, and changes in practices and perceptions. Healey notes five key concepts that can be adapted to achieve first and second-order effects: “(1) integrative place making; (2) collaboration in policymaking; (3) inclusive stakeholder involvement; (4) use of 'local' knowledge; and (5) building 'relational' resources” (1998: 1536). Though these concepts are useful in planning for collaboration, they also represent an unattainable ideal, an issue that has become a resounding theoretical critique of collaborative planning.

2.3.3 Critiques and Limitations of Collaborative Planning

Allmendinger, drawing on Dryzek (1990), questions the feasibility of achieving true consensus in decision-making, and suggests that agreement on *what* should be done may be attainable, even though parties may disagree as to *why* (2009: 207). Many of the critiques of collaborative planning have their origins in competing perspectives on collaboration and competition (see: Flyvbjerg, 1998); these debates point to an ongoing concern with questions of power relations. Flyvbjerg argues that a power struggle is necessary to empower society, whereas a process in which everyone submits to the same rationality would severely limit societal growth and progress. There is no universal solution in any social science, including planning. Thus everything must be based on context. As no two bodies of authority operate the same way, it is important for citizens to exercise their “political task” and use the functions of democratic society to critique the operations of governments and institutions (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 223).

Patsy Healey recognizes the critique that communicative and collaborative planning aims to “neutralize” power instead of embracing the struggle between governing and non-governing agents (2003). However, she dismisses the argument as an unhelpful dualistic opposition

between rationality and power (2003). That said, power relations are always in a state of dialectic flux between agents struggling for dominance. Through partnerships a state of consensus is sought; however, consensus is regarded as a “fragile, incomplete and contestable outcome, which may or may not have enduring effects in structuring subsequent relations” (Healey, 2003: 114).

Huxley and Yiftachel (2000) build further on the issues of under-representation of power dynamics in collaborative planning and delve into the supposed shift in the planning paradigm to a collaborative norm. The authors present two key propositions questioning the theory. First, modernist planning theory proposes a set of universal guidelines, and in response, collaborative planning attempts to break away from the inefficiencies of this model caused by universality. But in doing so, collaborative planning has adopted its own air of universality through new overarching principles. As Flyvberg (1998) mentioned, context is extremely important in planning as each locale will likely have an individual set of guiding laws and policies that influence local social and cultural practices. Second, Huxley and Yiftachel argue that the majority of the body of literature surrounding collaborative planning is the UK and USA centric, and this literature may be, for example, “distinct from South America or Canada” (2000: 104). The issue with applying planning theory to actual practice and process is lack of “analysis directed at understanding opportunities for change that link specific sites and practices to wider relations of power” (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000: 105).

Planning is, in part, the system of developing the spatial policies that govern use and development of space and social processes. Thus, regarding the importance of context, it stands to reason that a collaborative planning process should adapt and adhere to the specific context in which it is being used. The collaborative process detailed by Innes and Booher is broad enough that it could be exercised in a variety of manners. However, in practice, stakeholder groups are

often engaged through formal open houses, focus groups, and other boardroom style meetings (See, for example: Kellogg, 2009; Deyle and Wiedenman, 2014; Gunton, Peter and Day, 2007).

The issue with limited engagement methods stems from a lack of participation from certain stakeholder groups and a potential lack of understanding between stakeholder groups. This leads to an inability to create consensus between polarized positions (Gunton, Peter and Day, 2007).

In addressing these limitations of collaborative planning, my thesis shall explore the possibilities of an approach to collaborative planning in which a niche community, lacking resources, approaches a governing authority to work together through the activities and processes familiar to both the community and the authority. There are several key concepts presented in the collaborative planning literature that are applicable to this case study. In Chapter 6, I look at the practical applications of communicative rationality, and how the case finds a balance with instrumental rationality. The chapter will also discuss the simultaneous and intertwined formal and substantive processes that have led to solutions that work for both the skateboarding community and the City of Calgary. Lastly, drawing on the work of Innes and Booher (2010, 2016) I analyze how decision-making and policy processes in the case adhere to and stray from the ideas of collaborative discourse and decision-making.

2.4 Chapter Summary

I have chosen to use collaborative planning as the key theory to analyze this case study because both the nature of planning and skateboarding are changing in a similar way: they are both becoming more inclusive. Instead of working against authorities to practice their sport, the skateboarding community is more willing to work with authorities to collaboratively seek solutions. Likewise, governing bodies are becoming more sensitive to the needs and requests of niche communities and are willing to work with them in more collaborative arenas. Collaborative

planning and tactical urbanism work together as symbiotic theories in that together they address a wide variety of processes that exist for niche communities to engage with governing bodies to attempt to achieve specific goals and objectives. Skateboarding has many similarities with tactical urbanism, in that, for decades the activity has been used as an alternative, temporary use of public space and critiques the dominant social norms associated with those spaces. The skateboarding community in some cases has attempted to work with governing officials through established processes of planning to achieve what they want, being places to skateboard, with varying levels of success.

3.0 Research Methods

My research questions if cities can use the principles of tactical urbanism and collaborative planning as tools to work with underrepresented stakeholder groups. Could these principles, in tandem, form a unique engagement and consensus building process based on activities and processes familiar to the stakeholder groups? To explore this idea and answer my guiding research question, I have created a system using a variety of research methods. Mason (2002) suggests that making a chart linking research questions to methods can aid in determining which methods apply to which questions. The chart can act as a reference point to double check my thought process. For me, this has helped to determine what type of documents to look for and what questions to ask the interviewees to answer each research question. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the justification for each research method used. The overall strategy I use for my research is a case study. This makes sense as the content I am studying is an all-encompassing, holistic single example of a series of processes. To collect my data, I rely on two key methods, archival research and document retrieval, and semi-structured interviews. By approaching the case through multiple methods, I have attained both a historical account of events, and the social and emotional contexts that surround them. Lastly, I thoroughly analyzed and refined the data through a process of coding and comparing codes to form a comprehensive narrative of how Calgary handled the skateboarding situations that the city faced.

Table 3.1 – Research Questions and Methods Justification Chart

Research Question	Data Sources Methods	Justification
1. What were the underlying political and social conditions that led to skateboarding amenities development in Calgary?	Archival research: City of Calgary documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was unable to secure an interview with a representative familiar with the early timeframe of the project. • City documents from the late 1990s provide a historical account of the conditions preceding skateboarding amenities development.
2. How have skateparks been developed to achieve the goals of the City of Calgary and the skateboarding community?	Semi-structured interviews supported by archival research: All interviewees, City of Calgary documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewees from the City of Calgary and CASE have provided invaluable insight on how skateboarding amenities have developed in addressing the initial goals. • City of Calgary documents back up information provided by interviewees.
3. What policy, economic, and social impacts have the skateboarding amenities development process had on the skateboarding community in Calgary? a. In turn, how has the skateboarding community impacted the development of skateboarding amenities?	Archival research and semi-structured interviews: City of Calgary documents, CASE website articles, newspaper articles Semi-structured interviews supported by archival research: All Interviewees, but primarily the CASE representative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewees span the later timeframe of the project from the mid-2000s to 2017 and have different relations to the project: City Administration, Advocacy Group, Consultant. They provide a variety of insights on changes over the timeframe of the project. • These insights are backed up by resources obtained through archival research.
4. What lessons can be learned from the Calgary process of skateboarding amenities development that may be applicable to other cities, communities, and initiatives?	Semi-structured interviews supported by archival research: All interviewees, but primarily van der Zalm representative, and documents from other jurisdictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The representative from van der Zalm has since worked on other skateboarding amenities projects in other jurisdictions. • Documents from these other jurisdictions backup the information provided by van der Zalm.

3.1 Case Study Research

In this study, I employ the case study as the overarching research strategy for my thesis. A case study is a detailed observation of a “contemporary phenomenon in its real-world context” (Yin, 2014: 78). The “case” can be an individual or set of decisions, organizations, processes, programs, or other phenomena. Case studies are ideal for answering “why” and “how” questions pertaining to a certain phenomenon in a social context (Mason, 2002; Gray, 2004; Yin, 2014). As detailed by Yin, there are three key types of case study: descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory. My research uses an exploratory approach, as the aim of the study is to understand the progression of skateboarding in Calgary from the creation and implementation of the mobile skatepark program and initial permanent skatepark infrastructure through to the development of a full array of skateboarding amenities, which has yet to be studied within an academic arena. To wholly understand the phenomenon, I will explore the decisions, processes, and organizations involved in developing the temporary and permanent skateboarding infrastructure.

My research is presented in a single case study. Yin (2014) identifies five rationales for single cases in the event that a case is: critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal. My research falls under the unusual category as I have failed to find any existing projects similar to the Mobile Skatepark program and skateboarding infrastructure development process used in Calgary; there is no existing academic research on this program and process. What makes the program unique is how the City of Calgary has used of temporary interventions and programming of public space as tools to plan collaboratively with the skateboarding community and to make evidence-based decisions. Through the following analysis, I challenge existing claims that the skateboarding community is not productively engaged in the planning process through inspection and reflection of the Calgary mobile skatepark program and permanent skatepark development process. I explore the programming and development processes and

analyze the findings to determine if and how collaborative planning, temporary interventions, and public space programming are key factors, or if “some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant” (Yin, 2014: 51).

As with the design of any social science research project, validity and reliability of the study must stand up to the tests of “trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability, and dependability” (Yin, 2014: 45). I considered construct validity in this exploratory research project by developing a clear set of metrics by which I collected and analyzed information about the mobile skatepark program and skatepark development process. The process of developing these metrics developed both top down and bottom up. Initially, I sought out materials informed by my research questions, but through investigating the initial materials collected, I was able to gather additional related resources. These initial relations between texts along with my research questions helped form my initial codes for analysis. Without appropriate metrics to direct my study, it would have been difficult to determine how collaborative planning, temporary interventions, and programming public space relate to the provision of skateboarding amenities in Calgary.

An internal validity issue that I have considered rises from making inferences (Yin, 2014). As it is impossible for me, the researcher, to witness the process of the developing and implementing of the skateboarding amenities myself, I must rely on documents and interviews to cover all my bases. I address these issues through the data analysis process detailed below. External validity, or the generalizability of the study, is typically grounded in selecting a case with identifiable variables that may be relatable to other such cases (Gray, 2004). To achieve external validity, I have ensured that the study remains focused on answering the “how” and “why” research questions. While the case may be specific, the manner in which it is studied or

analyzed can be generalized (Yin, 2014). The reliability of the study lies in the design and documentation of the process. To achieve reliability, I have operationalized the procedure into detailed steps to clearly illustrate the process from proposal to final draft thesis (Yin, 2014).

3.2 Data Collection

This project aims to tell the modern history of skateboarding amenities provision in Calgary and, as it is a case study, it is important to understand the greater context of the case from a holistic perspective (Mason, 2002; Gray, 2004). Thus, I have collected data through two key methods. Through archival research and document retrieval, I have gathered recorded information which primarily aids in understanding the physical process of how the City of Calgary worked with community associations, and CASE to provide skateboarding amenities. The semi-structured interviews with key informants provide details about the process, context that may not be physically recorded and supporting evidence for how and why decisions were made. Before looking at the analysis of the data, it is important to first understand how it was collected.

3.2.1 Archival Research and Document Retrieval

A document is defined as a thing which we can read and understand in regard to one or more aspects of the social world (Farthing, 2016). My research includes documents created throughout the research process, such as transcripts from interviews, and pre-existing documents such as City of Calgary plans, policies, meeting agendas and minutes.

Though the majority of pre-existing documents I analyzed are text-based, I make use of supplementary document types such as maps and images. Maps, in particular, were important for understanding the context of the physical amenities, skateparks, within the city. As Farthing states, the most common and easily accessible documents are newspaper and magazine articles (2016). I reference a few newspaper articles, but the most important information about the

skateboarding community came from articles posted on the CASE website. Newspaper articles share pieces of the story from the perspective of a news outlet intended for the general public, but the perspectives shared on the CASE website come directly from the organization formed to represent a specific public: the skateboarding community.

The government-related literature I used includes studies, plans, policies, bylaws, Council agendas and minutes, and public engagement materials and summary reports. The process of collecting documents has been one of selective inclusion and exclusion of materials based on what I have deemed relevant to the project.

I focus on understanding how the *Calgary Skateboard Amenities Strategy* (CSAS) and the *Calgary Future Skateboard Amenities Site Selection Report* (SSR) were developed and how they have informed and directed recent implementation of skateboarding amenities in Calgary. Farthing (2016) identifies that researching documents may be done for practical reasons, in that understanding documents created at a certain period of time in a particular place can lead to a greater comprehension of the social state of that place. Looking at documents prior to the genesis of City of Calgary planned skateboarding amenities, and at different points throughout the process, helped me gain insight to the state of skateboarding in Calgary and how it has changed over the study period.

The use of the mobile skateparks and the public engagement surrounding the development of permanent skateparks is well documented, and I used secondary analysis to examine these sets of data. Secondary analysis is defined as the analysis of data collected by another researcher or organization (Farthing, 2016). Using secondary analysis in addition to archival research strengthens the internal validity of the research, as I triangulate relationships between the experimental evidence, being the data collected by the City of Calgary and their

partners, and the decisions made in the resulting documents. To deepen my understanding of the relationships within the City, and between the City and advocates, community associations, and consultants and contractors, I employed semi-structured interviews.

3.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

My research benefits from gaining personal insights from the people who have been involved in the transformation of the skateboarding scene in Calgary. All interview participants have been involved in the development of CSAS and SSR, or have used it in their work. The views of representatives from the City of Calgary Recreation and Engage departments, CASE, and van der Zalm + Associates (consultant) are invaluable components for understanding how skateboarding in Calgary has evolved.

To understand the perspectives and nuanced information I interviewed people with a spectrum of perspectives and knowledge about the modern history of skateboarding in Calgary. In attempting to achieve data saturation while recognizing the scope of my project, I conducted five interviews; three from the City of Calgary, one from CASE, and one from van der Zalm + Associates. I would have liked to have conducted further interviews, but in the interest of completing my thesis in a reasonable timeframe, I needed to move on. The history includes the physical and recorded process of decision making, developing plans, and constructing infrastructure and programming, but there are also the relationships that were key throughout the entire process. To explore these relationships, I contacted representatives from these groups.

While Mason acknowledges that interviews have become standard practice in qualitative research, she warns that it is a tough practice that requires: “heavy consumption of skills, time and effort, both in planning and conducting of interviews themselves and the analysis of [their] products” (2002: 82). She was right. Not only was the transcribing and coding of interviews

difficult, but simply acquiring them proved to be a difficult task. The names of people involved in the process for developing CSAS are included in the document, but their contact information is not. I had the general contact information for CASE as an organization, but decided to start my interview process with the City of Calgary. Having no contact information for the City, I called the general 311 Citizen Services phone number and explained my project to a 311 operator. She took in my information and forwarded it to the department she thought most appropriate to respond to my request. In the following days, I received a call from the Superintendent of Sport and Recreation. Upon our initial conversation, it became apparent that she was well connected to other individuals that would prove to have valuable insights for my project. She agreed to forward my project background information sheet and start the process of connecting with other interviewees from other City departments, as well as a CASE representative that she knows. I followed a strict protocol to ensure my research process was ethical and adhered to university research requirements. The Appendices include the information sheet, consent form, and sample interview schedule that were provided to all potential interview participants.

As CASE has been the key voice of the skateboarding community through the process, it was imperative that I interviewed a representative from this group. The board member that I interviewed is not only a representative of the organization, but an active skateboarder himself and is heavily vested in the skateboarding community. Thus, I feel it is appropriate to use his interview to help inform the perspective of the skateboarding community itself, where appropriate, as well as the perspective of CASE.

Lastly, the CASE representative put me in contact with a representative from van der Zalm + Associates, the consulting firm that facilitated the CSAS and SSR; it should be noted that in the process of procuring interviews, all participants were presented with free and prior

information before consenting to participate. While I had not initially intended on interviewing a representative from the consulting firm, it became apparent, as I completed more interviews, that the semi-removed view from the Vancouver-based consulting firm was an important component for viewing the project holistically. In addition, the consultant identified external projects and context that lead to the creation of the CSAS and SSR, and projects developed more recently that have been, in part, influenced by these plans. If I had not built rapport with the CASE representative, I might not have had this interview. Even through conducting the research for this project it was clear how important building and maintaining relationships have been for the provision of skateboarding amenities in Calgary. These relationships are detailed further in Chapter 5.

Probing further into unwritten contexts and details, such as the example mentioned above, has aided in understanding the social influences on policy development and decision-making. As noted by Gray (2004), this sort of information is best told in a manner most comfortable to each individual interviewee. The same core questions about policy, process, and perception of skateboarding were asked of each interviewee, but the openness to expand or go ‘off-script’ to dig deeper into the issues was required to attain the desired information. The semi-structured interview was my preferred method, as some questions became irrelevant through the progression each interview. The openness of the semi-structured interview allowed the discussion to flow between being interviewer-lead to interviewee-lead which resulted in richer information (Gray, 2004). I employed a range of questioning techniques, including reserving assumptions, avoiding jargon, avoiding unnecessary sensitive details, and probing on vague statements (Gray, 2004).

In terms of the physical construct of the interviews, the interviews ranged from approximately 45 minutes to 80 minutes. I let the interviews run their natural course, and did not cut any interview short in the interest of time. As for recording equipment, I recorded four of the five interviews in person using the microphone and audio program, GarageBand, on my laptop. The remaining interview was conducted over Skype using the same equipment. I travelled to Calgary several times during summer and autumn of 2017 and recorded one or two interviews each trip. Transcribing interviews was a time-consuming activity; thus, I began transcribing interviews while others still needed to be conducted. The practice of reviewing the interviews also helped me improve my skills as an interviewer, and improved my ability to conduct the remaining semi-structured interviews in an increasingly effective manner. As new information was revealed through the initial interviews, I was able to adjust my questions for the following interviews to attain data I did not initially realize may be pertinent to the project.

3.3 Data Analysis

As noted by Gray (2004:320), “unlike more quantitative data, qualitative data are rarely accessible for immediate analysis, but require a processing stage” that requires transcribing, editing notes, and coding. My process of analyzing the collected data involved a few key steps. First, I transcribed, coded, and annotated the interviews. Next, I categorized text from pre-existing documents (Council agendas and minutes, plans, and newspaper articles) to match the codes created for the interviews. Lastly, I went through a process of distilling the coded texts and comparing the summaries to the theories detailed in my literature review and my guiding research questions to uncover patterns and relations. This process involved several iterations involving Microsoft OneNote and mind maps drawn on paper to arrive at conclusive discoveries, lessons learned, answers to research questions, and recommendations.

3.3.1 Document Analysis

To properly analyze the collected data, the transcribed interviews and documents gathered through archival research, the information must be systematically condensed to make it comparable (Berg, 2001). To accomplish this task, I considered the data as both manifest and latent content through the analysis. Manifest refers to the literal, or surface level, reading of the content. This allows for the development of a base understanding of facts presented through objective measures. Latent refers to the deep and interpreted understanding of the content. This level of analysis draws out themes and symbols from facts (Berg, 2001). Mason (2002) breaks down the latent reading of text even further into interpretive and reflexive categories. An interpretive reading of text looks “beyond the data” (Mason, 2002:149), and enquires about the subjectivity of the data. For instance, how does the interviewee relate to the data? How do different pieces of the data relate in a greater context? To view text reflexively is to recognize yourself in the process of analysis, asking questions such as: how does my personal view and understanding, as the researcher, impact the outcome of the analysis?

Regarding text and context, Dean Forbes states that “there will be more than one valid reading” (2000:126). What he means is that for each symbol, or icon, there can be multiple iconographies. Through this thesis, I have analyzed a number of official documents. Thus it is important to acknowledge the ways in which they have been applied in real-world instances and the ways in which they could alternatively be determined. Both forms of content analysis create structures in which the collected data can be divided and rearranged in groupings of similarities. I have assigned each text analyzed both manifest and latent categories and codes as they relate to my research questions and as they relate to one another.

I chose to use a coding software to aid in organizing my data. Initially, I intended to use NVIVO, but instead used an open source software called RQDA. The program helped me

organize my codes, create categories, and add notes and annotations to the texts. Once I completed the first few rounds of coding to determine my parent and child categories, I used axial coding (Berg, 2001). Through axial coding, I compared and contrasted categories and characteristics through organizational schemes (Berg, 2001). Gray (2004) further details the components of axial coding to include: categories (phenomena) and their causes; contexts in which these phenomena occurred; the actions and relationships involved; and the results of the phenomena. In Chapter 7, I detail the results of my findings in what I note as a cyclical order of events.

