NOTE TO USERS

Towards a Culturally-Appropriate Locally-Managed Protected Area for the James Bay Cree Community of Wemindji, Northern Québec

Véronique Bussières

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Geography, Planning and Environment

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Public Policy and Public Administration (Geography Option)
at Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 2005

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-494-10191-1
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-494-10191-1

ABSTRACT

Towards a Culturally-Appropriate Locally-Managed Protected Area for the James Bay Cree Community of Wemindji, Northern Québec

Véronique Bussières

The role of local communities in protected area (PA) management has generated heated theoretical and praxis debates in recent years. The research conducted for this thesis contributes to these debates through the examination of early stages in the establishment of a culturally-appropriate locally-managed PA in the traditional territory of the James Bay Cree community of Wemindji, Northern Quebec. The motivation for this initiative is based on the aspirations of Wemindiji Crees for an enhanced and officially recognised role in the management and protection of the watershed of *Paakumshumwaau*, an area of particular significance to the local subsistence economy as well as of historical and cultural importance. Concerns about the longer-term protection of this area, related to potential impacts of hydro-development and an increase in outsider intrusion, have increased local will to strengthen the customary management regime. While there is opposition to conventional top-down management approaches that would conflict with local practices and customs, the Wemindji Crees have expressed interest in more culturally appropriate bottom-up initiatives that have been emerging in some parts of the Canadian Arctic and other parts of the world. Through ethnographic research, supplemented by mapping and field survey, this research documents the significance of the targeted area to the Wemindji Crees, and explores local aspirations and concerns with respect to the establishment of the PA as well as concepts, methodologies and precedents from PA experience elsewhere that could inform this project. It concludes by looking at some of the challenges and opportunities to the establishment of this PA.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the Stewart family in Wemindji, to the Wemindji Council and the rest of the Wemindji Cree community for warmly welcoming me to their territory. Very special thanks to Fred, Clara, Sarah, Dorothy, Elmer and the kids for adopting me into their family, and for the unforgettable moments spent with them in the bush. I am forever grateful to all my informants who took the time to share stories, anecdotes and their rich knowledge of the land.

I would also like to express very special thanks to Monica Mulrennan, my supervisor, for her guidance, wisdom, and patience. Her encouragement and friendship greatly contributed to my completing this project successfully. I am also grateful to Colin Scott for his guidance, and for sharing his extensive experience of working in Wemindji. Finally, I could not have achieved this without my family, and my partner Étienne whom I want to thank for his love, patience and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Conceptual Framework

The research conducted as part of this thesis contributes to the establishment of a locally-managed culturally appropriate protected area (PA) in the traditional territory of the James Bay Cree community of Wemindji, northern Quebec. Through this project, which is being conducted in partnership with researchers from McGill and Concordia Universities, as well as government agencies, it is hoped that the protection of a biologically rich and culturally valuable river watershed will be ensured. The small aboriginal[1] community of Wemindji, located in Northern Quebec, have proposed this initiative to address their increasing concerns regarding the longer term condition of significant natural and cultural resources in the area, resulting from potential hydro-electric and mining developments as well as competition from sports-hunters (Mulrennan, Scott, & Bussières, 2003). Given the history of PA management in most regions of the world including Canada and Quebec, this project presents some significant 'challenges'. Indigenous peoples world-wide have frequently been excluded from PA planning, creation and management (See for example Stevens, 1997c). PAs have also resulted in limitations or prohibitions on local people's access to areas that used to be part of their homeland. This situation results from the fact that most PAs created prior to the 1960's were strongly inspired by the Yellowstone Park experience, a model also referred to as the 'people-free park' (Stevens, 1997a). However, in recent decades, new approaches allowing for greater involvement of local populations, in particular indigenous peoples, have been emerging in several regions of the world (Brosius, 2004; Brown, 2003; Nepal, 2002, and others). Yet, many challenges remain since these people-

oriented approaches have been less successful than expected, both in achieving conservation and socio-economic objectives (Berkes, 2004; Brown, 2003; Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Kellert, Mehta, Ebbin, & Lichtenfeld, 2000). Several authors suggest that this apparent failure is due to implementation problems, rather than problems with the concept itself (Berkes, 2004; Brechin, Wilshusen, Fortwangler, & West, 2002; Brown, 2003). Hence, there is a need to document and develop initiatives that are truly local. The Wemindji Cree PA initiative provides an exceptional and exciting opportunity to develop an innovative PA that would address many of the problems encountered in conventional initiatives.

1.2 Research Design

This research provided an exciting opportunity for me to combine, build upon and extend aspects of my previous training and experience. My undergraduate training having been in biology, with a specific focus on ecology and conservation, I was seeking through my Master's degree to acquire a better understanding of the broader policy and human concerns of conservation issues. Moreover, my prior experience of working with Kuna Indians in Panama and experiences of living abroad amid different cultures and languages made me particularly comfortable with the opportunity to work in a northern Quebec aboriginal setting.

Research presented in this thesis is part of a larger project, being undertaken conjointly by the Wemindji Council, the Cree families on whose traditional hunting territory[2] the project concentrates, the McGill School of Environment (MSE) and Concordia University, and co-ordinated by Drs. Colin Scott[3] (McGill, Anthropology), Monica Mulrennan (Concordia, Geography, Planning and Environment) and Peter Brown

(McGill School of Environment). This project has recently received substantial funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) through its Community University Research Alliance (CURA) and the Aboriginal Research Grant programs to support a larger team of researchers and students. Research presented in this thesis was made possible thanks to funding from the Canadian Royal Geographical Society, the Fond Québecois de Recherche sur la Société et la Culture (FQRSC), the Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP), the McGill-based Centre for Society, Technology and Development (STANDD), well as the Department of Geography, Planning and Environment at Concordia University. Portions of two of my field visits to Wemindji were conducted simultaneously with small groups of senior undergraduate students from the McGill School of Environment who were also contributing to this larger project.

1.3 Research Objectives

The area proposed for this PA initiative encompasses the watershed of the *Paakumshumwaau* (also called 'Old Factory River' or 'Rivière du Vieux Comptoir'[4]) (Fig. 1). This river, which flows approximately forty kilometres (40 km) south of the Wemindji village, is of particular significance to the Wemindji Cree community. The research conducted for this thesis focused on the coastal and offshore component of the proposed PA, an area called *Paakumshumwashtikw*[5] (Fig. 1). Specifically, it examines the cultural and ecological significance of the targeted area for the Wemindji Cree, as well as community concerns and aspirations with respect to the PA. My initial objective was to develop a model for an ecologically and culturally appropriate PA that would provide for improved protection and management of the area, and contribute to local as well as

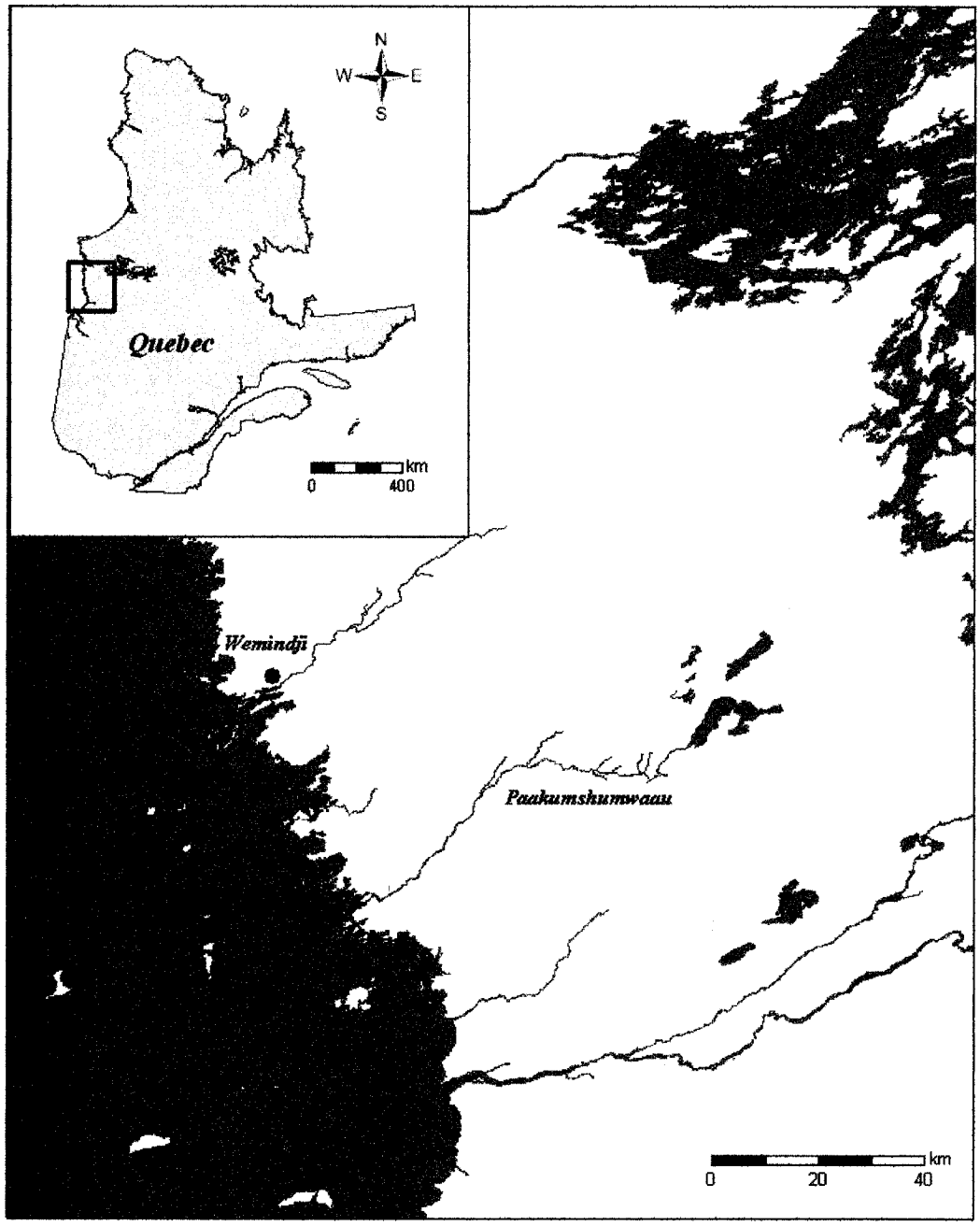


Figure 1. Location of the Wemindji village, the *Paakumshumwaau* and *Paakumshumwashtikw*, in northern Quebec.

federal and provincial interests in enhancing aboriginal peoples' role in PA management. However, given that we are working within a community-based and culturally appropriate framework, the development of a particular model for establishing this type of PA seemed too prescriptive. Instead I decided to produce a set of guidelines that would be useful to the community as they develop their own approach for this PA. After preliminary discussions with some members of the Wemindji Cree community, the following five key questions were designed to guide my research:

1. What is the significance of the targeted area to the Wemindji Cree community in terms of ecological and cultural values?
2. What are local Cree aspirations and concerns with respect to the establishment of the PA?
3. What elements of Cree traditional and customary approaches to marine and coastal resource use and management are compatible with local and external aspirations for the PA?
4. What concepts, methodologies, and precedents from PA experience elsewhere have potential application to the *Paakumshumwashtikw* PA?
5. What opportunities and obstacles are present to the successful implementation of the PA from a cultural, ecological and policy perspective?

The research was conducted between January 2003 and March 2005, and included three visits to the Wemindji Cree community, located at 53°N 79°49 W, in eastern James Bay, northern Quebec (Fig.1). In total, fourteen (14) weeks were spent in the field. In

addition, regular contact through email, phone conversations and their visits to Montreal, was maintained with several community members throughout the project.

The research methodology to answer the above key questions included an extensive literature review of themes related to marine and coastal protected areas, community-based protected areas and indigenous peoples' involvement in natural resource management. A review of federal, provincial and First Nations government websites and documents, Cree Organisations and other NGO websites and documents, as well as newspapers articles, was also conducted. In the field, the research methodology involved participant observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, as well as mapping and Geographical Positioning System (GPS) survey of sites indicated on maps during interviews. Maps were generated using a Geographical Information System (GIS) based on Landsat imagery as well as data gathered through interviews and from mapping and survey work.

1.4 Methodology

The fieldwork component of my research involved a total of fourteen (14) weeks in the Wemindji territory. This included stays within the village of Wemindji as well as various locations on the traditional territory of the Wemindji community. A one-month visit took place in July/August 2003. A two-month visit was made in April and May 2004, three weeks of which were spent at a goose hunting camp. Finally, another one-month long visit took place in August 2004, three weeks of which were spent in the bush with various community members, including two hunting territory bosses. When visiting Wemindji, I was generally living with members of the Stewart family on whose hunting territory the proposed PA is to be created. This greatly contributed to developing good

relations with community members involved in the project, and also improved my knowledge of Cree culture, society and way of life.

1.4.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation and involvement in daily activities with community members absorbed the majority of the time I spent in Wemindji or at *Paakumshumwaashtikw*. These included activities ranging from attending a funeral service and helping the Anglican Cree Women's Association clean the church, to collecting boughs for the *miichiwaahp* (tepee), cutting wood and plucking geese while at a spring goose hunting camp. These activities greatly contributed to relationship building. They were also instrumental in gathering information related more directly to this research project, and frequently provided valuable insight for the elaboration of interview questions.

1.4.2 Interviews

In addition to participant observation, information was gathered through semi-structured and unstructured interviews. A total of thirteen (13) formal interviews were conducted; ten (10) of these were individual interviews, two (2) were conducted with a wife and husband, and an interview with James, George and Fred Stewart was conducted in collaboration with a groups of students from the McGill School of Environment. Two informants were interviewed twice. All these interviews were conducted at a place and time agreed upon by both the researcher and informant prior to the meeting, based on the informant's preferences (Hoggart, Lees, & Davies, 2002). Most of the interviews were conducted in English, but an interpreter was present whenever necessary or requested by the informant. All interviews but three (3) were recorded, and participants were always

informed that the tape recorder could be stopped at any time at their request. Furthermore, informants were given financial compensation for their time, based on established rates used by Colin Scott and Monica Mulrennan in their research at Wemindji.

Interview discussions focused on coastal resource harvesting and management, changes in resource quality and/or abundance observed in the past years or decades, sites of cultural or historical importance, stories and placenames, as well as aspirations and concerns arising from the assignment of formal protection status to *Paakumshumwaashtikw*. Instead of following the order dictated by a rigid questionnaire, I took the approach of taking the first few minutes of each interview to explain the specific objectives of my research and the type of information I was interested in. I then let the discussion flow, which often started with my informant telling a hunting anecdote or a childhood memory. This approach has been found to be appropriate in an aboriginal setting, where overly formal or rigid interview procedures are likely to inhibit rather than catalyse discussions and exchanges (Natcher & Hickey, 2002). Prior to each interview, I made a list of themes or key questions I hoped to discuss with an informant. I then guided the conversation accordingly, to ensure these had been covered by the time the interview was over. This procedure ensured that the same themes were covered with several individuals, and thus allowed me to cross-validate information (Hoggart et al., 2002) and also get a wider sense of the response to key issues.

At the beginning of each interview, a colour satellite image of the *Paakumshumwaashtikw* coastal area was presented, covered with a clear sheet of acetate. As the interview proceeded, this map served as a visual point of reference for the

discussion. Informants were also asked to point out or draw on the map hunting and fishing zones, burial sites, old and currently used camp sites, areas of particular cultural importance, and so on. This geographical information, substantiated with details gathered while on the ground, was then entered into a GIS, as described below.

