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Voices from a Disappearing Forest: Government, Corporate, and Cree Participatory Forestry Management Practices

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Participation: A New Discourse of Control and Exclusion?

Participation has become a cornerstone of the new solutions to problems of the management of resources and the legitimation of their exploitation. Sustainable development, economic development planning, and “post-colonial” Aboriginal policies all claim to give various sectors of the public specific forms of participating in resource-use decisions that will benefit all of society as well as the environment. But under this new rubric the opportunities to participate, and the means and conditions of participation, are being offered on the terms set by government authorities and the corporate sector. As a result, some analysts assert that the goal may be more to get citizens groups to comply with government and corporate uses of resources than to actually give them an effective voice. Nevertheless, compliance cannot be taken for granted, for these new arenas of participatory discourse and action are sites of contestation that may also serve as resources for autonomous demands for change. Some studies show that participation can contest and sometimes change the hierarchy of authoritative voices; the structure, scope, and definition of the processes of development; and the political context within which it occurs (see Richardson et al. 1993; and Pinkerton and Weinstein 1995 for examples).²

This chapter explores the significance of participation in the new forestry management regimes that have emerged in Canada and, especially, in northern Quebec. Participation has become the rhetoric of all those who want to use the resources of James Bay. Hydro-Québec has told James Bay Cree organizations that they may become partners, and co-owners, of its newly planned dams. Forestry companies and Quebec’s Ministry of Natural Resources say that new opportunities for participation will give a voice to both the broad public concern for conservation and the particular needs and interests of communities and groups that use and value the forests in diverse ways and that are affected by commercial logging operations. Can

these changes create new forms of decision making and resource use? Or are they being made without relinquishing government or corporate control? Is it possible for participation to work both ways in different situations? Or even in the same situation? For example, would the Cree have stopped the Great Whale project, even though they had no effective voice through the planning processes, without broadly based public support for the view that they should have a say in what happened on their lands? In short, how has participation worked? We begin with a brief review of recent contests for control of public forests.

How "Direct Action" Led to "Participation"

Protests against the ways in which Canada's forests have been exploited, and the intensity of this exploitation, have burgeoned over the last three decades, as have forestry protests in other countries, from South America to Southeast Asia (Devall 1993; Drengson and Duncan 1997; M'Gonigle and Parfitt 1994). Some of these public movements have affected the international economic marketplace through successful boycotts. Consider, for example, the decision by some British supermarket chains not to buy MacMillan Bloedel paper shopping bags and the banning in Germany of paper produced by using elemental chlorine. In the early 1990s, in Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island in British Columbia, several thousand people demonstrated and over 800 were arrested for civil disobedience while blocking forestry operations that threatened to clear-cut the forests of the region. It was a campaign that surprised provincial and federal governments by its intensity and the wide publicity it received, and they could control neither its development nor its consequences. Both the public protesters and the boycotts had impacts on how investors viewed the risk of putting capital into forestry stocks.

Partly as a result of these activities on the part of alliances of environmentalist and Aboriginal social movements – although these movements were not always in agreement – Canadian public opinion shifted and began to oppose the way governments and large corporations were managing public forests. By the late 1980s nearly 70 percent of Canadians thought the governments were not managing forests in the public interest (May 1998; Frisque 1996; Drushka et al. 1993; Marchak 1995). In the 1990s both the federal government and the majority of provinces, with the consent and (usually) the close cooperation of the industry, have made changes in policies, regulations, and/or legislation in order to make room for some public participation in forestry management decisions and to acknowledge that the multiple use of forests should play a greater role in planning commercial operations. At the same time, the forestry industry, responding both to public perceptions and to the boycotts, has substantially revised how it says

it will manage the forest resources that have been allocated to it, largely from Crown lands, and it has mounted a series of publicity and public relations campaigns.

Foresters and forestry analysts have differed dramatically in their assessments of these changes: some call this a revolution in the forestry sector; others declare the changes a sham that merely obscures the continuing dominant alliance of government and corporations; and still others maintain that we should adopt a wait-and-see attitude (see Cantin and Potvin 1996; Dubois 1995; Poissant 1998; May 1998; Frisque 1996). Whichever view one adopts, these new regimes of participation are now part of the context within which organizations and communities are trying to claim an active voice and to contest those features of forestry policy that restrict their fuller participation.

New Quebec Regime of Participation Brings a New Rhetoric of Exclusion

In the last decade, Quebec's attempts to create a requirement for public participation in forestry policy and allocation decisions have been significant. Some analysts say that, in its official documents, Quebec now has some of the best principles for forestry management of any government or jurisdiction in the world. However, even favourable commentators have noted that "[I] nous reste à passer du rêve à la réalité (we still must go from dream to reality)" (Frisque 1996, 33).

What is of concern is whether these changes signal a real shift towards practices that will facilitate broad and meaningful public participation in important forestry policy and allocation decisions. The very limited participation of the public in the processes for developing the new participatory regime has been questioned by professionals in the forestry sector and by activists. And some government reports have acknowledged failure in this regard (Dubois 1995; May 1998; and citations in Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec 2000).

The extent to which there is an as yet unfulfilled public interest for more participation, even after the policy changes, was recently indicated by the public response to a documentary video scripted by Richard Desjardins (a Quebec composer and singer) called *L'Erreur boréale* (Desjardins 1999).³ The video is highly critical of the type of clear-cut forestry still being practised in the northern forests of Quebec, where Desjardins grew up and where his family still lives, and it has provoked widespread public support for change. Desjardins has been interviewed widely in the Quebec media, and he has been selected as "L'homme de l'année" (Man of the Year) of 1999 by the Quebec newsmagazine *L'Actualité* (vol. 24, no. 20, pp. 25-47), which said that the last such "pamphlet" to have as wide an impact in Quebec

appeared some forty years ago.⁴ A 1999 public opinion poll conducted for the newspaper *Le Devoir* found that 75 percent of Quebecers are convinced that “les grandes entreprises d’exploitation sacagent les forêts du Nord (large resource exploitation businesses are destroying the forests in the North)” (*L’Actualité* vol. 24, no. 20, p. 32).

The treatment of the Cree by the Quebec government also raises concerns about the meaning and implementation of participatory mechanisms. In 1996 the then Quebec assistant deputy minister of natural resources, Jacques Robitaille, said in an interview with the independent Cree magazine *The Nation* that nothing would now be done in forestry without consultation (Roslin 1996). But, in the same interview, Mr. Robitaille said, in response to a question about whether the impacts of forestry policies on the rights of Aboriginal peoples were a concern for the government:

What we see is there is the political discourse, which to me is one thing, but there is also the reality on the ground where what is happening with local trappers and communities – I’m not sure it is as bad as certain people would have us believe for the ends of giving themselves a bit of political capital or publicity. (Roslin 1996)

We will examine what is happening locally to Cree hunters and trappers below. It is true that their politics are involved in assertions of impacts and in claiming the right to participate. However, this is an inevitable part of all policy-making mechanisms. Decisions that involve competing claims and different uses of resources are never purely technical: they involve economic and political allocations. All groups that make claims on the forests – forestry companies, the Cree, or the government itself – are involved in decisions that are to some degree political. But the assistant deputy minister’s use of the term “political” with reference to the Cree does not acknowledge this; instead, it implies that Cree concerns are “political” rather than “real.” Thus the subtext of his statement is that the Cree have no concerns that the government need take into account. At the same time, it implies that it is only the government that can be objective (i.e., non-political) and, hence, “real.”⁵