3.4 Biases and Limitations

Part of my reason for selecting this topic for my thesis is that I myself am part of the skateboarding community. I understand that there is the potential for the study to be influenced by my personal opinion as a skateboarder. To avoid this potential issue, all claims made are supported by collected or generated data, or expressly identified as my opinion as opposed to fact. I also initially chose a case in Calgary as it is my hometown, but upon further research, I have yet to find another program that directly compares to this process of developing skateboarding amenities. In conducting the interviews, I did my best to maintain an objective position, so as not to interfere with interviewee opinions.

For integrity and breadth in the scope of the research, I have interviewed representatives from each major stakeholder organization involved in the process; however, I did not interview any representatives from community associations. The reason for this is that the project focuses on the process of procuring skateboarding amenities. In the current context of Calgary, there are now many opportunities for skateboarders to participate in their sport. It would have proven to be a time consuming and ethically difficult task to identify and contact past community association

board members active throughout the process. That said, I did attain useful information about the relationships with community associations from representatives from the City of Calgary, CASE, and van der Zalm. Other information about the positions and perspectives of community associations were retrieved through official reports and newspaper articles. I also did not interview any representatives from City Council as, again, I gained insight into the relationships with Council from those I did interview, and data on official decisions and processes were obtained through Council and committee agendas, minutes, and reports. I only interviewed one representative from both CASE and van der Zalm, but in both cases these representatives have been instrumental to the development of skateboarding in Calgary, and I feel no substantial supplementary data would have come from interviewing additional representatives from their respective organizations.

Initially, my project was to focus solely on the mobile skatepark program and the associated impacts for the City of Calgary and the local skateboarding community. After beginning my research, I realized there was a larger story to be told that included the process of developing permanent skateparks. In understanding this, it became apparent that the CSAS and SSR would be the fulcrum of my project. As a result, I decided it was vital to interview a representative from the consulting firm responsible for facilitating these documents, van der Zalm + Associates. This has adjusted the direction and scope of my project to focus on the entire narrative of how Calgary changed from a city with no facilities in the mid-1990s to a full spectrum of skateboarding amenities in mid-2010s.

While this is the first academic study to cover the modern history of skateboarding in Calgary, it will not be all-inclusive. The study may touch on topics related to the landscape architecture of the skateparks, access to the skateparks, and impacts on the surrounding

communities, they are not the focus of the study. Future research may be conducted on these topics and may use this study as base information.

4.0 The Changing Landscape of Skateboarding in Calgary

*“Calgary has a long history of skateboarding; some movements have been great, and others haven't.”
- Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development, June 21, 2017*

The analysis of my research is divided into two chapters. This chapter focuses on the series of events that changed Calgary from a city with no sanctioned opportunities to skateboard, to a city flush with a spectrum of skateboarding amenities. While the Study Context (see Chapter 1) provides an overview of the events that transpired, this chapter provides the details uncovered through archival research and, to a lesser degree, semi-structured interviews. The archival research primarily consists of information gathered from City of Calgary Committee and Council Agenda packages and Minutes. Interviews from City of Calgary staff, and representatives from the skateboarding community, and strategic consultant aided in clarifying events in timeframes with little to no official documentation. The chapter discusses the events through four distinct periods:

1. Problem and Solution: 1997 - 2000
2. Satisfaction and Dissolution: 2001 - 2007
3. Revival of Passion and Action: 2008 - 2011
4. Location, Conception, Construction: 2012 - 2018

4.1 Problem and Solution

While the analysis focuses on the events that transpired from 1997 to 2018, it is important to understand the pre-existing conditions that led to this series of events. This section discusses the beginning of skateboarding in Calgary through the decision to build Calgary's first skatepark.

4.1.1 The Pre-cursor to the Problem

The history of skateboarding in Calgary started in 1976 when Freewheelin' Skateboards was not only Calgary's, but Canada's first skateboard shop. Shortly thereafter, Calgary housed Canada's first indoor skatepark, and there have been numerous attempts from private organizations to develop and maintain indoor skateparks since. The list includes:

- Skatopia1 (1977-1979)
- Rich Speed & Sport (1983-1984)
- Ramp-o-rama (1984-1986)
- Powderstick Skateworld (1986-1989)
- Skate Jungle (1989-1993)
- All School (1999)
- 403 (2000-2003)
- The Source (2003-2006)
- The Compound YYC (2016-Current)

Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2011

As the dates indicate, none of these parks were open longer than four years. This pattern indicates that it has been difficult for private indoor facilities to provide affordable means for skateboarders to practice their sport year-round while effectively managing to cover all necessary costs to operate and maintain these facilities.

Following the trend of firsts, Calgary was also the first Canadian city to ban backyard skateboard ramps, through an amendment to the Land Use Bylaw in 1986, which stated: "A skateboard ramp shall not be erected or allowed to remain in or upon a lot in a residential district" (City of Calgary, 2008:63). In 1996, Traffic Bylaw 26M96 came into effect which further restricted skateboarding in the City, stating: "No person shall be on or shall operate or use

a device known as a skateboard on any portion of any street” (City of Calgary, 1996: 32). The following year, a Councillor viewed skateboarding as a “very disruptive and growing activity” that “causes considerable damage” to properties (City of Calgary, 1997a). He put forward a motion to amend the Traffic Bylaw to increase the fine for skateboarding in the downtown area, and allow Calgary police to seize skateboards. Council had Administration, through the Standing Policy Committee on Transportation, Transit and Parking (SPC TTP), put together a report to address the possibility of such changes to the bylaw, and a “review of the total restrictive nature of this bylaw” (City of Calgary, 1997b). To this point it appears the City of Calgary’s perspective on skateboarding was negative, perhaps influenced by the general negative stigma associated with images of skateboarding culture at the time that stood in place of any first-hand experience in engaging with the skateboarding community. This was when the shift in perception began.

The final Administration report stated that, through provincial legislation, it was illegal to seize anything other than a bicycle or a motor vehicle. While technically the fine could be increased from \$25 up to as high as \$2500, it was highly inadvisable as that would be perceived as excessive. Administration suggested the best course of action was to engage with the property owners who were experiencing issues with skateboarders better understand the issue (City of Calgary. SPC TTP, 1997a). The SPC TTP agreed and requested that Administration meet with property owners to discuss possible amendments to the bylaw “to identify specific areas where skateboarders can skate” (City of Calgary. SPC TTP, 1997a). The committee requested that the discussions should include skateboarders, representatives from the Parks and Recreation Department, the Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA), and all other interested parties. Following the consultation, Administration was to prepare a report for the Committee and invite all involved parties to the follow-up meeting for a full discussion. The Minutes from

this initial Committee meeting note that there was a skateboarder present at the meeting to answer questions on behalf of the skateboarding community. Through these stakeholder meetings, the City started a process of collaborative planning and expansion of institutional capacity.

4.1.2 Problem Identification and Pilot Project

While the Transportation Department facilitated these meetings and prepared a report for the SPC TTP, the Parks and Recreation Department requested additional capital for a temporary skateboard ramp pilot project. The project was approved, and two sets of ramps were built. It was later noted in a Committee meeting that “the Department took the initiative to establish temporary skateboard facilities ... in an effort to address the downtown problems and to provide alternative recreational opportunities for youth” (City of Calgary. Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services (SPC CPS), 1998). While this project precedes literature on tactical urbanism, it stands as a prime example of short-term action for long-term change. The parks were in operation between July and August of 1997 and supervised by Parks and Recreation staff. The parks were located in three communities over the summer: Silver Springs (NW), Southland (SW), and Downtown at 5th Avenue and 5th Street (see Appendix A, Map 1 for recent mobile skatepark sites). The parks received such positive feedback that participating community associations (CAs) requested the skateparks again the following year.

The SPC TTP report on skateboarding found that the only legal space for skateboarding was on park pathways and private property with the express authorization of the landowner. It was also noted that the temporary skatepark pilot project was a heavily attended program and, through precedent research, that other Western Canadian municipalities already have permanent skateparks “which operate well and receive heavy use” (City of Calgary. SPC TTP, 1997b). In

researching and communicating with other municipalities, Administration was beginning to build the City's knowledge resources on skateboarding amenities.

A committee was formed with members from the Transportation, Parks and Recreation, and Planning and Building Departments, along with the Calgary Police Service, the Calgary Downtown Association (CDA), and BOMA to investigate why skateboarders preferred skating on certain architectural features at certain buildings. The committee met with the skateboarding community to discuss the issue and found that skateboarders want a variety of challenges and features to skate on. When the topic of increasing fines was mentioned, the skateboarding community representatives noted that it was highly unlikely that such action would deter skateboarding. The skateboarding community stated that they need a permanent facility to practice their sport, and those that fail to use the facility "would be dealt with through enforcement" (City of Calgary. SPC TTP, 1997b). The committee and the skateboarding community acknowledged that the issue exists because "there is nowhere else for where skateboarders can go to practice their sport" over the course of the summer through four stakeholder meetings (City of Calgary. SPC TTP, 1997b). BOMA and CDA indicated that impacted building owners would be willing to contribute funds to a permanent facility for skateboarders that would resolve the issue. Upon further sponsorship inquiry, the Transportation Department suggested that should the City provide land, a permanent skatepark would be feasible. The collaborative discussions between the City, business community, and skateboarding community were key to initiating the shift in perception of skateboarding and starting the process of consensus building that would eventually lead to the development of a spectrum of skateboarding amenities.

4.1.3 Preparation for Planning a Permanent Skatepark

Somewhere between 1997 and 1998, there was a shift in the process hierarchy, and Administration working on this project was to report back to the Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services (SPC CPS) instead of the SPC TTP. It is unclear what would have transpired if the SPC TTP continued to oversee the project, but this shift was potentially significant, as the project relationship between Administration and Committee had changed, impacting social capital. In presenting their pilot project findings, the Parks and Recreation Department calculated that the average daily attendance at the temporary skateboard parks over the summer of 1997 was 100 users per day. Calling skateboarding a “legitimate and growing recreational opportunity”, the Parks and Recreation Department underwent extensive desktop research to determine the elements necessary for a successful facility (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998a). A 1997 City of Calgary Recreation Survey showed that 7% (30,000) of households in the city have at least one skateboarder (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998a). Other municipalities that have faced issues with skateboarding suggested that the skatepark should be located five to ten minutes from the problem area. An open house was held in March 1998 that came to the same conclusion (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998a). As knowledge resources grew, so did the City of Calgary’s frame of reference on skateboarding.

The open house was held at the downtown branch of the Calgary Public Library had 135 attendees. The purpose to gain public input on location, design, and operations. The feedback included 67 written responses strongly supporting the development of a park at the old Mewata Stadium site on the west end of downtown. 45 respondents expressed a desire to further participate in the design, development, and promotion of the skatepark (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998a: 21-25).

While the engagement sessions were primarily positive, there were several key groups with reservations. BOMA was concerned that locating the skatepark near downtown would add to the problem as opposed to alleviate it (City of Calgary, 1998c). The Calgary Police were concerned with the site selection as it was an area known for undesirable activities. They expressed concerns about access and safety for skateboarders (City of Calgary, 1998b). Lastly, the Calgary Celebration 2000 Society (CC2S), who were working on developing a legacy project to be located at the Mewata Stadium site, were concerned about the compatibility between a skatepark and their project (City of Calgary, 1998b).

Given the work compiled by the Administration, the SPC CPS made the following recommendations to Council:

That Administration:

1. Work with the Calgary Celebration 2000 Millennium Park Committee throughout their planning process to explore the potential of incorporating a permanent skateboard facility into, or adjacent to, the proposed Millennium Park in the Mewata Stadium area;
2. Continue efforts to secure sponsorship for such a facility
3. Report back with a final design development plan for the proposed in-line skating/skateboard park along with any recommended modifications to bylaws, associated with in-line/skateboard use, once funding is secured.
4. Review alternative locations with all affected stakeholders, including the Ward Alderman, for an in-line/skateboard facility, in parallel with the Millennium Park Planning process and report back to the S.P.C. on Community and Protective Services no later than 1998 June 24 .
Further, that the report review the impact, feasibility and level of support for alternative sites and include a recommendation for a preferred location and contain a proposed budget and a time-line for construction.
5. That City Council express its appreciation to Hopewell Residential Communities Inc. for their sponsorship of the proposed inline/skateboard park.
6. That the Calgary Parks & Recreation administration be directed to contact all members of Council to evaluate opportunities to locate and set up the temporary skateboard structures that are available today.

City of Calgary, 1998a: 123

In the same Agenda package, Council received a passionate letter from a local skateboarder expressing his exhaustion with constant persecution, asking the City of Calgary to acknowledge

the needs of the skateboarding community, and pleading for the development of a permanent facility. Council approved the recommendations. Over the course of a year, the City had shifted positions on skateboarding from aiming to further restrict the activity to seeking funding opportunities for a permanent facility.

At the June 24th meeting of the SPC CPS, the Parks and Recreation Department presented the findings of their comprehensive investigation regarding centrally located skateboarding facilities. The research included a phone survey with over 30 municipalities with skateparks across North America, site selection analysis, skateboarding community survey, and further public consultation in all quadrants of the city. From the survey with other municipalities, it was concluded that virtually all municipalities were reluctant to build their parks based on preconceived fears and concerns, but they unanimously reported that “skateparks have become a valuable recreation asset and have filled an important recreation gap within the community” (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998b: 44). The site selection analysis included input from a large group of stakeholders including representatives from BOMA, CDA, CC2S, Councillors, Parks and Recreation, Planning and Building, the Calgary Police, skateboard retail shops, the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders (a newly founded non-profit society to represent the interests of the skateboarding community), Community Associations (CAs), and other organizations representing a variety of downtown interests. The group identified 14 potential sites and narrowed the selection down to four. The skateboarding survey received feedback from 381 skateboarders. The results showed that 76% of responded said they wanted a park downtown, and 57% said they would limit their skateboarding to the park. Public consultation meetings were held downtown and in suburban neighbourhoods to gauge interest in suburban skateparks (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998b: 45). The results showed that everyone agreed that

a first skatepark should be central and, while CAs suggested they would like suburban parks, they offered no concrete commitments. It was important for the City to collect this data, as it provided further quantitative support for decisions made primarily through relationship building. At this point, the City had significantly expanded both relational and knowledge resources.

The report concluded that a central location was the highest priority for development, but skateparks should also be considered in the suburbs to accommodate younger skateboarders. The first mention of a long-term skateboard strategy was proposed in this report, a sentiment echoed by BOMA (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998b). This brief mention is significant as it showed potential capacity for the development of a skateboarding amenities strategy more than a decade before the plan came to fruition.

From the SPC CPS, the report and recommendations moved to Council on July 13th. The CC2S had simultaneously been working with the Administration on a modified set of recommendations that were adopted by Council. These included:

1. That City Council re-affirms its commitment to the development of the Mewata lands for the purposes of a Millennium Park as proposed by the Calgary Celebration 2000 Society;
2. That City Council approve in principle the inclusion within Millennium Park of a component designed for the recreational needs of youth and families including but not limited to, a skateboarding facility;
3. That Council direct Calgary Parks and Recreation to work with other administrative departments in securing any available City owned lands between 11 Street S.W. and 14 Street S.W. as a study area boundary for potential inclusion as part of Millennium Park, and if additional lands are available, that the contribution of lands be identified as The City's contribution in addition to the skateboard facility;
 - 1) “and if additional lands are available, that the contribution of lands be identified as the City’s contribution in addition...” added through amendment by Council.
4. The City finance The City's portion of the youth skateboard park facility within Millennium Park as recommended in the Other Capital Project Priorities Report to be presented to the S.P.C. on Finance and Budget on 1998 July 14; and

5. That the Administration work with Calgary 2000, The Calgary Parks Foundation and the Citizens Advisory Committee to create a park design and development plan for Millennium Park incorporating the youth recreational elements including a report addressing safety and management issues as well as a detailed costing, budget and phasing plan for approval to Council through the 1999 January Regular Meeting of the S.P.C. on Community and Protective Services.

City of Calgary, 1998d: 12

These recommendations, particularly Item Five, illustrate the desire for a collaborative planning process. The momentum behind the support for skateboarding in Calgary continued to include an update to the Traffic Bylaw in September. The Bylaw was amended to allow skateboarding on sidewalks, footpaths, or other walkways outside of downtown so long as the use of the skateboard did not interfere with pedestrians lawfully using the sidewalk (City of Calgary, 1998e).

4.1.4 Millennium Park

The planning of Millennium Park began in 1998 with the planning and development partnership between CC2S, the Calgary Parks Foundation, and the Parks and Recreation Department. A Citizen Advisory Committee was formed to provide timely input throughout the process. This committee included representatives from the FCS. The FCS was also involved in the planning process as an informed skateholder group. The Millennium Park Design Development Report was presented to SPC CPS on January 20th, 1999. The Plan included “intensive input, analysis, and discussion with all affected parties”, see Figure 4.1 for the engagement process (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1999: 10). With confidence in the recent expansion of institutional capacity, the city made the evidence-based decision to move forward with the construction of Calgary’s first skatepark.

The construction of the 67,500 sq. ft. skatepark at Millennium Park was completed in the Summer of 2000. The park contains three areas for beginners, intermediate skaters, and pros.

Millennium Park earned four awards for design from various national and international bodies.

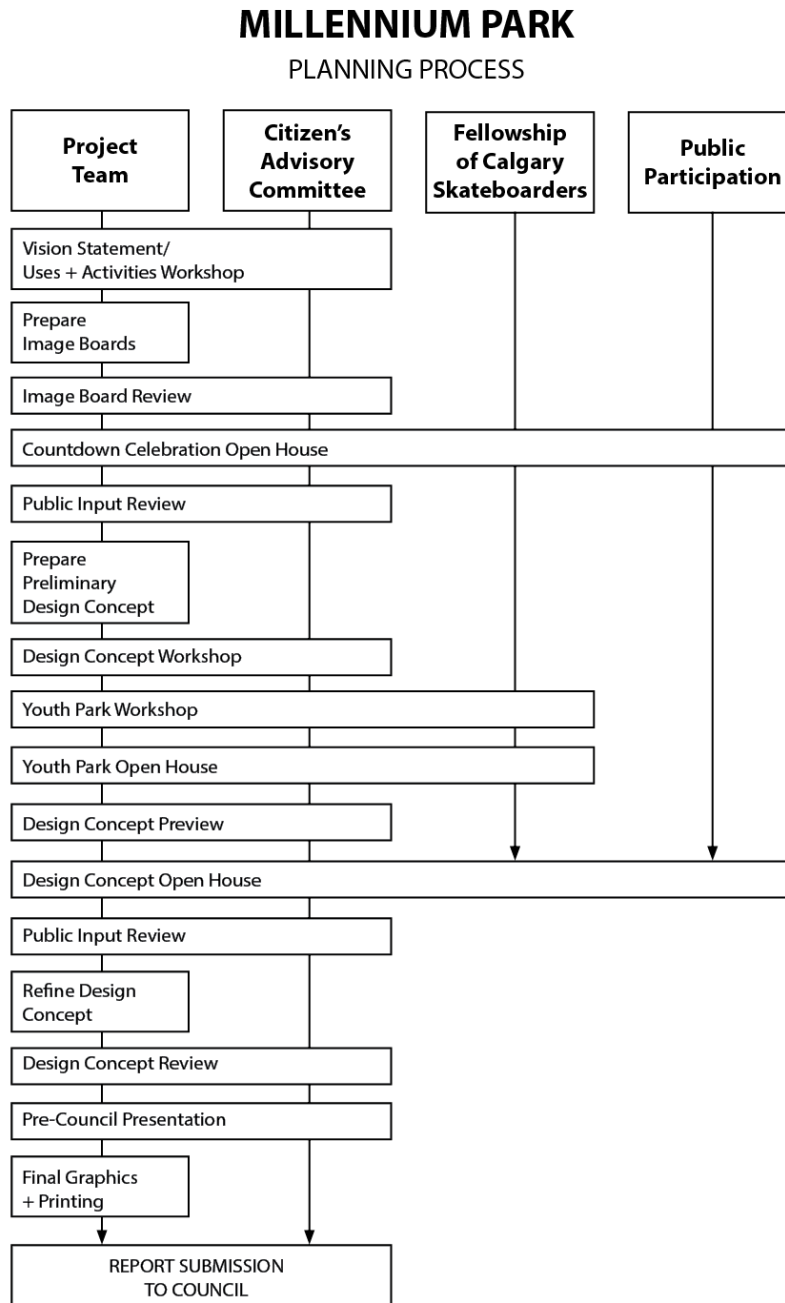


Figure 4.1 – Millennium Park Planning Process, adapted from Millennium Park Design Development Report in City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1999

4.2 Satisfaction and Dissolution

With a brand new, state of the art facility, the skateboarding community was satisfied for a time. The flurry of activity that happened leading up to the new millennium slowed to a crawl. However, there were a few key incidents that stood out in the years to follow. In 2001, an amendment was made to the Parks Bylaw adding “local community skateboard parks (permanent or temporary)” to the definition of “facility” (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2001: 2). By including skateboarding in City nomenclature, the City showed dedication to their growing relationship with the skateboarding community. This further solidified recognition by the City of Calgary that skateboarding is a legitimate recreational activity, and skateparks should be treated and maintained the same as any other park facility. By 2003, the prior provincial legislation in the Highway Traffic Act that prevented the seizure of skateboards had been changed. City of Calgary Council approved the Traffic Bylaw update that added skateboards and other devices to the list of items peace officers can rightfully seize when used in opposition to the bylaw. The City is a single entity comprised of numerous business units, departments, and individuals. Individuals, such as Council members, can influence decisions that impact the whole city. This bylaw change was a reminder that while the City was becoming skateboard-friendly, there were still those in positions of power with overtly negative perceptions of skateboarding.