As noted by Jackson (1983), the boundary between participant observation and more formal and structured interviews is often a 'fuzzy' one. For example, on a few occasions, casual, informal conversations suddenly became formal enough for immediate note-taking to seem appropriate. Community members with whom I interacted were aware of the research I was conducting. Those with whom more extensive interaction occurred were informed of the specific objectives of my research project. Moreover, this research project received ethical approval from the Concordia University Department of Geography, Planning and Environment Departmental Ethics Committee for Student Research with Human Subjects.

1.4.3 Selection of Informants

Considering the research objectives, the goal was not to interview as many community members as possible, but rather to focus on key informants who were particularly knowledgeable about the target area. I was specifically interested in exploring the concerns and aspirations of those who would be closely involved in or affected by the PA creation process. These informants included members of the extended family associated with the *Paakumshumwaau,* other Crees who harvest resources on that hunting-ground, elders who spent significant amounts of time there in the past, local political leaders, people involved in local resource management or those that have been or will be involved in the PA project. During my first visit to the community, Colin Scott

was particularly helpful in identifying initial informants. Subsequently, the *Paakumshumwaau* hunting territory boss, members of his family, and other informants assisted in the identification of other informants that I should speak with about a particular topic; this approach corresponds with the "snowballing" approach (Hoggart et al., 2002). One informant also came to me spontaneously when he heard about the project.

Being a woman, interaction was generally easier with Cree women and I thus spent significantly more time with them than with men. However, care was taken to include perspectives from both genders, as well as from different age groups. In the end, formal interviews or more extensive discussions were undertaken with a total of twenty-two (22) community members (See Appendix 1 for details). Of these "primary informants", seven (7) were women and seven (7) were recognised elders within the community.

1.4.4 Site Verification

While at *Paakumshumwaashtikw,* most of the sites of ecological, cultural or historical importance identified during the interviews were visited. The geographical co-ordinates of each location were recorded using a GPS. Several digital photographs were also taken and any particular detail or further description was noted. A community member was always present during the site verification process, and generally offered additional information, anecdotes or stories associated with the site visited. Being out 'on the land' generally helped bring back people's memories associated with certain places. Therefore, this exercise was particularly useful in gathering more precise ecological as well as cultural information about the study area.

1.4.5 Developing the GIS

Maps, and more recently GIS, have become valuable empowerment tools for indigenous peoples around the world who are struggling with land rights and resource management issues (Chase Smith, Benavides, Pariona, & Tuesta, 2003; Herlihy & Knapp, 2003; Stocks, 2003). The larger research project, being undertaken conjointly by the Wemindji Cree Community, the McGill School of Environment and Concordia University, involves the development of a GIS comprised of all digital information currently available for the Wemindji territory. It is hoped that this resource will provide an effective tool for the elaboration of the PA proposal, and remain valuable for the community's longer term environmental management and planning initiatives. The larger project thus anticipates the training of local computer-literate youths in the use of the ArcGIS software, which is being used to develop this GIS; this should help ensure the longer term utility of this technology to the community.

My specific contribution to the GIS component of the team project involved digitising and georeferencing all data gathered for my own research so that it can be incorporated into the GIS database. For the sake of clarity, a simple base map was produced specifically for this thesis. This base map of the *Paakumshumwaashtikw* coastal and offshore area was generated with the software ArcGIS based on a Landsat 7 image of the area. All other data were then added, by successive thematic layers, onto this base map of the target area to allow for further analysis.

1.4.6 Relationship and Trust Building in the Community

As mentioned above, the overarching framework for this research relates to a desire to genuinely and effectively collaborate with the Cree nation of Wemindji to

promote their objectives with respect to the establishment of a PA. The exact nature of this collaboration, within the framework of developing a locally planned and managed PA, was not clear to me at the outset. Moreover, defining my own role and position within this project proved even more daunting. On the one hand, as a graduate student, my main task was to learn and work toward the completion of my thesis research agenda. On the other, I was also a researcher, working as part of a larger research team with an aboriginal community, with hopes of contributing something that would be useful to the community. In seeking to develop a PA that would constitute an alternative to prevailing paternalistic, and often misguided, approaches to PA establishment and management where white "experts" dictate the terms of the project, defining my role and position vis-à-vis community members was crucial to the success of my research. I thus chose to take a collaborative research approach, adopting the position of a partnership with the Stewart family, the Wemindji Council and the rest of the community. As mentioned above, I maintained regular contact with community members, especially with the tallyman Fred Stewart and his immediate family. I provided them with updates on my progress and used their feedback to guide my research process.

Another issue affecting my relationship-building process in the community concerns the history of relationships between Cree people and "southerners" (a term frequently used by the Crees to refer to non-aboriginal persons). In the past couple of decades, experiences with hydro-development, mineral exploration and forestry, and the resulting increased access to Wemindji territory by outsiders, have often led to tension between the Cree and non-aboriginal Quebec society (See for example Feit, 1995; Feit & Beaulieu, 2001; Scott & Webber, 2001). This, coupled with the fact that Wemindji is a

small northern community, probably explained the wariness and reserve I first felt upon my initial visit. However, my association with Colin Scott (Anthropology, McGill), who has conducted research with the Wemindji Cree for more than twenty-five years, was most probably crucial in gaining people's initial trust. Moreover, I was always transparent about my position as a researcher and the specific objectives of my research project.

Living with a Cree family was also key in this process of relationship building. I was quickly and warmly introduced to other relatives and friends. This opportunity also made it possible to learn about the local culture and society.

1.4.7 Challenges of Working in an Aboriginal Setting

Having been accepted into the community, another challenge was encountered: doing research in a very different cultural setting. Adapting to everyday life in a Cree community was not however the greatest obstacle for me. As mentioned in section 1.2 above, having lived in other countries before and speaking three languages (French, English, Spanish) probably made me more sensitive to cultural differences and differences in worldviews. Moreover, my association with Colin Scott and Monica Mulrennan, both of whom possess extensive knowledge of Cree culture and are well acquainted with the Wemindji Crees, ensured that I had moral and academic support to undertake the challenges of ethnographic fieldwork.

The main cultural obstacle I had to overcome was an ability to appreciate the depth and subtleties of Cree knowledge. The many challenges associated with working with Indigenous Knowledge (IK) or Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) from a western knowledge perspective have been widely documented in the literature (See for

example, Ferguson, 2002; Usher, 2000; Wenzel, 1999). The objective with the present project was not to integrate Cree knowledge into a western framework. This would have run counter to the goal of developing a culturally-appropriate management approach. Nevertheless, this project was conducted in a cross-cultural setting, and I was seeking to use Cree knowledge to contribute to a research project that would be comprehensible both to the Cree and to non-aboriginal policy makers. Gaining insights to Cree perspectives on the land was central to my research and while I was fortunate to conduct many insightful interviews and share many wonderful experiences with the community, fourteen (14) weeks of fieldwork remains too short a period of time for me to have grasped a deep understanding of Cree values, culture and worldviews.

1.5 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature related to PA management, with a special emphasis on locally-managed initiatives, coastal and marine conservation and resource management, and indigenous people's involvement in natural resource management. It explores recent experience with community-based PAs and highlights some of the key challenges encountered. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the policy context in Canada and Quebec within which the Wemindji PA proposal is being developed. Significant PA initiatives at both the federal and provincial level are examined. Chapter 4 describes the geophysical, ecological and cultural landscape in eastern James Bay and gives an overview of aboriginal and non-aboriginal land management practices that affect it. Chapter 5 provides details concerning the Wemindji Cree community's motivations to establish a PA around *Paakumshumwaau*. Chapter 6 explores the ecological, cultural and historical significance of the study area for the

Stewart family in particular and the Wemindji Cree community as a whole. Chapter 7 outlines local Cree aspirations concerning the creation of a PA and the customary management practices that would be central to this PA. It also discusses some concepts, precedents and examples from community-based PAs elsewhere that can inform this proposal. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes by looking at some of the challenges and opportunities to the establishment of this PA.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW: LOCAL COMMUNITIES, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

2.1 From Top-down to Bottom-up Approaches

In western science-based societies and throughout the colonial world, indigenous peoples and other local communities have been largely excluded from environmental management, an activity conventionally retained by the state, and more recently in the hands of large Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) (Berkes, Mahon, McConney, Pollnac, & Pomeroy, 2001; Bryant & Wilson, 1998; Stevens, 1997a). According to Bryant and Wilson (1998), the emergence of this paternalistic and even monopolistic environmental management paradigm has been closely linked to the increasing powers of the state since the mid-nineteenth century and the widening array of issues under its responsibility. This ideology has had several implications in terms of how the environment is managed. Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the idea that environmental management has become widely accepted as a service provided by the state and imposed on local peoples and communities, including those inhabiting remote areas (ibid.). It is generally recognised that this management approach has greatly restrained local communities' participation in decision-making about natural resources essential to their livelihood and culture (Lam, 1998; Mulekom, 1999; World Rainforest Movement, 2003). Moreover, as the field and practice of environmental management was reserved for an elite of scientific experts linked directly or indirectly to the state, it became overly reliant on western science, thus excluding other forms of local and traditional knowledge (Bryant & Wilson, 1998; Freeman, 1989).

2.1.1 The Yellowstone Model

Since the establishment of the first parks in the mid-1800s, protected areas (PAs) have been widely used by governments as environmental management tools. Until approximately two decades ago, most of the efforts of the international PA movement focused on the establishment of strict government-managed national parks (Stevens, 1997a). These were strongly influenced by the so-called 'Yellowstone model', which advocated people-free parks within which no extractive activities, commercial or subsistence, are allowed (Muller, 2003; Stevens, 1997a). Although developed in the preservationist era of the late 1800s, this model has continued to exert significant influence on policy-makers and managers' approach to PA policy world-wide. For example, the World Conservation Union (IUCN, the leading international authority on PAs) based its 1969 definition of a national park on this model, a standard still used by many state governments and international organisations (Stevens, 1997a). To further illustrate this trend, in 2003, PAs prioritising strict nature conservation objectives (IUCN categories I to IV)[6] comprised over fifty percent (50%) of the total global surface under PA status (Chape, 2003). By contrast, PAs acknowledging human-nature interactions comprised only thirty percent (30%) of PAs recognised by the IUCN[7] (Chape, 2003).

Because many of the areas deemed most suitable for PA status world-wide are home to indigenous peoples and other local communities, the imposition of the 'Yellowstone model' has had drastic consequences for these populations (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari, & Oviedo, 2004; Faust & Smardon, 2001; Muller, 2003; Stevens, 1997a). It is widely recognised that the creation of PAs has limited, and in several cases prohibited, indigenous peoples' access to their traditional lands, and thus their use of

natural resources often critical to their livelihood (Boolane, 2004; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004; Faust & Smardon, 2001; Rao, Nautiyal, Maikhuri, & Saxena, 2003; Stevens, 1997a). Some authors even suggested that colonial governments have used PAs as tools to extend their powers over indigenous populations and their territories (Muller, 2003; Stevens, 1997a). Such policies have had tremendous impacts on local peoples' way of life and cultural survival, even leading to the decimation of entire peoples in some extreme cases (Stevens, 1997a). Numerous examples have been documented where tensions resulting from the creation of PAs have degenerated into armed conflicts (Stevens, 1997a). Today, the threat of evictions from their homelands continues as a reality for some indigenous peoples living in the developing world (Nepal, 2002; Stevens, 1997b; World Rainforest Movement, 2003). In the first world, consequences have generally not been as dramatic. Yet, indigenous groups in Canada and Australia, for example, have long been excluded from planning and management of national parks based on top-down management approaches inherited from the 'Yellowstone model' (Muller, 2003; Peepre & Dearden, 2002).

2.1.2 The Emergence of Bottom-up Initiatives

As voices opposing conventional approaches to resource management were rising, a trend towards the decentralisation of conservation praxis and greater consideration of social needs emerged. This paradigm shift begun in the early 1970s, notably following the UN Conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm in 1972 (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004; Kellert et al., 2000). Kellert *et al.* (2000) state that this change in ideology was partly triggered by growing evidence that top- down exclusionary PA policies actually threatened the ecological sustainability of PAs by isolating them from

their surroundings and creating conflicts with local communities. Hence, new initiatives sought to counter paternalistic approaches that had become the established norm by increasing the role and power of local peoples in the planning and management of PAs (Brosius, Tsing, & Zerner, 1998; Brown, 2003; Gambino, 2002; Kellert et al., 2000; Nepal, 2002). In this rearrangement of power dynamics, communities became the level from which conservation policies were to be implemented (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). The various groups involved had different motivations and rationalisations to support this new approach; conservation biologists hoped for increased preservation of biodiversity, while development organisations were driven by critiques of more conventional top-down approaches, populist activists wished to further their agenda of empowering local populations and indigenous peoples were struggling for recognition of their rights, cultures and knowledge (Brosius et al., 1998). Interestingly, Berkes *et al.* (2001) even suggest that in some cases, governments viewed this decentralisation of power or co-management as a way to delegate the costs and responsibilities of resource management onto local communities. Often, the impetus to involve local communities was based on the pragmatic acceptance that areas to be protected were inhabited or surrounded by settlements and it was easier to accommodate these local interests than to ignore or deny them (Colchester, 2000; Faust & Smardon, 2001; World Wildlife Fund, 1996).

Debates surrounding the decentralisation of environmental management also coincided with the evolution of an indigenous rights movement (Peang-Meth, 2002). In the past decade or so, the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the management of natural resources has received increasing formal recognition in international law and policy. A number of conventions, agreements and policies include provisions that recognise

indigenous peoples' role in environmental management (ibid.) For example, Article 8 (j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity, signed in 1992, stipulates that a state must:

> ... respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices ... (Anon., 1992).

This text recognises the contribution of indigenous knowledge and customary practices to conservation, and suggests that their role be enhanced. Another indication of a paradigm shift was the significant participation of indigenous, mobile and local communities at the Fifth World Parks Congress that took place in 2003 (Brosius, 2004). Building on this event, the World Commission on Protected Areas, an IUCN commission, issued in 2004 a guidance document concerning indigenous and local communities in relation to PAs. The objective was to provide PA managers with "ideas and concrete advice on ways to enhance the equity of th[eir] relationship" with "local people – most importantly indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities" (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004: xiv). This document provides advice concerning co-managed PAs and also recognises the existence of areas managed by local communities through customary systems. The latter, a concept of particular relevance to the Wemindji PA proposal, are referred to as "Community Conserved Areas" (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004: 51). Although international laws and policies have no legal strength without enforcement through national policies and laws, they provide guidelines for the latter and give a measure of

legitimacy to indigenous peoples' claims pertaining to control over traditional lands and resources.

Various models allowing for the decentralisation of environmental management have developed in response to the paradigm shift towards bottom-up management, described above. These initiatives, broadly referred to as "people-centred conservation" by Brown (2003: 89), include integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs), community-based conservation, community-based natural resource management, extractive reserves and wildlife utilisation areas. In reality, as underscored by Berkes *et al.* (2001), these approaches allow for varying degrees of local involvement, ranging from informative co-management, in which central government makes decisions and then informs the community, to community control, in which decisions are taken at the local level. In the present thesis, the community control end of the spectrum is explored, because it offers greater possibilities for responding to local aspirations and concerns.

Several criteria have been proposed to classify an initiative as 'community-based'. Broadly speaking, such projects are based on the assumption that local communities are more likely to effectively manage their resources because they use customary approaches adapted to local conditions and also because their interests in sustainable resource use are greater than those of external managers (Brosius et al., 1998; Freeman, 1989). Support for this assumption comes from the general acknowledgement that lands occupied by indigenous peoples are relatively well preserved, although the reasons for this are debated[8] (Faust & Smardon, 2001). Therefore, such initiatives are said to include commitments to devolve powers to the local level while seeking to reconcile goals of

development, nature conservation and sometimes legitimisation of local resource and property rights (Kellert et al., 2000).