Thus when the government declares that there will be no decisions without consultations, it also initiates a means of excluding groups from, or of diminishing the legitimacy of their participation in, the process. It denies that they have concerns that would legitimate their having an effective voice. It also implies that its own decision making is apolitical and realistic and, therefore, sufficient. These perspectives are not limited to the government: they are echoed in various forms by other groups at the core of the process, including scientists.⁶

Professional views are expressed in a book by l’Association des écologistes du Québec entitled *L’utilisation durable des forêts québécoises: De l’exploitation à la protection*, which is intended as a reference work for diverse audiences (Potvin, in Cantin and Potvin 1966, 2). In this collection Gilles Frisque reviews the changes in Quebec forestry politics and policies, and the public protests against Quebec forestry management in the past, under the title “Politiques forestières québécoises: *Le Québec est-il un Brésil du nord?*” (Frisque 1996, italics in original). The author is both critical and hopeful about the implementation of the new policies, and he recognizes the contributions of public protests to the creation of conditions of change, while rejecting what he argues are the extreme claims of environmental organizations, such as the analogy between Quebec’s forestry practices and Brazil’s.⁷

Frisque (1996, 30) also addresses Aboriginal issues and views, acknowledging that “le désir des populations autochtones de profiter de la ressource forestière et de protéger leur territoire afin d’assurer leur développement est parfaitement justifié.” He goes on: “Cependant, l’absence de données factuelles et les réponses legalistes aux attaques souvent exagérées des représentants autochtones ne conduisent pas à un dialogue constructif” (30). Thus, while Aboriginal peoples have a just claim to benefit from forestry resources and to protect their lands for their own development, they do not have the factual knowledge to participate effectively. Their strategy, he says, has been to turn legalistic and to engage in exaggerated attacks. As a result, he believes that they have failed to contribute to a constructive dialogue. He implies that they themselves are responsible for not effectively participating in forestry decision making. The solution he proposes is as follows:

La stratégie de protection des forêts du Québec préconise une approche préventive et holistique. Ceci devrait permettre de solutionner des problèmes qui, jusqu’à présent, avaient été abordés d’une façon strictement sectorielle, ponctuelle ou même conflictuelle ... Tout ingénieur forestier sait maintenant qu’il doit tenir compte de l’ensemble des ressources du milieu forestier et faire participer à ses décisions les spécialistes des autres disciplines, y compris les spécialistes en sciences sociales. (30)

Here participation would be extended from forestry engineers to experts from other disciplines, especially the social sciences. But recognition of the contributions that the knowledge and experience of citizens and Aboriginal peoples could make, alongside that of the scientists, is missing. Also missing from the decision-making process are the communities of people affected by commercial forestry. The policy recommendation calls for a holistic approach that seeks to avoid sectorialism and that, therefore, should

recognize diverse peoples' interests in forestry resources. Yet it omits them from decision making. The implication is that professional social scientists will represent the interests of those groups. The argument expands upon, and, in many important respects, runs parallel to, the one made by Roslin. In both cases a regime of participation is used to exclude, to leave decision making in the hands of government or professional experts.

The rest of this chapter suggests both that there is Aboriginal knowledge that should play a role in forestry regime decision making and that the James Bay Cree have been constructively trying to participate in forestry decision making for several decades. It also asks whether the new participatory policy and regime are leading to a more effective public voice within the forestry regime.

Cree Initiatives for Participation

Knowing Forestry through Experience

James Bay Cree concerns about the way industrial forestry is being conducted and the impacts it is having on land, vegetation, animals, and Cree hunters and their families have been expressed throughout the last forty years. They have been expressed with increasing vigour and by more and more hunters. The following notes, taken from a series of interviews with Waswanipi Cree hunters recorded by Feit in the early 1980s, pre-date the revision of Quebec legislation. What he finds is that the same concerns were being expressed in the late 1960s and the late 1990s.

They can't really kill as many moose as before, because they are cutting too close and scaring the moose. Moose usually go away when they hear noise ...

After cutting, moose comes back, but he just passes through, looks for some wooded area to stay in. From where they first started cutting a long time ago, there are some high [bushes] there, but not trees, just shrubs ... When they get taller probably [moose will] stay, can't stay there [now] because it's too open. Beaver not affected [that way] by forestry.

Nobody asked [him if he wanted them] to leave [some] trees, [or] mark on map [areas he did not want cut]. Wants some areas left uncut, if [they] only leave small yards [for] moose [the moose] won't stay long. (Sydney Otter, 30/8/1983)⁸

Many other hunters echoed these concerns, although not all comments were negative. Hunters often said that the forestry road network was a benefit, giving them increased access to their hunting territories. Cree hunters generally preferred to speak from experience rather than from what they

had heard from others. When they did speak of things they had heard but not seen, they usually identified the source of the information.

Q:⁹ What will happen when forestry operations [reach your hunting territory]?

I can't really tell now what will happen. Because [in] the area where they will be cutting there is not very much logging ... done. (William Gull, Jr., 27/8/1981)

By comparison, on hunting territories on which, by the early 1880s, extensive logging had occurred, there was clear experience to draw upon, as Sydney Otter did above and his brother does below:

Several roads go through [the] trapline¹⁰ that interfere with his hunting. They [non-Aboriginal hunters] come in at all seasons on his hunting ground. In winter [they] come in on skidoos to fish. There are a lot of [non-Aboriginal] cabins situated on [his] hunting ground. They kill almost any animal that they see, geese, ducks. Most of time animals that they kill they throw away, he finds them in plastic bags. A lot of times when we go away overnight they come and take our things, took our chainsaws and gas one time. [At] mileage 60 on [the] James Bay road [where] he was trapping one time, they took 20 of his [family's] rifles and their [outboard] motor. We didn't try to find who took them. They didn't decide to look because they thought they won't find it anyway. Last winter where he trapped he didn't get anything because there was no game around ... From fall to spring only got five beaver. It has been over a year since he hunted on his [own] trapline where he hunted before, [but] he does know how it is ... He is going to still be hunting [the next year] where he hunted on the old man's hunting ground [i.e., not his own].

Q: Why not go back to own ground?

He was invited over to hunt where he is hunting now, because his dad hunts in that area. He said there is not that much moose around where he used to hunt [on his own hunting territory] because of the forest being cut, it goes where there are more trees. There just seems to be moose around the streams and rivers where the trees have [not] been cut down into the streams. Beaver seems to be scarce around that area because there are streams drying up because of the dam[s] made by roads [i.e., poor culvert installations - H.F.]. If there is no vegetation for it to feed [near] the streams the beaver doesn't stay around. A beaver only seems to stay around where he can feed, and if he can't feed he leaves the area. Most of his trapline has already been cut except along the shoreline ... All trees are not cut down along the shoreline, for 100 feet they are not cut ...

Q: Is it getting harder to hunt and be a hunter?

It is hard for a hunter to hunt when there is nothing to hunt, when there is plenty to hunt that's when a hunter enjoys to hunt, but when there is not much then he has to go far to hunt. (Jossie Otter, 27/8/1981)

Another hunter who had experienced extensive logging, although stretched out over a two-decade period, expressed his experience as follows:

Where I hunt I find a lot of change in animal life from what it was several years ago, a lot of [wild]life has been destroyed. A lot of times we find beaver along the shores that have died. And this must be caused by the development, because where he hunts that is where the log cutting is going on.

Q: What kind of effects [does] cutting have on animals [and] on hunters?

Cutting too much forest around the area, which cuts the supply of animals' feeding and the environment where they live ...

Q: How does cutting ruin things for animals in water like fish?