However, the City forged onward with efforts to become skateboard-friendly when presented with partnership opportunities. The City of Calgary arranged, with the Westside Recreation Centre (in 2001) and McKenzie Towne Residents Association (in 2006), to temporarily provide each group land for developing a skatepark. The lands provided to each group were slated for future transit development. The Westside skatepark was a small concrete park built in 2001 but demolished in 2009 for the West LRT line. The recreation centre built a new outdoor complex in 2010 that included a basketball court, a modular skatepark, and storage

building. While it is free to use the basketball court and skatepark, they are fenced and only open from May until September, when a skatepark monitor is present. The McKenzie Towne skatepark was also a modular park and was unfenced and unmonitored. In 2017 the larger features were removed because of deterioration and concern for safety. The smaller obstacles remain, but the Association has no current plans to replace the infrastructure. These partnerships indicate that Calgary Communities' perception of skateboarding was shifting, further adding to institutional capacity and skateboarding infrastructure beyond what the City alone had provided.

Throughout the first half of the 2000s, the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders maintained status as an organization. However, in December of 2005, the Fellowship dissolved. The dissolution of the organization was significant as it drastically reduced the City's institutional capacity and social network connections with the skateboarding community. Without an organization representing the community, it became difficult for the City to make informed decisions on skateboarding. In this period there were no visible champions to advocate for the development of skateboarding amenities or to uphold the relationship that the FCS had built with the City.

One piece of evidence that there was a need for skateboarding amenities remained. In 2006, a Community Services update, with a report on Community Association Sustainability was presented to the SPC CPS, stating that the Mobile skatepark program was one of the key ongoing partnerships between the City of Calgary and the CAs (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2006). While the relationship with the FCS subsided, the relationship between the City and CAs continued to flourish to the benefit of the skateboarding community.

4.3 Revival of Passion and Action

In 2008 a group of dedicated skateboarders banded together, creating a new non-profit society “to ensure Calgary skateboarders have access to free, world-class facilities where they can skate safely, develop their skills, and enjoy healthy activity” (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2012: para. 2). The new non-profit is called the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts (CASE).

CASE began to build relationships with Council members and in 2009 approached a Councillor, known to have pro-skateboarding perspective, to discuss the restriction on backyard ramps in the Land Use Bylaw (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). The Councillor supported CASE and proposed a change to remove the restriction to Council, but was unsuccessful in moving the motion forward (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). Skateboarding has been a growing sport in Calgary, with an estimated 30,000 skateboarders (Alberta. Tourism, Parks and Recreation, 2008). To address the growing gap in the provision of skateboarding amenities, CASE worked with the same Councillor to devise a way to approach Council with the issue. On June 21, 2010 (International Go Skateboarding Day), the Councillor put forward a Notice of Motion to Council arguing that the City of Calgary promotes active and healthy lifestyles, and given the growth of skateboarding in Calgary, the City should further support the development of skateboarding amenities. Through deliberation, Council decided to direct Administration to work with community stakeholders to develop terms of reference for a “comprehensive Skateboard Park Policy and Strategy”, and to review the Land Use Bylaw in attempt to identify conditions where backyard ramps may be permitted (City of Calgary, 2010: 20). That same day, the Councillor worked with CASE to sponsor a Go Skateboarding Day event at Millennium Park. Once again, the skateboarding community had organized representation to champion the development of skateboarding, to

engage the City of Calgary in the arena of municipal decision-making, and to rebuild lost relational and knowledge resources.

In January 2011, the terms of reference, now called the Discussion Paper on Skateboard Amenities (DP), was presented to the SPC CPS. The DP “was a collaborative effort with the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, a key community stakeholder group, and with relevant business units within The City including Bylaw Services, Recreation, Parks, Community and Neighbourhood Services, and Land Use Planning”¹ (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2010a: 3). The document provides an overview of the conditions of skateboarding in Calgary, a comparison of skatepark development in other municipalities, the benefits to developing a skateboard amenities strategy, alignment with existing Calgary plans and policies, and guiding principles for the development of skateboard amenities. Some of these methods of information collection and analysis were used in building an argument for the development of Millennium Park. The SPC CPS then recommended that Council that the DP be accepted as information, and that Administration work to develop a “comprehensive Skateboard Amenities Strategy and report back no later than 2011 December” (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2011a: 4). Council approved the recommendations at the January 24th Council meeting.

Administration formed a steering committee with CASE and subject matter experts from various Business Units. A tender went out for consultancy to facilitate the development of the plan, and van der Zalm + Associates was awarded the contract. Together, the steering committee conducted the following analyses:

- An online survey for skaters and parents to identify current use patterns and determine needs and preferences for future skateboard facility development (hosted on the CASE website)

¹ It should be noted that over the years, the City of Calgary has reorganized its departments, now called Business Units. For example, what was the Parks and Recreation Department is now two separate Business Units.

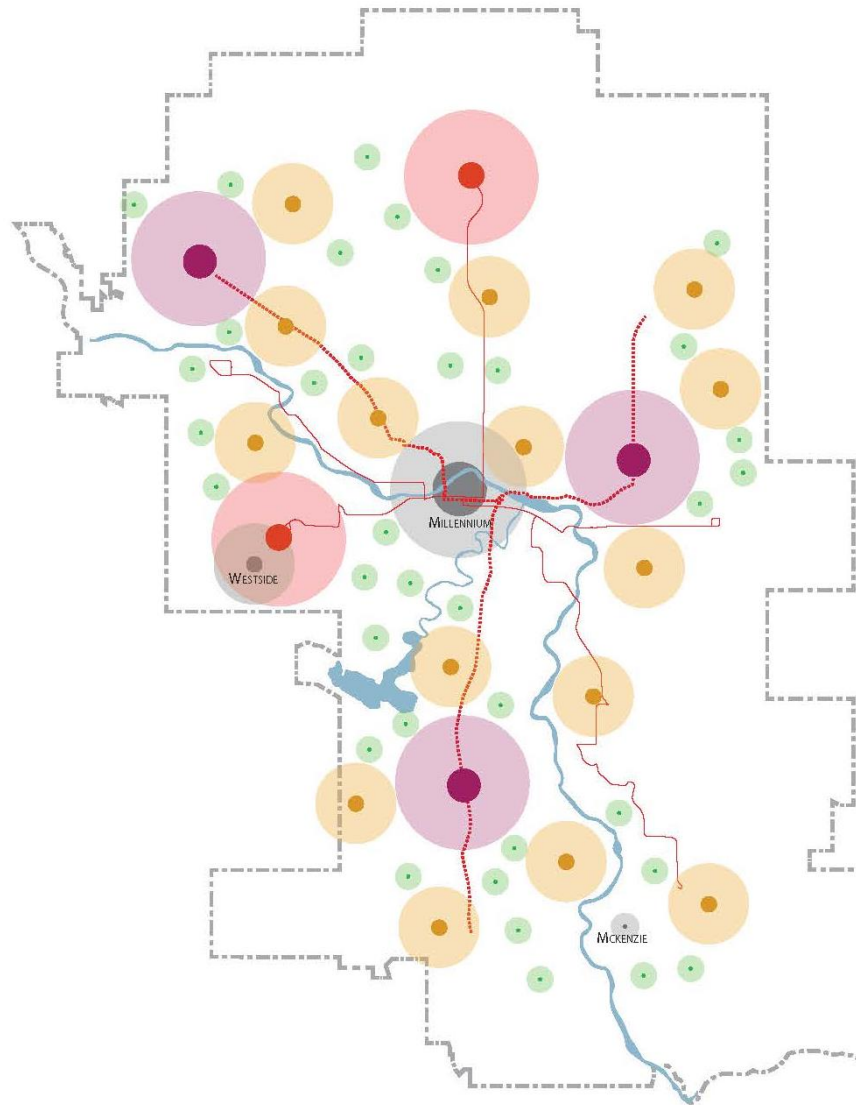
- Evaluation of current facilities
- Evaluation of the Mobile skatepark program
- Review of Current research and City of Calgary planning documents
- Comparison of skatepark development in other Canadian municipalities
- Engagement with all potentially impacted Business Units, such as: Law, Community and Neighbourhood Services (CNS), Parks, and Land Use Planning

City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2011b: 1-2

van der Zalm provided statistics to inform educated estimates, aided in determining terrain requirements for current and future needs, identified suitable options for skatepark development networks in Calgary, and provided recommendations for development to meet current needs and the needs of Calgarians 10 years into the future (VDZ, November 16, 2017). In addition to local knowledge provided by CASE, van der Zalm expanded knowledge resources through past experience working with other municipalities on skateboarding projects.

Through the process, the team developed five skatepark typologies to provide a variety of skateboarding opportunities throughout a city-wide network. From smallest to largest, these typologies include: skate spot (half basketball court sized), neighbourhood (tennis court sized), community (hockey rink sized), regional/quadrant (baseball diamond sized), and city-wide/destination skateparks (soccer field sized) (City of Calgary, 2011a). There are four network options presented in the plan that propose different configurations of these typologies across the city, each with suggested advantages and disadvantages, accessibility, inclusivity, and feasibility characteristics. The team created criteria for mobilizing the plan through developing these typologies and characteristics. The project team recommended Option D (Figure 4.2), a combined network solution, along with a proposed development and implementation strategy in a supplementary document called the Skateboarding Amenities Development Model (City of

Calgary, 2011a). Through intricate calculations, it was determined that the City of Calgary needs an additional 277,607 sq. ft. of park space, and recommended that the space required be spread across 50 parks of the various typologies be built (City of Calgary, 2011a: 33, 59).



D PARKS	30 @ 150m²	15 @ 660m²	2 @ 1,875m²	3 @ 2,550m²			
LEGEND	 Spot 150 m ² - 600m ² (1,500 - 6,000 ft ²)	 Neighbourhood 600 - 1,200 m ² (6,000 - 12,000 ft ²)	 Community 1,200 m ² - 2,500 m ² (12,000-25,000 ft ²)	 Regional/Quadrant 2,500 - 4,000m ² (25,000-40,000 ft ²)	 City-Wide (Existing) 4,000m ² + (40,000 + sq. ft.)	 City indoor 1,850 m ² + (20,000 ft ² +) To serve as winter skatepark.	 Existing Skatepark Grey dots represent existing parks and correspond in size to skatepark types.

Figure 4.2 – Proposed Skateboard Amenities Network, City of Calgary, 2011a

Both the Strategy and Development Model were presented to the SPC CPS on December 7, 2011. There twelve speakers including representatives from CASE, and the ex-president of the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders that attended the meeting. Acting in their official capacity as an organization, recognized as subject matter experts, the speakers could communicate with the Committee at a higher level than if they were individuals representing themselves (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2011b; CASE, September 19, 2017). The Committee recommended that Council accept the Strategy as information, approve the Development Model as a guide for future capital investment in skateboarding amenities, direct Administration to include skateboard amenities in the Culture, Parks, and Recreation Infrastructure Investment Plan (CPRIIP), and to prepare a project status report for the SPC CPS in 2013, following the municipal election. Council approved the recommendations December 19 (City of Calgary, 2011b).

During this period, there were advancements made in the Mobile skatepark program as well. The 2010-2019 CPRIIP budget expanded the allocation for the program to \$500,000 every year from 2010 to 2013 (City of Calgary. Community and Protective Services, 2009: 16). In 2011, the program was transferred from CNS to Recreation, the significance of which will be discussed in Chapter 5. The 2011-2020 CPRIIP budget updated the funding of the program to \$500,000 every other year until 2019 (City of Calgary. Community and Protective Services, 2010: 8). This was to include an expansion of infrastructure. No direct correlations can be drawn but, at least tangentially, the reinstatement and growth of the relationship between the skateboarding community and the City impacted the decision to further invest in the Mobile skatepark program.

4.4 Location, Conception, Construction

In 2012, the City of Calgary continued to follow through with a dedication to skateboarding amenities by allocating \$4,200,000 to Skateboard Park Planning and Design Development and extending the biennial \$500,000 budget for the Mobile skatepark program (City of Calgary.

Community and Protective Services, 2012: 12, 16).

Consultation for the plan went to tender, and van der Zalm and Associates was again awarded the contract.

The development of the implementation plan started in 2013 and was presented to SPC CPS on June 4th, 2014 and approved by Council on June 23 (City of

Calgary, 2014b). The plan divides the process into four stages: site selection, participatory design process, construction drawings and procurement of qualified contractor, and construction (see Figure 4.3).

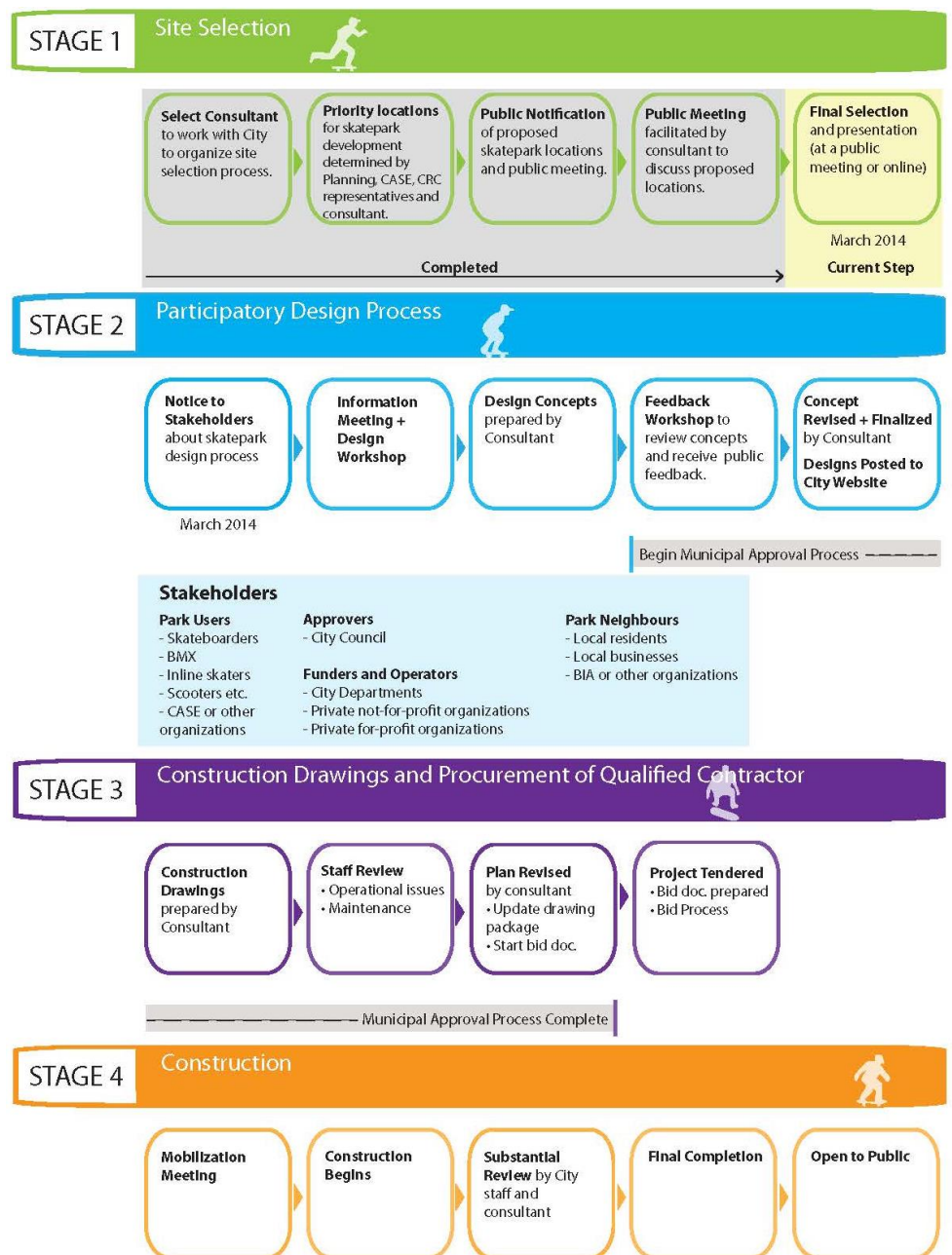


Figure 4.3 – Process from Site Selection to Construction, City of Calgary, 2014a: 37

To begin the site selection process, community associations (CAs) were invited to express their interest in developing a permanent skatepark by submitting a proposal to the City. There are 151 CAs in Calgary, of which 27 submitted proposals (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The site selection committee, including representatives from the Administration and CASE, determined eight sites that were ideal for development based, in part, on the criteria identified in the CSAS (see Appendix A, Map 2). To gain input and gauge support for each of the eight potential sites, there were three open houses and an online public engagement website was created. Based on the positive feedback, the list of sites was finalized. Of the eight parks, three were to be built in Phase 1 in 2014, and the remaining five in 2015. The communities to receive skateparks cover three quadrants of the city and included:

2014 Sites:

- Chinook Park, Kelvin Grove & Eagle Ridge - CKE (Skate Spot);
- Huntington Hills (Small Neighbourhood Skatepark); and
- Southwood (Neighbourhood Skatepark).

2015 Sites:

- Bowness;
- Deer Run;
- Edgemont;
- Midnapore; and
- New Brighton.

City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2014

Through the participatory design stage communities, stakeholders, and the general public were engaged through a series of workshops for each site. The sessions “informed citizens about the selected sites, educated participants on elements of skateparks, and obtained design ideas and priorities” (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 2014: 3). A situation arose in the community of

Edgemont where the community no longer wanted a skatepark. This forced the project team to exercise flexibility in collaborative planning and reassess the situation. The team took the opportunity to develop a skatepark in the Northeast quadrant of the City, but had to adapt their previous engagement model to reach the Northeast communities as they had not previously responded to the call for permanent skateparks (SSPD, June 21, 2017; VDZ, November 16, 2017). The full details of the situation are provided in Chapter 5, but it should be noted here that the shift in institutional capacity forced the City to rely on the morphology of their social network to find a new opportunity, make decisions, and mobilize actions.

The contractor procurement process has proven to be a struggle for the City of Calgary in terms of constructing skateparks. Because of the difficulties, the construction of the parks was delayed (CASE, September 19, 2017; VDZ, November 16, 2017). However, as of 2017, CKE, Huntington Hills, Southwood, Deer Run, Mid-Sun (Midnapore), and New Brighton have all been constructed. A new request for tender process for the construction of Bowness and the Genesis Centre should start later in 2018, aiming to have construction completed by the end of the year.

While the construction process for the permanent skateparks has been underway, the Mobile skatepark program, with the extended budget, hired the original mobile skatepark contractor to resurface existing ramps and build additional ramps. The Program now operates six mobile skateparks. In 2010, the Recreation program partnered with 10 CAs, in 2017 there were 24 CAs that hosted mobile skateparks (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2010b; City of Calgary, 2017b). Again, a direct correlation cannot be drawn, but since CASE incorporated, the capacity of the Mobile skatepark program has more than doubled.

4.5 Summary

The history of skateboarding in Calgary dates back to the 1970s, though real traction for collaboratively developing infrastructure did not commence until the late 1990s, with the development of representational communication between the City and the FCS. This qualitative research has identified four key phases of in the contemporary history of the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary. First, the problem of downtown skateboarding in the late 1990s led to collaboration between the business community, the City of Calgary, and the skateboarding community, which resulted in the launch of the mobile skatepark program, and the development of the largest skatepark in North America, Millennium Park. Second, there was a less active period in which the City partnered with community-level groups to temporarily build two small skateparks in the West and South ends of the City. Third, the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts was formed and ignited the conversation about the lack of sufficient skateboarding facilities in the city and the development of a long-term skateboard amenities strategy. Lastly, the City of Calgary agreed, the plan was developed, a follow-up implementation plan devised, eight new skateparks were planned, six have been built, and two more are in the pre-construction phase. All the while, the Mobile skatepark program continued to gain popularity, becoming one of the Recreation business unit's (BU) most successful programs. What started as a pilot project with two parks has expanded to six mobile skateparks. While the research suggests four phases in the contemporary history of skateboarding in Calgary, there were two key incidents that were catalysts to the development of institutional capacity and skateboarding amenities. The first was the organization of the skateboarding community through the FCS, and the second was the resurgence of organization through CASE. This proves that it is vital to the progression and mobilization of objectives and plans for advocates to engage the City through an organized body. Organized representation allows the community to build a

relationship with the city, contribute to building consensus and institutional capacity, and aid in decision-making and plan implementation. Through the research, several themes emerged regarding consensus building, the development and mobilization of social and intellectual capital, and a look at how the City of Calgary used elements of collaborative planning to react to unforeseen changes. These themes explore the why and how questions surrounding the process of skateboard amenities development in Calgary in the next chapter.