In the academic literature of the past decade or so, numerous cases illustrating this paradigm shift have been described throughout the world. Noteworthy examples from developing countries are community-based marine protected areas (MPAs) in the Philippines (Pollnac, Crawford, & Gorospe, 2001; White, Courtney, & Salamanca, 2002) and the CAMPFIRE initiative in Zimbabwe and South Africa (Murombedzi, 1999); both include formal devolution of authority over natural resources to the local level. Latin American cases also include community-initiated and managed PAs, as documented in Mexico by Wilshusen, Raleigh and Russell (2002) and in the Alto Fragua-Indiwasi National Park, Columbia, by Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* (2004). Turning to first world states, a notable example of decentralisation is the 'grass-roots ecosystem management' movement that emerged in United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s and is gaining support throughout the country (Weber, 2000). In Europe, where population densities are particularly high, the contribution of local populations to conservation is increasingly recognised and nearly sixty percent (60%) of PAs are classified within the IUCN's Category V[9] (Gambino, 2002). Likewise, both the Canadian (Peepre & Dearden, 2002) and Australian (Muller, 2003; Stevens, 1997b) governments have embraced the co-management concept since the late 1970s. In the latter, the concept of indigenous management has recently been taken a step further with the Indigenous Protected Area program, through which indigenous communities can voluntarily give official PA designation to a portion of their traditional land (Muller, 2003). Therefore, PA arrangements allowing for greater local decision-making authority have proliferated

throughout the world, and appear to have gained increasing support from policy-makers. However, as discussed in the following section, recent developments in PA management practice and theory caution us to dampen our optimism.

2.2 Where Are We at Now: the Debate

The United Nations official 'List of Protected Areas' currently recognises more than 102 000 protected areas world-wide (Chape, 2003). Such numbers, coupled with the above-described paradigm shift, should constitute reasons to be optimistic about both the global status of biodiversity and the recognition of indigenous peoples' competence to protect it in conjunction with their right to development and self-determination. However, closer examination of PAs' global success record indicates that, in a large number of cases, PA initiatives either fail to protect ecosystems or continue to exclude local populations, or both (See for example Berkes, 2004; Goldman, 2003; Kellert et al., 2000). As has been suggested by Bawa *et al.* (2004: 859), we are at a point where "we know more about *what* to conserve than *how* to conserve it" and *who* is best suited to perform this activity. Today, most conservation practitioners seem to agree that local and indigenous populations should 'participate' in PA creation and management (Berkes, 2004; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004; Chicchón, 2000; Schwartzman, Nepstad, & Moreira, 2000, and others). However, 'participation' is an ambiguous concept, and the degree of decision-making power local peoples should have unfortunately remains a rather controversial issue, despite a global trend towards more people-centred conservation (Faust & Smardon, 2001). Moreover, there seems to be even less agreement concerning issues of human settlements, subsistence resource extraction and the use of

indigenous or customary management strategies within PAs (Chicchón, 2000, and others; Redford & Sanderson, 2000; Schwartzman, Moreira, & Nepstad, 2000; Terborgh, 2000).

Furthermore, in recent years, there has been a noteworthy resurgence of support for a protectionist, top-down approach to environmental management and conservation (Chapin, 2004; Wilshusen, Brechin, Fortwangler, & West, 2002). A series of recent books and articles claim that, in order to genuinely protect nature, a return to more strict government-conducted conservation practices is warranted (Brandon, Redford, & Sanderson, 1998; Oates, 1999; Redford & Sanderson, 2000; Terborgh, 1999, 2000). As discussed above, locally-managed conservation initiatives generally embrace a notion of conservation that accommodates local aspirations for economic and social development. Indeed, it is arguably this characteristic that often renders them more successful than central-government imposed programs. The new protectionist paradigm, however, stipulates that notions of local development must be eliminated from our definition of 'conservation' and that conservation initiatives should concentrate on their initial and central objective of protecting nature (Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002). Proponents of this paradigm further claim that indigenous peoples' struggle for recognition of their land rights, although legitimate, should not be confounded with conservation (Redford & Sanderson, 2000). Advocating a return to preservationist values, others still argue that extractive activities within PAs, even in a subsistence context, invariably lead to local biodiversity loss and thus are incompatible with conservation objectives (Redford & Sanderson, 2000; Terborgh, 2000). Supporters of the new protectionist paradigm acknowledge the necessity of co-operation between conservationists and indigenous peoples, but stress the incompatibility of each group's respective agenda (ibid.).

Moreover, their discourse implies that conservationists' values and interests should be hegemonic in the development of PA policies. This resurgence in academic literature finds an echo in practice. Indeed, a similar trend towards renewed protectionism has also been observed within the three major international conservation NGOs (World Wildlife Fund, Conservation International and The Nature Conservancy), who have gone back to their older practice of excluding indigenous peoples and other local populations from their conservation programs (Chapin, 2004). Community-based conservation still enjoys widespread support. Nevertheless, this ongoing debate and the resurgence of support for strict protectionism calls for a reassessment of current PA theory and praxis.

Despite numerous achievements, it is a reality that success rates of community-based conservation initiatives have been lower than expected, both in terms of environmental and socio-economic goals (Berkes, 2004; Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Kellert et al., 2000; Perreault, 1996; Redford & Sanderson, 2000; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002). For example, a study of three community-based resource management initiatives in Nepal and Kenya revealed that socio-economic objectives generally took precedence over and even compromised biodiversity conservation ones (Kellert et al., 2000). There is also much evidence that, even in so-called co-management agreements, central government efforts have often been limited to consultations with or the provision of information to local communities (Brown, 2003; Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Muller, 2003). For instance, Goldman (2003) observed that in Tanzania community-based management remains a political rhetoric and PAs continue to be top-down managed in practice. Another pitfall highlighted by Brosius *et al.* (1998) is the danger that community-based initiatives are being appropriated by transnational authorities, state governments or local

elite who use them to simply further their own interests. Kellert *et al.* (2000) also suggest that policy-makers are often deterred by the complexity of community-based and co-management, which attempt to reconcile apparently conflicting objectives and interests. Meanwhile, ecosystems world-wide face major threats and rates of biodiversity loss are alarming (Dirzo & Raven, 2003). The question remains: do the challenges described above constitute valid reasons to reject all locally-based resource management and conservation initiatives?

2.3 Keeping Community-based Protected Areas in Our Tool Box

At the opening in Paris of the recent international conference "Biodiversity: Science and Governance", the scientific community estimated that current extinction rates are 100 to 1000 times greater than historical ones (Dirzo & Raven, 2003; Francoeur, 2005). Thus, considering that we are probably facing the most important extinction wave since the great Permian extinction 245 million years ago, debates concerning resource management and conservation are more relevant than ever. In this context, contrary to what is claimed by several authors favouring a return towards protectionism, there is much ground to argue that the apparent failure of many community-based PAs should not prompt us to turn away from this concept.

One of the fundamental arguments in favour of locally-based conservation is the now widely recognised reality that most of the biologically rich and diverse areas that remain are on indigenous peoples' territories (Colchester, 2000; Faust & Smardon, 2001; World Wildlife Fund, 1996). Hence, as noted by Wilshusen, Brechin *et al.* (2002), these populations' pre-existing land-use rights cannot and should not be ignored. A second argument put forward by authors such as Schwartzman, *et al.* (2000) stipulates that,

although the ecologically noble savage does not exist (Redford, 1991; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002), indigenous peoples can be valuable conservation allies. A third argument is simply that critiques of bottom-up environmental management should not overshadow the documented failure of previous protectionist, top-down approaches (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004; Stevens, 1997a; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002: and others). Therefore, despite some failures, there is still strong support for community-based PAs. However, continuing to use community-based PAs will require that conflicting views of nature and conservation be accommodated (Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002). For instance, Redford and Sanderson claim that indigenous people "may speak for their version of a forest, but they do not speak for the forest [conservationists] want to conserve" (2000: 1364). This divergence indicates the necessity to improve on current models for community-managed PAs and to develop new ones, more acceptable both to local populations and conservationists (Berkes, 2004; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002).

2.4 Community-Based Protected Areas to Enhance Local Control

Hence, as underscored by Wilshusen *et al.* (2002), rather than simply dismiss community-based conservation as a policy tool, it would be more worthwhile to investigate the reasons for the success or failure of such initiatives. Overall, two explanations have been proposed for the apparent failure of many community-based conservation initiatives: 1) implementation problems or, 2) the fact that conservation and local development, which constitute the basis of community-managed PAs, are simply incompatible (Berkes, 2004; Robinson, 1993; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002). Most of the evidence from either successful or less successful community-based conservation case studies tends to support the former explanation.

At a first glance, experience shows that conservation objectives and aspirations for local development are not always easily reconcilable. However, this apparent incompatibility is generally said to result from inadequate implementation, a lack of political will from central authorities to devolve decision-making power, and adequate socio-institutional structures and financial and technical support (Johannes, 1998; Pollnac et al., 2001; Wilshusen, Raleigh et al., 2002). Brown (2003) further underscores the importance of creating flexible and adaptive institutions that recognise, respect and accommodate different worldviews. Some authors have also stressed the importance of acknowledging the strong political dimension of community-based PAs (Hulme & Murphree, 1999; Wilshusen, Brechin et al., 2002). As stated by Hulme and Murphree (1999), moving from top-down to community-based conservation is not simply a shift from the state to the local, but entails much more complex changes. Further, as proposed by Berkes (2004), the complex nature of most environmental problems requires the elaboration of solutions that implicate actors at various levels. For instance, external technical or financial support, from both government agencies and NGOs, has proven critical to the success of several locally-managed PA initiatives (Beger, Harborne, Dacles, Solandt, & Ledesma, 2005; Berkes et al., 2001; Johannes, 1998; Muller, 2003). Partnerships with state agencies or NGOs can also give much needed support to communities unable to cope with infringement of their rights and territories, provided that the state and NGOs are not the invaders (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). However, to counter the prevailing paternalism, approaches such as 'cross-scale conservation' must be initiated and defined from the bottom up, by the communities themselves (Berkes, 2004: 625). And the above arguments suggest that there is no single recipe that applies to all

situations, but rather that flexible frameworks must be developed to respond to the specific requirements of each potential PA.

Furthermore, to avoid perpetuating the mistakes of top-down environmental management that imposes wide-ranging policies with little regard to local context, the concept of 'community' itself must be revisited. From the onset, recent literature strongly suggests that community-based conservation needs to move away from the notion that communities are internally homogeneous in terms of interest, values, knowledge and political power (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004; Natcher & Hickey, 2002). In this context, a theory and praxis of locally-based conservation that focuses on local institutions (instead of communities as entities) represents an interesting and promising alternative to prevailing community-based conservation approaches[10] (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004). Along the same line of ideas, several proponents of community-based conservation suggest that equitable sharing of resources and/or benefits within the community is one of the desirable goals of such conservation (Kellert et al., 2000; Perreault, 1996; Pollnac et al., 2001). By contrast, Agrawal and Gibson (1999) argue that imposing decision-making structures based on western values of equity and fairness remains paternalistic.

Thus, recent academic literature provides many directions towards which to look to develop more effective and socially acceptable community-based PAs. The following chapter explores the recent experience in Canada and Quebec of indigenous peoples with regards to PAs.

CHAPTER 3. POLICY AND PRACTICE: PROTECTED AREAS AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA AND QUEBEC

Canada has a long history of PA designation, with its first park, Banff National Park, established in Alberta in 1885 (Atkinson, 2001; Peepre & Dearden, 2002). It is however only in the past three decades, and more recently in Quebec, that aboriginal peoples have been playing an officially endorsed role in PAs (Berg, Fenge, & Dearden, 1993; McNamee, 2002). Prior to that, the state held a monopoly in PA designation and management, as in most parts of the world. Moreover, no mandatory public participation mechanisms are included in the Canadian national parks legislation (Dearden & Dempsey, 2004), a provision that could have allowed for some degree of aboriginal peoples' involvement.

Following the landmark Berger enquiry in 1977, a shift was observed in the policy approach taken by the Canadian Parks Service, the authority responsible for park designation at the federal level (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998; Peepre & Dearden, 2002). According to Berg *et al.* (1993), it became more sensitive to aboriginal peoples' concerns and adopted the concept of joint management or co-operative management, as stated in its 1979 Policy. Thus, some progress has been made towards the accommodation of local interests in PA policy. Despite this, however, the review of federal and provincial PA policies presented in this chapter indicates that central governments in Canada are still reluctant to devolve any significant degree of authority to aboriginal communities in the management of PAs on their territories, and to truly recognise local aboriginal views of conservation and management.

3.1 Federal Protected Area Policy

The Canadian Parks Service defines co-operative management as: "a form of co-management in which local Aboriginal peoples advise the minister on issues related to the management of cultural and natural resources of a park, site or area" (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998: 118). According to them, as of 1997 co-operative management boards with aboriginal partners had been established for approximately one third of Canada's National Parks. It is noteworthy that this definition limits the input of aboriginal communities to an advisory role, with no official authority regarding the designation and management of PAs on their traditional territories. Moreover, although the above policy concerns all Canadian parks on aboriginal lands, the role played by aboriginal communities in the management of parks still varies greatly (Gladu, 2002; Peepre & Dearden, 2002). Towards one end of the spectrum, the Haida nation are centrally involved in the management of the Gwaii Haanas Park through a joint 'Archipelago Management Board' with the federal government, and have guaranteed access to the Park for numerous activities including traditional ceremonies and subsistence resource harvesting (Gladu, 2002; Peepre & Dearden, 2002). Similar co-operative management agreements have also been reached in other northern parks such as the Sirmilik (North Baffin), Auyuittuq and Ellesmere National Parks (Atkinson, 2001). Towards the other end of the spectrum, the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway First Nation have been excluded from Riding Mountain Park since its creation in 1935. Despite recent improvements in communication with park managers, they remain absent from any formal management role and are denied access for hunting purposes and the performance of ceremonial activities (Peepre & Dearden, 2002). Similarly, Prince Albert National

Park, in Saskatchewan, has been established and still managed with very limited consideration for the Woodland Crees aspirations (Gladu, 2002).

Hence, even in the best of cases such as the Gwaii Haanas Park, co-management arrangements tend to be limited to situations in which the "community has input into management" but little or no decision-making powers (Berkes et al., 2001: 199). Such variation in aboriginal involvement is largely due to the fact that park designation on their traditional lands is often closely tied to land claim processes, and specific management arrangements are determined within individual land claim agreements rather than a comprehensive park's policy framework (Atkinson, 2001; Gardner, 2001; Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998). Land claims' negotiation processes can take several years, and even decades (Atkinson, 2001), resulting in much uncertainty with respect to aboriginal peoples' rights. Thus, overall, the Canadian Park Services have shown reticence in entering co-management agreements that involves "true power sharing", an approach that would better accommodate "aboriginal tenure, knowledge and management practices" (Mulrennan & Scott, In press: 16).