From the fumes of machine[s] and gasoline being used it destroys the fish. And sometimes because of various chemicals the water tends to smell, and this causes beaver to die. It has been twenty years now that forest industry has been working inside his trapline. The government tells him to hunt there, this is his trapline, and expects him to survive there even with all the work there ...

Q: How much of trapline [has been] cut, a quarter, a half, more than half?

Over half has been cut, but here are several patches left that are not desirable to be cut.

Q: After cutting does beaver come back?

After cutting beaver doesn't intend to come back, goes to where it is better.

Q: [Can you] continue to hunt, trap in [the] cut trapline [in the future]?

In my trapline I don't think I'll be able to stay too long, because of industry invited to stay [by the government]. But if I was invited by another [Cree] group I would stay [on their trapline].

Q: Is it right to cut forest?

The only way I can see it, they are really over me, because they want to get the development over forestry, and there is no way I can stop it. I feel it is not only my own land that they will take over, from what I hear they will be able to take over any territory they wish to cut. (Antoine Icebound, 25/8/1981)

When he was interviewed again two years later, Antoine Icebound reaffirmed his knowledge.

[His trapline] is [n]ot very good for beaver because it's all affected by forestry. About half cut. It was affected by forestry. There is nothing left where trees were taken. But where they leave an island not cut there is some game. The beaver stays along the lake, but they don't stay on streams, that's where they all come [to the lake] when they leave their home ... He'll find it hard to look after things. Because they think the moose goes away from there when they hear that noise, sometimes they don't see any tracks in summer and fall. Lot [of] sport hunters go there in fall. He hunts with his son-in-law, [t]hey don't have enough for all of them to hunt. [There is] still cutting.

Q: Be better to leave rest [uncut]?

Yes ... Sometimes they take all the trees in a moose yard. Sometimes they take all the trees along the river or stream, and some of those trees are pushed into the river. Maybe they have an effect on the water [quality], because sometimes they find a dead beaver. Also when they set their nets, on the pole to [hold the] net you can see green stuff on pole, from work [being done for logging].

Maybe later in the future it will be the same as before, maybe 30 years. Maybe he won't be able to hunt by that time, he'll be an old man.

[He w]on't go [to his trapline] this year. He is going up north ... He's not going to let anyone hunt there this year.

Q: Anything he wants said?

The only thing is that he didn't like all the trees being cut down where they hunt, and they are destroying all the animals. (Antoine Icebound, 6/9/1983)

When his son-in-law was interviewed, he compared hunting on Antoine's land with hunting on his own family's land further north where there was little forestry at that time:

He finds it really different this side [Antoine's], the moose, beaver, rabbits, food is not really good, not as good as up north. Like you know moose meat and internal organs are good, [but it is] not like that now, leaves are dead, their food is not good. He found a beaver last fall, it was dead shortly before, and it was like the moose [another hunter had found], it was all swollen on neck and chest. I know it will be hard for us to find something to eat if we go back there for years and years ... When he eats beaver he gets sick. That's the thing he eats a lot. (Abel Gull, 1/9/1982)

Trying to Participate from the Land

Hunters whose lands were in the early stages of being cut over often made an effort to communicate their concerns to government officials and

forestry company representatives in the field. Initially, they understood that their experience and concerns would be taken into account.

They can hear forestry already, probably it will come, maybe this winter, that's the white man for you. There will be a lot less game, it will ruin the ground for trapping. Those forestry people asked where there are a lot of moose, maybe they will leave that part alone, [we] asked them to leave it alone. They asked him when would be best time to cut down trees, he said winter, then they won't kill many young animals. They said they'd try to leave trees along streams especially if there is beaver. The road they are building is supposed to go right up north.

[Cree translator]: [It will be] good for my father ...

Q: [How would you like it cut?]

Cut half of the trapline, [then] wait ten years. That would be good, that would be a lot better. If they would just cut a little section each time they cut trees. If somebody could control that it would be good.

White sport hunters come, but only ones he invites, usually only invites two. These white people, even if both have a license, they are only allowed one moose between them ... Probably sport hunters will increase when road is built for forestry.

[Another hunter told me] it takes 20 years for hunting to be good again. This area [where we were talking was covered in brush not high trees – H.F.] was cut 20 years ago, [there] was a sawmill here, then a fire. He'll probably be dead by then. Probably his sons and grandchildren will use it, but he doesn't know if he will live to see that. (Noah Eagle, 4/9/1982)

When Noah Eagle was interviewed again two years later he was not asked about the earlier conversation, but he returned to the subject to report the results of his efforts to have logging operations on his hunting territory modified:

Another thing I want talk about is the log cutting. They cut down trees close to the rivers and creeks. When they first started that business, they said they'd get the logs just in the bush not close to the river or creeks. But that is not true. They even cut down the beavers' food, poplar. What tree or logs they don't have use of they just push them into the creek or river. I see today too, where beavers loved to lodge, is now all damaged, all their food is cut down and they can't stay there anymore. I see that everywhere I go. They don't do what they said, just to cut down the trees from far in the bush. That's how everyone's ground is ...

Maybe in years ahead, we'll just be like the Indians in the old days, they were so poor, or before the Indian Agent came to help us, or when the

Income Security stops ... We won't have nothing left if they keep on cutting down our trees, damaging our land ...

If anyone doesn't believe what we say, we could take them there to see or we'd take pictures of what we're talking about. We're not too happy about that, our hunting ground being damaged like that. Some Indians that hunt up north say they have a lot of moose there, where their ground is not yet damaged. I guess the moose just takes off and goes to where the land is good and plenty of their food there. It can't stay where the ground is damaged, it's the same way with all the other animals.

I don't know what will happen to us in the future, but right now we're okay, the way we're living. In the olden days I remember we didn't have any tea or sugar, all we had to drink was [the broth] from what we cooked, fish, rabbit and other game, we never had anything to make soup. And I think it's going to turn out that way pretty soon, by the way things look, in the past two years. (Noah Eagle, 5/8/1984)

Negotiating Participation with the Government

Concerns about the long-term future of the land and of hunting were expressed by the Cree throughout the 1970s and were part of the negotiations leading to the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1974-5. In order to ensure protection of the lands and resources, the Cree and Inuit insisted on negotiating an environmental and social impact assessment regime that would apply to all future development in the region.¹¹ Land was also essential to the continuation of Cree hunting, which various provisions of the JBNQA recognized and supported as a goal. Forestry was to be considered as part of these environmental protection provisions, with specific means of participation set out in the agreement (see Section 22).¹² These provisions did not fully satisfy Cree concerns; nevertheless, the Cree were to have a definite role in the processes of forestry policy making and in allocation decisions.

Quebec tried to limit this role in various ways, for example by insisting on inserting a clause in the JBNQA on Category II Lands – lands on which wildlife is reserved exclusively for the Cree but on which development is also permitted. This clause states: "Forestry operations are compatible with hunting, fishing and trapping activities" (Section 5.2.5.c). Interpretations of this clause differ; however, Quebec spokespersons have sometimes used it to argue that forestry has no negative impacts and, thus, to diminish any consideration of Cree concerns. Feit was involved in some of these discussions, and he interpreted the clause as an insistence by the Government of Quebec that the Cree agree not to oppose forestry operations in principle by claiming that they were all incompatible with hunting. In other words, the Cree would have to specify impacts in any hearings about forestry, even

where their rights had priority over those of other wildlife users. Feit firmly holds that a strictly factual interpretation of this clause – as a statement that forestry and Cree hunting are always compatible regardless of how each is conducted – is clearly counterfactual and counterintuitive.