5.0 Analysis of the Process of Skatepark Development

There have been several evolving mechanisms that impacted the process of skatepark development simultaneously and sequentially. This chapter explores several themes identified through the research process that relate to building consensus and developing institutional capacity, and to the process of mobilizing relational and knowledge resources (see Chapter 2). The final section provides a smaller scale example of how power and democracy impacted the development of skateboarding amenities and institutional capacity. In this chapter, I primarily analyze information collected through semi-structured interviews. I use information learned from archival research to support analysis where applicable. The previous chapter detailed the history of contemporary events that led to the development of an array of skateboarding amenities for Calgarians, but it is important to understand the underlying objectives and how they are addressed.

5.1 Identifying and Pursuing Goals through Consensus Building

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main goal was to address the confrontation between downtown building owners and the skateboarding community. The City of Calgary facilitated discussions between these groups that led to the recognition of mutual interest and the formation of a new shared goal: providing lawful opportunities for skateboarders to practice their sport. From this point forward, several new goals rose to the surface including the need for a deeper network of opportunities, ensuring skateparks fit within their surrounding communities, providing inclusive environments and programming that encourages active recreation, and finding ways to expand the infrastructure in a financially feasible manner. If it were not for the establishment of trust between agencies, open and honest communication and project champions from

government and community groups, this process would not have been established or actively pursued.

5.1.1 More Spaces to Skateboard

The development of a city-wide skatepark strategy was a primary goal pushed by CASE in the late 2000s and early 2010s, but it was initially suggested ten years earlier, in 1998. Through public consultation and research, Administration noted that “it became evident that a long-term city-wide strategy for skateparks needs to be developed” (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998b: 46). Several related goals that would see a resurgence in the late 2000s were identified or solidified through this Standing Policy Committee meeting. These included the short-term goals of the reduction of inappropriate skateboarding downtown causing damage and perceived public nuisance, and that athletes who participate in skateboarding have legitimate facilities to practice their sport like the facilities provided for other sports. The long-term goals identified included the development of permanent and temporary infrastructure for local, regional, and city-wide use, and the development of a temporary skatepark program through collaboration between the Parks and Recreation Department and various Community Associations across the city (City of Calgary. SPC CPS, 1998b).

These goals are highly significant in that they remained constant over the entire timeframe, even though some of them were not continuously pursued. Some of these goals, primarily the development of a long-term skatepark strategy, were presumably forgotten by the parties involved due to the dissolution of the FCS and the relationship between the City and the skateboarding community. When the goal resurfaced through the development of the Discussion Paper on Skateboarding Amenities (DP), there was no mention of the 1998 goal found through

either documentation or interviews. That said, the goal had very much remained alive in the heart of the skateboarding community:

Fast-forward a few years later to... a bunch of us [skateboarders] meeting - informally at first - because we felt that Millennium Park wasn't sufficient enough for a city like Calgary. A growing city, it was growing very quickly at the time, and it was just such a busy place. We decided to lobby to try to get more skateparks built. It took us a couple years to get some traction; we got more organized, and we incorporated as a non-profit society. Since then, we've been successful in our mission and mandate.

CASE, September 19, 2017

This goal was met through the collaboration between the City of Calgary and CASE and led to the development of the DP, and subsequently the Calgary Skateboarding Amenities Strategy (CSAS) and Calgary Future Skateboard Amenities Site Selection Report (SSR). These documents are examples of the first-order effects resulting from consensus building. As mentioned in Chapter 2, first-order effects are immediately identifiable and direct outcomes resulting from a project. In the process of addressing this goal, the skateboarding community uncovered a deeper goal: creating a citywide network with a variety of skateboarding opportunities.

5.1.2 Variety in Skateboarding Amenities

As noted through the numerous attempts at developing facilities since the 1970s, Calgarians desire an indoor facility that can operate year-round, regardless of weather conditions. This demand was mentioned in the DP (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2010a). This was a resounding theme that occurred in in the online survey that informed the DP and was echoed in the CSAS (City of Calgary, 2011a). Understanding this desire from the community, Recreation has worked with various CAs and recreation centres to host mobile skateparks inside hockey arenas in the offseason. Recreation has been able to provide a service, temporary indoor

skateboarding facilities, that meets the desires of both place and activity-based communities through consensus building.

Beyond the request for an indoor park, the goal is to reach all areas of the city through either mobile or permanent skateparks. The previous chapter describes the different typologies developed to provide amenities at the local level through to large destination skateparks. Figure 4.2, shows how the City aims to achieve this goal, and the development of the SSR and subsequent construction shows the City's resolve in providing a variety of opportunities for the skateboarding community across the city. As identified through the interview process, the City offers a spectrum of opportunities between the Mobile Skatepark Program, and the recent development of numerous skateparks. The provision of mobile skateparks offers an immediate short-term opportunity for skateboarding, whereas the process of developing a full skatepark network offers an enduring change, improving long-term opportunities for skateboarding in Calgary.

5.1.3 Inclusive Environments that Promote Active Living

The infrastructure, while intended for skateboarding, goes beyond skateboarding to include other sports that may use the same features. The City is actively changing the language in plans and policies to be more inclusive, using the term “wheeled-sports” when referring to any sport that may benefit from skateboarding facilities. The CSAS presents a list of other wheeled-sport groups including, but not limited to “bmx, inline skaters, scooters, roller skaters and longboarders” (City of Calgary, 2011a: 70). The Mobile Skatepark program used to allow only skateboarding, but in the past few years, they have expanded the number of wheeled-sports allowed on the ramps.

*That has been part of the increase as well, the demand for scooters...
Last year was the first year we allowed scooters - the scooter kids are
great, there are so many scooter kids! It blows my mind.*

Recreation Program Specialist (RPS), July 12, 2017

While the number of scooter users may not have been accounted for in the planning process, as a user group they certainly benefit from the development of skateboarding amenities. By accommodating other wheeled-sport communities, Recreation is expanding the arena for open public discussion to a wider diversity of citizens.

Another piece of the inclusivity of skateboarding amenities is the choice of locations. Option D outlined in the CSAS (Figure 4.2) was approved as the guiding skateboard amenities network plan. The plan provides skatepark typologies spread across the city in an attempt to provide facilities within a short walk, skate, bike or transit ride.

*That's what was driving [the plan], and knowing that parents would
probably feel comfortable with kids getting – under their own steam – to
something within ten minutes of their home.*

van der Zalm + Associates Representative (VDZ), November 16, 2017

All interview participants noted that the local skateparks are intended to provide an opportunity for everyone of all skill levels to participate in their respective wheeled-sport, but the City also provides opportunities for more skilled skaters and other practitioners to further enhance their skills through tougher features incorporated in the larger scale skateparks. Through effective communication between the respective City business units (BUs), CASE, van der Zalm + Associates, and the community associations (CAs) a basis for consensus was built.

Communicative actions were developed and implemented to produce skateboarding and wheeled-sport amenities. The decision to develop a skateboarding amenity strategy was based on the social capital built through the relationships between CASE and various partners within the City of Calgary, but the Council decision to move forward with building facilities had an

additional level of justification in knowing that the amenities would serve communities beyond the skateboarding community.

5.1.4 Key Changes in Developing and Pursuing Goals

In the beginning, the City wanted to solve the issue of skateboarding by increasing fines and confiscating skateboards. In reassessing the situation, the City included both the business and skateboarding communities in the discussion. Together, the group underwent a process of joint learning and mutual understanding, which led to the creation of agreed-upon actions that addressed the goals of all involved agencies. Though the goals have been a driving force that led to the development of skateboarding amenities, it is important to understand the relationships that led these projects from conception to construction.

5.2 Development and Expansion of Social Capital

A good working relationship makes work more effective, efficient, and enjoyable. There are several key relationships that impact the processes through the development of skateboarding amenities. The relationships explored in this section primarily revolve around the City of Calgary as an organization, including internal relationships, intermunicipal relationships, the relationships with CAs, CASE and other community organizations. While the City provides for all citizens, it would be impossible for the City to have meaningful individual relationships with everyone. The City instead forms organizational relationships with place and activity-based communities.

5.2.1 Interactions with Community Associations

Communities are always changing, but for the City to gain input from the community there needs to be stability. A vocal resident could live in one neighbourhood now but move to some new neighbourhood months later, so how does the City keep track of the wants and needs of any particular neighbourhood? This is the role of the Community Association (CA). Acting as a

liaison between the City and residents, the CA is the voice of the community and relays information from the City back to residents. The City sees the relationships with CAs as partnerships, though how each CA views the relationship may differ. For example, when a community is slated to receive a mobile or permanent skatepark, the CA has a responsibility to their residents as well as the City.

“They forget that we ask them to do some marketing, we ask them to do some of the pushing of the park. We want to ensure that all their community members know that it is coming and this is what your membership dollars are going toward, you know, programs like this that are free.”

RPS, July 12, 2017

Though the Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinator is the official liaison between Recreation and the CAs, sometimes Sport and Partnership Development and the North and East Division of Recreation become more directly involved. Occasionally, the Recreation Program Specialist will attend CA meetings to answer questions and further clarify the details of the program. Sport and Partnership Development have engaged each community receiving a skatepark to ensure that the park fits with the character of the neighbourhood. In these instances, discursive democracy is exercised, and collaborative decisions are made.

CKE [Chinook Park, Kelvin Grove, and Eagle Ridge] is a phenomenal example - it's a river running through a park with some additional seating area, so if you're a passive user it's still a nice space to be in. It's got different patterns and concrete use, and some colours and details that the community association identifies with. It's little touches like that where we can try to bring the two together.

Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development (SSPD),
June 21, 2017

To ensure community buy-in for the future Bowness skatepark, the Sport and Partnership Development Department held meetings with the CA and other stakeholder groups including the local Legion, the Boys and Girls Club, and senior centre adjacent to the site. As the Department reaches out to new communities, new relationships are formed. While the Mobile Skatepark

Program has been in operation for two decades, new relationships are formed every year with CAs who have never hosted mobile skateparks before. The expansion of the Program in 2017 was a catalyst for interest from new communities (RPS, July 12, 2017). In some instances, CAs will reach out to CASE for guidance on whether a skatepark is right for their community. CASE has made presentations to these CAs to help them in their decision-making (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). This expands the external social network and increases shared knowledge between place and activity based communities.

5.2.2 The City and Skateboarding Community

In some instances, the relationship between CASE and the City is similar to the relationships the City has with CAs. CASE acts as a liaison between the skateboarding community and the City, as well as a lobbyist and advocate for the skateboarding community. Without the persistence of the efforts made by CASE, Calgary would not have the growing network of skateboarding amenities it has today.

CASE is awesome in the sense that - I mean, without them the conversation wouldn't have been formalized and brought forward.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

CASE is the voice of the skateboarding community and “they do a great job of organizing an unorganized sport” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The organization is not only the voice of the community for skateparks but all things related to skateboarding. Because of their involvement and knowledge base, the City also views CASE as a subject matter expert. Through trust and relationship building, the role CASE plays in the arena of planning and policy development has expanded and integrated into City governance processes as they relate to skateboarding.

As a recognized subject matter expert, CASE is often invited to meetings and focus groups to help validate projects and the intentions of the City. In some instances, the Program Specialist will call CASE with questions, and CASE will make suggestions that are taken into

consideration. Inversely, CASE will contact the respective Recreation Departments for information and updates that they then will relay to the skateboarding community and general public through their website and presence on social media, an opportunity not otherwise available to the Recreation Departments through internal avenues at the City. As part of the communication channel CASE presents Recreation, the CASE website has been actively used for community engagement. The Online Survey used to collect data for the CSAS was hosted on the CASE website (City of Calgary, 2011a). The relationship between the City and CASE has symbiotic qualities in that CASE assists the City in initiatives that in turn create better spaces for the skateboarding community and city at large.

CASE, through dedication to both the skateboarding community and the City, was instrumental in advancing the development of skateboarding amenities through the DP, which is quoted as a “collaborative effort with the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts (CASE), a key community stakeholder, and with relevant business units within the City including Bylaw Services, Recreation, Parks, Community and Neighbourhood Services, and Land Use Planning” (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, 2010a: 3). The organization has continued to show dedication and appreciation to the City, while simultaneously reframing the image of the skateboarding community.

CASE weekly has a group going out and cleaning, and they're trying to raise funds to put a community ambassador in every area with the resources to be able to clean their parks often.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

There are other skateboarding community members promoting goodwill as well. In 2015, an ex-professional skateboarder created the 100% Skate Club, an all-female skateboard group dedicated to promoting skateboarding as a sport for girls and women in a safe and encouraging

environment (Global News: Calgary, 2016). The group has continued to grow and build their own relationships with Recreation through the Mobile Skatepark Program.

We've supported them... on Wednesday nights when they meet up - we've kept our park open an hour later for them - our indoor locations this year for them. We don't charge them anything because, you know, they like to push us on social media. So, I'm like, 'yes, please!'

RPS, July 12, 2017

In a sense, the skateboarding community has merged with the City of Calgary. To run the Mobile Skatepark Program, Recreation hires skateboarders to monitor the parks and teach lessons. Some of these entry-level staff members have since earned promotions and were hired into higher level positions in other departments in the City (Past Recreation Program Specialist (PRPS), Sept 19, 2017). While the relationship between the skateboarding community and the City has been key to the successful development of skateboarding amenities, the internal relationships between Departments and BUs in the City play a vital role in sharing information and turning decisions into actions.

5.2.3 Municipal Relationships

This subsection explores the inner workings of the City of Calgary, through both effective relationships and difficult situations. Municipalities often rely on one another for advice and suggestions, especially when undertaking a new and unfamiliar project. Municipal skateboarding projects are gaining popularity, but there is no standardized process for developing these amenities. The City of Calgary takes a unique approach in providing temporary and permanent facilities, though the development of each facility type is managed by a different Department.

Internal Relationships Increasing Organizational Capacity

Both project portfolios are managed within the Recreation BU. The development of permanent skateparks is managed by Sport and Partnership Development, and the Mobile Skatepark Program is run through the North and East Region division of Recreation. That said, the Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development and the Recreation Program Specialist for the mobile skateparks have gotten to know one another and developed a friendly and professional working relationship independent of their respective departments. For example, in collecting information for potential sites for skatepark development, the Superintendent contacted the Program Specialist to obtain data collected through the Mobile Skatepark Program to inform the decisions, because she cares about the project, knew the information was available, how to access it, and knew it would strengthen the results of the site selection process. Relationships like this increase internal organizational capacity. Large corporate entities like the City of Calgary are not solely top-down hierarchical organizations. Different departments and BUs can collaborate internally to increase institutional capacity through shared knowledge and strengthened relationships.

The two department representatives often have relationships with the same people and groups, such as CAs and CASE. They are regularly in contact to update one another and ensure they can approach situations from the same position. At the beginning of the engagement process for the development of the permanent parks, the Recreation Program Specialist was at “meetings with the community associations and CASE, and whoever else is a key stakeholder to make sure that everyone is on the same page and heard” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). In a sense, through their relationship, the two have created an informal Department within Recreation: the Department of Skateboarding Affairs.

While the responsibilities tied to skateboarding infrastructure are relatively new for Sport and Partnership Development, the Mobile Skatepark Program has been under the jurisdiction of Recreation for several years now, though it started as a responsibility of the Community and Neighbourhood Services.

At the end of the day, the user experience for the skateboarders and the children, youth, or adults was basically the same.

PRPS, Sept 19, 2017

The key differences between how each department managed the program was on the administrative side. Community and Neighbourhood Services programs are focused on providing accessible opportunities for vulnerable populations, whereas Recreation has a bigger concern with “the bottom line and how many people are registered in the program” (PRPS, Sept 19, 2017). This quote refers to financial feasibility and suggests that the criteria by which the program is run in Recreation are more instrumentally rational than communicatively rational, a point that will be returned to in section 5.4.4. That may be the perspective of Recreation as a business unit, but the outlook and approach taken by the Recreation Program Specialist has a major impact on the delivery of the program, as she directly supervises and manages the program. Having interviewed the Recreation Program Specialist, it is evident that she is dedicated to the communities of Calgary and working to engage as many youth as possible. For example, she approached the Legal Department at the City asking if scooters could be allowed on the mobile skatepark ramps. Now scooter users have access the mobile skateparks same as skaters and in-line skaters. These examples of inter-departmental interactions have all been beneficial and supportive. However, that is not always the case. As noted above there have been issues between the Recreation and Community Neighbourhood Services (now called Calgary Neighbourhoods).

Internal Issues and Power Relations

When the Recreation Program Specialist tries to send to the expression of interest to the CAs, she sends the invite through the Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinators, who are employees of the Calgary Neighbourhoods BU, not the Recreation BU. Sometimes she faces pushback from the Coordinators, perhaps resulting from departmental differences. The fees for CAs to host mobile skateparks had not increased in many years. As a result, the amount the program is subsidized by the City increases over time. To recoup some of the losses, the Recreation Program Specialist proposed increasing the fees.

So, we did increase our costs this year, and I got a lot of pushback from the Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinators, 'nope, the community is not going to pay this.' Then and low and behold all the communities still wanted it [mobile skateparks]. So, I'm like 'who's saying that?'

RPS, July 12, 2017

The Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinators are supposed to act as a liaison between Recreation and the CAs, though it seems in such instances they attempt to act as the voice of the CAs without consulting them first. Herein lies an issue of the hierarchical structure of the relationship between the City of Calgary and CAs. An intermediary in the hierarchy has the ability to take a position of power in the relationship, affecting communication and potentially decision-making.

Other issues arise when BUs do not share a mutual understanding of an issue. In 2010, Recreation wanted to host a Go Skateboarding Day event at Millennium Park, but first had to attain the proper permits. When approached with the event, the Calgary Police Service and Bylaw BU were reluctant to provide the proper authority to host the event, pointing to the events of the 2009 Go Skateboarding Day incident at Eau Claire Market. Hundreds of skaters gathered in the space; CASE was present giving out prizes and celebrating skateboarding when a police

helicopter and 12 squad cars arrived to shut down the event (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). The Recreation Program Specialist at the time argued that to avoid a future incident like that, the City should permit an event at Millennium Park. On Go Skateboarding Day 2010, there was an event at Millennium Park, hosted by CASE, organized by Recreation, and endorsed by the pro-skateboarding City Councillor. The benefit of working with a complex organization, such as the City of Calgary, is that the large internal relational network presents alternative options, perhaps through relations which present more favourable power dynamics, to achieve goals.

Intermunicipal Relations

In the words of the Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development, “why reinvent the wheel?” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). Similar departments across varying municipalities have different experiences and can learn from the successes and mistakes of each other. Once the CSAS was completed, other municipalities across Western Canada started contacting the City of Calgary Recreation BU about their process, asking to gain any insights that could be shared. As a result, “a lot of them use our same consultants” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The Superintendent also reaches out to other municipalities to learn about their experiences.

There was a court case in Ontario a month ago that someone got sued because their signage wasn't good enough. We're going to update ours, and I ended up getting that information from a guy in Lethbridge. It just comes in on any channel if possible.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

It is a collaborative environment between intermunicipal departments where there are no official policies that direct how they should conduct interactions with one another. These collaborative relationships increase intellectual capital through social capital. The social network of the City of Calgary, including internal, local, intermunicipal, and international relationships, has created a

social environment where projects such as the development of a citywide skateboarding amenities network are feasible.

5.2.4 Key Developments in Social Capital

Strength in relationships is a founding block of collaboration. For an organization to work effectively, there must be supportive relationships within. For organizations to work well together, there must be an understanding of each other's positions and a willingness to find accommodating and adaptive solutions. These elements are present in the relationships between the City, CASE, and the CAs. The expansion of social capital has allowed for open and honest communication in the arena of planning and development in Calgary as it relates to skateboarding. These relationships have provided a venue for knowledge sharing and by extension the expansion of intellectual capital.

5.3 The Shift in Intellectual Capital

From the 1980s bylaw amendment to its appeal in 2016, the frame of reference of skateboarding has changed significantly, but not entirely. Through this section, I explore the legitimization of skateboarding as a sport, the positive perspectives, as well as the negative, and look at the perspectives of the professionals involved in the development of skateboarding in Calgary. Chapter 2 provides a background to the development of skateboarding since its inception and how it has been received by the general public on a global scale. In Calgary, those same perceptions of skateboarders as degenerate youth and associations with transient populations have largely been misconceptions based on a clash between dominant mainstream culture, and the bold, unapologetic imagery associated with the skateboarding subculture. There were not the same channels of communication thirty or even twenty years ago that exist today. As a result, the only images of skateboarding the general public saw were those portrayed by the skateboarding

community, intended for the skateboarding community. Without being able to understand this subculture, skateboarding was largely dismissed and portrayed in a negative light. Today, however, there are much more effective streams of communication, through which advocacy groups such as CASE can communicate directly with the City, CAs, and the general public to explain the culture of skateboarding and help dispel common misconceptions. In doing so, these groups effectively expand the local range of knowledge and reframe dialogue from combative to collaborative.