With respect to marine protected areas (MPAs), Canada has a limited history of MPA creation, despite the widespread establishment of MPAs in other parts of the world. Furthermore, no MPA has been officially designated on aboriginal territory to date[11]. In Canada, MPAs are generally established under two designations: National Marine Conservation Areas (NMCA) managed by Parks Canada, and Marine Protected Areas managed by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (referred to as DFOMPA, to distinguish from generic MPAs). NMCAs can be designated under the *National Marine Conservation Area Act (2002)*. This act offers more flexibility than the *National Park Act*

by prescribing collaborative arrangements with local populations (Dearden & Dempsey, 2004). However, only one NMCA has been designated to date: Fathom Five, Ontario (Parks Canada, 2005; Peepre & Dearden, 2002). The marine portion of the Saguenay Marine Park is also under Parks Canada authority but under an act specific to this park (the *Saguenay-St-Lawrence Marine Park Act*). It is noteworthy because it represents a unique example of co-management by Quebec and Ottawa, setting a precedent for similar agreements elsewhere in Quebec.

With respect to DFOMPAs, the federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans has authority to designate MPAs under the *Oceans Act 1997* (Jamieson & Levings, 2001). As with the *National Marine Conservation Area Act (2002)* discussed above, this Act has the potential to respond to each MPA's specific requirements by "anticipat[ing] that each MPA management plan will be unique. ... . No underlying protection standards are specified" (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2003: Step 4). However, only two DFOMPAs have been formerly gazetted to date under this legislation: Endeavour Vents, located south-west of Victoria, British Columbia and the Gully, located approximately two hundred kilometres (200 km) off Nova Scotia (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2004a). Race Rocks/XwaYeN on the southern tip of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, is part of the traditional territory of Salish Sea First Nations. It was declared a MPA under the *Ocean's Act* in 2000, but has yet to achieve official status (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2004a). The Salish Sea Peoples were involved in the process leading to this designation. However, notwithstanding their voiced aspirations to be considered as an additional level of government to the provincial and federal levels, their position simply remained that of another stakeholder amongst many others (Race Rocks Advisory Board, 1999). Despite

significant implementation problems and because of the limited number of models available, Race Rocks is likely to serve as an officially endorsed template for future DFOMPA designations within aboriginal peoples' territory (Race Rocks Advisory Board, 1999). The existence of joint programs between regional branches of DFO and various provinces to create new MPAs is also noteworthy. For example, in Quebec, intergovernmental discussions as well as public consultations have been ongoing concerning the creation of a MPA in the Saint-Lawrence estuary area (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2004b). Like in the Race Rocks case, the role of aboriginal authorities in this process appears to be that of any other stakeholder, and discussions with them were limited to 'information sessions' (ibid.). Thus, as with their terrestrial counterparts, Canadian MPAs (both NMCAs and DFOMPAs) tend to limit aboriginal peoples' role in their designation and management. Although the NMCA designation includes provisions for collaborative arrangements, it is likely that the Canadian Park Services will use the same, rather limiting, 'co-operative management' approach described above for terrestrial National Parks.

3.2 Provincial Protected Area Policy

3.2.1 British Columbia

Regarding provincial PAs (excluding Quebec, which is considered separately below), British Columbia represents a notable case since most existing and projected PAs are on the traditional territories of aboriginal peoples (Gardner, 2001). As at the federal level, the elaboration of co-management agreements in this province is very much tied to the comprehensive land claims negotiation process (Gardner, 2001; Wallace & Boyd, 2000). The 'Protected Area Strategy' of BC Parks, the provincial agency responsible for

PA creation and management, recognises aboriginal communities' right to continue subsistence resource exploitation, "subject to conservation objectives" and to perform ceremonial and spiritual activities within PAs (Gardner, 2001: 12). It must be noted, however, that these conservation objectives are still dictated by provincial authorities, based on western values and worldviews, as with all the PA cases in Canada discussed above. Further, the usual practice is to offer financial compensation for losses incurred by aboriginal communities related to these conservation objectives, an approach with often significant constraints in terms of local development (Gardner, 2001; Usher, 2003).

3.2.2 Quebec

In Quebec, protected areas are designated within the framework of the *Stratégie sur les Aires Protégées* (2000), which is implemented by the Ministère du Développement Durable, Environnement et Parcs (MDDEP, Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks, formerly Ministry of Environment) in collaboration with other government agencies[12]. Quebec's objective is to protect eight percent (8%) of its territory by 2007 and to have all of its ecosystems represented (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2004, Vincent Gérardin, personnal communication, February 2003). To achieve these objectives, the province has been divided into thirteen (13) 'natural regions' based on climate, ecology, geology and hydrography, and the goal is to ensure that each one contains at least one PA (Vincent Gérardin, personal communication, February 2003). An interesting feature of the Quebec PA system is that it comprises both a public and a private regime. The former is based on government actions, while the latter rests on the initiatives of non-government organisations [NGOs], corporations or land owners (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2003b). The private regime further builds on

the principle of 'voluntary conservation' (Ministère du Développement durable Environnement et Parcs du Québec, 2005a). Organisations proposing eligible projects then form partnerships with government agencies and receive legislative and financial support (Ministère du Développement durable Environnement et Parcs du Québec, 2005a). Interestingly, and unlike other provinces with PA designations where protection measures are dictated by provincial Acts, the private regime allows the landowner or proposing organisation to define the protection measures applicable to PA. Thus, the Quebec *Stratégie sur les Aires Protégées* possesses a significant degree of flexibility, providing opportunities to respond better to local interests than the federal system described above.

Like the Federal government, the Quebec government has indicated its willingness to work with local communities and aboriginal communities in the creation of new PAs. However, past PA experiences have been mixed. Progress towards greater local involvement is well illustrated by measures included in the recently passed *Natural Heritage Conservation Act (2002,* R.S.Q., c. C-61.01)[13]. Within the context of this act, the MDDEP states that regional and local communities will be called upon to participate in defining the vision for conservation within new PAs, in drawing up conservation plans and, eventually, in the management of these territories (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2003, March 4). The Ministry further claims that, with these measures, it hopes that local and regional communities will be the first beneficiaries of biodiversity conservation (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2003, February 8). Examples of new designation statuses under this act are the *Biodiversity Reserve* and *Aquatic Reserve*, in which any form of forestry and mineral exploitation as well as energetic production is

prohibited, but all existing rights and privileges, such as fishing, hunting, vacationing and aboriginal activities are maintained (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2002, November 5).

With regards to aboriginal peoples' involvement in particular, few cases exist to serve as models. Two PAs are projected within the James Bay Cree Territory: Muskuuchii Hills and Waskaganish Biodiversity Reserves. Both are located on the traditional territory of the Waskaganish Cree community; the former on category III land under the JBNQA and the latter on categories II and III (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2003a). Their conservation plans do not mention Cree interests other than the cultural significance of the area to be protected, and the conservation measures are dictated by the Natural Heritage Conservation Act, based solely on western values and worldviews. Moreover, contrary to measures included in the *Natural Heritage Conservation Act*, neither of these plans contain provisions for any degree of co-management. Therefore, these PAs are not likely to enhance Cree control in any way. On a more positive note, the MDDEP is working in collaboration with aboriginal partners and organisations on the creation of new national parks north of the 52nd parallel (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2002, July 5). This collaboration, which is in its infancy, involves short to medium term agreements between the Quebec government and aboriginal nations, within which some management responsibilities are delegated to local organisations and communities. The first National Park to be created under this program is Pingualuit National Park. It was planned and elaborated conjointly by the government, local populations and Inuit representative. Interestingly, management has been officially delegated to the Kativik corporation (Ressource Naturelles et Faune

Québec, 2004, March 24). This park also differs from other national parks in that it allows for traditional hunting and fishing by the Inuit. Moreover, Inuit knowledge and local considerations have been incorporated in its management plan (Société de la faune et des parcs du Québec, 2000). Therefore, although the projected PAs in southern James Bay appear to have much in common with the conventional monopolistic approaches described in Chapter 2, recent collaborative work in northern Quebec is more consistent with co-management arrangements that lead to greater "community control" (Berkes et al., 2001: 199). The latter thus constitutes a precedent worth keeping in mind in the establishment of the *Paakumshumwaau* PA.

One interesting component of the Quebec government strategy is the creation of new designations that include human activities to a greater degree within PAs. This represents a shift from the common view that natural environments and wilderness should include only those areas untouched by humans (Stevens, 1997a; Toupal, Zedeno, Stoffle, & Barabe, 2001). The *Biodiversity Reserve* and *Aquatic Reserve* statuses mentioned above are two such designations. With the *Paysage Humanisé* (Humanised Landscape) designation, within the new *Natural Heritage Conservation Act* mentioned above, the government acknowledges that humans can be part of and even crucial to the preservation of healthy natural environments (Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec, 2002, November 5). Moreover, this status seeks to achieve some of the same objectives as community-based PA initiatives discussed in Chapter 2 by becoming "*zones d'excellence en matière de développement durable dans lesquelles les activités économiques, la conservation de la biodiversité et l'épanouissement social et culturel formeront un tout harmonieux*" (Ministère du Développement durable Environnement et

Parcs du Québec, 2005b). Another interesting aspect of the *Paysage Humanisé* designation is that, unlike most other designations, the Act does not prescribe the conservation measures to be taken. These are determined through an agreement between the municipality in charge of managing it and the Minister of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks. This status offers the greatest possibility for responding to aboriginal interests of all PA designations discussed in this chapter. However, no *Paysage Humanisé* has been designated to date and none are projected for the years to come (Brassard, 2005, March 3).

3.3 The Overall Situation

Thus, the Quebec government is now recognising the importance of involving local communities in its Protected Area Strategy. Moreover, with its new *Paysage Humanisé* designation, it has acknowledged that human activities can contribute to shaping unique and healthy landscapes and ecosystems. The Canadian government's stated approach is also to work with aboriginal peoples through co-operative arrangements. Yet, in reality, the review of cases presented above indicates that participation in the design and management of new PAs usually tends to be limited to the provision of information or consultation rather than a co-management regime centred on "partnership" or "community-control" (Berkes et al., 2001). Furthermore, the present review also suggests that decisions concerning local resources within PAs are still regulated by provincial and federal laws, which are developed within a western science-based framework. Hence, in the majority of cases, PAs in Canada are still far from community-based management approaches described by Brown (2003), Berkes (2004) and others (see section 2.4). The recent northern Pingualuit National Park sets a

precedent for devolution of management power to aboriginal institutions. However, provisions included in its management plan suggest that this park remains framed within western views of conservation and sustainable development (Société de la faune et des parcs du Québec, 2000). Thus, while significant advances have been made in recent years, current PA models in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada fall short of giving adequate recognition to local values with respect to natural and cultural resource management.

CHAPTER 4. LAND, WATER AND PEOPLE OF EASTERN JAMES BAY

The east coast of James Bay, traditional territory of the Cree people of Quebec, represents a distinctive land- and seascape. Its significance arises from a combination of particular geophysical and ecological attributes that are intimately linked with Cree history, culture, identity and customary way of life. This chapter describes the region's geography, ecology and culture, and gives an overview of indigenous and non-indigenous land management practices that affect it.

4.1 Geophysical Landscape

The last glacial period has left visible and dramatic evidence on the entire eastern James Bay territory, and still has significant impacts on the geography of this region. It is characterised by a vast and low landscape, covered with small hills, mostly drumlins, less than 25 metres (Dignard, Lalumière, Reed, & Julien, 1991). The subsurface contains several minerals of particular economic interest (Sly, 1995). The complex hydrography of this region, encompassing hundreds of lakes and rivers, has also attracted attention since the 1970s as a potential source of energy and revenue; several of the principal rivers emptying into James Bay have been harnessed for hydroelectric developments. The coastline is irregular, with numerous small bays, islands and shoals, as well as important shallow areas and subtidal flats (Dignard et al., 1991). Isostatic rebound is the major geophysical force transforming this region over the long term and continues to shape the coast (ibid.). The beach ridges, visible as one approaches the coast, are evidence of this process of land uplift. The current rate of isostatic rebound is approximately 0.9 to 1.2 metres per century (Hunter, 1970), amongst the highest in the world. This activity renders

the coast very dynamic, with channels closing up, islands attaching to the mainland, and new ones emerging within a person's lifetime.

4.2 Ecological Landscape

The particular geophysical attributes of the region have given rise to a variety of ecosystems supporting a rich and diverse sub-arctic flora and fauna. The major habitats encountered along the coast are open-water, eelgrass beds, mud/sand or boulder-strewn tidal flats, boulder-strewn shores fringed with vegetation, salt marshes, heaths, shrubs, and white spruce forest (Dignard et al., 1991). The southernmost portion of land east of James Bay is encompassed within the Hudson Plains terrestrial ecozone, whereas the rest, including all of Wemindji Cree traditional land, is within the Taiga Shield ecozone. The terrestrial fauna observed in the region includes beaver, moose, black bear, woodland caribou, hare, porcupine, marten, mink, as well as ptarmigans and grouses, most of which are hunted or trapped by the Crees. Polar bears, which are under consideration for designation as 'at risk or endangered' by Quebec and considered of 'special concern' by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC), also inhabit this coast, but are rarely killed by Cree hunters.

Surface salinity along the littoral area varies with seasons and is affected by the significant freshwater discharge from the vast eastern James Bay drainage system, making this a brackish environment (ibid.). Species encountered in these waters include ringed and bearded seals, beluga whales, as well as numerous fish species, whitefish and brook trout being the two most significant for Cree fishers (Mulrennan & Scott, 2000). Because they generally contain less mercury, coastal fish have greater value than inland fish, which have been affected to a greater degree by hydroelectric developments (ibid.).

Marine mammals are rarely killed by Cree hunters (ibid.). It is noteworthy, however, that the beluga whale population inhabiting James Bay and the eastern portion of Hudson Bay has been designated 'endangered' by COSEWIC since 2004 and is under consideration for designation as 'at risk or endangered' by Quebec.

The remarkable habitat diversity characterising eastern James Bay makes the area very attractive to waterfowl, shorebirds and other avian fauna (Dignard et al., 1991; Reed, Benoit, Julien, & Lalumière, 1996). A great number of migratory bird species visit these coasts, including four species of geese, 24 species of ducks, 23 species of shorebirds, as well as several gulls, terns, loons, cranes, passerines and raptors (Dignard et al., 1991). In particular, the east coast of James Bay, together with the lowlands of Hudson Bay, represents a crucial step in the migratory journey of Canada geese and Brants; it is their last chance to build up energy reserves before reaching their breeding grounds located further north (Reed et al., 1996). In fact, this general area of James Bay has been described as one of North America's most important goose staging areas (Dignard et al., 1991; Reed et al., 1996; Thomas & Prevett, 1982). Interestingly, this region's salt marshes, one of the preferred habitats of the geese, exhibit greater species diversity than those found elsewhere in the northern hemisphere (Dignard et al., 1991; Reed et al., 1996). The numerous islands scattered along the littoral zone and covered by varieties of berries (strawberries, cranberries, cloubberries, bearberries) are also visited by multitudes of geese during the fall migration.

The five coastal Cree communities of eastern James Bay are heavily reliant upon waterfowl for their subsistence economy (Scott, 1987). Several species of coastal ducks and loons visiting the territory constitute a significant portion of their diet (Mulrennan &

Scott, 2000). As for geese, these birds are essentially irreplaceable for the James Bay Crees since they can represent as much as a quarter of their wild meat consumption, bush food possessing much higher value for the Crees than store-purchased food (Scott, 1984, 1987). Moreover, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the social significance of activities surrounding goose hunting makes this food a fundamental element of Cree culture and identity; the Canada goose is found on the Wemindji Nation flag (Scott, 1987).