The Grand Council of the Crees claims that the implementation of the JBNQA has been incomplete and seriously flawed (Diamond 1990; Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec 1996; Vincent and Bowers 1988). When Quebec revised its Forestry Act in 1986, and again when it brought in new regulations and policies for participation in the 1990s, it ignored the obligations it had undertaken to ensure Cree participation under the JBNQA. The Cree claim that they do not have an effective voice in forestry policy or decision making today, despite having negotiated and signed the JBNQA in 1975 and despite new participatory provisions put forward in the 1990s. They insist that Quebec is ignoring its obligations to them (Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec 1999).

Cree Forestry Concerns

Over the course of the last three decades forestry has become an increasingly important concern among Cree of all ages as logging has spread and efforts to have a say in its planning both at the hunting territory level and in legal agreements have not succeeded. However, the majority of Waswanipi also support Cree forestry operations as a means to create employment for those Cree, especially sectors of the youth, who want and need jobs. To this end the Waswanipi Cree have run their own logging operation for over a decade, auctioning the wood to local mills; and, in recent years, they have built and run a small joint-venture sawmill with a major forestry company. Nevertheless, concerns for how logging operations are conducted in the region are widespread among Waswanipi of all ages and occupations.

Impacts of Forestry Operations: A Synthesis

Cree concerns about forestry impacts include but go beyond the immediate effect of forestry operations on game animals; they extend to the economic, health, and socio-cultural implications for Cree society. The impacts reported below have been identified from field notes, interviews, and responses to questionnaires provided by Cree hunters over the last three decades. The review begins with the kinds of information cited in the quotations above, but it is based on discussions with many hunters on extended topics.

Many hunters reported that several species of game tend to be encountered less frequently because they “move away” after the forests have been cut. The noise created by forestry operations was repeatedly said to scare moose and make them more skittish and harder to hunt. Moose and some of the other species might later increase when appropriate vegetation is

reestablished, but this would take at least one or more decades. And there was a general sense of uncertainty about the timing and sequences of animal repopulation.

Many hunters indicated that they caught fewer moose and fewer members of some other species due to the effects of forestry. Beaver populations were reduced because of changes in the streams and water systems due to poor culvert construction, increased soil erosion and siltation, and/or from trees falling in the streams. Even when a tree border was left standing along the shore, interviewees said that strong winds would sometimes throw down trees when there was no adjacent forest cover. As a result beaver also often “move away.” Moose and beaver were the two most abundant harvests in the Waswanipi Cree hunt (as measured by food weight produced). Hunters said that these reduced harvests caused many to experience economic hardships. Because animals were often seen to be in poor health in logging areas, health problems for hunters and their families were a repeated concern.

Hunters reported that forestry roads provide easier access for them but that they also increase the number and the dispersal of non-Cree sports hunters. This increased access was associated with increases in thefts of equipment and vandalism of camps. This creates added economic burdens, for not only must stolen or damaged property be replaced, but goods must also be protected. For example, some hunters now have to transport their snowmobiles and canoes out of the bush each summer in order to protect them, and so they incurred increased transportation costs. In cases of loss of equipment people do not usually have rapid access to sufficient additional cash or credit to replace them and refinance travel, so the entire hunting year is sometimes either foregone or substantially truncated.

Some hunters indicated that supplies of the particular types of trees that were needed to make certain kinds of equipment were no longer readily accessible. This sometimes also reduced available plots of plants and bushes that served a variety of medicinal or herbal needs or provided materials for equipment and/or crafts. While people acknowledged that there were usually other plots available, they were not always accessible to a particular campsite.

The disruption of animal populations has spiritual implications for most Cree hunters. In saying that the animals “move away,” the hunters are reflecting the Cree worldview the animals do not just die off, they leave because they do not like what has been done to the land; they go to where it is better. In the view of some hunters, the animals' souls survive their bodies, and they are aware of what is done to the land. In many Cree hunters' views, the way forestry operations are conducted is disrespectful to the land and the animals, and the animals see and respond to this disrespect as would persons with intelligence: they “leave.” Cree hunters believe

that such disrespect may mean that they themselves can be given bad luck and ill fortune by the spirits of the animals and the land.

Because of reduced harvests of game on hunting territories that have undergone significant forestry activity, some stewards explained that they had to reduce the invitations they could offer to other hunters. Comments also indicated a reduction in the amount of "bush food" that could be shared with others. These patterns of exchange are how the Cree affirm their social ties to one another and express their caring for one another. A reduced ability to express social ties and personal generosity can create a sense of social and moral loss.

The changes in the land, vegetation, and game make it hard for stewards to continue to manage and conserve their territories. Knowing whether or not you are killing too many of any given species depends on your knowledge of how many indicators of that species you should expect to see in a given area. Many factors can alter game populations, so a steward needs to know how game has responded to particular terrains, vegetation, and microclimates. With such knowledge a steward can have an idea of whether changes in game populations are due to such factors or to the number of animals being harvested.

Forestry cutting transforms the area and eliminates the applicability of past knowledge. There is no location-specific knowledge about what will follow cutting, about what vegetation will return and when, and about how animals will respond over the next years and decades. This makes it difficult if not impossible to adjust the intensity of today's hunt to levels that might enhance future game populations, which is the essence of conservation in Cree hunting.

The stewards serve as models of expertise in hunting and as examples of how important it is for others to learn these skills. Young hunters learn basic hunting and bush survival skills from older hunters; however, more sophisticated stewardship skills require long-term learning. A vital part of the knowledge needed to manage game and land depends on learning to understand the particular history of game populations on a particular piece of land. To effectively teach this to a young hunter one cannot reduce it to a set of rules or principles. Extensive cutting of hunting territories, therefore, threatens the transmission of complex hunting knowledge and skills to the next generation of stewards and hunters.

This has broad implications for culture and identity. Many stewards whose hunting territories have been extensively cut over express sadness that their own sons and daughters will not experience fully the way of life that they have had. They know that most will not be able to learn the more complex stewardship skills. They express both sadness and uncertainty about the future of Cree culture.

He started hunting when he was thirteen, and all the hunting was good, the animals were all healthy, and they aren't now. There was all kinds of game. And the things that used to be there, half of them are not there ...

Q: [Does it] make him bitter?

He is bitter because they come to his land to destroy his land, they never go to their land to destroy their land. He's been hunting for fifty years, and he has been keeping track of his land, and he finally realizes how much damage the white man has been doing on his land. He thinks all the damage that has been done it's irreversible, the land will never be the same as it's been before ...

Q: [Will his] children and grandchildren be able to live [on the land]?

It's gonna be really different, won't be able to survive as good as before. Like when he was hunting he used to live alone in the bush, and they would have their children alone in the bush, and when the bush was good, that's how they managed to survive. Since he was born he has never had a job and he has never worked, and he has still raised his sons and daughters to be full grown from the bush. Now that the land has been ruined, he doesn't think any of his sons could raise their families like he did when the land was still good.

What he did before on the land he wasn't thinking about himself but about the younger generation, so they could survive as he did. What he learned from the bush, he didn't learn from his father he taught himself in the bush.¹³ When he was just growing up for his family, many times he used to think about that, and thought about times he didn't see his dad. Sometimes when he's out hunting he just stood there and thought about his dad, and he used to cry. Then he finally got better and better at hunting. Then he finally [learned(?)].

When he looked at tracks of other people and he knew they didn't have no food, and he went to their camp and it was true they didn't have no food, and he went to his camp to get a toboggan load of food and he took it to them. He can't do that he's too old, and he's getting sick. Sometimes when he looks at his son he wishes his son could do the same thing he did in his younger days. (Jacob Happyjack, 30/8/1983)

These uncertainties also affect how Cree youth think about the pattern of life they want for the future. In some cases, families whose hunting territories have been extensively cut over have no children in young adulthood who have chosen to learn stewardship skills. The extensive forestry cutting reduces the willingness of young Cree adults to choose intensive hunting as a long-term economic and lifestyle commitment.