5.3.1 Legitimizing Skateboarding

The precursor to the Mobile Skatepark Program was a temporary skateboard park pilot project that functioned in the same manner. From that first year several CAs and recreation centres that participated requested the parks the following year, and years subsequent. This initial stage received such positive feedback that it encouraged the City to continue developing skateboarding amenities. Many years, the demand for mobile skateparks is greater than the capacity of the program, and some CAs must be waitlisted. Similarly, the initial call for proposals for permanent skateparks resulted in 27 submissions from CAs when only eight could be built in the first phase of the CSAS (SSPD, June 21, 2017). This is evidence that skateboarding has shifted from an unwanted to a highly desired activity and land-use in the perception of many Calgary communities.

As identified in the CSAS, there are members of the general public that also strongly support the development of skateboarding. The Strategy provides quotes from survey responses that share positive perspectives on skateboarding. One respondent felt that skateparks are a good hub for the social lives of youth and provide an important amenity for an active lifestyle.

Another felt that more parks are needed as Millennium Park may not be safe for youth, but they

should still have access to skateboarding facilities. And a third recognized the importance of CASE and supported their efforts (City of Calgary, 2011a: 20-21).

When talking about the response to the Mobile Skatepark Program, Recreation Program Specialist noted in the first half of 2017 she received more 311 phone calls complimenting the program than those complaining. She also noted that numerous parents, daily, would go to the park and thank the front-line staff for being there: “What that says to me is that they value the programs and services that the City of Calgary is offering right in the community.” (RPS, July 12, 2017). This is significant because those front-line staff are the members of the skateboarding community that the City hired. Those parents, members of the general public, are thanking skateboarders for sharing their sport through a wholesome environment in their local neighbourhoods. This speaks to the openness and learning presented by local neighbourhoods through their capacity to accept and integrate new ideas into their local culture and traditions.

To date, the permanent skateparks have been well received as well. The Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development noted that the public is starting to see the benefits and are demanding more skateparks: “I think the perception is changing - it takes years to change social perception, but we're starting to see the swing.” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The City plays a role in promoting the shift in social perception beyond the provision of amenities. Recreation put together a targeted marketing campaign promoting both permanent and mobile skateparks to show a different side of skateboarding and skateparks, to show that it is not negative, or an inaccessible activity, and no different than any other sports facility offered by the City.

We did an ad campaign where we did a photoshoot with a family - that was their own family, they weren't actors - a mom and a dad and two daughters. One skateboards and one scooters, and both parents skateboard.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

All interview participants from the City recognized that skateboarding has the capacity to be a family-oriented activity. By introducing ideas like this to the general public, the City actively develops the range and frame of intellectual capacity.

One percent of capital expenditure must go towards public art; this is included in projects such as the permanent skateparks. For the parks, temporary public art projects were created that involved social engagement with the community. The artists created a learn to skate program for girls, and another to teach police officers from the skatepark catchment areas how to skateboard. In both cases, local skateboarders were teaching the lessons. Through this project, the skateboarding community actively collaborated with these other communities, enriching both social and intellectual capital. A third component resulted in a zine titled *Skaters from Around Here*, that highlighted short profiles of different skateboarders, of different ages and backgrounds (Moschopedis & Rushton, 2015).

Figure 5.1 shows the cover of the zine. The artists themselves then dropped off copies of the zine throughout the neighbourhoods with new skateparks. They were also available for pickup at local skateboard shops. Again, communications like this share knowledge with communities and individuals that may observe skateboarding through a different, less skateboarding-friendly, frame and whom may not otherwise seek this knowledge.

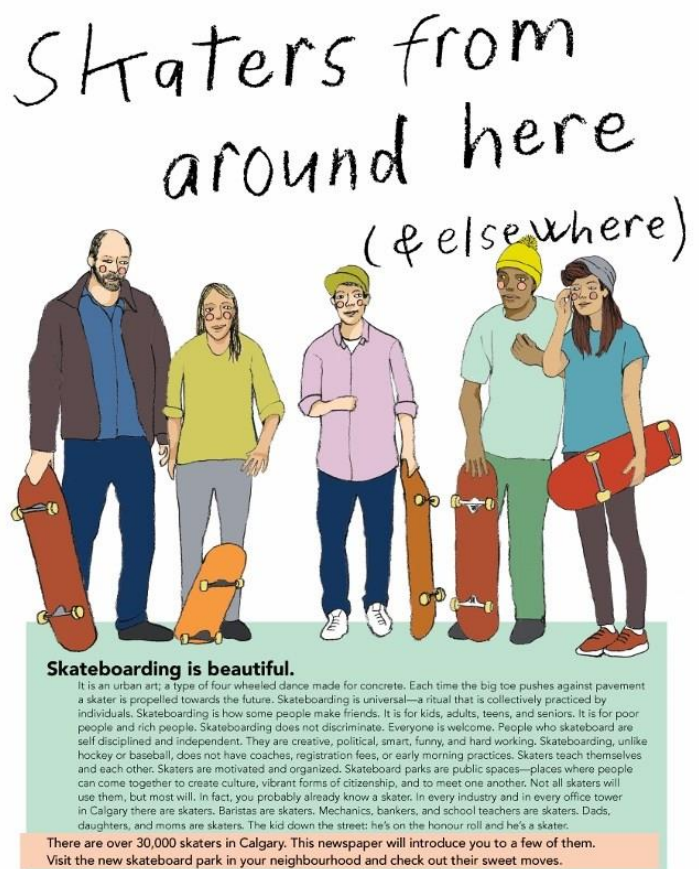


Figure 5.1 – Cover of *Skaters from Around Here*, Moschopedis & Rushton, 2015

The skateboarding community has taken responsibility for and ownership of the new skateparks. Local skaters at the new Huntington Hills skatepark will go to the park every day, shovelling snow in the winter, and squeegeeing rain in the summer. At a skatepark, it is common to see novice skateboarders receiving helpful tips and guidance from more experienced skaters when they are struggling with a new trick or skill. The skatepark is a place that produces a unique sense of community, promotes relationship building, and is inclusive and collaborative in nature (SSPD, June 21, 2017; RPS, July 12, 2017). The perspectives of the professionals interviewed agree with this notion, but understand how the general public may not fully share the same view.

5.3.2 Professional Contributions to Intellectual Capital

All interviewees for this project have been involved in the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary from various positions. While their perspectives do not conflict, they did share different insights. The representatives from the City of Calgary recognized that they are actively playing a role in potentially changing the general perception of skateboarding. It is now their goal to normalize skateboarding in the eyes of the public, like any other sport (SSPD, June 21, 2017). Skateboarding is an accessible and approachable sport, and Calgarians are starting to recognize that it is not a burden on society (RPS, July 12, 2017; PRPS, September 19, 2017). Now, more than ever, parents are involved in their children's lives, and it is important for them to see that the skatepark can be both a safe and cool place for their children to spend their time (PRPS, September 19, 2017). The thoughtful design of the parks, being bright, well lit, and accessible, helps the community better understand the true nature of skateparks. The involvement of CAs in the design process provides an incentive for local communities to take ownership and civic pride in their new amenities, just as the skateboarding community has. All professionals

agreed that CASE is essential to not only the physical amenities but to actively changing the public perception of skateboarding for the better: “Calgary is really lucky to have an organization like CASE. It's organized, it's professional, respected individuals.” (VDZ, November 16, 2017). CASE is undoubtedly the impetus behind the advancements of skateboarding in Calgary, but the actual implementation of programming and construction of infrastructure has impacted public perceptions as well. The center of the knowledge resource of this case study revolves around skateboarding advocacy groups, but these dedicated advocates have translated knowledge from the arena of skateboarding to an arena that reaches a much wider group of stakeholders. Implementation and mobilization of social and intellectual capital became possible through mutual learning and understanding in this shared arena.

5.3.3 Implementation as a Catalyst for Perception Changes

While the focus of this study primarily revolves around the interactions between the skateboarding community and the City, CASE has made leeway with community developers. In building relationships with developers, CASE has encouraged them to include skateparks in their new community master plans.

I said, ‘you guys should put a skatepark in one of your communities because you’ll be the first. Everyone wants to be the first; it’ll be awesome.’ But, no one wants to be the first, right?

CASE, September 19, 2017

In this statement, the CASE representative summarizes the notion that developers are typically reactive as opposed to proactive in meeting community demands. Even here, the perspective and understanding of skateboarding is pushing new boundaries. Recently, CASE worked with a landscape architecture firm, hired by a private developer, to include a skatepark as part of a new community. The skatepark in the new community of Carrington will be the responsibility of the developer for the first two years, after which time the park will become a public amenity, and the

City of Calgary Parks BU will assume responsibility park maintenance (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). A similar sentiment was shared by the representative from van der Zalm, who noted that once a few parks have been constructed, the planning and implementation process should be easier for future projects. Through consultation, new local parks can be used as a reference, drawing on local social and knowledge resources, which may be more relatable to residents than skatepark projects from other municipalities.

While the skateboarders that host the mobile skateparks make skateboarding relatable to community members, the Recreation Program Specialist sometimes has to defend them against misconceptions from within the Recreation BU. Other Program Specialists may point out that she needs to monitor the skaters, to which she reminds them that they too need to monitor the teenagers running other sports camps and lessons. This notion stands as a reminder that while the new frame of reference is in the process of becoming dominant, the waning mainstream frame of reference still exists at a societal scale. As shown through this thesis, the City of Calgary is in the process of adopting the new frame of reference surrounding skateboarding, and has shown good faith towards the skateboarding community through actions such as funding an expansion of the mobile skatepark program in 2017, in addition to the development of the permanent skateparks.

5.3.4 Remaining Negative Perceptions

In Calgary, negative stigma generated since the year 2000 can largely be linked to Millennium Park. The park is in the west end of downtown, an area that was at one point identified as a potential residential district. Unfortunately, development did not follow through, and the existing development remains (PRPS, Sept 19, 2017). This area has a regular homeless population, undesirable graffiti, and the Science Centre building, next to Millennium Park, has been vacant for years. Given this environment, a lack of thorough pedestrian traffic, and a general

unfamiliarity with the area for most Calgarians, Millennium Park has become associated with these identifiers. This furthers the negative stigma around skateboarding, though skateboarding has no direct correlation besides location.

Outside the downtown core, the occasional undesirable event does happen at the mobile skateparks after hours, when the ramps are locked up. In some instances, bylaw officers are called, though this is uncommon. However, it is not the ninety-nine of one hundred nights where nothing happens that are publicized, but the one that does. As a result, there are still high-level complaints that show up at open houses about crime levels and noise that are largely inaccurate (CASE, September 19, 2017; VDZ, November 16, 2017). In these instances, the participants with these views are outside of the range of the new knowledge resources. Perhaps these participants speak from personal experiences, or reluctance to create the capacity to accept new ideas into their understanding of local traditions.

The topic of skateboarding is more politicized and polarizing than other sports. So much so that politicians refuse to comment on the issue during an election period (CASE, Sept 19, 2017). If citizens could see a skatepark in action, busy all day with various user groups, youth having fun and teaching one another, and realizing that skateparks are free, accessible, and promote a healthy lifestyle, negative perceptions would dissipate.

5.3.5 Key Shifts in Intellectual Capital

The public perception of skateboarding has improved significantly in the past 20 years. In Calgary, this can largely be attributed to the efforts made by skateboarding advocacy groups such as CASE, the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders, and now the 100% Skate Club. The global perspective has changed such that skateboarding will be an Olympic event in the 2020 games (International Olympic Committee, 2016). This may further change the social and

political landscape of the sport. However, there are those who maintain their negative stance on skateboarding. The City of Calgary, in collaboration with CASE, the CAs, and the assistance of van der Zalm + Associates, is working to adopt a new, skateboarding-friendly frame of reference and provide new recreational amenities for all Calgarians through a process of mobilizing social and intellectual capital.

5.4 The Process of Mobilizing Social and Intellectual Capital

Final decisions are made by Council, but there is a whole process of making informed decisions that rely on social and intellectual capital that is necessary to improve institutional capacity and skateboarding amenities in the city. This section discusses the elements that provided necessary information to make decisions, as well as the various processes themselves, and how the mobile and permanent skatepark projects were made feasible. Although the significant change in how skateboarders are perceived is important for mobilizing decisions, the City of Calgary's evidence-based decision-making model requires substantial quantitative data to support the qualitative information that directs decision-making.

5.4.1 City of Calgary Decision-Making Processes

In terms of how the City of Calgary makes internal decisions in relation to this project, this section discusses three key areas, the overarching method used for all decisions, how decisions are made for the engagement process, and decision making in the Mobile Skatepark Program.

The City of Calgary Method

The City of Calgary uses evidence-based decision-making. Through this process, the City first looks beyond the symptoms and identifies the core issue. The City then engages in a research and assessment phase to fully understand the situation. Then options and recommendations are made: "...that could be all a project does... that could have been all the strategy did, was say

‘well we now understand it better. Great.’” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). Yet in the case of the Skateboard Amenities Strategy, there was the passionate stakeholder group CASE, ready and willing to collaborate with the City to see the strategy through to construction. Through my document analysis and interview research, I have come to understand the process through which the investment of time and effort from CASE resulted in the creation of the CSAS, shown in Figure 5.2. Champions with different roles were a contributing factor to the success of this process.

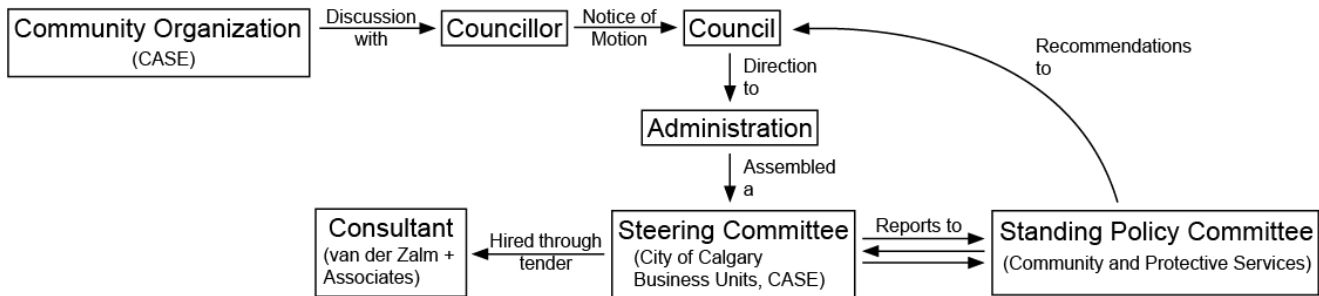


Figure 5.2 – Process from Community Objective to City Plan, Original Illustration

As illustrated above and highlighted in Chapter 4, CASE initially had discussions with a pro-skateboarding Councillor, who then put forward a Notice of Motion to Council. Council approved the recommendations and directed Administration to work with CASE to develop an initial study. The study, now referred to as the Discussion Paper on Skateboarding Amenities (DP), was presented to the Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services (SPC CPS). Standing Policy Committees are comprised of several Councillors that have some authority to make decisions and can either give directions back to Administration or make recommendations to Council given each situation. The SPC CPS recommended Council accept the DP as information and direct Administration to conduct a full amenities strategy. Council approved the recommendations, Administration formed a Steering Committee to manage the

project and hired van der Zalm as the consultant to facilitate the project through a tendering process. The plan was completed, reported to the SPC CPS, who then made recommendations to Council to follow through with implementation. Council approved the recommendations, and the same process was undertaken to produce the Calgary Future Skateboard Amenities Site Selection Report (SSR). In the end, the interviewed members of the City of Calgary Administration noted that in such projects it is key to have a community champion to maintain pressure and support through the process. As the process is heavily bureaucratic, it was vital to have champions in different positions with varying capacities. There were the champions in CASE who initiated the process and remained involved. There were the champions on Council who supported the idea and used their position of power to prompt fellow Councillors to pursue the project. Lastly, the champions in Administration and the consultant provided the remaining institutional capacity necessary for mobilization.

Engagement Process and Department

The City of Calgary has developed an internal BU called Engage that oversees the engagement processes for all City-led projects. I was fortunate enough to interview a member of the Administration that has experience working with Engage. The interview participant explained that Engage has an intake meeting with the project managing BU to “assess what the components and phases are, what that component needs, what the outcome is, what the desired need is” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). Then Engage takes other projects in that area of the city into consideration, looking for potential sensitivities as some communities may already be heavily engaged in other projects, or may have substantial amounts of construction at the time. In doing so, Engage evaluates the available capacities of different stakeholders and communities, particularly their available openness and learning capacities. Each approach is unique, and the

Engage staff work with the managing BU to devise a plan based on what is required, and what is supplementary. Once the plan is created, Engage sets up the managing BU with a communications team to aid in implementing the engagement plan. By using internal social and intellectual capital, Engage expands the repertoire of techniques available for mobilization.

We use a bunch of different mediums: In Bowness, I did mail drops... I dropped little cards that let them know about open houses and opportunities to engage with us... We put information on our website, we give key messages and information to the community associations and key stakeholders.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

Once the data is collected from the series of engagements, an engagement summary report is created and “fed into a recommendation report, or Council report” (PRPS, Sept 19, 2017). When it the time comes for a Committee or Council to make decisions, they relate to holistic information in a report showing what Calgarians thought.

While this process aids in generating intellectual capital from the general public, the significant amount of social capital that has been built over the past 20 years between the City of Calgary and the skateboarding community also contributes to mobilizing decisions. The City of Calgary decision-making process relies on information collected through social and intellectual capital but, as the institutional capacity varies between projects, there is room for innovation in the otherwise standardized process. In developing skateboarding amenities, the City felt it was necessary for intellectual capital to provide supplementary, instrumental rationality to decisions based on social capital and communicative rationality. The Engage, knowledge oriented, engagement process offered a formalized counterpart to the less formal, relationship-based engagement process between the City and CASE. The formal process was intended for engagement with groups that comprise the general public, whereas the less formal process involved specific stakeholders who possessed greater interest and capacity for the project.

Community Association Outreach

Not all projects that involve communities require the assistance of Engage; some rely on other internal network connections. The Mobile Skatepark Program connects with all CAs through Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinators, who are employees of the Calgary Neighbourhoods BU. Calgary Neighbourhoods is “tasked with addressing the social needs of the individuals and communities of Calgary” (City of Calgary, 2017a: para. 1). The mobile skatepark site selection process starts in September with the Recreation Program Specialist, manager of the Mobile Skatepark Program, providing the Neighbourhood Partnership Coordinators an expression of interest to pass on to each respective CA. The Program Specialist also reaches out to partnering community and recreation facilities, such as Genesis, Repsol, and Vivo, who may be interested in hosting a mobile skatepark. The expression of interest provides information about the program and what is required if the CA wishes to host a mobile skatepark. Criteria consist of elements such as access to washrooms and water, a smooth flat surface, and logistics regarding access for construction equipment to move and construct the temporary park. The applications are typically returned throughout autumn and winter, at which point the Program Specialist and her team will conduct site visits to determine the viability of each site. Often there are more applicants than available spots in the schedule, so the team must compare each site through various criteria to fairly provide communities with mobile skateparks (See Appendix A, Map 1 for participating communities). The Recreation Program Specialist relies on local knowledge and the motivation of the members of community associations to mobilize the mobile skatepark program every year.

5.4.2 Identifying and Understanding the Need for Skateparks

As mentioned above, the City of Calgary requires a combination of social and intellectual capital to mobilize decisions. To argue that there was a significant need for skateboarding facilities in

Calgary reports and plans such as the 1998 Standing Policy Committee on Community and Protective Services (SPC CPS) report for an “Inline Skating/Skateboard Park”, the DP and the CSAS draw on a variety of sources. The most common sources used to inform background knowledge have been surveys with the skateboarding community, and comparison studies with other municipalities that have skateparks. From these sources, along with pre-existing studies, such as the Alberta Culture and Tourism 2008 Recreation Survey, statistics are drawn to provide quantitative evidence that the need exists.

These studies provide a knowledge base from which decision-making can begin. Table 5.1 shows conservative estimates of the skateboarding population in Calgary sampled ten years apart.