4.3 Historical and Cultural Landscapes

The James Bay Crees foster a deep relationship with and have extensive knowledge of *Eeyou Istchee*, the land they have inhabited for generations. In eastern James Bay, archaeological evidence of settlement dates back approximately 1500 years for areas within a few hundred kilometres from the bay (Denton, 2001). Other sites, of unknown use and uncertain age, have also been documented within a few kilometres of the coast near Wemindji and Eastmain (ibid.). As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, Cree oral history and Hudson Bay Company records suggest that the eastern James Bay Crees had their first encounters with Europeans as early as the mid-1600s, when the first fur trading posts were established in the southern portion of the bay (Denton, 2001; Hudson's Bay Company, 2005). Soon after, several Anglican missionaries visited the region and Anglicanism remains the dominant religion in Cree coastal communities today (Denton, 1997; Sly, 1995). Cree oral history includes numerous stories recounting these early encounters with white men and the ensuing relationships that have had tremendous impacts on Cree society and way of life (Denton, 2001; Scott, 1992).

Although the fur trade declined drastically over the past century, the James Bay Crees continue to inhabit and use most of the area they consider to be their traditional territory. They remain very much dependent on its resources for their subsistence economy. The traditional territory of the James Bay Crees is divided into extended family-based hunting grounds (Feit, 1989; Scott, 1988). These were given official recognition and registered as 'traplines' in the 1930s and 1940s following a collapse in beaver population triggered by 'white men' trapping on the territory (Scott, 1988). At the time, the government recognised that this customary system would ensure the conservation of fur resources from which they received royalties (ibid.). This land tenure system was also recognised by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA), discussed below (Feit, 1989).

The Cree customary land tenure system is characterised by a complex extended family-based management regime, that ensures the continuity of resources vital to the local subsistence economy. Each hunting ground is overseen by a tallyman, *uuchiimaauch,* also referred to as the 'hunting boss' (Scott, 1986, 1988). This position is generally inherited through patri-linear descent, although there is currently one woman occupying this role in Wemindji. The *uuchiimaauch* is responsible for overseeing certain resource harvesting activities, namely hunting and trapping, on the hunting ground under his stewardship (ibid.). He basically ensures that resources are harvested in a sustainable way by deciding the time, place and strategies used in the hunt, based on knowledge transmitted orally for generations (Scott, 1986). Although land tenure is family-based, a hunter's access to hunting grounds is rarely restricted to one hunting territory. Rather, they tend to be invited to hunt on other territories, a system that ensures the distribution

of harvesting efforts throughout the territory, according to resource availability (Scott, 1986). The hunting territory-hunting boss system does not apply to all harvesting activities. Activities such as berry picking and firewood gathering, for example, are not governed by tallymen (ibid.). Fishing and hunting of some small game is not restricted by hunting territory limits nor is it under the authority of the tallymen (ibid.).

The mission statement of the Wemindji Cree Nation underscores the continuing significance of this tallyman system for the community (Cree Nation of Wemindji, 2004). This land-tenure system has existed at least since the beginning of the twentieth century, most probably since the early 1800s, and may even have operated under specific circumstances prior to contact with Europeans (Feit, 1989). It is noteworthy that it has prevailed, despite major technological changes, external pressures for commercialisation and a significant growth in the Cree population (ibid.). However, as suggested by researchers working with James Bay Crees for several years, an increase in resource competition with outsiders, resulting from recently facilitated access to this territory, threaten to create pressures likely to disrupt this system (Feit, 1989; Mulrennan & Scott, 2000). The collapse of the tallyman management and land tenure system would have dramatic consequences for all aspects of Cree society, and could a jeopardise the long-term conservation of natural ecosystems.

4.4 Land and Environmental Regimes Under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

In the past few decades, the James Bay Crees have lead several political fights for the preservation of their way of life and the land it depends on. Following rounds of taxing negotiations that were initiated when Quebec decided in the early 1970s to

develop hydro resources in James Bay without Cree consent, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed in 1975 between the James Bay Crees, the Inuit of Quebec and the governments of Quebec and Canada. Redefining almost all aspects of Cree-central government relationships, the Agreement provides for a host of considerations related, amongst others, to health, education, employment. Of particular relevance to the present thesis, it includes provisions pertaining to environmental management and development in the James Bay region, and also superimposes a land regime unto the customary land tenure system described above. Given their limited political power at the time it was negotiated and the inevitability of development over the James Bay territory (Mulrennan & Scott, In press), the Crees hoped this agreement would enhance their control over the land and natural resources of *Eeyou Istchee*. The provisions that were put in place for Cree input to environmental management do not, however, provide them with significant power in decisions about land and water critical to their subsistence economy and cultural survival.

The three land categories created under the JBNQA include Category I lands which correspond to land "set aside for the exclusive use and benefit of the respective James Bay Cree bands" (Anon., 1975: section 5.1.2), Category II lands, on which the Crees have been granted exclusive hunting fishing and trapping rights, and Category III lands, on which Crees have exclusive rights to harvest certain animal species, and preferential guaranteed levels of harvesting for other species (Mulrennan & Scott, In press; Peters, 1992). All these land categories remain subject to considerable appropriation powers by both federal and provincial governments (Feit, 1989; Peters, 1992). The specific details and impacts of this land regime on the Crees are discussed by

several authors (Feit, 1989; Mulrennan & Scott, In press; Peters, 1992). In the context of this research, the key point to note is that the overall effect of these land categories is actually to limit the degree of formal control the Crees possess over the vast majority of their traditional land (Feit, 1989; Mulrennan & Scott, In press; Peters, 1992).

Other provisions in this agreement include those related to environmental protection and future development (Section 22) and the hunting, fishing and trapping (Section 24) regimes (Anon., 1975). Again, these are discussed in greater detail elsewhere (See Mulrennan & Scott, In press). However, like for the land regime just described, Mulrennan and Scott (In press) conclude that the committees established to oversee these regimes have not led to greater degrees of decision-making power for the Crees regarding issues concerning wildlife and environmental management within the James Bay territory. In fact, they remain advisory bodies and central governments have retained final decision-making power with regards to resource exploitation and management over James Bay.

The JBNQA purportedly sets out "to guarantee and protect [Cree] way of life", of which hunting trapping and fishing is a vital aspect as clearly underscored in the Philosophy of the Agreement, while simultaneously pursuing 'development' of James Bay's natural resources (Anon., 1975: XXII). However, as indicated above, the agreement clearly fails to provide the Crees with the degree of control over land and natural resources they aspire to. As underscored by Mulrennan and Scott (In press), emphasis was put on environmental regulations and impact assessment mechanisms, rather than providing a clear framework for resource management and environmental protection. Moreover, the JBNQA does not apply below the low-tide mark, beyond which

federal jurisdiction prevails (Mulrennan & Scott, 2000). Thus, Cree rights and interests over the estuary, waters, offshore islands and seabed, remain undefined and uncertain (ibid.). The agreement consequently fails to provide a framework for the management and protection of coastal and marine ecosystems (ibid.). Moreover, islands, even those close to the limit of Quebec jurisdiction, fall under Nunavut's jurisdiction (ibid.), thereby creating complex jurisdictional arrangements below the low-tide mark. These are inconsistent with the biological reality of coastal ecosystems and also with Cree views of land and water as a continuous and integrated 'scape' (ibid.).

Thus the JBNQA constitutes a weak warranty for ensuring the long-term protection of the Cree way of life and the land it depends upon. Although the agreement does provide some support for the local subsistence economy, protection of natural resources and Cree self-governance, these issues clearly possess less weight in the overall scale than provincial government's political interests and right to exploit resources of the James Bay region for the general good of Quebec society (Feit, 1989; Mulrennan & Scott, In press; Scott, 2001a). Further, notwithstanding the limitations inherent to the agreement described above, implementation has faced many challenges, and several provisions remain unfulfilled by central governments (Grand Conseil des Cris/ Grand Council of the Crees, 2004). Lack of formal implementation structures and, even more importantly, lack of political will appear to be the main reasons for this situation (Peters, 1992).

New hope arose with the signing of the 'Agreement Concerning a New Relationship between the Government and the Crees of Québec (2002)', which is said to represent an attempt to resolve issues not accounted for in the 1975 JBNQA and also

represents an effort to gain Cree approval of the Eastmain 1A/Rupert hydroelectric project (Mulrennan & Scott, In press; Scott, 2003). The General Provisions of this more recent accord announce a "new nation-to-nation relationship, one that is open, respectful of the other community and that promotes a greater responsibility on the part of the Cree Nation for its own development within the context of greater autonomy" (Anon., 2002). As it is, this new agreement contains provisions for greater Cree involvement in forestry management, and also measures for the redistribution of some of the revenues from resource extraction performed by the provincial government on their land (Mulrennan & Scott, In press). It also contains mandatory dispute resolution procedures to prevent situations leading to litigation (ibid.). However, more time is required to determine whether these will achieve a more co-operative relationship with regards to resource management (ibid.). Meanwhile, exploitation of natural resources by outsiders continues on James Bay Cree traditional territory, giving rise to renewed local aspirations for enhanced control over the land. These aspirations are detailed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5. THE *PAAKUMSHUMWAAU* PROTECTED AREA PROPOSAL

5.1 Local Impetus

Since the construction in the 1970s of the James Bay Highway to provide access to the La Grande hydro-electrical project, the James Bay Crees have experienced a dramatic increase in outsider infringement on their territory (Feit, 1989; Scott, 2001b). "We don't know what's going to happen, especially with all the mining coming around, forestry, and God knows what else..." This quote from Henry Stewart, a Wemindji Cree man, illustrates well the community's increasing concerns about the long-term prospects for those natural resources that contribute to the local subsistence economy and are intricately linked to their culture and way of life. Their apprehensions pertain to potential impacts of the Eastmain 1A-Rupert hydro-development project, which is the latest phase of the James Bay hydro-electric project, as well as increasing outsider intrusions related to hunting and mineral exploitation (Mulrennan et al., 2003). These concerns have been further underscored in recent years by Hydro-Quebec's announcement of its intent to develop all of Quebec's hydro-electric potential by 2020 (Bérubé, 2003), Premier Charest's recent declaration to relaunch energy exports to the United States by 2008-2009 (Anon., 2004), and the acquisition of exploration properties by twenty-nine mining companies following the discovery of diamond-indicating minerals in close proximity to Wemindji (Ministère des Ressources Naturelles Faune et Parc, 2002). The latter revives issues of subsurface rights, which remain within central governments' jurisdiction under the JBNQA. The Wemindji hunting territories are currently north of the limit for economically viable commercial forestry, but this situation could change as resources become depleted in southern Quebec. Moreover, the fact that Cree offshore rights, which

are not included in the JBNQA nor in the more recent Paix des Braves, have yet to be clarified adds to their concern regarding the protection of coastal and marine resources (Mulrennan & Scott, 2000, 2001).

In this context, the Wemindji Crees have voiced their aspirations for a more formal role in the management and protection of their traditional land and natural resources. This would warrant a level of formal decision-making power not achieved through the JBNQA. Edward Georgekish expressed his discontentment with the level of authority given to his people by the JBNQA:

> You know they're trying to dictate how we should live our lives, how we should run our own affairs. Under the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement, my understanding was that we would run our own affairs, you know, to determine what we want to do for our people.

The creation of a legally designated PA within their traditional territory has recently emerged as a potential tool for them to achieve these aspirations (Mulrennan et al., 2003). Although a PA based on conventional top-down management practices would be contrary to their aspirations, one inspired by recent bottom-up approaches would be acceptable to the Crees. The area proposed for this initiative would encompass a significant portion of the *Paakumshumwaau* watershed, including its estuary, coastal area and several offshore islands. Thus, the PA would also be unusual in combining terrestrial, coastal and marine components, which represents a departure from the conventional, highly artificial division of land and sea imposed by western jurisdictional regimes (Mulrennan et al., 2003). *Paakumshumwaau*, is an intermediate-sized river flowing approximately forty (40) kilometres south of the community and of particular importance to the Wemindji

Crees. The large lakes towards its headwaters and the watershed more generally host a diverse subarctic flora and fauna, while its complex estuary supports a variety of nesting and migrating waterfowl (Mulrennan et al., 2003). Within this zone, land above the low-tide mark and north of the southern shore of *Paakumshumwaau* falls within Category 2 while the area south of the river is within Category 3 (see Chapter 3). As mentioned earlier, that area below the low-tide mark, including offshore islands, is not covered by the JBNQA. Wemindji Cree formal rights over this area, which are of particular concern to the community, thus remain ambiguous. Meanwhile, resources harvested from the proposed PA contribute to the local subsistence economy, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. Moreover, although most of the watershed is currently encompassed within the hunting territory of a single extended family, it includes several sites of cultural value to most members of the community. Prior to its relocation to the current site of Wemindji in 1958[14], the community was located at the mouth of *Paakumshumwaaau,* which was historically used by the Cree as a travel and trade route (Cree Nation of Wemindji, 2003).

A few years ago, Reed *et al.* (1996) suggested that, based on its ecological richness and diversity as well as its importance for migrating waterfowl, portions of the north eastern coast of James Bay should be protected as a wetland of international importance. Almost a decade later, considering Quebec's will to pursue natural resource exploitation in James Bay, the distinctive geo-physical, ecological and cultural characteristics of *Paakumshumwaau* recommend it as a territory worthy of protection. The immediate coast of James Bay still remains isolated enough to escape the increasing intrusion of outsiders (Mulrennan & Scott, 2001). Moreover, *Paakumshumwaau*

represents one of the largest rivers not yet harnessed for hydro-electrical power in the *Basses Collines de la Grande-Rivière* natural region (see section 3.2.2). The following chapters thus explore how a locally managed PA, compatible with Wemindji Cree aspirations for local development and based on customary approaches to coastal resource management could be developed to enhance their control over this portion of their traditional territory.

5.2 Cree Views of Environmental Protection

As with most communities, the Wemindji Cree community is not homogeneous in terms of values, perspectives on environmental protection and opinions regarding the proposed PA project (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004; Natcher & Hickey, 2002). However, despite some divergence (see sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.3), several prevalent elements in Cree views of environmental stewardship could be identified from my observations and discussions I had with local informants.

There appears to be broad support in the Wemindji community for the formal designation of *Paakumshumwaau* as a PA. Out of the fourteen (14) informants with whom formal interviews were conducted or a written questionnaire was administered, thirteen (13) specifically mentioned their support for the initiative. It was repeatedly suggested that "[t]he water, the land and the river, the way of life of the people, too" should be protected, to use words of Fred Asquabaneskum. The Cree relationship to the land is intimately linked to ideas and practices centred on environmental protection. Two overarching values shape this relationship: respect and reciprocity[15]. Rodney Mark explained that these were the two core values that emerged from a series of workshops conducted with the Wemindji elders. The value of respect is embodied, for instance, in

the belief that animals offer themselves to the Cree hunter, who treats them with respect and fulfils certain obligations. As explained by Sam Georgekish, wasting an animal you killed, or parts of it, is perceived to demonstrate a lack of respect. Special treatments, rituals and behaviours are also required for certain animals. For example, Clara and Elmer Visitor stressed the importance of hanging a bear's skull on a tree after you kill it. An elderly woman whose husband is a tallyman recalled practices that illustrate how Cree show respect to the land:

> when we moved from one area to another, we would clean up the land, where the camp was, so that it would be preserved the way it was, so that the Creator can look down on what he's given us and be happy about the way we take care of it.