These uncertainties are not just individual, they are also collective. In the interviews conducted in 1997, there was widespread worry about the

future of the land, hunting, and the Cree way of life among all groups of people. This uncertainty was often explicitly tied to the extent of forestry operations.

Quantitative Exploration

Up to now this chapter has stressed the knowledge and concerns that Cree hunters have expressed, in discussions with outsiders, over the effects of forestry. We also want to consider the substantial quantitative information that Cree hunters have and use, and that they have shared with outsiders. Information on Cree harvests of wildlife has been repeatedly shared with government agencies, Cree organizations, and independent researchers, and these unique data provide one of the most detailed records of a hunting society that is available anywhere in the world.

The literature on the quantitative impacts of forestry on subsistence hunters is virtually non-existent, whereas the impacts of forestry on animal populations, such as moose, have been reasonably well studied. We have, therefore, set out to examine whether the impact of logging can be demonstrated through looking at the information on Cree harvests of moose.

As the Cree hunters cited above indicate, forestry can affect moose hunting in diverse and complex ways. For example, we cannot separate the effects of cutting the forest *per se* from those of building roads and increasing non-Aboriginal hunts. Nor have we tried to do so. Both cutting and road building are necessary to commercial logging operations. Our goal is to explore the overall and combined effects, if any, of these operations (and all of their component activities) on Cree moose harvests.

In different years, there are many factors that more or less randomly affect the levels of moose harvest on a hunting territory and that create a high variability in harvest numbers. We also know that there are a number of things, independent of forestry, that have been changing during the recent decades that could also affect the Cree moose harvest. These include the rapid demographic growth of the Cree population, an increase in the incomes of settlement-based hunters, and the increase in the number of Cree who hunt intensively (thanks to the JBNQA). Many hunters were generally spending more time in the bush and could afford more equipment and services, such as transportation from the settlement to hunting territories, during the period covered by this research. Most of these factors would tend to increase moose harvests over the years and could, therefore, have effects that would be the opposite of those expected in logging areas. While these factors would, in principle, be felt on all hunting territories at the same time, logging would not. The effects of more people with more cash travelling more regularly from the settlement to hunting camps is more pronounced where road access is readily available. Although this increased hunting effort is not caused by the growth of the road network *per se*, the

geographical distribution of the effects of these demographic and economic changes is affected by where logging has expanded the road network. Therefore these changes, which, as has been said, would have the opposite potential effects on Cree moose harvests from those expected from logging, are particularly difficult to separate from the latter. This made it difficult to identify the effects of logging.

Some other changes worked to reduce moose harvests, having effects similar to those expected of logging over time, particularly those associated with other forms of forest disturbance, such as forest fires. We assumed, therefore, that clear-cutting and forest fires would have cumulative impacts on moose harvesting and that it might be difficult to separate them. We incorporated burning into our analysis,¹⁴ and we sought to examine whether there was a relationship between the percentage of the forested lands of a hunting territory that had been disturbed, by being cut or by being burned, and the number of moose that were harvested by Cree hunters on that territory.

Feit aggregated the information available on Cree moose harvests by territory by year from almost twenty studies that had been conducted in the Waswanipi region, covering the period from 1969 to 1985. Where a hunting territory was not used during a given year we did not include it in the data set because the lack of a harvest was ostensibly the result of no hunter effort rather than a failure to find moose. The actual circumstance is, however, more complicated: hunters may not use a hunting territory precisely because there are few moose, and such declines and choices can result from forestry. In these instances the lack of a harvest and the absence of a hunting effort are both the result of perceived impacts of forestry. Thus our decision to exclude all cases in which a territory was not used actually excludes some cases in which the consequences of forestry cutting might be expected to be most clear. This choice could not be avoided given the information available to us.

Beaulieu used Quebec forestry records and calculated the extent of the disturbed area on each trapline. We grouped both sets of data into five-year blocks (1969-75; 1976-80; 1981-5) in order to smooth annual variations. The first block covers a seven-year period, but, as no harvest data were available for 1970-1 or 1971-2, each block includes data on five years of harvests.

We were unable to run tests for more recent periods because fewer and less complete sources of data on Cree moose harvests are available after 1985. The cumulative areas that had been subject to commercial forest cutting were considerably more extensive by the 1990s than they were in the earlier years of this series, so our inability to include this period was unfortunate because the relationship of logging and moose harvests would be expected to be most clear during the latter period.

We explored the relationship between logging and Cree moose harvests by plotting the two variables on a scattergram graph and by running tests for the statistical significance of the relationships.

Social Data Methodology

The data on Cree moose harvests by trapline are drawn from the results of studies of Waswanipi Cree land-use and harvesting activities. The most extensive data are from two studies conducted by Feit from 1968 to 1970 and from 1981 to 1983. During the first period he met and interviewed nearly all of the Waswanipi Cree hunters, including nearly all the hunting territory "bosses," or stewards. Many were interviewed more than once. In the 1980s Feit worked with a team of Waswanipi interviewers to complete questionnaire-based interviews with nearly all the hunting territory stewards and all but a few of the Waswanipi adult males. The information from the hunting territory stewards included whether a territory was used in each of the last five years, which hunters used it, and the number of big game harvests taken by the hunters during the last one to three years before the interviews.

We also examined information that had been systematically collected, for which research methodologies had been reported, and that was considered reliable by those who had conducted the original research. The information collected by Feit primarily covers the periods from 1969 to 1970, and from 1979 to 1981. The other sources provided information that addressed hunting territory use and moose harvests during the years not covered by Feit's research. They also provided information that filled in gaps in Feit's information on hunting territories. Finally, they provided overlapping information with which to examine the consistency and plausibility of the different sources. This information was collected by a variety of organizations: two were Cree, three were government-based, and eleven were joint Cree-government agencies. Two of Feit's shorter field research projects were also used.

The most common research methodology relied upon hunter recall, although hunters' diaries were used as well. We reviewed the results of the evaluative research on harvest recall information conducted for the James Bay and Northern Québec Native Harvesting Research Committee (JBNQ-NHRC), which was a joint initiative of the Grand Council of the Crees, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, the Governments of Canada and Quebec, Hydro-Québec, and the James Bay Development Corporation. Those studies found strong reliability and validity for interviewee recall and records of harvests for several years back in the case of big game and for one year back in the case of less important species. They also found evidence that Cree reports of harvests have a tendency towards being

conservative; that is, hunters tend to report lower harvests than do observers, and their reports tend to decline the further back individuals are asked to recall information.¹⁵

Where there were overlapping reports available to us we made comparisons between hunting territory stewards' reports and data from those interviewed by different research groups in order to examine the quality of the studies and the interviewees. This comparison allowed us to identify a few interview results that did not seem consistent and that we removed from the database. On the basis of these analyses we also identified the studies to which we would give priority when two sources of information from other organizations overlapped and when we had no information from our own research.

While the great majority of information came from hunting stewards' reports, when these were unavailable some was also drawn from individual interviews with hunters.¹⁶ For the quantitative analyses we have only used information on the number of moose killed per trapline per hunting year.¹⁷ The average annual moose harvest was calculated for each territory for each block of years. We excluded from the final data set territories for which there was no harvest information for more than a single year because single-year harvests can be inaccurate measures of general levels. These and the earlier exclusions on the side of caution limited the number of cases to just over 100. We then calculated the average annual moose harvest per 100 square kilometres of land on each territory in order to adjust for the different sizes of hunting territories. These data were then examined in relation to the average percentage of the hunting territory that had been disturbed by cutting and/or forest fires during each five-year segment.