Table 5.1 – Skateboarding Population in Calgary, 1997 and 2008

Research Study	Number of Households with At Least One Skateboarder	Percentage of Total Households
Calgary Recreation Survey, 1997	30,000	7%
Alberta Recreation Survey, 2008	34,406	8%

These numbers do not reflect any of the other wheeled-sport users that would benefit from the park or the skateboarders that come from outside the City from nearby municipalities like Cochrane, Airdrie, or Okotoks. The representative from van der Zalm and Associates noted that the Alberta 2008 survey was revolutionary. Other jurisdictions that they work with have not conducted recreation surveys including any skateboarding statistics, and they must rely on retail industry statistics, such as data from the National Sporting Goods Association, to estimate the number of local skateboarders (VDZ, November 16, 2017). The consultant maintains that calculating an accurate number of skateboarders remains the largest issue for justifying the need

for skateparks. The statistic must be used in conjunction with other techniques that make use of social and intellectual capital to mobilize the decision.

As noted in section 5.2.3, intermunicipal relations an important resource for developing non-standard amenities such as skateparks. The CSAS is now used as a precedent for other municipalities wishing to develop skateboarding amenities, but precedents from elsewhere were used to inform the strategy. Through the interview with the van der Zalm representative, it was revealed that the firm had completed a similar strategy in Lethbridge, Alberta that stood as a precursor to the CSAS. The nomenclature for the skatepark typologies was developed through a plan completed for the City of Arlington, Texas, developed a year prior. van der Zalm and Associates has also done work in Portland with the City and a non-profit group called Skaters for Public Skateparks. Through their efforts, they developed the basis for the required skatepark space calculation used in the CSAS.

Skaters for Public Skateparks has already created a bit of a diagram for how you would create space for skateboarders, once you knew how many people you had... We also used their data on how much space is needed to do a trick, then added to it including social space, etc.

VDZ, November 16, 2017

The resulting plan was more informed and in depth due to the extended social network of van der Zalm, and the knowledge the consultants had learned through working with various municipalities with various capacities and contexts.

Consultants do more than provide precedents. In preparation of the CSAS, the City of Calgary did not have a feasible channel of communication with the other wheeled-sports communities like they did the skateboarding community, as they did not have organized and official representation like CASE. Apart from some representation at open houses and through online surveys, the City largely relied on the expertise of van der Zalm to speak to the needs of

the other wheeled-sport communities, as they possess a wider frame of reference through experience and relationships. While it would be ideal to have representatives from the other wheeled-sports communities to engage with, this knowledge aided in the collaborative decision-making process between agencies.

5.4.3 Criteria for Developing Mobile and Permanent Skateparks

Relationships and social capital development were key in determining the need for skateboarding amenities in Calgary and remained integral components throughout the process. Once the need was identified, the City focused on strengthening intellectual capital. In this process, criteria were needed to determine the parameters of each project. To skateboarders, most criteria for a mobile skatepark and permanent skatepark are the same: washrooms, water, accessible by various modes of transportation, compatibility with surrounding land uses, etc. However, in planning for these parks, there are more nuanced criteria that need to be met. At a high level, there are several plans and policies with which a project must align. For skateparks, there are the Imagine Calgary for Long Range Sustainability Plan, the Recreation Master Plan, and the Land Use Bylaw. The CSAS then added a three-tiered list of criteria for the development of a skateboard network in Calgary, echoing criteria noted in the DP. Primary criteria included mindful location within the network, connection to paths and trails, and access to Transit. Secondary criteria included a safe and secure site, parking, and site amenities. Lastly, the tertiary criteria included lighting and compatibility with the park's surroundings (City of Calgary, 2011a). Regarding the locations within the network, it should be noted that the sites identified in Option D for the skatepark network (see Figure 4.2) are generalized and have not been located with specific sites in mind. Thus, it was important for the project team to identify potential locations based on the criteria before proceeding to engagement. The project team followed a

process of attaining knowledge resources to aid in expanding relational resources. Together, these resources contributed to a successful collaborative planning process.

The Mobile Skatepark Program collects annual data from each site. This information has helped in determining sites for permanent parks but is also a useful tool for determining the sites for future mobile skateparks. If a skatepark receives a low number of daily users, it is unlikely to receive a park the following year, particularly when compared to locations that show high daily use. The schedule for the season is also a consideration for site selection. The Program Specialist wants to create equal and simultaneous opportunity for Calgarians to access mobile skateparks, so she makes a concerted effort to locate at least one park in each quadrant of the city at all times (RPS, July 12, 2017). There are always unique factors that are taken into consideration when determining mobile skatepark sites. For example, in 2017 Bowness and the Genesis Centre both hosted mobile skateparks. This was a strategic decision as both locations are slated to receive permanent skateparks in 2018. This provided the City an opportunity to collect further data, but also create awareness about the future permanent parks (RPS, July 12, 2017). The relationship between the Superintendent of Sport and Partnership Development and the Recreation Program Specialist made this decision possible. While relationships are key to making collaborative decisions, a project may still not come to fruition if it is unable to meet one criterion: financial feasibility.

5.4.4 Financial Decisions

Regardless of how many other criteria a project meets, it must be financially feasible to move forward. As a result, plans such as the Millennium Park plan, the DP, and CSAS all provide suggestions for funding models. In the preparation of planning Millennium Park, Administration was tasked with providing Council “a report addressing design, safety, and management issues,

as well as detailed costing and budget for an in-line skating/skateboard park” (City of Calgary, 1998c: 165). Sometimes the City can move forward with projects through financial partnership with other organizations. For example, Hopewell Development donated \$100,000 to the development of Millennium Park, and on occasion, the Boys and Girls Club will fund the hosting cost for a mobile skatepark through bottle drives when a CA is unable to cover the cost (City of Calgary, 1998b; RPS, July 12, 2017). These examples showcase another technique of mobilization: strategic partnerships with new stakeholders. The conditions of each project may differ but, in general, private contributions to a project show City decision-makers that there is community support for the project, and allows for project budget and feasibility reassessment (SSPD, June 21, 2017).

For programs run by the City of Calgary, a key consideration is the cost per participant. When the City needs to restructure funding, the programs with the lowest participation rates are often the first to get cut. While the Mobile Skatepark Program and lessons are substantially subsidized, there is always a high number of annual participants. The numerous participants are all champions for the maintenance of the program and provide evidence and justification for the continuation of the program.

All unfunded projects are organized in a list of priority in the Calgary Parks and Recreation Infrastructure Investment Plan (CPRRIIP). For each project, a business case is developed, along with an additional strategy if applicable, such as the case of CSAS. All the information is compiled and used to determine a projects place in the list of priorities (see Table 5.2 for details). However, projects lower on the list may receive funding before higher priority items if it fits in conjunction with another project. For instance, if a project on its own would cost \$50,000, it may only cost \$30,000 if built in tandem with another project.

It's of value because it's been put on the list, but it's lower so it might never get there if we just were to tackle the list. So, it helps us manage decision making from all sides.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

Table 5.2 – CPRIIP List of Project Priorities (Sample), City of Calgary. Community and Protective Services, 2012

High Priority Projects for Future Investments 2013 – 2022		
CPRIIP Project Name	Total Capital Costs (in 000s)	Ward
(Parks) Slope Remediation	2,4000	City-wide
(Parks) Pathway (Regional and Local) Lifecycle	32,000	City-wide
(Parks) Various Emergency Repairs	1,600	City-wide
(Parks) Recreation Facility Lifecycle	115,200	City-wide
(Parks) Infrastructure Lifecycle	17,400	City-wide
(Parks) Established Communities Open Space Improvements and Lifecycle	1,600	City-wide
...		
(Parks) Bowmont East Regional Park (Legacy)	6,600	1
(Parks) Paskapoo Slopes Regional Park – Phase 1 (Legacy)	2,000	6
(Rec) Community Mobile Skatepark Lifecycle	2,500	City-wide
(Parks) Playground Lifecycle	21,100	City-wide
(Rec) Established Area Pool Upgrades	28,600	1, 7-10, 13
(CP) Zoo Lifecycle	11,000	9

A key example of this system is the development of the New Brighton Skatepark. In the contract for the New Brighton recreation centre there was an option to build a skatepark. When the City was ready to build, they negotiated terms with the contractor. The contractor met all the criteria for expertise and ability and could build the park for a reasonable price. As a result, the City was able to reward the contract to the contractor as an extension of the recreation centre and did not have to go through a whole new tendering process (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The City can capitalize on opportunity structures and mobilize more projects more efficiently by understanding and using the range and network of stakeholders involved in various projects to

their full potential. If it were not for this system, skateparks might never receive funding based on more urgent infrastructure projects. This funding system uses the opportunity structure as a consideration in decision-making.

5.4.5 Key Changes to Process

There have been numerous levels of decision-making processes at work that led to the construction of new skateparks, and the development and continued support for the Mobile Skatepark Program. The City first identified the need for skateparks primarily through relational resources; the City then was able to make evidence-based decisions and engage the community through a combination of formal and informal processes exercising both knowledge and relational resources. There have been several champions in varying capacities that rose to the occasion and contributed to knowledge and relational resources, ultimately initiating the development of, and sustaining the implementation of, the guiding documents for building skateboarding amenities. These decisions are not made by individuals, but by authorities informed by experts and the public. These relationships are key in moving decision-making processes forward. However, relationships between groups change over time. These changes can shift social capital, which can, in turn, affect institutional capacity. The next section presents an example of how a change in a relationship can test the resiliency of the collaborative planning process.

5.5 Testing Collaborative Planning

Edgemont was originally identified as one of the eight communities slated to receive skateparks in the SSR in 2014, but at the final open house for the design of the park, the community overwhelmingly disapproved of the entire project. As a result, the skatepark was not built, but this allowed Recreation to consider other options. This section details the process of

collaborative planning and deliberative democracy that led to the consideration of a new skatepark.

5.5.1 Initial Support

When research was conducted for the SSR, Edgemont had resounding support from the community. Through social capital, supported by intellectual capital, it seemed evident there was sufficient institutional capacity for a skatepark in Edgemont. The park was proposed on the corner of John Laurie Park where washrooms and parking already existed; there was great visibility and access to transit and greenways. A neighbourhood-scale skatepark was proposed for the site (See Appendix A, Map 3). The survey results from the first open house showed that 19 respondents were in support and only one opposed. There were also three letters/emails submitted with concerns about noise, vandalism, graffiti, and parking. From the online survey results, Edgemont showed high support for the skatepark, with 97% of skateboarders, and 88% of general residents in support (City of Calgary, 2014a: 11). The SSR concluded that the Edgemont site was one of the most popular, was an easily developable site, and had reasonable separation from the adjacent residential neighbourhood. Overall the site was “well suited for skatepark development” (City of Calgary, 2014a: 23).

We got to a point where we thought it was a slam dunk. I liked the park, I thought it was an amazing park, it was near a... light rail station, but it was a really good location for a number of reasons.

VDZ, November 16, 2017

After site selection, the site was designed through a process of public engagement with the community. The design was finalized by the project team and shared with the community at a final open house in 2015. By meaningfully engaging the community, consensus had been built, and the community and project team shared a common frame of reference.

5.5.2 Power Interrupts Mobilization

Prior to the final open house, several residents had started a campaign to elect a new Community Association Board and stop the development of the Edgemont skatepark. The group of residents claimed to have researched skateparks for months leading up to their campaign and argued that the CA failed to consult nearby residents about the project (CBC News: Calgary, 2015b). As noted in the SSR, this was not the case.

A bunch of people in the community, some of whom were on the community association board, some not, just got together and decided they didn't want a skatepark in their neighbourhood and spread all this misinformation.

CASE, Sept 19, 2017

The issue spread quickly through skateboarding communities across North America and reached the doorstep of the Foundation started by legendary skateboarder Tony Hawk. The Tony Hawk Foundation supported the Edgemont skatepark stating that the arguments of the opposing residents are typical NIMBY responses based on misconceptions (Metro News: Calgary, 2015). This is noteworthy as it shows the social network between local skateboarding communities is expansive, superseding international boundaries, and provides a wealth of potential social and intellectual capital. This is similar to the way municipalities rely on one another for information.

There had been substantial research done by the City and project team, at least two prior open houses, and in the end the project was “confronted with all the same stereotypes and myths about skateboarding, crime, and property values” (VDZ, November 16, 2017). The few vocal naysayers were successful in drumming up enough support to achieve the role of the Edgemont Community Association Board, solely on the platform of defeating the skatepark (SSPD, June 21, 2017; PRPS, September 19, 2017; CASE, September 19, 2017). It seemed that the community was split on the issue of skateparks. The Board in power at the time of the call for a permanent park was in favour, but by the time the final decision was made a new Board had been

elected and kyboshed the project. In a democratic society, these are the regulations set in place and should be abided by and respected. Unfortunately for those in favour of the skatepark, the power dynamic shifted within the community. This shift changed the relationship between the CA and the project team, as they no longer shared a common frame of reference. The CA adopted the previous, generally skateboarding-unfriendly, frame of reference as a result of failing to question and reflect on misinformation accepted as tacit knowledge. This shift reduced the capacity for mutual learning and joint problem-solving. While the skateboarding community was understandably upset, this gave the City an opportunity to build a skatepark in a new area, previously unconsidered for the first phase of skatepark development.

5.5.3 Institutional Flexibility

In the Site Selection Report, the Huntington Hills skatepark was identified as a skate spot or small neighbourhood park (City of Calgary, 2014a: 24). Yet with the dissolution of the Edgemont Park, the City reconfigured the budget and Huntington Hills “became the community scale park” (VDZ, November 16, 2017). The City was also able to consider a completely new skatepark in the Northeast quadrant of the City. The Northeast did not initially have a skatepark slated for development because there was not enough feedback from the community. Numerous new Canadian communities populate the Northeast, and the awareness of the project was not as high as other areas of the City. Council recognized that while there was no formal request from the Northeast, there was a need in the area and directed Administration to pursue the development of a Northeast skatepark. The project team recognized the need to expand their repertoire of engagement and mobilization tactics to communicate and collaborate with the Northeast communities effectively.

The method by which the City used to identify sites initially involved receiving input from the community. However, there was minimal input from the Northeast communities, so the City had to adjust tactics. Using data from the Mobile Skatepark Program, the Sport and Partnership Development department identified several communities in the Northeast that regularly ask for mobile parks, and have high numbers of users.

We look at ... where they've gone in the past. Where they've been well received, or not well received and know that ahead of time. Then lay that in with our decision-making matrix about how to identify a site, how to build a site; the planning side of the world. Then use that data to make an evidence-based decision, then move forward with the engagement component.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

The project team identified a new process by implementing double-loop learning. Given the information available, the Recreation team, working with van der Zalm as an extension of the SSR contract, moved ahead with site analysis to determine locations that were physically feasible for development and narrowed the selection down to two sites within the communities surrounding the Genesis Centre. The team had gained this important intellectual capital before seeking to engage the community and expanding social capital through mutual learning. Once prepared, the project team initiated conversations with the communities surrounding the Genesis Centre. The Genesis Centre is a recreation centre that is run by a not-for-profit society in partnership with the YMCA; the not-for-profit society has representation from the three neighbouring CAs. These CAs do not have their own buildings but use the Genesis Centre for their operations (SSPD, June 21, 2017). For instance, when these communities have hosted mobile skateparks in the past, the park has been located at the Genesis Centre. It became clear through the discussions that the community associations wanted the park, and the Genesis Centre was the place for construction. The site already met the necessary criteria including facility

amenities, parking, lighting, and access to transit (VDZ, November 16, 2017). With sufficient knowledge and relational resources, the project team was ready to mobilize.

Before moving to engagement, the project team had a geotechnical assessment completed. The project team had learned from past experiences that it is unfair to ask the public for design input without knowing that some of the features they may request are physically unfeasible.

What we learned is that in some scenarios, we created an expectation that we were never actually going to be able to deliver on, because we engaged at a point where we didn't have enough information to know that there were restrictions there.

SSPD, June 21, 2017

The results of the assessment showed that the water table for the site is quite high, as a result, the park would have to be a plaza-style park without any deep bowls and transition elements. This broadened the range of knowledge and allowed the team to move forward with a more informed public engagement process. Again, given past experiences, the team chose to host more focus group sessions with CASE and other key stakeholders to gain input, support, and validation for the project. In some instances, it is more effective to engage key stakeholders through directed engagement in addition to an open house for all members of the public, than simply an open house alone. This combination of engagement methods can create champions with different individual capacities to aid in mobilizing a project from different arenas: “Genesis gave us that opportunity to learn and change the way we approach relationships and change the way we approach the project” (SSPD, June 21, 2017). The engagement for this park was different; the open house was attended by younger residents, new Canadians, and “lots more girls” (VDZ, November 16, 2017). With the approval of the community and the City, the Genesis Centre skatepark is now slated for tender and construction later in 2018. The project should have

sufficient flexibility to withstand institutional shifts, given that the community has a stronger morphology than Edgemont and the addition of champions from the Genesis Centre.

5.5.4 Summary

The Edgemont and Genesis skatepark situation is a significant example of testing the flexibility of institutional capacity and the collaborative planning process. This example ties together elements from all themes in this analysis. The initial goal was to build a skatepark in Edgemont, and while there was initial consensus, the relationship between the City and CA changed over the course of the engagement process. In preparation for the eventual development of a city-wide skatepark network, the City was able to adapt to the situation and address a different goal: the development of a skatepark in the Northeast quadrant of the City. The project team developed a new mobilization and implementation process, through which they gained technical knowledge and formed new relationships. This process resulted in the achievement of a skatepark plan suited for and approved by the community. While this example involves elements of all the themes, the next chapter further distills the analysis, directly relating the findings to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

6.0 Discussion

Several points have been raised through the exploration and analysis of the Calgary process of skateboarding amenities development, as they relate to the application of the theories on skateboarding and planning, tactical urbanism, and collaborative planning. This chapter discusses the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 as it relates directly to the case study explored in Chapters 4 and 5. As the body of literature on skateboarding and planning is still growing, this chapter uses the literature in relation to tactical urbanism and collaborative planning.

Skateboarding and tactical urbanism both critique the form and function of cities, but the City of Calgary has taken this critique as constructive feedback and incorporated it into a collaborative planning process. Historically, the relationship between skateboarding communities and local authorities have been combative struggles for power over space, but through open and honest communication these relationships have turned collaborative. Acting as a team, the City and skateboarding community have bolstered institutional capacity and developed a spectrum of skateboarding amenities.

6.1 Changing the Process of Tactical Urbanism

All ideas should be explored, as sometimes the most unconventional approach may lead to agreement and action. Tactical urbanism proposes small, temporary and immediate responses to issues, and bridges the gap between planning and implementation (Saitta, 2013; Lydon and Garcia, 2015). The mobile skateparks fit this definition, in that the original temporary skateboard park pilot project was a temporary measure between planning for a permanent skatepark (Millennium Park) and the actual construction of the park. Though the timing was not perfect, the mobile skateparks received funding to expand the program with two additional mobile

skateparks in 2016 to address the growing need for space to skateboard, while the new permanent skateparks were under construction.

The skateboarding literature notes that skateboarding is a spatial, social and temporal critique of the city (Borden, 2001). By extension, I would argue that the Mobile Skatepark Program is a critique of the city, by the City, or a self-reflection if you will. The spaces that become mobile skateparks are typically parking lots and outdoor hockey rinks. When these spaces transform into mobile skateparks, they change the way people think about and interact with that space. The City collects data from the mobile parks which allows the City to also reflect on the use of these spaces and how alternative use could create changes in form, function, or policy. In doing so, the City expands institutional capacity and improves the ability to turn decisions into actions.

The City used two key mechanisms in tandem to address the lack of opportunities to skateboard. The quick and temporary provision of mobile skateparks addressed the need immediately, while the planning process and development of a city-wide network of skateboarding amenities addressed the need long-term. This process largely preceded the idea of tactical urbanism, but fits within and differs from the literature in a few ways. There are clear elements of both short-term action and long-term change, same as the theory suggests. However, the short-term actions, in this case, resulted from municipal decisions as opposed to informing initial municipal decision-making. The implementation of the mobile skatepark program did inform long-term change, as information collected from the program was used to develop the CSAS and the city-wide skatepark network concept. In 2017, the Recreation Program Specialist was strategic in locating mobile skateparks in the communities of Bowness and Genesis, as these locations are slated to receive permanent skateparks in 2018. Her idea was to create awareness

about the changes that have already been determined and provide these communities time to prepare for the changes. In a sense, this flips the process of tactical urbanism. The long-term change has been determined, and short-term action was used as an interim measure and an opportunity to make the local communities think about the long-term change that is already in progress. As a method of short-term action, the mobile skatepark program has had numerous roles in creating long-term change. It was initially developed as a reactionary pilot project to the severe lack of skateboarding amenities. The pilot project then turned into a full program based on success and continued demand from community associations and the skateboarding community. Over the years, data has been collected by the program and used in developing permanent skateparks. The program is now well established and continues to expand. The number of skateparks in operation has doubled over the past decade, and now the program runs up to six mobile skateparks simultaneously over the summer. The program and inventory of permanent skateparks, form a spectrum of skateboarding amenities offered by the City of Calgary.