Further, informants repeatedly highlighted the importance of respecting what is offered to you by only taking what you need from the land, a view very similar to Western notions of "sustainable use". Values of respect and reciprocity are also relevant for Crees relationships to each other. "You have to respect what the tallyman says", stated Nancy Danyluk. And a tallyman who does not respect the land or other hunters will see his authority challenged. Several traditions concerning food sharing further illustrate the importance of reciprocity between hunters' families, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Discussions and interviews with community members revealed that Cree conceptions of environmental protection were more encompassing then conventional western views that tend to target certain species and exclude anthropogenic elements. A depiction of the Cree view was offered by Fred Stewart, who suggested that the PA should ensure the protection of "[m]oose, beaver...and people that live in that area, whenever they're there, and all the resources that are available to them when they are in

that area". Accordingly, the issue of which elements of the environment should be protected by the proposed PA designation was irrelevant to the Crees since, as stated by Henry Stewart, "protecting the land would automatically be protecting the animals, and also the cultural sites". The following chapter illustrates this view by describing the specific ecological, cultural and historical significance of *Paakumshumwashtikw* to the Stewart family and the Wemindji Cree community as a whole.

CHAPTER 6. SIGNIFICANCE OF PAAKUMSHUMWASHTIKW FOR THE WEMINDJI CREE

Wemindji Cree people's attachment to the land relates both to the resources it contributes to the local subsistence economy and to their identity as *Iyiyuuch* (See Chapter 5). Thus, protecting the land to which they are connected through stories, placenames and practices associated with specific places, plants and animals is vital to their identity. Local Cree Trappers Association (CTA) officer Edward Georgekish affirms this sentiment in the following statement: "maintaining our traditional way of life makes us a distinct society". The family hunting territory system described in Chapter 4 is the foundational unit of this identification. For example, in the following statement regarding the establishment of the PA, Dorothy Stewart underscores her attachment to her family's land:

> It is my hope to see that the [PA] project happens, and that future generations of my family can also enjoy that land mass for their livelihood and pass on its history, that they can be proud to be living on the land and enjoying what is provided for them from the resources. … I do it for the memories of my parents and my grandparents, my father's family, the Stewarts.

Dorothy's words also illustrate how the strength of the relationship between past, present and future generations is directly tied to the land. It is this identification with their traditional territory, in conjunction with the high value placed on the natural resources they harvest from it, that makes this land so important to the Wemindji Crees.

Although this land is widely referred to as the 'traditional' territory of the Crees, it is associated both with past and present uses. While many Wemindji Cree community members hold full-time occupations in the village, and are now part of what one

informant refers to as "the economical world", vacations and week-ends present opportunities for them to spend time 'on the land'. Thus, the traditional territory of the Wemindji Crees continues to be used extensively by the community, with the coastal area representing an environment of special importance to them. Within the bay of *Paakumshumwashtikw* more specifically, numerous sites and places can be connected to important events that mark Wemindji Cree history. Moreover, this place continues to play an important role in the contemporary life of the Wemindji Crees through resource harvesting and as a focal point for many socio-cultural activities.

The present chapter documents the importance of the *Paakumshumwashtikw* coastal and offshore area (often referred to as Old Factory bay or Old Factory area by community members) to the local family that uses it extensively for resource harvesting and other social events as well as to the Wemindji Cree people more generally. In doing so it provides some insight to local motivations and commitments to provide this portion of their territory a special and formal protection status.

6.1 Cultural/Historical Significance

The historical significance of *Paakumshumwaau* (Old Factory river) and *Paakumshumwashtikw* (Old Factory bay, coast and offshore) is widely acknowledged by the both the Stewart family and Wemindji Cree community at large. For instance, elders Emily Georgekish, Clifford Georgekish and John Matches stressed the importance of the river as "a highway from Old Factory Bay and back into the inland hunting territories", to use the words of Clifford Georgekish. Fred and Henry Stewart also highlighted the significance of all the portages used to get around rapids and campsites used when canoeing down the river, most of which are associated with specific placenames and

stories[16]. For those elders who have spent much of their lives along *Paakumshumwaau* the significance of the river is deeply felt. Nevertheless, a younger man, Rodney Mark, made the following statement to emphasise the importance of the area to the entire community:

> Well, the Old Factory River is a historical route. Many families used it. My grand-father used to always tell me stories about paddling down and portaging along the Old Factory. Yes, most of the stories were about paddling and portaging from the lake to the bay. This river is really a historical route that was used by more than one family.

Thus, *Paakumshumwaaau* and all the portages and campsites along its course are highly valued by Wemindji community members as a historical heritage site. As for the particular significance of the estuary, coastal and offshore area of *Paakumshumwashtikw*, which encompasses several islands, it is closely tied to the development of a fur trade in the region. Both local oral history and the Hudson Bay Company's (HBC) historical records suggest that this bay has been visited regularly for at least three (3) centuries, and very possibly more (Hudson's Bay Company, 2005). In fact, activities related to fur trading have spread along the entire Eastern James Bay coast since 1668, when the first HBC trading post was established at Charles Fort (present day Cree village of Waskaganish) (Denton, 2001; Hudson's Bay Company, 2005). During the decades that followed, various trade and military expeditions were also undertaken in the region (Denton, 2001). With respect to *Paakumshumwashtikw*, the following account told by elder Billy Gilpin indicates that activities related to fur trading have been taking place there since the beginning of HBC involvement in the area, and possibly earlier:

> The Frenchman was here [in *Paakumshumwashtikw*] around 1670 and was the first trader. The Hudson's Bay Company then came here for fur trading. The Company was already trading south of here, as we were told. Then, they said there was a Frenchman who came to live here; they say he discovered the Cree here in the area. The one [island] they call *Kaachinwaanikaach* [see Table 1. and Fig. 2, below], it was there that the ship was frozen solid in the ice, all winter long. He came by a big ship, the ship was frozen in the ice all winter. He was the first to be trading with the *Iyiyuuch* [the Crees] in the area. This is what I heard talked about; yeah before I was born.

It is noteworthy that Billy Gilpin mentioned the Crees were "discovered" by the trader. Hence, his account suggests that Crees were living in the area prior to the development of fur trading activities; a fact corroborated by other informants and also by stories reported in other sources, such as Denton (2001) for example. It is also interesting to note that that there is ambiguity concerning the identity of the first Europeans to have come in the area. Although Billy Gilpin's story, like several others, suggests they were French, official records as well as archaeological finds suggest that the first Europeans to visit the area were English (Denton, 2001).

Although it has been visited by Cree people for generations, as described above, the significance of *Paakumshumwashtikw* is closely associated with historical events taking place more recently, in the twentieth (20^{th}) century. With some exceptions, like Billy Gilpin's story above, almost all historical accounts about this area told by informants referred to this later period. For instance, Nancy Danyluk, who remembers growing up there, explained:

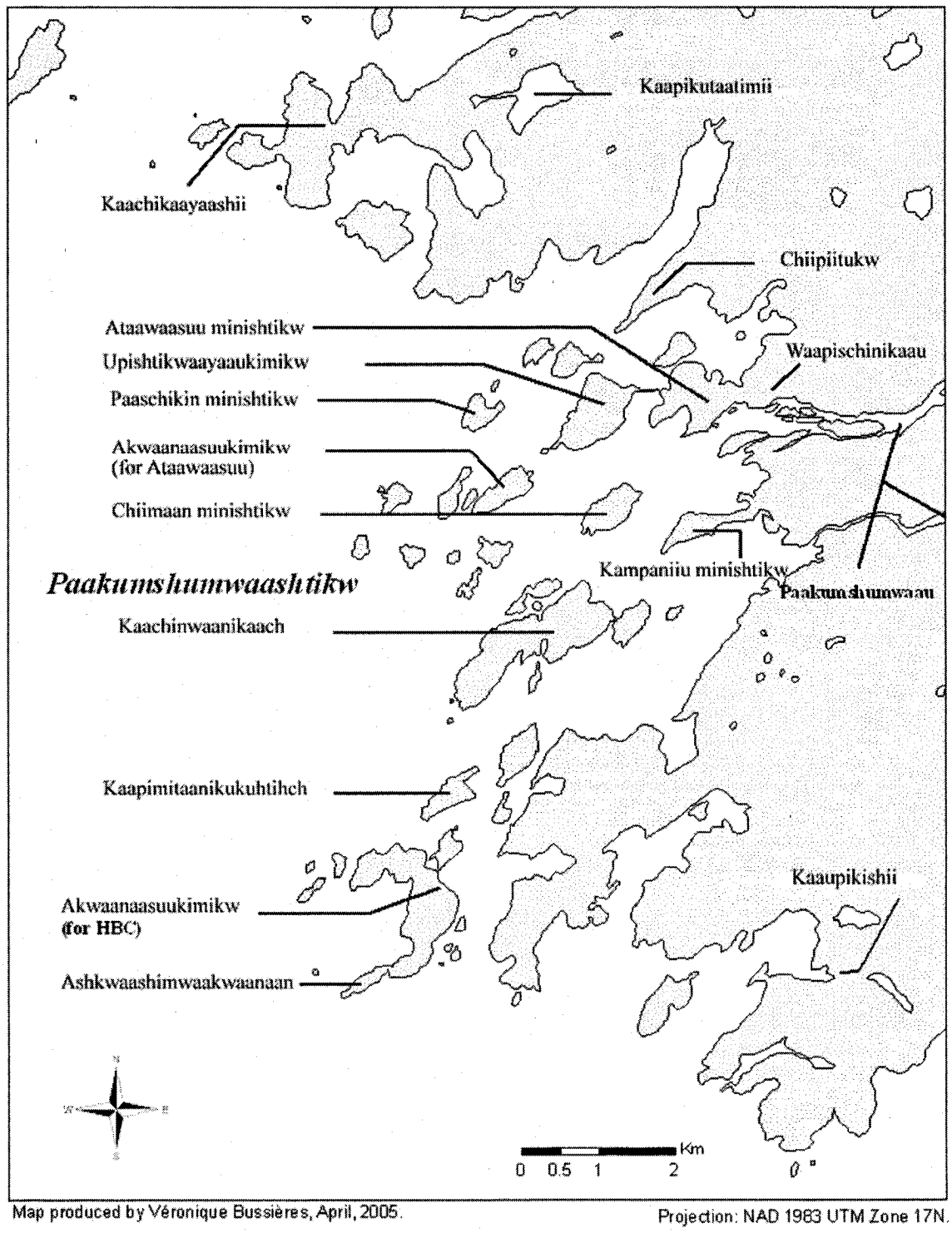


Figure 2. Some placenames in Cree in the bay of *Paakumshumwashtikw.*

Table 1. Signification of placenames at *Paakumshumwashtikw.*

Placenames in Cree	**Signification and details**
Paakumshumwaashtikw	Cree name for bay also referred to as Old Factory Bay or *Baie du Vieux Comptoir*. Mouth of *Paakumshumwaau*, or Old Factory River.
Chiipiitukw	'Place where two families once starved'—the story suggests the bodies were found inside a tepee structure, without the canvas. Probably the oldest known camp site in the area.
Kaachikaayaashii	No English translation—former summer camp site, "where our parents used to take us every summer when we got back from residential school" (Dorothy Stewart, 2005).
Kaapikutaatimii	'The hole'—a good fall and spring goose hunting site.
Waapischinikaau/ Waapischinikaach	No English translation—one of Stewart family's abandoned campsites.
Upishtikwaayaaukimikw	'Frenchman's island'—site of first contact with Europeans.
Chiimaan minishtikw	'Boat island'—where the missionaries used to leave their boat.
Paaschikin minishtikw	'Gun island'—where people left their guns before going to the store for supplies.
Akwaanaasuukimikw (for *Ataawaasuu*)	'Port Island'—where the barge unloaded freight for the free trader. Today, location of the Old Factory gathering.
Ataawaasuu minishtikw	'Trader's Island'—where the trading post was located.
Kampaniiu minishtikw	'Company Island'—where the HBC store was located.
Kaachinwaanikaach	'Long Island'—location of a graveyard.
Kaapimitaanikukuhtihch	'The island that is in the way'.
Akwaanaasuukimikw (for HBC)	'Port Island'—where the barge unloaded freight for HBC.
Ashkwaashimwaakwaanaan	'Place where people hunt for loons and ducks'.
Kaaupikishii	No English translation—location of Harry Stewart's camp.

> I'm sure about the Old Factory [bay] area, because this is where the whole community used to live, before we moved to Wemindji. I'm sure this is very valuable to a lot of people, the Old Factory [bay] area. This is where they gathered in the summer time, and there's people buried in the area.

In this quotation, Nancy Danyluk suggests that the area is mainly associated with the years when the community was based at *Paakumshumwashtikw*. This period started with the creation of two trading posts and persisted until the relocation of the village to its current site in 1958 (the bay was named after this activity, as explained in endnote 4). More precisely, it began in October 1935, when a free trader established a trading post in the bay, as explained by Billy Gilpin who remembers precise details of this era. The HBC opened its store at *Paakumshumwashtikw* soon afterwards. "I know exactly, that's when I left Chisasibi, in 1942, that's when HBC was here", recalls Billy. An Oblate Catholic mission and an Anglican mission were also established in the area. George Stewart, one of the former tallyman's stepbrothers, told me that the Catholic mission was built in 1936, the year he was born. The free trader closed his store prior to 1958, but the HBC and missions remained operational until the relocation of the community. Hence, although it had been visited at least since the late 1600s as indicated above, it is during this more intensive fur trading period that *Paakumshumwashtikw* became a dynamic centre of activity. It also attracted people from neighbouring communities; "when the trading post opened, people came here [to *Paakumshumwashtikw*] from Eastmain and Chisasibi" explained Elmer Visitor. During this period, people, mostly Crees and some Inuit, gathered around the trading posts during the summer months to trade their furs for supplies and equipment, before heading back inland for fall and winter harvesting

activities. "When we arrived from inland in the spring, we would stay at *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, *Waapischinikaau* and *Kaachikaayaashii,* then we would go back inland up the river again", remembered Billy Gilpin. Most community members over 40 years old retain vivid and fond memories associated with this place. Many of the Cree names for the islands are also reminiscent of people, events or uses from this time (Table 1. and Fig. 2). Other names, such as *Chiipiitukw* (meaning 'Place where two families once starved'), are not directly linked to the activities associated with the trading post and may refer to earlier events.

6.1.1 Sites of Cultural/Historical Significance

Numerous vestiges dating from the trading posts period remain (Fig. 3) (See Appendix 2). These include buildings, a few of them still standing, old campsites and burial sites, as well as wooden posts used to tie up boats, wooden fences, and objects used in everyday life, such as metal cans and glass jars. The two islands used the most extensively in the past and currently hosting the most relicts are *Kampaniiu minishtikw* and *Ataawaasuu minishtikw* (Fig. 3), where the HBC and the free trader were established, respectively. Another island of particular significance is *Upishtikwaayaaukimikw* (Frenchman's island), said to be the site where the first contact between local Cree and Europeans occurred, as discussed above. Vestiges are however found throughout the area, since activities related to the fur trade took place on several islands around the bay. An account of those that are found on some of the major islands is provided below.