Forest Disturbance Data Methodology

The first two provincial forestry surveys that were carried out by the Quebec Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) in the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s did not integrate ecological and social data. Since 1993, the third forest inventory survey has integrated some ecological variables, but this information was not available at the time we gathered our data. We have therefore extracted the forestry disturbance data we use in the present study from the second forest survey database (1985), whose structure was set up in the 1970s.¹⁸ It is not the purpose of the present study to describe in detail the MNR forestry inventory and accounting system. However, we believe that presenting a summary description of information that we used to characterize forest within the Waswanipi hunting territories is useful.

Forest contours are presented on forestry maps at 1:20,000 scale, and there are more than 125 maps for Waswanipi hunting territories under commercial forest operations. These maps resulted from interpretation of

aerial photographs at 1:15,000 scale. The smallest forest entity interpreted is more than one hectare for forest disturbance areas and four hectares for forested areas. A forestry map at 1:20,000 scale contains between 1,000 and 2,000 such areas, or polygons. Each polygon can represent a forest or a non-forested area. A forest stand is composed of a group of trees of different species having the same origin. Within Waswanipi hunting territories, a large part of the mature forest originates from forest fires. Forest stands could also originate from human disturbances such as clear-cuts.

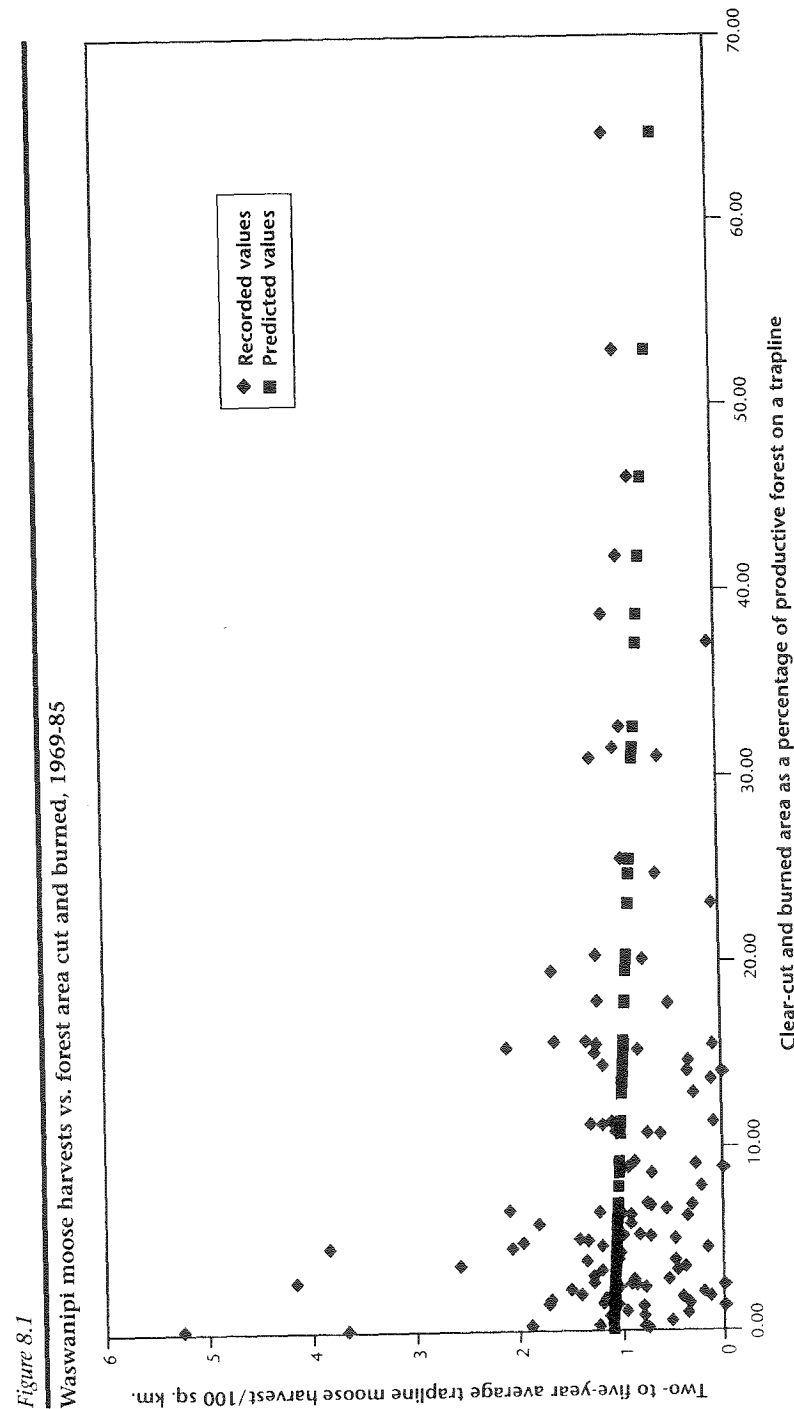
Robert Beaulieu carried out a preliminary analysis of the forest database corresponding to Waswanipi hunting territories. Forest data have been grouped based on the following criteria: forest cover type, origin, forest disturbance, and biophysical land class. This process has served to create a forest classification system mainly based on forest disturbance. A program has been developed to group data per parcel. A parcel is a subdivision of the forest management unit; it generally aligns with biophysical entities and it contains between twenty and fifty forest stands. The database compiled by the Cree Regional Authority (CRA) contains the following information on each parcel: parcel number, the management unit to which it belongs, land categories, forest development stages, forest disturbance per period (1969-75, 1976-80, 1981-5), forest canopy density, forest canopy tree height, and nature of forest disturbance (natural or human).¹⁹

Findings

The distribution of the available data did not allow a sensitive statistical testing, and statistical test results were not significant. A more sensitive statistical testing would require additional data. It is especially unfortunate that appropriate moose harvest data do not extend into the 1990s, when the cumulative effect of commercial forest cutting could have been tested.

Nevertheless, the graph of percentage of hunting territory cut for forestry or otherwise disturbed by fires, plotted with the average annual Cree moose harvests per 100 square kilometres of hunting territory for each of the periods, indicates a clear tendency towards a linear and negative relationship (Figure 8.1). These data show a tendency for the moose harvest to decline as the percentage of the hunting territory that is disturbed increases. Beaulieu notes that the slope of the line that predicts the relationship can be interpreted as indicating that for each 1 percent increase in the area disturbed on a hunting territory, there is a 1 percent reduction in the moose harvests on the trapline.

This tendency is consistent with the statements of Cree hunters that forestry cutting and fires adversely affect their moose hunting. This tendency also complements Cree hunters' own statements about how important it is for everyone involved to continue to explore ways of changing forestry practices in the region. In the mid-1990s these efforts were renewed.



Trying to Finesse Consent, Trying to Make Effective Compromises

In the 1990s forestry companies have had to seek ways to comply with the new Quebec forestry procedures, which enjoin them to undertake consultation and demonstrate that they have consulted with the concerned public. The key strategy developed by some of the larger companies in areas of Aboriginal land use, such as James Bay, involved signing contractual agreements with hunting territory stewards. Initially, these were between companies and individual stewards, but they quickly changed to involve the administration of First Nations. These are private agreements and are generally not available to the public.²⁰ On the one hand, agreements specified annual payments that forestry companies were to provide to the stewards whose lands were being cut that year. These payments were either to go directly to the stewards or to the First Nation for the benefit of the individual stewards. These payments have reportedly varied in size, but they were often sufficiently large that they made a significant contribution to the disposable incomes of Cree households. Many of these agreements also include a clause indicating that there would be consultations between companies and stewards.