6.2 Constructs and Challenges in Collaborative Planning

Jeremy Németh (2006) noted that normative economic and political structures dictate perceptions of security and order; those that fall outside those parameters are seen as transgressive and are generally unwelcome in public space and, by extension, public arenas for debate. Skateboarders have long been viewed as an unwelcomed group by greater society. However, as the existing literature shows, perceptions can change when there is an organized champion for the skateboarding community (Carr, 2010). Iain Borden (2001) stated that, through the act of skateboarding, skateboarders find their place in greater society by being brutally assertive. Understanding that this point primarily references street-level activity, another version of this sentiment can be applied to how the skateboarding community integrated into the political

arena in Calgary. The Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders (FCS), and the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts (CASE) have been organized advocates for the skateboarding community and have asserted themselves in the decision-making processes of the City of Calgary for the purposes of creating positive change for the skateboarding community and increasing the City's institutional capacity for the sport. The skateboarding community, when organized, has an impressive ability to collaborate with the City and mobilize decisions. There have been two significant phases of consensus building, institutional capacity growth, and development of skateboarding amenities. Both phases started with the incorporation of a non-profit organization to champion the needs of the skateboarding community. The FCS was instrumental throughout the process of developing Millennium Park, and the CSAS would not have been developed had CASE not developed lasting relationships with Council and Administration. Both organizations held positions as subject matter experts and key stakeholders on steering committees for the respective projects. Collaborative planning theory argues that government alone is ill-equipped to provide necessities for all communities and must rely on private, non-profit, and community organizations to fill gaps in service provision (Healey, 1998). As a recognized subject matter expert and liaison between the City and skateboarding community, CASE regularly communicates with the Recreation business unit on all matters related to skateboarding outside of official processes and provides constructive and valued input when required.

Both the FCS and CASE brought the social and cultural issue of skateboarding to the attention of Council and, through collaboration with Administration, justified their requests by increasing the City's knowledge resources through both qualitative and quantitative information. While perhaps not a formal part of the planning process, the parents who commend the mobile

skatepark monitors for their work, and the City for organizing the program contribute to the qualitative data informing the City that skateboarding is a social and recreational activity that Calgarians value. The City started developing relational and knowledge resources by facilitating the initial meetings between the business community and the skateboarding community in the late 1990s and has continued to expand these resources with every stakeholder meeting, open house, and beginner who discovers a passion for skateboarding at a mobile skatepark. The data collected through the mobile skatepark program and studies, such as the Alberta Culture and Tourism 2008 Recreation Survey, provide more substantive quantitative information. These sources of knowledge present various avenues of information gathering that, together, provide holistic evidence that allows the City to make evidence-based decisions.

Collaborative planning is a multi-faceted process between governance, and experiential consensus building and mutual learning. However, issues can arise when objectives from different parties do not align. Fortunately, in the case of Millennium Park, the objectives of the downtown business community, and the skateboarding community aligned. While the business community wanted skateboarding removed their properties, the skateboarding community wanted a space to practice their sport, so collectively they agreed that a skatepark would meet the criteria of both parties. While no realized process perfectly represents ideal collaborative rationality, the planning process for Millennium Park and the beginning of the mobile skatepark program address many of the ideal process criteria defined by Innes and Booher (2016: 9), including:

- A wide variety of perspectives were considered, including those that may be inconvenient;
- The process was focused on a problem of shared interest, providing incentive for collaboratively deciding on the best course of action;

- Early participation focused on building shared understanding of the situation; and,
- An unbiased moderator ensured all parties were equally represented through discussions.

Prior to the involvement of the skateboarding community, the business community and City Administration aimed to understand why skateboarders were using certain buildings and architectural features downtown. Instead of looking to desktop research, the group approached the skateboarding community and invited them to engage in discussion, giving them an opportunity to also voice their goals and concerns. Throughout the discussions, the City Administration acted as an unbiased moderator, as both communities are important to the City, and the objective of the City was to simply resolve the issue. Once it was agreed that a skatepark was the best course of action, Administration set out to collect further information that supported the idea.

A key piece of collaborative planning is the notion that both community and professional based knowledge is required for shared confidence in the information used in decision-making (Innes and Booher, 2016). To this end, there are two simultaneous processes that contribute to bolstering institutional capacity. One led by relational resources, one by knowledge resources. The relational process is less formalized and founded in the relationships built and maintained between CASE, the City, and community associations (CAs). Elements of the process can be as informal as phone calls and coffee meetings, and as formal as presentations by CASE helping CAs determine if a mobile skatepark is right for them. The knowledge process is more formal and is led by the City through Council and Standing Policy Committee directions, and actions carried out by business units (BUs) and departments such as Engage and Recreation. Elements of these processes include developing project engagement plans and reports, hosting stakeholder

meetings and open houses, and making official recommendations and decisions at Council and Committee meetings. The combination of these formal and informal processes greatly increases the City's abilities to build consensus and institutional capacity, develop plans such as the CSAS, and mobilize decisions that result in concrete solutions.

Healey (1998) describes five concepts required to create collaborative change. Table 6.1 compares these concepts to the process of developing skateboarding amenities in Calgary to demonstrate that this case exemplifies elements of all five concepts and support the argument that real collaboration between the City of Calgary and the organized skateboarding community led to collaborative change. Evidence of these concepts exist throughout the case, but these specific examples were selected as isolated representations of elements of collaborative change. While the collaborative planning process was an overall success, it was not without challenge, and not without those who argued against change.

The collaborative planning idea that the power of a good argument should rule decision-making has worked against the development of skateboarding amenities. Flyvbjerg (1998) critiques collaborative planning stating that a power struggle is necessary to empower a community. To this avail, the community of Edgemont stands as a critique of the skatepark development process in Calgary. The Edgemont Community Association initially supported the development of a skatepark in their community. Public engagement sessions were held, and the support was evident. A design for the park had been decided upon and presented at a final open house. Through this process, a small uprising of NIMBY community members rallied support against the development of the skatepark and won control of the Community Association. The final open house turned from a celebration of the development of a new local recreation amenity to a heated debate that resulted in the defeat of the skatepark.

Table 6.1 – How the Case Exemplifies Healey’s Criteria for Collaborative Change (1998)

Concept	Description (Based on Literature)	Case Study Example
Integrative Placemaking	Local economic, social, and environmental relationships are interrelated and should be holistically considered in developing knowledge resources and decision-making.	The skateboarding community, CAs, and other local groups were invited to participate in the skatepark design process to ensure the parks fit the character of each community while meeting the needs of the skateboarding community.
Collaborative Policymaking	Major stakeholders share a common understanding and sense of ownership through collaboration in plan or policy development.	The DP was an initiative set in motion by CASE, completed through collaboration with Administration. The DP led to the development of the CSAS.
Inclusive Stakeholder Involvement	Knowledge resources gain depth with the inclusion of a variety of views. Cross-referencing views aids in developing an interconnected understanding of the issue.	The City of Calgary engaged with the business and skateboarding communities to gain a broad understanding of the issue of downtown skateboarding.
Local Knowledge	Different stakeholders hold different values and may have different ways of thinking. Considering these aspects expand knowledge resources and capacity for collaborative discussion.	CASE is viewed by the City as a subject matter expert, providing inside knowledge about skateboarding and the way the skateboarding community views and uses the city.
Building Relational Resources	Knowledge and understanding can easily be shared between members of a social network when positive relationships are built on trust, appreciation, and open communication exist.	The Recreation Departments responsible for skateboarding amenities and CASE have built such strong relationships that CASE acts as an unofficial social media outlet for these Departments to communicate information directly to the skateboarding community and general public.

This critique of the process allowed the City to test the adapt the process and lean on their partners in collaboration to find a new solution. The subsequent example of the Genesis Centre skatepark illustrates collaborative planning as a combination of formal rationality and

substantive rationality, or in other terms, communicative rationality and instrumental rationality. Issues arise when planners assume that formal rationality alone can lead to good planning (Allmendinger, 2009). Collaborative planning aims to inspire regular, synergistic partnerships between public, private, and community organizations. I argue that in applied collaborative planning, communicative rationality is the development and maintenance of positive and productive relationships, and instrumental rationality is the production of data and quantitative information used to support and validate these relationships. In reorganizing from the Edgemont fallout, the City worked with van der Zalm, and CASE to collaboratively find a solution. That solution was identified as a result of analyzing data collected through the Mobile Skatepark Program, conducting desktop research to compare sites to the criteria detailed in the CSAS, followed by geotechnical analysis to determine physical feasibility. This process differed from the previous skatepark site selections as the development of intellectual capital preceded social capital. The reason being that the City had predetermined the goal to develop a skatepark in the Northeast, and decided to find feasible locations before engaging CAs to reduce the risk of finding an interested CA that did not have any feasible locations for a park. The solution became a reality when a site was determined, and the project team expanded their relationship with the Genesis Centre, and the three community associations that use the facility.

6.3 Skateboarding, Tactical Urbanism, and Institutional Capacity

As shown by the selection of the Genesis Centre for the latest location for a permanent skatepark, temporary interventions can be used by municipalities to initiate a collaborative planning process. Elements of tactical urbanism can help change perspective, or frame of reference, increasing institutional capacity through knowledge resources. The resounding success of the mobile skatepark program has been a major factor in changing the frame of reference on

skateboarding in Calgary and changing the perception of Calgary itself from an anti-skateboarding to skateboard-friendly city. In both theories of tactical urbanism and collaborative planning, champions play an important roll in achieving project mobilization. While the temporary skatepark pilot project was built as a government-led initiative, the need was identified by the skateboarding community and the two groups came together in providing the mobile skatepark program. The City hires skateboarders to monitor the skateparks and teach skateboarding lessons, and in turn, the skateboarding community actively works to positively change the perception of skateboarding as a sport and culture. The representatives at CASE have been the biggest champions of all, continually enhancing their relationship with the City through both Council and Administration and providing subject matter expertise on all skateboarding related projects in the city. The growing presence of skateboarding facilities and programming, both permanent and mobile, throughout the neighbourhoods across the city creates opportunities for passive and active interaction to residents and skateboarders alike, making skateboarding an increasingly approachable sport.

7.0 Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to examine the how Calgary transitioned from being an anti-skateboarding city to one of the most skateboard-friendly cities in North America in the span of twenty years. Specifically, this research identified the key factors that guided the City through the decision-making process from wishing to increase the fine for skateboarding², to developing a plan for a city-wide skatepark network. To achieve this, I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives from City Administration, a prominent community organization, and a project consultant involved at various points throughout the process. To gain insight into the history of the progression, I analyzed City documents including agendas, minutes, bylaws, policies, and plans from 1997 to 2018. The opinions expressed through the interviews and the details of the documents aided in forming a comprehensive understanding of the process of the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary.

In this chapter, I summarize the key findings and lessons learned from the study, present answers to my initial research questions, provide recommendations for government and non-governmental organizations, and suggest directions for future research.

7.1 Answering the Research Questions

Chapter 1 identified four key questions that have guided the research in this thesis. This section summarizes the answers to each question.

² The fine for skateboarding has remained at \$25 since 1997.

What were the underlying political and social conditions that led to the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary?

Since the 1970s, the skateboarding community in Calgary has made numerous attempts to build private indoor skateboarding facilities with no facility lasting longer than four years. Until the late 1990s, skateboarders in Calgary did not have any City sanctioned space to practice their sport. In 1997, the business community of downtown Calgary approached City Council with the issue of skateboarders damaging their properties. A Councillor put forward a motion to increase the fines for skateboarding, and grant police officers the ability to seize skateboards. The issue was given to the Standing Policy Committee of Transportation, Transit (SPC TTP) and Parking to manage. The SPC TTP directed Administration to investigate options for addressing the issue. Administration decided to better understand the root cause of the issue by researching if other municipalities had faced similar issues and how they managed them, and by engaging in discussions with both the Building Owners and Managers Association and the skateboarding community. Through the collaborative discussions, it revealed that skateboarders found certain architectural features appealing and challenging for performing skateboard tricks. With no sanctioned spaces to skateboard, skaters resorted to using public and private infrastructure downtown. The solution was identified through these discussions and supported by the findings from the municipality comparison study on building skateparks. The SPC TTP recommended to Council that the best course of action was the development of a permanent skatepark, along with a bylaw investigation to relax regulations allowing skateboarders access to the skatepark and potentially further penalize those that continue to use downtown infrastructure to practice the sport. Council understood that the opposing sides of the issue had built consensus and collaboratively had identified a mutually beneficial solution, and understood through the

municipality comparison study that the most appropriate decision was to build a skatepark near the downtown core.

How have skateparks been developed to achieve the goals of the City of Calgary and the skateboarding community?

A precursor to this question is: what were the goals set by the City and skateboarding community? This question is answered in detail in Chapter 4, but in summary, the goals set by the City were to resolve the issue of inappropriate skateboarding downtown and provide recreation amenities that would allow skateboarders to safely and appropriately practice their sport. The objectives of the skateboarding community were to no longer be persecuted for skateboarding, and the provision of more opportunities to legally practice their sport.

These goals were achieved through a collaborative planning process between the City, the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders, and other interested parties by developing and implementing a plan for a skatepark at Millennium Park. The City also implemented a temporary skatepark pilot project to provide the skateboarding community an interim immediate solution that allowed them to practice their sport in sanctioned spaces. The activism on the part of the skateboarding community subsided over the years until a new society was formed: the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts (CASE). CASE brought an extension of the initial goals of the skateboarding community forward to the City. With 30,000 skateboarders in the City, there were insufficient amenities for the community to practice their sport. The City partnered with CASE to develop an initial study that led to the creation of a full Skateboarding Amenities Strategy. The Strategy was designed and implemented with the assistance of a knowledgeable consultant, and in cooperation with community associations around the city.

What policy, economic, and social impacts have the skateboarding amenities development process had on the skateboarding community in Calgary? In turn, how has the skateboarding community impacted the development of skateboarding amenities?

Admittedly, the analysis of the research shows that parts one and two of this question are intertwined, and the latter has more answers than the former. The reason the City has an array of skateboarding amenity types is because the skateboarding community formalized a representative body to engage City Council and Administration. Through the efforts of the FCS and CASE, and the respect and collaboration offered by the City of Calgary, skateboard parks and programming have been created. In addition, CASE has been involved in skateboarding beyond skateparks and into the political realm. Over time, CASE has formed relationships with different Councillors and worked with these Councillors to create positive change for the skateboarding community. Recently, CASE worked with a Councillor to put together a notice of motion to repeal a section of the Land Use Bylaw, approved in 1986, that restricted the development of skateboard ramps on private residential properties. In 2016, Council approved the motion and worked with CASE to develop appropriate regulations for backyard ramps. Evidence is provided throughout this thesis supporting the notion that the development of skateboarding infrastructure has been the result of strong relationships between the City and the skateboarding community.

What lessons can be learned from the Calgary process of skateboard amenities development that may be applicable to other cities, communities, and initiatives?

This process is highly applicable to other municipalities and potentially other initiatives. The key to this process was the organization of the community and the relationship building between the organization and the local authority. An under-represented position through this thesis has been the role of the consultant. While CASE had the ambition and the knowledge of the sport and

local context, the consultant brought the expertise that could translate the knowledge of CASE into a strategy with concrete recommendations that could be, and were, implemented by the City.

A unique component of the process is the Mobile Skatepark Program. This program has simultaneously provided an interim solution, as well as an opportunity to collect data and engage the community in a non-standard and creative planning process. The next section provides a conclusive list of lessons learned that could be applied by interest groups and municipalities.

7.2 Key Discoveries and Lessons Learned

The goal of the document analysis was to comprehend the process physical events that occurred, that led Calgary to become a skateboard friendly city. The aim of the semi-structured interviews with professionals was to provide intimate details cultivating the context of the process through lived experience. Through the analysis of Chapters 4 and 5, it became apparent there were three key observation pairings related to collaborative decision-making, phases of progress, and approaches to service provision that contributed to the success of skatepark development in Calgary. Each discovery has associated lessons learned that might be applicable to local authorities, community associations, skateboarding communities, and other activity-based communities.

The involvement of an organized society characterized two distinct phases of progress.

What started as an issue of unwanted skateboarding activity downtown, resulted in the development of a skatepark downtown. This was made possible as the skateboarding community had created an organization, the Fellowship of Calgary Skateboarders, to represent the community in an official capacity. This also made it easier for the City and other groups to form relationships with the skateboarding community through the FCS. When the FCS dissolved, there was a lull in the progress of skateboarding amenities in Calgary and a loss of institutional

capacity, but progress resumed, and capacity was rebuilt when CASE was incorporated as the new voice for the skateboarding community. CASE initiated the process of developing a city-wide skatepark network and has been involved throughout the entire process from the first notice of motion in 2010, to the ongoing design and construction of permanent skateparks in 2018.

There are numerous interest groups and communities in any given City. Understandably, it is difficult for the City, even with its numerous business units and departments, to have meaningful engagement with each of these communities. To engage with large groups of people, a City requires consistency (SSPD, June 21, 2017). There are well over 100 neighbourhoods in Calgary, each with different needs. For each neighbourhood to communicate with the City, they have a community association that represents them. CASE operates the same way; they are a cohesive organization through which the City can communicate with the skateboarding community at large. *Lesson Learned: Communities need an organization to effectively communicate with local authorities.*

Before CASE proposed the idea of a skateboarding amenities strategy to the Councillor, they had developed a relationship with him through which they could have casual discussions. Likewise, the informal relationships between CASE and the Recreation Departments have resulted in positive outcomes for both parties. CASE and the City have also worked together in formal capacities such as collaboratively developing the Discussion Paper, and working on the Calgary Skateboarding Amenities Strategy through a joint steering committee. *Lesson Learned: To achieve optimal results, the organized community must create formal and informal relationships with local authorities. If applicable, and once relationships are established, local authorities should recognize the organized community in a symbolic manner, such as*

considering them subject matter experts and legitimize their involvement through means such as inclusion on committees for relevant projects.

Relationships and research led to informed, collaborative decision-making.

Without the relationships between FCS and BOMA, CASE and the City, neighbourhood communities and the skateboarding community, the process would not have succeeded in the same way. Through every step in the decision-making process, detailed quantitative research was provided to support the decisions made based on social and cultural reasoning. Goals and recommendations were determined through relationship and consensus building, while knowledge-based resources were used to support decision-making. The process was inversed in the decision to build a skatepark at the Genesis Centre as the City reassessed the situation following the fallout with the Edgemont community association. Quantitative analysis was used to inform discussions with community associations in this adaptation of the original collaborative planning process. Though the process differed, the project team was successful in building consensus, institutional capacity, and collaboratively designing a new skatepark with CASE, van der Zalm + Associates, three Northeast community associations, and the Genesis Centre.

Collaborative planning involves creating long-term relationships that extend beyond individual projects. When the community of Edgemont decided they no longer wanted a skatepark, the City turned to CASE and van der Zalm for assistance in finding an alternative solution. The institutional capacity of a City and the ability to adapt to rapid change increase when strong relationships and partnerships are formed and maintained. *Lesson Learned: Interested parties should develop a common frame of reference to identify shared goals, proceed in a collaborative manner, and abate adversarial disputes. Lesson Learned: Local Authorities*

should allow room for adaptability in the planning process and rely on project partners for assistance when unexpected change occurs.

A double-faceted approach to amenities provision presents citizens a spectrum of recreational opportunities.

Through the Mobile Skatepark Program, and the first phase of the city-wide skatepark network, Calgarians are provided a spectrum of skateboarding opportunities unique unto its own. The research, including precedent research and conversations with van der Zalm, consultants for numerous skatepark projects across North America, concludes that there are no examples that compare to the provision of skateboarding amenities offered by the City of Calgary. By providing an inclusive combination of permanent and mobile components, as well as skatepark programming including lessons, supervision, and competitions, there are opportunities for Calgarians of all ages and abilities to participate in skateboarding unlike anywhere else.

When the City had decided to develop its first permanent skatepark, there was still a lengthy two-year process before it was constructed. However, local skateboarders were provided an opportunity to practice their sport through the temporary skateboard park pilot project. In providing this immediate interim solution, the City was showing the skateboarding community good faith and building what would become a long-standing relationship. A short-term solution can also be used as a planning method for the long-term solution through both qualitative and quantitative information gathering. If the short-term solution is successful in-and-of-itself, it could develop into an ongoing program to supplement the long-term solution. The pilot project was so successful that communities continued to demand it year after year, which led to the development of the Mobile Skatepark Program. *Lesson Learned: Once long-term goals have been recognized, local authorities should provide the community with immediate, short-term*

solutions. Where applicable, the short-term solutions should be adapted into programming to supplement the long-term solution to create a spectrum of opportunities.