Ataawaasuu minishtikw: Walking this island during the 2004 spring goose hunt, Clara Visitor recounted how the establishment of the free trader's store in the late 1930s had made this site an important gathering point. Most of the buildings constructed during this period are still standing. The old warehouse, for instance, is used by members of the

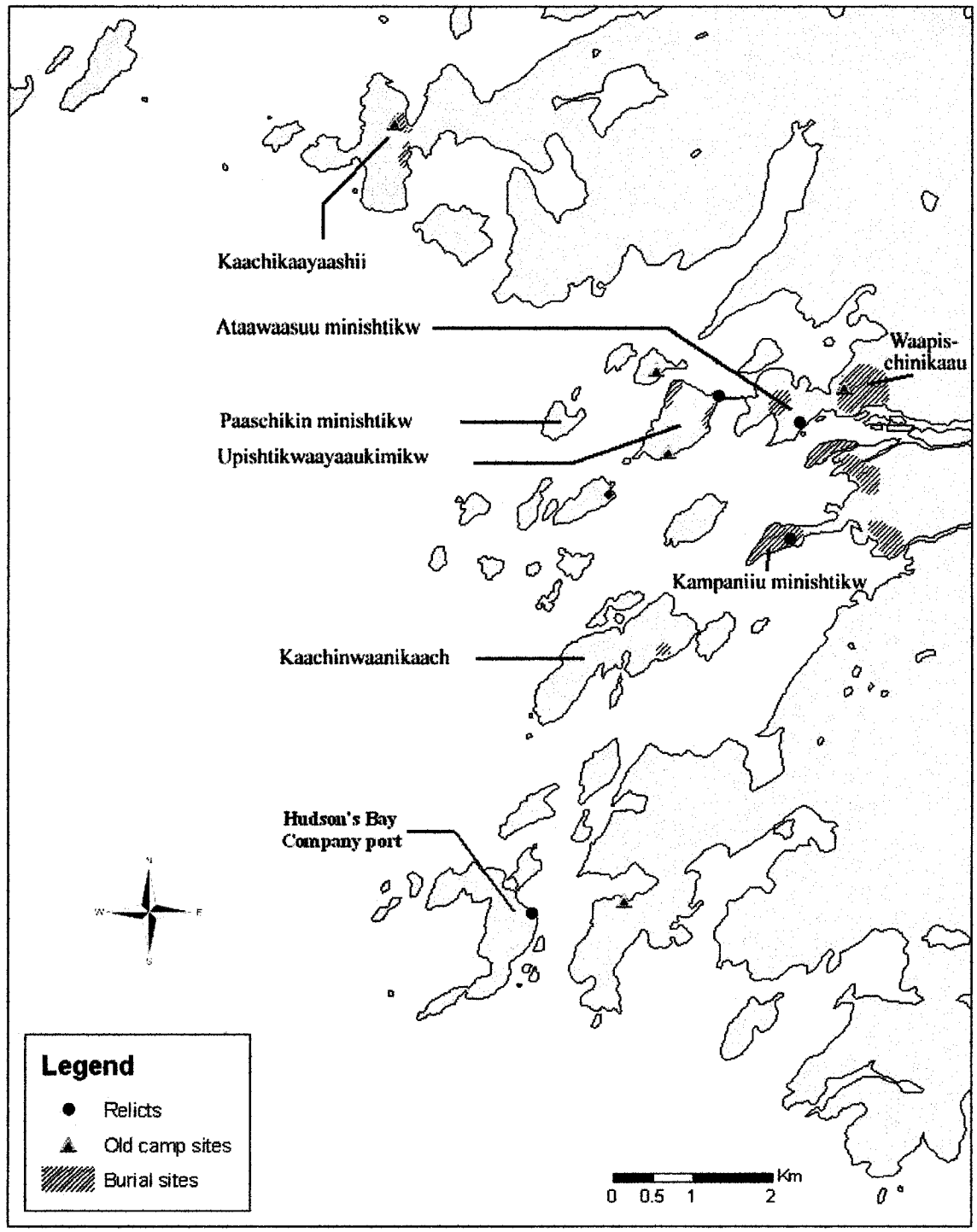


Figure 3. Relicts, vestiges and burial sites at *Paakumshumwashtikw.*

Stewart family for storage. Located next to it, the trader's house has collapsed, but its remains are still visible. Archaeological digs would likely uncover artefacts in the area behind these two buildings, since Crees and Inuit set up their camps in the vicinity, as remembered by Clara. The Catholic mission is standing, but is in poor condition. Numerous objects remain in this building, including a lantern visible from the window, a wood stove as well as books and magazines apparently left in the attic (Clara, who was then a little girl, remembers spending evenings there reading); a thorough inventory and cataloguing is needed. Based on Clara's accounts, the missionaries fostered good relations with local Cree families; they supplied medications, blankets and other goods and services to the population. Another building, highlighted by Clara during our visit, was the old carpenter's workshop still standing near the mission but with its roof starting to cave in. The carpenter, a white man, was living with the priest and also acted as cook for the missionaries. The workshop, like the mission, was used until the community relocated to Wemindji. Other relicts include the remains of a windmill located in the mission's vicinity as well as sheds used to house generators or to store ice. From the late 1930s to the late 1950s, *Ataawaasuu minishtikw* was thus one of the major activity centres in *Paakumshumwashtikw*, and is associated with many of the community's memories from this time. Today, this island is still used by members of the Stewart family; two cabins built more recently are occupied in the fall by George Stewart and Billy Gilpin along with their families.

Kampaniiu minishtikw: This island was the other centre of activity during the fur trade era in *Paakumshumwashtikw*, and it hosts more relicts than *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*. The HBC trading post and Anglican Church were initially constructed on the latter, but

were then transferred to *Kampaniiu minishtikw*. Billy Gilpin described this operation as follows:

> In 1943, that summer, that's when the Anglican church was new and built [on *Kampaniiu minishtikw*]. ... That's the same one that was taken apart from *Ataawaasuu minishtikw* and rebuilt there. It's the same church. They hauled it over there during the winter. It was like this, they used logs, like the one they call log houses. That's where I got married there, at *Kampaniiu minishtikw*. That was in 1951, I got married.

Today, unlike *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, all the buildings on this island are partially or entirely collapsed. Remains of the church, minister's house, HBC store and warehouse, HBC manager's house, as well as four other houses, including the late Geordie Georgekish's former house, are still visible. There are also vestiges of a windmill, wooden fences, and a cross surrounded by spruce trees planted there in the 1950s by an American Priest, James McKendrick (the one who married Billy and Ellen Gilpin in 1951). As on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, archaeological survey in the general area behind the old HBC manager's house would likely reveal numerous artefacts, since it was also a communal camp site for the Crees.

Other vestiges scattered throughout the bay are not as substantive as the ones enumerated above. These include the ruins of the HBC port at *Akwanaasuukimikw* (for HBC); a few wooden posts remain from the dock, and the warehouse is entirely collapsed. During the trading post era, a large boat brought all the supplies there from the south, explained Fred Stewart. These were stored in the warehouse until smaller boats or a barge carried them to *Kampaniiu minishtikw*, where the HBC had their store. Another

site pointed out by Clara and Elmer Visitor during a visit to the bay was *Paaschikin minishitikw*, where they explained that guns were stored while people visited the stores. There are also several abandoned campsites, notably on *Upishtikwaayaaukimikw*, at *Kaachikaayaashii* and at *Waapischinikaau* (Fig. 3).

Burial sites dating from prior to 1958 are also found in numerous locations around the bay, as illustrated in (Fig. 3). Interestingly, Fred Stewart explained that burial sites are concentrated near the coast, and are rarely found along the river. Older sites, however, are now located further inland due to isostatic rebound (as land rises, coastal progradation accounts for the inland location of burial sites that were previously on or close to the shoreline). Some of the sites indicated by informants are individual graves, others are small groups of two to three graves, and there is one area containing at least 12 graves. This graveyard, which is located on *Kaachinwaannikaach*, was used until the community was relocated (Fig. 3). Several of the burials are still identified by wooden crosses, a few are surrounded by wooden fences, and many show only short wooden posts or a sandy area. Many of the people buried at *Paakumshumwashtikw* can still be identified. For instance, Fred Stewart remembered going to his mother's uncle funeral in the graveyard just mentioned. Also, pointing to *Waapischinikaach* (Fig. 3) during an interview when she acted as translator for Billy Gilpin, Clara Visitor remembered that "[her] grandfather William Stewart [was] buried here [and that] there [were] others buried there too". Billy Gilpin added that "Emily is buried there and also that [sic] Sophie's daughter". During the same interview, Billy further mentioned that Robert Kanatewat's little sister was buried at *Kaachikaayaashii*, along with other Stewart ancestors (Fig. 3). Hence, *Paakumshumwashtikw* hosts numerous burial sites, with tombs belonging to various

families from the Wemindji community, and also perhaps the Eastmain Cree community, since some families relocated there in 1958.

As suggested from quotations included in the above sections, most of the informants over 40 years of age recollect having lived at *Paakumshumwashtikw* and have several stories and anecdotes to share about this time. From their accounts, one gets a vivid image of what life was like back then. From the women's stories, especially, it is easy to imagine large boats arriving and leaving, hunters and trappers coming to exchange their furs for supplies, the frantic activity taking place prior to their return inland. Clara Visitor remembers the excitement of spending time in the bay and described her memories as follows:

> Both Crees and Inuit came here to bring their furs (on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, see Fig. 2). There were a lot of people. Our parents used to set up our *miichiiwaahp* (tepee) over here. Further at the back, over there, it would be the Inuit. People would go to the Mission to get medication and other things. There were children running everywhere. We would go play on the big boulders on the beach. And then, in the fall, we would go back inland...

Spending time at *Paakumshumwashtikw* during the spring goose hunt revived very precise memories for Clara Visitor about her youth, details she never mentioned when in the Wemindji village. Also, being in the bush constitutes a valuable opportunity for knowledge about the land to be passed down to younger generations. For the women, for example, bannock (type of Cree bread) cooking in the tepee and goose plucking are occasions for story and legend telling, memories being revived by familiar tasks inherited from their mothers or places associated with their youth (See Appendix 2). Elders, Emily

Georgekish, Clifford Georgekish, and John Matches, stressed the importance of direct experience in passing on Cree knowledge to younger generations. As Emily Georgekish emphasised, young people need "to experience life in the bush". Also, two events take place annually at *Paakumshumwashtikw* specifically to encourage such knowledge transfer and to underscore the place's historical significance: the youth canoe expedition and the Old Factory annual gathering.

6.1.2 The Canoe Expedition

Every year since 1995, at mid-summer, a canoe expedition down *Paakumshumwaau* is organised to commemorate the river's importance as a historical travel and trade route, as discussed above. Participants travel down the river for approximately a week, stopping at campsites and portages; a journey "that has been done by our people for ages", stated Clifford Georgekish. This activity brings together youths and older people who are more knowledgeable about the land. It is a great opportunity for knowledge to be transmitted to the youth and for them to experience the traditional way of life. Rodney Mark, a member of the band council who is particularly involved in youth development in the community, underscores the value of this activity for perpetuating Cree culture, values and traditions:

> For the youths to be interested in the land, we have to work on [Cree] values. We have had and have programs to get the youths interested in the land. However, they tend to be like preaching. We tell them the way of life is this and that. However, for the youths, it has to be fun. They have to simply be out on the land and enjoy it to start feeling a connection with it again. This is what we hope to achieve with the canoe trip down Old Factory.

Although the number of participants in this canoe expedition has decreased in recent years, more than a quarter of the informants, encompassing all generations, have acknowledged the socio-cultural importance of this event and expressed a desire to see it continue and increase in importance.

6.1.3 The Old Factory Annual Gathering

Another commemorative event initiated in the early 1980s and taking place every summer is the annual 'Old Factory Gathering'. For this occasion, community members gather on *Akwaanaasuukimikw (*for *Taa waa seeyiu)* (otherwise referred to as 'Gathering Island') (Fig. 1); on certain years a majority of the community attends. A large tent is constructed, and tepees and temporary cabins are set up. Festivities last for a few days and include communal cooking in tepees and communal feasts, music, singing and dances. Several people also take the opportunity while in the *Paakumshumwashtikw* area to visit nearby burial sites of family members or other historical sites and vestiges. The gathering often coincides with the youth canoe trip down *Paakumshumwaau.* It is a time for rejoicing that allows for particular social exchanges that would not be possible in Wemindji, and thereby holds a special socio-cultural significance for the community. Nancy Danyluk describes it as "going back, homecoming". She explains:

> When you live in Wemindji, you have your own house. When we go back to Old Factory, it's like going back home, a long time ago, because in those days when you lived in Old Factory, you just lived in tents or tepees. People are visiting each other more, you talk to more people than you would in town, all the kids are together without getting into trouble. That's how it used to be when we lived in Old Factory. Some people you didn't talk to all year you would be talking to them at the gathering, and it's kind of nice.

Attendance at this event has also decreased in the past few years. Several people attribute this to organisational problems. Also, in 2003 and 2004, several deaths occurred in the community and prevented many community members from attending. However, as with the canoe expedition, there appears to be a widespread interest, especially amongst the women, in seeing this tradition perpetuated.

6.2 Resource Harvesting

The coastal and offshore area of *Paakumshumwashtikw* is used extensively for hunting, fishing and trapping. There are now two grocery stores and three restaurants in Wemindji. However, as observed by Scott (1987), community members often stress the higher value of bush food compared to store bought food. And, as presaged by elder Harry Hughboy, resources harvested from the land are likely to remain an important aspect of the local subsistence economy "because people are always going to want to eat wild meat". As with other hunting grounds, both full-time hunters[17] and occasional ones who have other full-time occupations visit the territory. Interestingly, Henry Stewart explained: "[w]ell, I don't hunt that much, but I fish a lot. I've got my regular income, so I told my uncles and my brother that I would not take any fur bearing animals", which have a higher economic values. He thus reserves these animals for full-time hunters. Moreover, although *Paakumshumwashtikw* falls within a single hunting territory, that of the Stewart family (See Section 4.3.), resources harvested there are shared with several members of the community. For instance, fish caught all along the coast is redistributed free of charge in the village; a van drives around town, stopping in several locations, and interested community members simply take fish according to their needs. Another example of resource sharing occurs during the spring goose hunt when geese are given to

friends or relatives who cannot go out on the land. During the spring that I lived with Sarah Stewart, because no male member within her household could participate in the hunt, they were offered three such geese. As explained by Sarah, this system allows all community members to have the opportunity to eat bush food.

6.2.1 Annual Cycle of Harvesting Activities

There are activities that take place year round at *Paakumshumwashtikw*. The two most intensive periods are the spring goose hunt, which is the most important in terms of resource harvesting, and the summer gathering, mentioned above which involves a large proportion of the Wemindji community visiting the area for a few days. During the goose hunt, the village literally "empties itself", to use words of several informants, as families leave for their respective hunting camps scattered along the James Bay coast and also further inland. During the rest of the year, members of the Stewart family or people invited by the tallyman, Fred Stewart, visit the territory for more or less prolonged sojourns for hunting, trapping and fishing. The use of skidoos now allows occasional trappers to go in the bush and come back to town within a day.