The companies' motivation for making such payments appears to be that it enables them to claim that they consulted with Cree hunters. It is also possible that they intend to say that they had received the consent of stewards to cut the forests on their hunting territories (given that these stewards accepted payments specified in the agreements). In fact, no such claims have been publicly made, and, initially, the companies called no consultation meetings.

The agreements generated diverse responses in Cree society and inevitably caused divisiveness. Many Cree fear the agreements and payments would legally compromise Cree land rights in general – especially the collective aspects of Cree systems of tenure. Many hunting stewards think the agreements indicate that the forest companies have recognized Cree authority, and, therefore, they support these documents as being at least a partial recognition of Cree rights. They also appreciate the needed cash. Some Cree reasserted their own claims of stewardship; some sought recognition for having arranged the payments; and some contested the very unequal distribution of payments within families and within the community.²¹

However, after an initial period of strongly conflicting views within the community, several individuals in Waswanipi started a concerted effort to create a local consensus. They did this by using an unexpected feature of the agreements and of the new Quebec forestry policies – the clauses that mandate participation. Hunting stewards continue to want to have a voice in forestry operations on their hunting territories. The critics of the agreements also want an effective Cree role in forestry decision making. By using the agreements as a basis to insist that companies fulfill their obligations to

consult with Cree stewards, a group of Cree leaders and administrators have brought about some unity between both those Cree who support and those who oppose the agreements. Thus dialogues and some common vision of what is desirable are again being explored.

This led to the community hiring Cree staff members to work with stewards to help them to negotiate how forestry was being conducted on their hunting territories. Cree staff pressured forestry companies to fulfill their contractual obligations to consult stewards. They thus also succeeded in opening a new area of participation.

It is less clear what is emerging in the new negotiations with the forestry companies. A few companies have resisted dealing with community representatives and have tried to continue dealing only with individual stewards. But the benefits of having community staff advise them in negotiations are clear to most stewards, and so they have exerted pressure on the companies to involve First Nations staff. The Cree administrative staff members, for their part, have made it clear to the companies that they will face more protests and direct action opposition if they do not work through the community-initiated process for consultations. Most companies have, therefore, entered into consultations.²² In addition, the Grand Council of the Crees has set up a fund to pay hunting territory stewards whose lands are being cut and to reduce the pressure on them to sign agreements with forestry companies.

Initially, forestry companies expected the consultations to be pro forma. Most stewards wanted their territories to be managed as distinct units for forestry, and they wanted some areas of cultural importance and of ecological significance excluded from forestry cutting. Managing smaller forestry units is part of the new provincial and national forestry policies, and Quebec officials attribute this change to pressure from Aboriginal communities. Indeed, by paying funds to the land stewards the companies had already implicitly acknowledged the hunting territory unit, whether they intended to do so or not. But companies have not agreed to manage forestry by trapline units.

However, a major disagreement in these consultations over specific hunting territories concerns whether meaningful areas are to be protected from forestry operations. In consultation discussions, company representatives said that they thought that sites of cultural and ecological significance could be dealt with if Cree stewards would put points on a map. The companies would then agree to establish cutting exclusion zones of several hundred metres around these points. The areas that stewards identified for protection covered tracts that included approximately 10 percent to 40 percent of a territory, and territories range from approximately 300 square kilometres to over 1,000 square kilometres. This was an entirely different scale of protection from the one the companies had offered. The implausibility

of what the forest companies were proposing was easily pointed out by Cree negotiators, and the former quickly withdrew from their initial position. Areas of exclusion have now become the main topic for consultation, although other Cree concerns are being discussed as well.

Stewards generally begin the discussions by identifying the areas they wish to have protected in the current cutting plan. Forestry companies have generally replied at subsequent meetings that they would exclude some but not all of these areas from the cutting plans, and they have reduced the size of most of the areas to be excluded. The companies emphasize that they have agreed to protect most of the geographical units that the Cree stewards want protected, at least in part. Cree negotiators increasingly make the point that these protected areas cover only half or less of the 10 percent to 40 percent of the hunting territory that they had originally wanted excluded. However, stewards sometimes accept these areas because they can be better than no agreement at all.

The forest company then adopted the strategy of putting into their written approvals of protection (usually in minutes of meetings or letters pertaining to the results of discussions) that these involve temporary exclusions and that cutting on the lands in question is subject to further discussion in three to five years. The Cree have a different view of the temporary nature of exclusions. Many stewards emphasize that they do not want to discuss forestry cutting in the excluded areas until the areas currently being cut over have regenerated and again offer productive wildlife habitats (probably anywhere from ten to thirty or more years). Thus the 1999 discussions between forestry companies and the Cree resulted in very big differences, both spatial and temporal, between the two parties. And what had been agreed upon up to then does not satisfy most Cree stewards.

The Cree have been trying to make the consultation process work, whereas the forestry companies have made what could reasonably be called limited concessions (since any agreement is only binding for a few years). The risk to the Cree is that these discussions and documents will be accepted as adequate consultation if and when these processes are reviewed within the context of the new forestry procedures. The talks themselves could, therefore, compromise Cree participation. However, as the cutting is ongoing, some are willing to support taking the risk.

The Cree-initiated consultation process has created some unity among the Cree and has led to renewed resolve and initiative among Cree hunters and administrators. But consultations of this scale have not been sufficient for many Cree. Frustrations with the process led to renewed talks with the province in 1997-8 and again in 1999, and when these failed an injunction request was made to the courts in July 1999. In addition, strength has built in the community for the possibility of a public protest campaign and for making new alliances with environmentalists. The

Grand Council has started to take its case against Quebec forest products to major buyers such as Home Depot and to legislators in the United States (Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec 2000). But, in mid-2000, Cree political organizations have also renewed efforts to restart meaningful discussions with the province.²³ The eventual outcome of these complex initiatives for effective participation in forestry decisions pertaining to Cree lands remains unclear.

Conclusions

These conflicts, including the current direct negotiations between Cree stewards and forestry companies, and between Cree organizations and Quebec, concern whether or not effective participation has occurred, who has the right to such participation, and whether or not (and how) more effective participation might be established in the future.

Certain provisions of the JBNQA – the establishment of a new forestry regime in Quebec, company payments to stewards – can all be seen as efforts to create the appearance of effective Cree participation in forestry planning. However, to date, neither the provisions of the JBNQA nor those for provincewide public participation in forestry decision making have been effectively implemented. Indeed, the need for Cree involvement has been denied and subverted by statements and actions of senior government representatives. Forestry company proposals for protecting small areas around geographic points, or for negotiating cutting exclusion zones that only apply for a few years, are clearly of limited utility. Company initiatives have been concerned primarily with creating the appearance of consent (through the acceptance of payments and ongoing discussions) without negotiating effective protections. Each of these participatory initiatives has been shown to be more concerned with legitimating the existing decisions of governments and corporations than with creating effective participation for Cree or with changing environmental and social impacts on the ground.

These processes use participation as the key criterion for legitimating forestry resource allocations to the public and in the consumer marketplace. Thus participation, insofar as the forestry companies are concerned, has two goals: (1) to tie the Cree (and environmentalists) to a set of procedures and incentives that change forestry practices only very modestly, if at all and (2) to clear away public distrust, international protests, and marketplace anxieties by claiming that those groups who have legitimate claims have participated in and consented to what is happening.