7.3 Closing Remarks

This thesis connects the literature on skateboarding and planning, tactical urbanism, and collaborative planning to create a theoretical framework for analyzing the process and development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary. There were, however, areas of the study that could be developed further. For instance, I examined the departmental structure and relationships within the City of Calgary, but did not look at the internal structure of CASE as an organization. Further understanding the structure and relationships within a successful skateboarding advocacy group would add significant value to the body of literature on skateboarding and planning, and collaborative planning.

All interviewees recognized that skateboarding will be an event at the 2020 Olympic games. This may have a significant impact on the development of skateboarding across Canada at all levels of regulation and legislation. The federal government is developing a National Sport Organization for skateboarding, and it is possible that provincial bodies may also develop sports organizations for skateboarding (SSPD, June 21, 2017). If these organizations are to develop, there are many questions about how they will operate. What will their economic and social impacts be on municipalities and skateboarding communities? Will they recognize local advocacy groups? As skateboarding continues to develop as a legitimate sport, is it losing touch with the culture that gave rise to the movement?

As the case study of this thesis shows, the avant-garde and entrepreneurial spirit of the skateboarding community is what fueled the development of skateboarding amenities in Calgary. The collaborative planning process itself was a new undertaking for all parties involved and, as

proven by the Edgemont scenario, the process is not perfect. However, as shown by the growing network of permanent skateparks and the mobile skatepark program, the provision of skateboarding amenities is flexible and provides a wide variety of skateboarding opportunities across the City.

A future City of Calgary recreation program provides evidence that the collaborative planning process of skateboarding amenities, particularly the mobile skatepark program, can be adapted to other initiatives. The Mobile Outdoor Fitness Program, as identified in the City of Calgary's Inclusive Play Spaces Implementation Plan (2018), will include mobile fitness parks that are staffed by the City and is intended to provide communities with inclusive, accessible opportunities for fitness and recreation. The program is modelled "after the successful mobile skateparks", and is intended for launch between 2019 and 2022 (City of Calgary. Community and Protective Services, 2018: 12).

Unlike a lot of other sports environments, skateparks provide a space for practitioners to develop skills in a collaborative, non-competitive environment. Skateparks create places for socialization, where the sense of community grows with every newcomer that steps on a board for the first time. The skateboarding community carried these core principles over to political arena where they worked with the City of Calgary through a collaborative planning process to develop more of these inclusive recreational spaces, engage in mutual learning, and expand institutional capacity. I hope that in documenting this collaborative planning process, my work can contribute to building intellectual capital and institutional capacity in other Cities for community-driven initiatives like skateboarding. For a sport rooted in collaboration, collaborative planning only makes sense.

8.0 References

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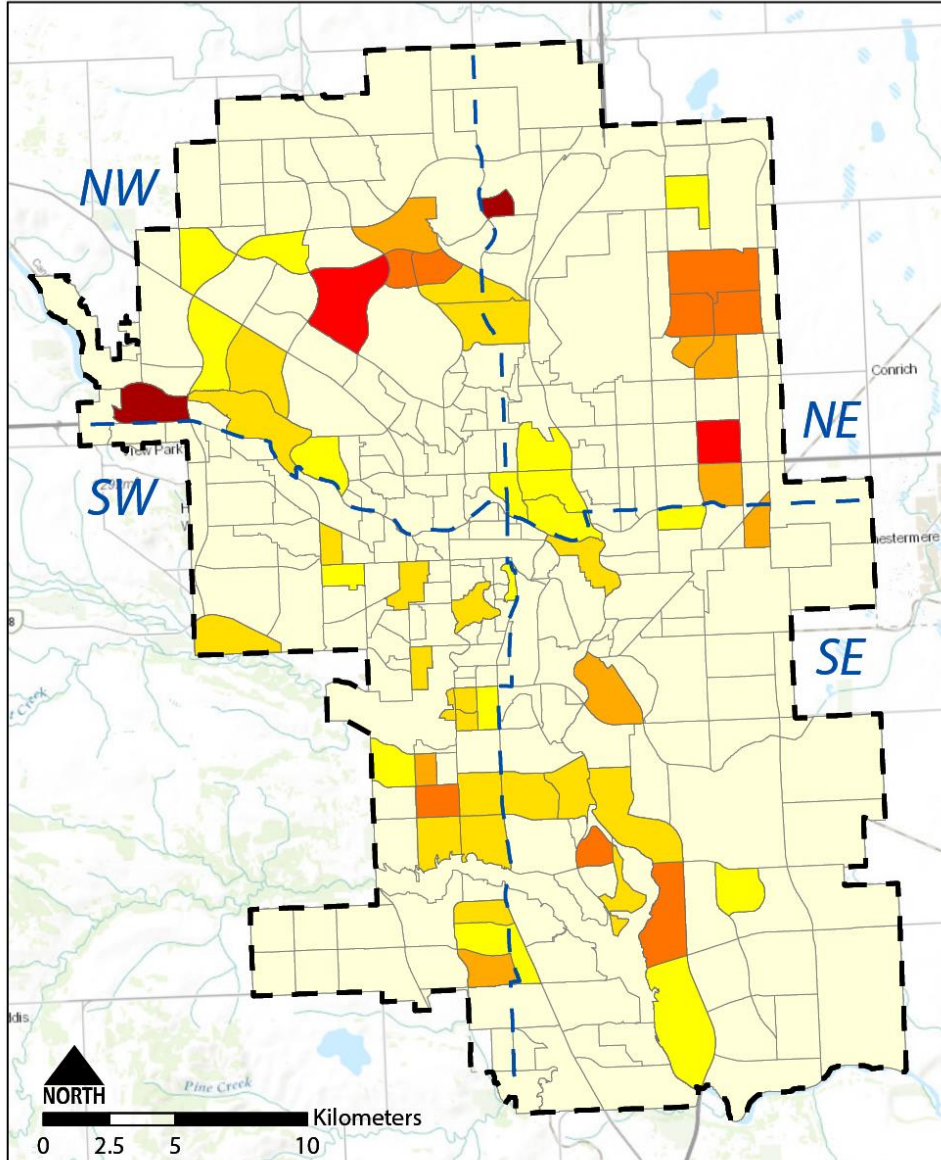
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Appendices

Appendix A: Skateboard Mapping

Map 1: Mobile Skatepark Host Communities (2010 – 2017)



Legend

- City Boundary
- City Quadrants
- Community Boundaries

Number of Years Hosting

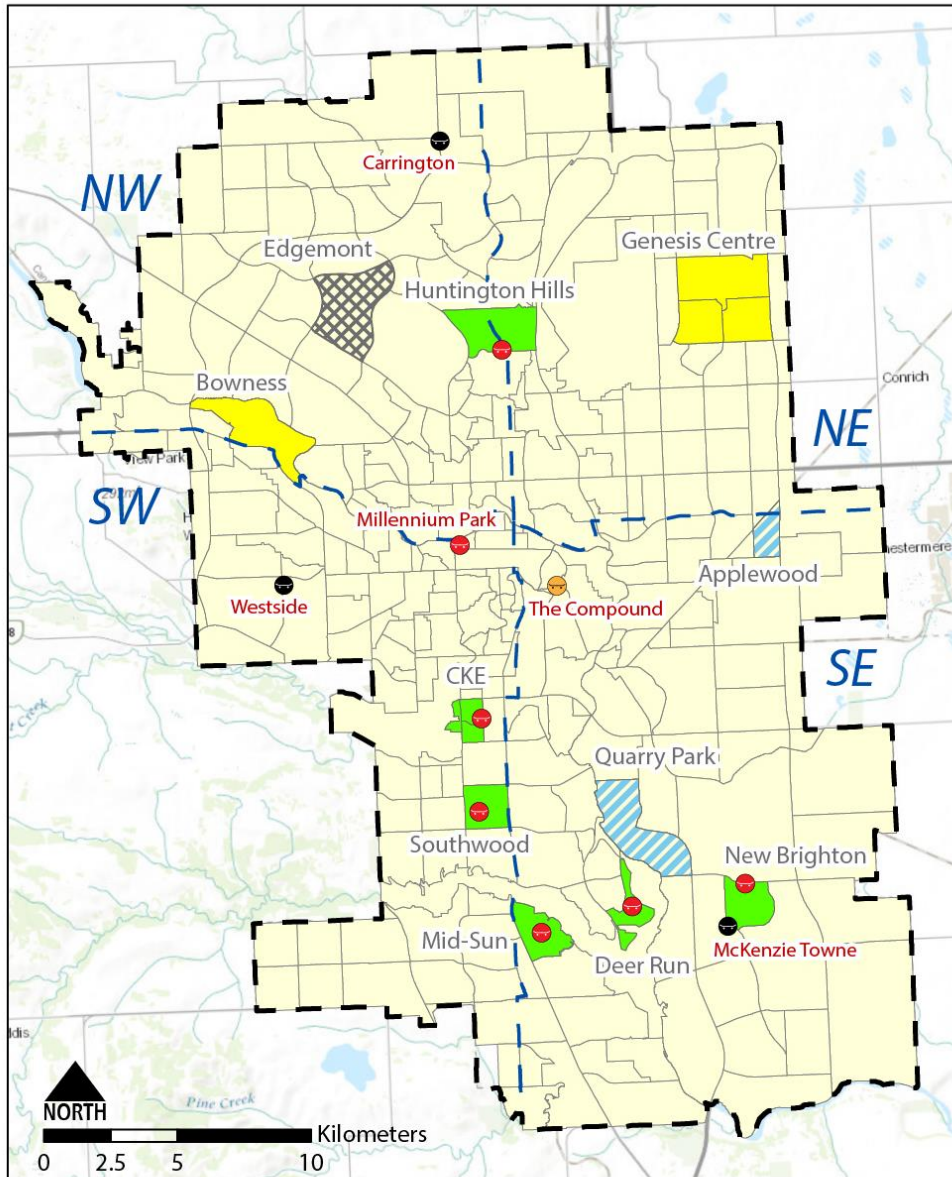
- | | |
|-------------|------------|
| One Year | Four Years |
| Two Years | Five Years |
| Three Years | Six Years |

Projection: NAD 83, UTM Zone 11N

Data Sources: City of Calgary, OpenStreetMap, NRCAN, Esri

Notes: In some cases multiple neighbouring communities hosted skateparks together.

Map 2: Permanent Skatepark Locations and Site Selection Report Communities



Legend

- City Boundary
- City Quadrants
- Community Boundaries

Skatepark Operator

- Municipal
- Other
- Other/Indoor

State of Skatepark

- Built
- Construction Process
- Future Phase Development
- Community Defeated

Projection: NAD 83, UTM Zone 11N
Data Sources: City of Calgary, OpenStreetMap, NRCAN, Esri
Notes: Grey labels indicate Site Selection Report locations, Red labels indicate all other skateparks.

Map 3: Edgemont Skatepark Site Analysis



Legend

- Transit Routes
- Pathways
- Bikeways

Amenities

-  Bus Stop
-  Washroom
-  Parking
-  Proposed Skatepark Site

Projection: NAD 83, UTM Zone 11N

Data Sources: City of Calgary, van der Zalm + Associates, Esri

Notes: Based on Edgemont Site Analysis Map in the the Calgary Future Skateboard Amenities Site Selection Report, 2014.

Appendix B: Letter of Project Introduction



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

City Planning
201 Russell Building
84 Curry Place
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2
Tel: (204) 474-9458
Fax: (204) 474-7532

I invite you to participate in a semi-structured interview as part of my Master's Thesis Project on collaborative planning and the use of temporary interventions as a means of engagement. The following information is intended to provide you with important background information on my Master of City Planning Thesis Project at the University of Manitoba. The project is being supervised by Dr. Janice Barry, Assistant Professor in the Department of City Planning.

This thesis examines how a combination of the theories and practices of collaborative planning and temporary interventions may meaningfully involve unique stakeholder groups, such as the skateboarding community, in the planning process. I will conduct a case study of the Mobile Skatepark program in Calgary. The program involves several temporary skateparks set up in various communities across the city and a system to collect data on the use of the parks. The data has been used to create several skateboarding infrastructure development guiding documents. The methods of research I will use include qualitative and quantitative data collected through archival research and semi-structured interviews with representatives from staff and Council of the City, the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts (CASE), and several of the community associations involved in the process. My aim is to use the collected information to develop a greater understanding of collaborative planning and how temporary interventions may be used to achieve greater community engagement. The statement of informed consent attached with this email will provide you detailed information on the procedures, risks and benefits of participating in the study.

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB). If you have any concerns about the project, you may contact the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at ***** or e-mail: *****@*****.

Please feel free to contact me at *****@***** or ***** for more details. You may also contact my thesis Advisor Dr. Janice Barry at *****@***** or ***** for any clarifications on the study.

Appendix C: Sample Interview Consent Form



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

City Planning
201 Russell Building
84 Curry Place
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2
Tel: (204) 474-9458
Fax: (204) 474-7532

Ethics Protocol Submission

Statement of Informed Consent

Research Project Study: *Collaborate, Participate, and Skate: A Case Study on the Planning Process of the Calgary Mobile Skateparks*

Principal Investigator: Jeffrey Hanson, Graduate Student, Master of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Research Supervisor: Janice Barry, Assistant Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Introduction

You are invited to partake in a research study. This consent form, a copy of which you may keep for your records, is intended to ensure you have consented willingly with all necessary information. It explains what is involved in the research and what is expected of you as an interview participant.

Please take the time to carefully read, understand, and review the consent form and provided supplementary information about the research. If you have questions or would like more information, please contact me (the Principal Investigator).

Purpose of the study

This research will use the case study of the City of Calgary Mobile Skatepark Program to explore a unique example of collaborative planning through which a pilot project was set up to engage and receive input from an important and otherwise underrepresented user group: the skateboarding community. I plan to examine the relationships and collaborative measures between key stakeholders and the resulting impacts on skateboarding infrastructure development, user group activities, and municipal planning processes. The end goal is to identify lessons learned from this case that may be applied in other locations or planning processes.

The research project is a requirement for the completion of the two-year Master of City Planning program at the University of Manitoba.

Study procedures

Should you choose to participate in the study, you will be asked a series of questions pertaining to the Calgary Mobile Skatepark program case study. You may refuse to answer any

questions, and may end the interview at anytime. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. You will be given the opportunity to review and comment on the interview transcript prior to publication of the study to ensure accuracy and omission of any sensitive information. The interview will be approximately 45 minutes to an hour in length.

Participant risks, benefits, costs

There are minimal risks associated with your participation in the research. Your name and position will remain anonymous, however recognizing your organization is important to fully understand the details of the project. This creates a risk, as some of the organizations involved in the study are relatively small and, as a participant, you may be identifiable based on your responses. To minimize these risks, I will provide you with an opportunity to review and comment on your interview transcript to ensure information is accurate and appropriate for the public domain.

The key benefit for participants is the opportunity to share their knowledge and experiences related to the Calgary Mobile Skatepark program. In participating, you are providing valuable input to the growing knowledge base on collaborative planning processes, temporary interventions, and engaging underrepresented stakeholder groups.

Audiotaping & confidentiality

With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. Given permission, I will record a digital audio file of the interview for transcription at a later date. The recordings will be stored in a password protected folder on my personal computer and destroyed post-transcription. If you have reservations about audio-recording, I will take notes as an alternative. You will only be identified by your organization for direct quotes and in explaining your position, for example: “participant 1, City of Calgary”.

The collected data will only be used for this Major Degree Project and will be destroyed within two years after the final submission of the completed thesis. Data may feature in conference papers or articles arising from this research, but such documents must be prepared within the two year period before the destruction of the data. Subsequent papers or articles must rely on data within the Major Degree Project. From collection until destruction the data will be stored in password protected folders on my personal computer and a backup external hard drive, both of which are password protected and kept on my person or in secure locations.

Feedback & debriefing

After completing the interview and transcription, I will provide you with your transcript. This will give you an opportunity to review the content of the interview and modify/omit any comments that may be inaccurate or inappropriate. Once you have received the transcript you are asked to return your comments within two weeks. I will send you a reminder email before the deadline. After receiving your review, I will respond with any questions of clarification and feedback to ensure accuracy of the interview. Only the revised transcripts will be used for analysis. If no feedback is provided within the two week period, it is assumed that you are in agreement with the transcript provided to you. If interested, I will send you a digital copy of the final Major Degree Project upon completion.

Dissemination of results

Research findings will be disseminated through my Major Degree Project as a hard copy at the University of Manitoba Architecture/Fine Arts Library, a digital copy stored in the University of Manitoba M Space, and in my oral defense. Once approved, I will share with you a digital copy of the final Major Degree Project.

Voluntary participation/Withdrawal from study

Your decision to participate in this research study is completely voluntary. You may refuse participation or withdrawal from the study at any time. Should you choose to participate you may refuse to answer any questions and/or end the interview at any time without explanation. If you do choose to withdraw from the study at anytime your interview will be omitted from the study and audio file and transcript data will be deleted.

Contact information

Student Researcher:

Jeff Hanson

Phone: *****

Email: *****

Research Supervisor:

Janice Barry

Phone: *****

Email: *****

Statement of Consent

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB). If you have any concerns or complaints about this project, you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at (204) 474-7122 or by email at humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

If you agree to each of the following, please place a check mark in the corresponding box. If you do not agree, leave the box blank.

1. I have read and understood the details of this consent form. Yes No
 2. My questions have been adequately addressed by the student researcher. Yes No
 3. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time. Yes No
 4. I, _____ (print name), agree to participate in this study. Yes No
 5. I agree to have the interview audio-recorded and transcribed. Yes No
 6. I agree to be contacted by phone or email if further information is required after the interview. Yes No
 7. I agree to have the findings (which may include quotations) from this project published or presented in a manner that reveals my identity. Yes No
- Do you wish to receive a summary of the findings? Yes No

How do you wish to receive the summary?

Email

Surface mail

Address: _____

Participant's Signature _____

Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

The purpose of the proposed research aims to examine the collaborative planning process between local government (City of Calgary), interest-based community group (Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts), and neighbourhood community associations (several). It is my hope that the lessons learned from studying the Calgary Mobile Skatepark program will highlight potential collaborative planning through temporary interventions that may be applied in a variety of places with a variety of communities.

While there are several public documents and plans that touch on the case study, I am conducting semi-structured interviews with those who have been involved in the process to attain a deeper understanding and a more complete picture of program from conception through project implementation to final development plan. I hope to engage members of the City of Calgary administration and Council, the Calgary Association of Skateboarding Enthusiasts, and a few of the community associations from communities that hosted mobile skateparks. I also hope to attain varying perspectives on the process from each interviewee group. To ensure consistency and reliability, all interviews will follow a set of standard questions to guide the conversation and produce comparable data. Here is a list of sample questions:

1. What is your organization's connection to the Calgary Mobile Skatepark program?
 - a. What is your personal connection to the program?
2. Through your own experience, please explain what the Calgary Mobile Skatepark program is.
 - a. Walk me through your understanding of the process of the program.
3. How did the program first develop?
 - a. Who was involved at the time?
 - b. What were the initial goals of the program?
 - i. Did different involved parties have different agendas?
4. Has the program evolved over the course of its existence?
 - a. If so, how has it evolved?
 - i. Have the goals changed?
 - ii. Have the relationships between involved parties changed?
5. Who have been the key decision makers throughout the progression of the program?
 - a. Has the decision-making process changed over time?
 - i. If so, how?
6. What have the relationships between involved parties been like?

- a. Have relationships ended?
 - b. Have new relationships formed?
 - c. How have existing relationships changed over time?
7. How were neighbourhood communities involved in the process?
 - a. How were skateboarders and non-skateboarders involved?
 - b. Was there public consultation prior to set up of mobile skateparks?
 - i. If so, what was it like?
 - ii. If not, why?
 - c. What was public engagement like regarding the development of the *Skateboarding Amenities Strategy* and the *Site Selection Report*?
 - i. What methods of engagement were used?
 - ii. What information was shared?
 - iii. How was the shared information received?
 - iv. Subsequently, how were the comments and concerns from the public addressed?
8. Have there been external elements that have affected the development of the program?
 - a. Policies or bylaws?
 - b. Economic or infrastructure development?
 - c. Social or community changes?
9. Has the implementation of this program affected the skateboarding community in Calgary?
 - a. If so, how?
 - b. If not, why?
10. Inversely, has the skateboarding community impacted the direction and development of the program?
 - a. If so, how?
 - b. If not, why?
11. Has the Mobile Skatepark program affected the way the City interacts with smaller interest groups regarding development?
12. Is there anything else about the program that you would like to tell me?
 - a. Are there any key take-aways from the process, or personal highlights of the program?
 - b. Who else was a key figure in the program, and might be useful for me to talk to?

Appendix E: CORE Certificate of Completion

PANEL ON RESEARCH ETHICS <small>Navigating the ethics of human research</small>	TCPS 2: CORE	
<h1><i>Certificate of Completion</i></h1>		
<p><i>This document certifies that</i></p>		
<p>Jeffrey Hanson</p>		
<p><i>has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)</i></p>		
Date of Issue:	5 April, 2016	