But there is also another side to these processes. Participation in forestry decision making is not just a claim used by companies and governments; the demand for participation has been continuous from within the Cree community for over three decades. These local initiatives for representation do not have their origin solely in responses to the initiatives of companies

or governments; local demands are not initiated by outside interests. Locally initiated projects for active participation take many forms. The Cree wood-cutting operation and the joint-venture sawmill allow the Cree to claim a share of the forestry resources. There are direct efforts aimed at creating pressures for effective participation in decision making, including extensive discussions on forestry plans (both informal and formal) and periodic high-level meetings with ministers during repeated crises. There have also been political strategies for increasing pressures, including long-term legal action; occasional protest demonstrations; and mobilization of American forestry products buyers, regulators, and social movements. These diverse initiatives have their roots in Cree daily life on the land and in Cree experiences of the impacts of commercial forestry. They include a Cree desire to share the land while enhancing autonomy. Furthermore, Cree initiatives take every opportunity to communicate to government, companies, and the public their knowledge of what can and should be done in the forests.

These complex strategies of action clearly have an effect on governments and corporations that have tried to force the Cree to give up their more autonomous forms of action. For example, Quebec insisted for nearly a year and a half that, before it could restart negotiations, the Cree would have to drop the forestry court case. Quebec also cut off government funding for already agreed-upon community development projects (such as a youth centre) (see Chevrette 1999, Quebec minister delegated for Aboriginal Affairs). These stances appear to have been dropped only after they came under increased public scrutiny as a result of the court case. Thus, Cree initiatives show that the Cree hold onto their autonomy even when under direct pressure.

However, there are contradictions at each level. Although the Cree community must now mobilize partly in response to the divisiveness created by the forest companies, it can do so in line with its traditional desire to protect land and wildlife through active cooperation. The governments and forestry companies want to appear to be responsive to citizens' concerns, so, having been forced into discussions they did not want, they offer token solutions. As a result, the public becomes more critical of the ability of governments to effectively protect forested lands from excessive exploitation and of the willingness of forest companies to manage their forest cutting so as to take into consideration the needs of diverse users.

Participation is being used effectively by governments and corporations to limit input into decision making on the part of the public and groups with specific rights and interests in forests. But the failure of that participation frustrates the participants, and it strengthens public opposition and motivates specific groups to develop diverse and complex strategies to seek

meaningful changes. These strategies have as their goal effective participation, and those involved engage in legal challenges, public protests, social movement alliances, and interventions in the marketplace and international political arenas in order to attain it. Efforts to turn participation into a way of legitimizing present practices and excluding those who should have a voice have not succeeded. Yet, the vision of effective participation backed up by political and legal action is still a valued goal. What is not yet clear is whether logging will be adequately regulated so that Waswanipi forests and hunting will be protected in the future.

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Notes

We prepared this chapter in our capacity as researchers, and it does not purport to speak for anyone other than ourselves as authors of the sections for which we are individually or jointly responsible (see Note 2). Our approaches are ethnographic, descriptive, comparative, analytical, and scholarly, and we do not intend this chapter as a commentary on the issues being presented in current court cases involving the Cree and the Governments of Quebec and Canada.

- 1 Robert Beaulieu, ingénieur forestier with the Cree Regional Authority, is the co-author of the section of this chapter entitled "A Quantitative Exploration," including "Social Data Methodology," "Forest Disturbance Data Methodology" (for which Beaulieu is the primary author), and "Findings." Other portions of the paper were written by and are the responsibility of Harvey Feit.
- 2 For recent literature on participation, see Escobar 1996a and b; Parajuli 1998; Pinkerton 1993; Povinelli 1993; Rahnama 1996; and Sachs 1996a and b. For one of a series of classifications of types of participation, in this case in the context of co-management discussions, see Berkes et al. 1991.
- 3 The video has been reissued in an English version called *Forest Alert*.
- 4 Richard Desjardins has followed up his video by starting a series of fundraising concerts, Action Boréale, to establish an organization to press for changes in current forestry practices in northern Quebec and also for an independent public inquiry into forestry practices (Nicholls 2000).
- 5 Mr. Robitaille later left the civil service to become president of the Association des Manufacturiers de Bois de Sciage du Québec (Nicholls 2000, 15).
- 6 The response of forestry companies to public participation policies will be discussed below.
- 7 An example of this comparison occurs in Roslin (1996).
- 8 The text of these interviews was written down at the time by Harvey Feit, who omitted common words in order to facilitate the speed of his note taking and the flow of the conversation. Most bracketed words and phrases in these quotations are Feit's reconstructions of his note-taking omissions. They are inserted here to create a more readable text. Most

discussions were conducted through a Cree interpreter, although some of the interviewees were multilingual (speaking Cree, English, and sometimes French), and they could follow and correct the translations where needed.

- 9 "Q" indicates a question asked by the interviewer.
- 10 "Trapline" is an alternative term for hunting territory.
- 11 At the time there was no general environmental and social impact or assessment legislation applying to Quebec.
- 12 The interpretations of these provisions of the JBNQA are among the key issues before the courts, and they will not be discussed here in detail.
- 13 The speaker lost his father while still a child.
- 14 These forest fires are of natural or accidental origin; there is no planned burning in the region.
- 15 See the methodological chapters and appendices in the JBNQ-NHRC's final report on its Cree research (1982).
- 16 Ninety percent of the cases are based on information from the stewards (421 cases), 7 percent (thirty-one cases) are based on reports from other hunters who were either leading or participating in the hunting groups that used the territory. Three percent (eleven cases) are based on individual interviews with each hunter who was using a territory (each reported their own harvests). In 1 percent of the cases (five cases) we had interviews with all but one of the hunters reported to be present.
- 17 In 3 percent of the cases (12/468), the reports of harvests indicated that more than one trapline was hunted by the same hunting group during the year, and, in these cases, we divided the reported moose harvests equally between the territories used.
- 18 Forest managers had the following objectives in mind when they designed the provincial public forest database: to establish the actual commercial stock (area and volume of timber) of the forest, to control commercial forestry activities within public lands, to maintain an up-to-date database on forests, and to evaluate forest stock depreciation attributable to natural disturbances (e.g., tree disease, insect epidemics, forest fires, etc.).
- 19 We have also created a geographical link between the parcel descriptive database and geographic data represented on MNR parcel maps at 1:250,000 scale. This has been done with the CRAGIS system. Simplification of the original forestry database implied that we reduced the number of variables in order to keep only the more significant ones. To prepare forest disturbance data through time per trapline, we have superimposed forestry parcel coverage with Cree Waswanipi traplines polygons (CRA 1990 map at 1:1,000,000 scale). Overlapping of the two layers of information has resulted in a coverage that contains information on both hunting territories and forests on a parcel basis. The resulting polygon attribute table has been used to generate statistics on forest disturbance per trapline.
- 20 The discussion of their contents is based on a copy that Feit was shown for his use, independently of his co-author.
- 21 Only those stewards whose lands were cut in a given year received payments, and payments were therefore difficult to predict. In addition, the amounts paid in later years were recalculated by some companies so that the same sums were divided among several stewards and their families. Therefore, later recipients often got less than early recipients. As smaller companies also started to make agreements, they tended to reduce the levels of payments.
- 22 A few smaller companies have refused to enter consultations or agreements at all.
- 23 There are also other initiatives in the Waswanipi community that are not touched on here. Waswanipi has explored cooperation with governments, companies, and forestry researchers by applying for and establishing a joint model forest based on its lands. The jointly run model forest has its offices at Waswanipi, and it employs several Cree and non-Cree staff members.

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