Mid-October to mid-March corresponds to the beaver trapping and moose hunting season. At *Paakumshumwashtikw*, both of these activities tend to be more intensively practised closer to the coast than further inland (Fig. 4). Other animals killed during this period include otter, fox, mink, snowshoe hare and ptarmigans (called 'whitebirds' and a Cree favourite according to Samuel Georgekish), as well as the occasional wolf. As underscored by Edward Georgekish, "[w]e eat what we kill, we eat the beaver, we eat the lynx, we eat the muskrat, and all those things. We depend on the food" thus provided. Hence, most of the species are harvested both for their meat and their fur, which is either

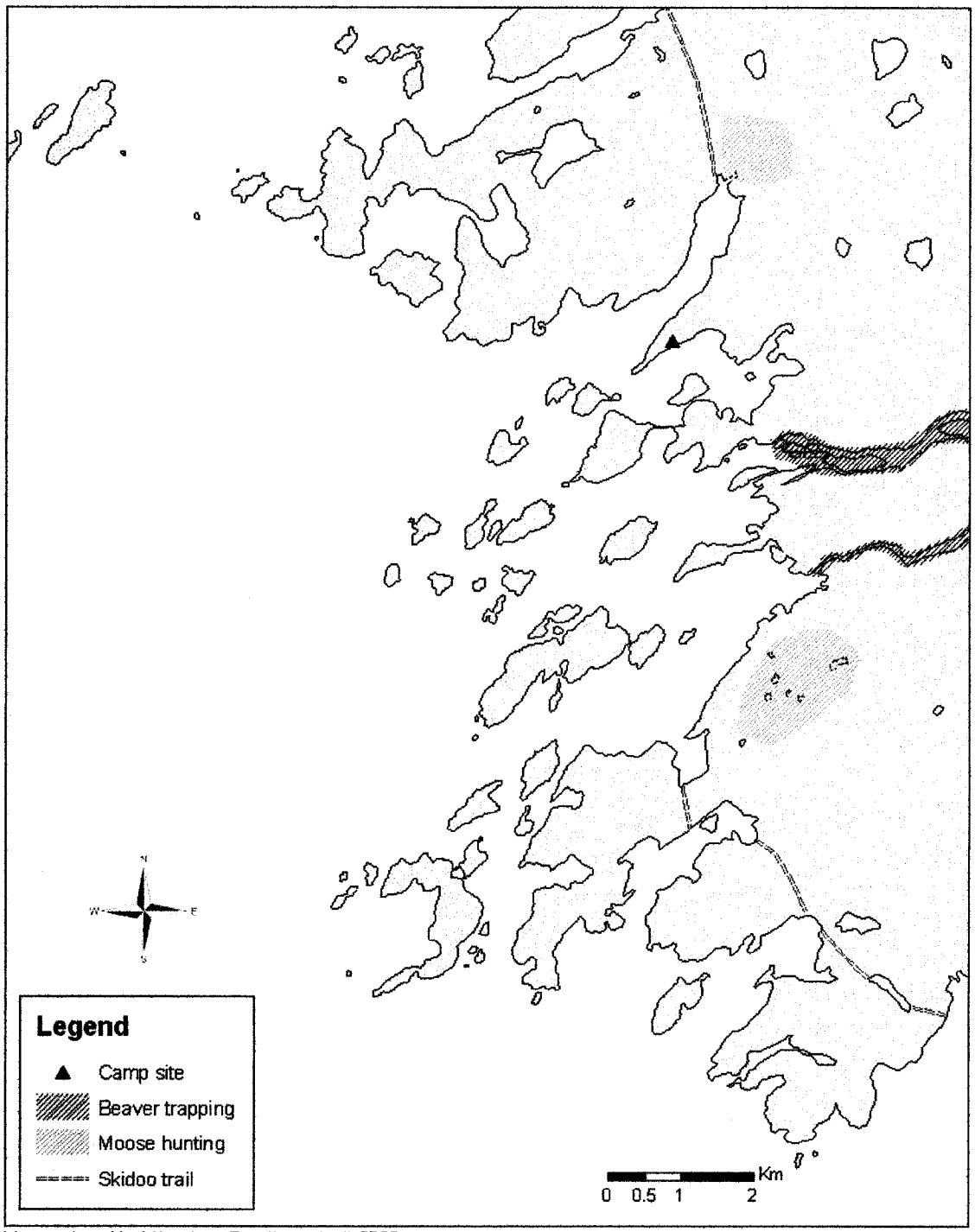


Figure 4. Winter resource harvesting at *Paakumshumwaau.*

used by the hunter's family, shared with other community members or sold through the local CTA. During winter, only a limited number of people, two or three families, remain in the area for prolonged periods of time.

As the spring goose hunt approaches, preparations begin in the Wemindji village for families to leave for the bush. More people start visiting the *Paakumshumwashtikw* area, often on week-ends or just for a day, to get the spring camp, located at *Chiipiitukw,* ready (Fig. 5). They split firewood to make reserves, collect snow for drinking water, gather spruce boughs for the tepee floor, and bring supplies bought at the local store. It is important to underscore that, although some supplies are brought in, people are still highly dependant on local resources, such as firewood and drinking water, when they spend time in the bush. As stated by Scott (1986), the spring goose hunt is the most communal of all harvesting activities taking place on the territory. Six to seven related family units stay at the camp for periods of two to six weeks, starting in mid-April and lasting until mid-June. Even the school calendar is adjusted to accommodate this event. Men leave early in the morning to reach the hunting areas scattered in the numerous small bays along the coast (Fig. 5), following the tallyman's instructions as described in section 4.3. Women and children stay at the camp to accomplish the daily chores or visit nearby areas to collect boughs or get drinking water but mostly to pluck and process the geese. During the spring hunt, people live in close proximity, sharing food and stories, helping each other with setting up the tepee and with goose plucking when kills are abundant. The idea of sharing is underscored in two traditions described briefly by Clara Visitor as follows:

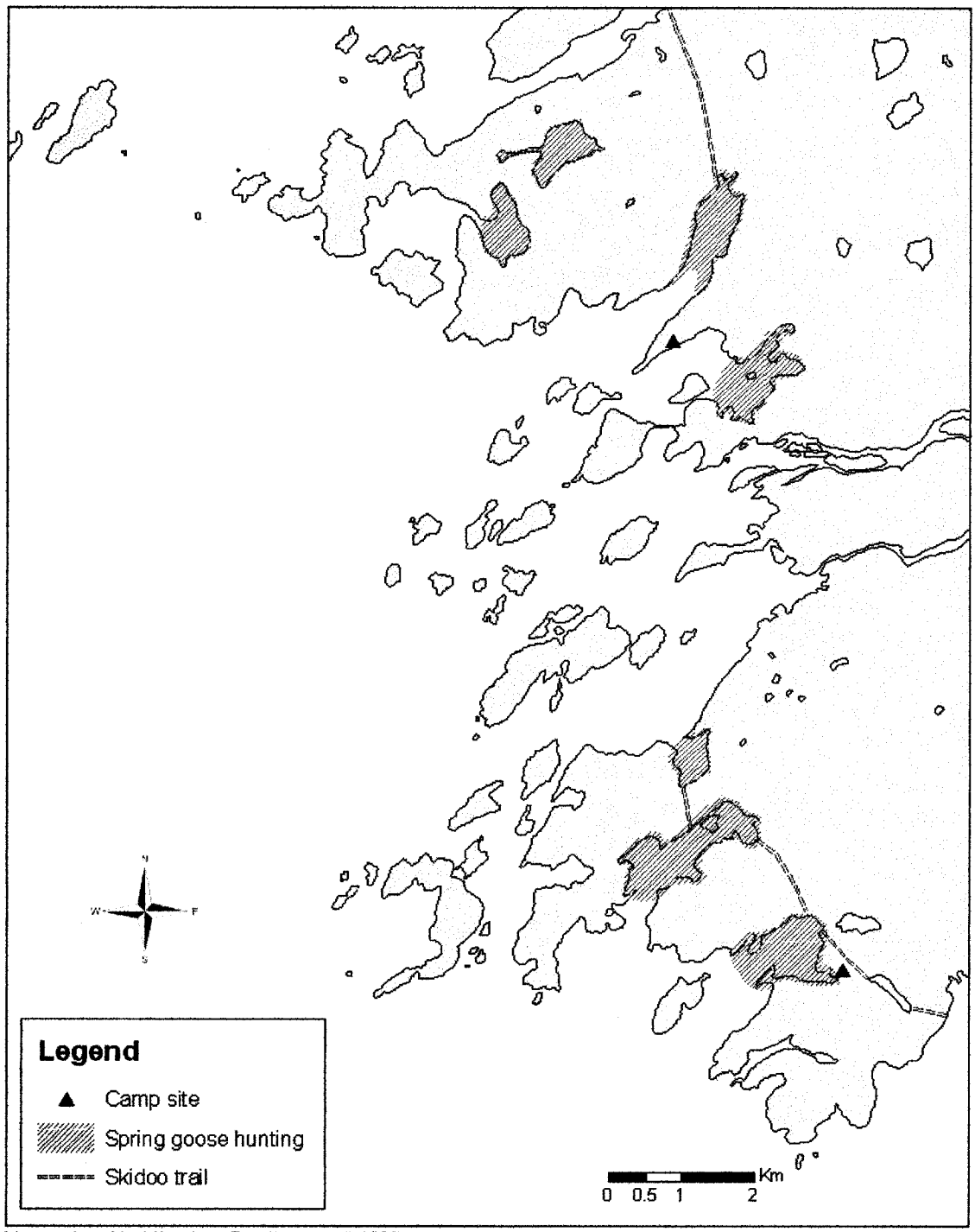


Figure 5. Spring resource harvesting at *Paakumshumwashtikw*.

> It is a tradition that the first goose of the season is supposed to be shared with everyone at the camp. … Another tradition we have is that the first time many geese are killed in a season, each person, even the kids, gets one. Then, we cook them all together, and each person can eat his or her goose. … Of course they did not eat it all at once, they would save the rest for later.

These practices allow everyone at the camp to have a share of the first kills. Several of the geese harvested during this spring hunt are thus eaten immediately. When kills are abundant, however, most are frozen and brought back as supplies for the rest of the year, and a portion is shared with relatives and friends, as mentioned above.

As the geese leave the area to continue their northward travel towards the end of May and early June, people with jobs go back to Wemindji. Full-time hunters remain in the area, but move to a nearby camp on a small island just north of *Upishtikwaayaaukimikw* to go loon and duck hunting (Fig. 6). Fred Stewart explained that:

> [a]fter goose hunting, we go to the outer islands for loon hunting. Loons fly further out in the bay than the geese; they fly where there is still ice. Geese, however, stay very close to the coast when they migrate north and south.

Therefore, loon and duck hunting take place on the outer islands, where these species tend to fly (Fig. 6). Another type of geese hunted at this period is the "long neck geese", which like loons and ducks, also fly later in June and further out in the bay. "They look like Canada geese, but they have longer necks and do not taste as good", according to Clara Visitor. They are not hunted as intensively as the subspecies that visit the area

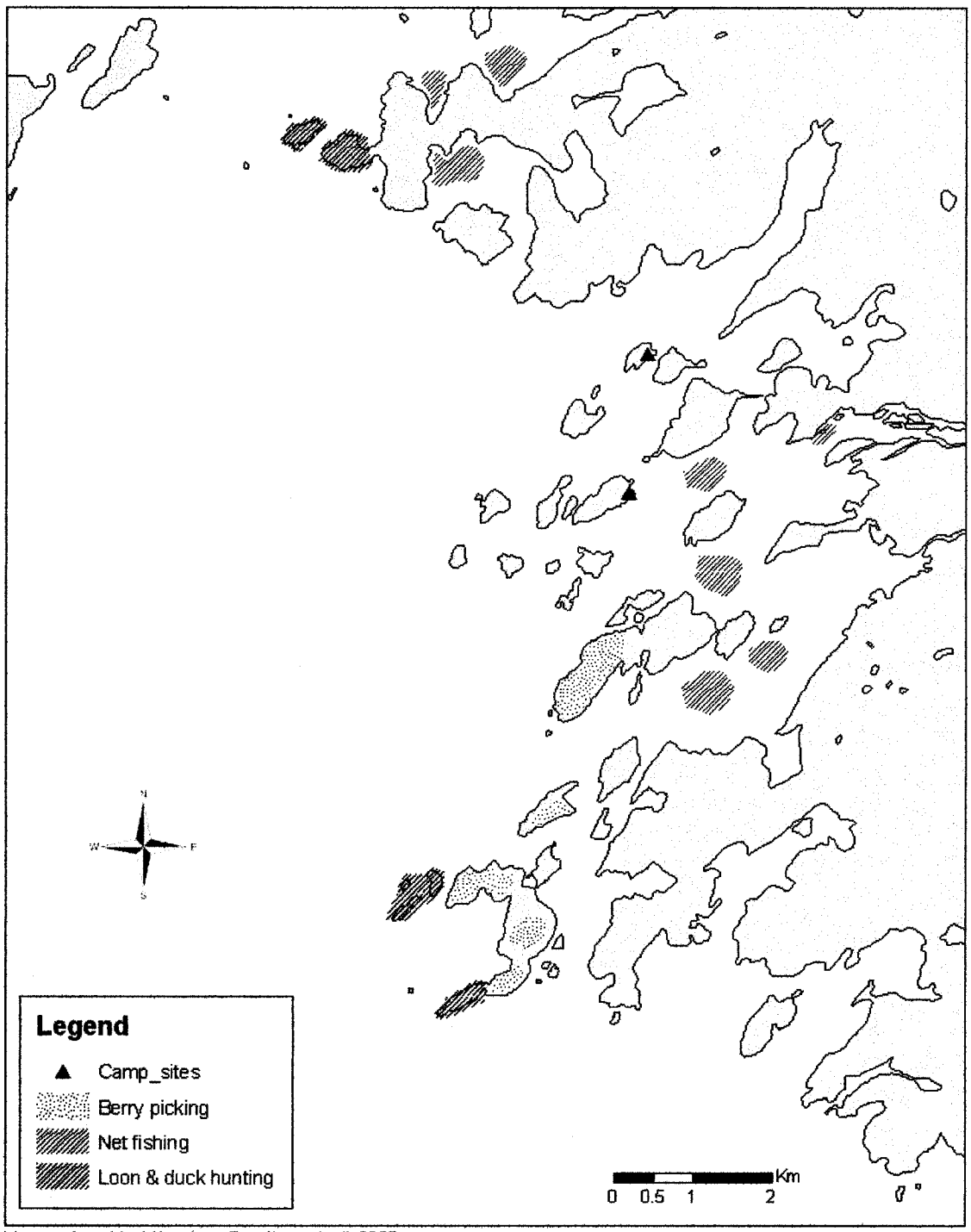


Figure 6. Summer resource harvesting at *Paakumshumwashtikw*.

earlier. As the ice breaks up, net fishing begins (Fig. 6). The principal species caught is whitefish, with some brook trout. As fishing picks up, other activities are abandoned and families that remained in *Paakumshumwashtikw* move to the summer camp located on *Akwaanaasuukimikw (*for *Ataawaasuu)*, where the summer gathering mentioned above takes place. Throughout the summer, people periodically go back to the village and bring back store bought supplies. However, as in the spring, they remain dependant on local resources. Fred Stewart emphasised the importance of local resources such as:

> ...drift wood and water, drinking water, that we get from the islands. Because you can't drink the salt water, right? And when the berries are in season, that's another [resource we use]. All kinds of berries, blue, black red, whatever is available.

Driftwood used for fire fuel and drinking water from rain puddles are collected on islands throughout the bay. Moreover, as Fred Stewart explained above, as the season progresses, several species of berries are gathered on islands, including blueberries (*iyimin*), cloudberries (*shikuutaau*) strawberries (*utaachiimin*) and cranberries (*wiisichimin*)[18] (Fig. 6). There are several renowned berry picking areas in *Paakumshumwashtikw*, as indicated on Figure 6. Berry picking is generally a group activity, although not on as large a scale as spring goose hunting. Elder Emily Georgekish recalled how in the past "no one was left at home, it was a family event. Everyone went to pick berries. Everyone who was good at it was encouraged, even young children, men and women, too." Emily Georgekish further described that those berries that are collected during dry weather are frozen in freezers kept at the camp, and stored for future use when back in the village. Some of the fish caught are also used for immediate consumption, but most are dried in

the sun or smoked in the tepee, and then brought back to Wemindji to be distributed, free of charge, to community members as mentioned above.

The fall goose hunt, which lasts from early September to early October, is not as important as the spring hunt. Fred Stewart explained that this is because "there are more geese in the spring than in the fall, and they are fatter in the spring, too." Also, there is no school break for the kids in the fall. Therefore, full time hunters will go to the bush for a few days, but will not stay for prolonged periods like in the spring. Moreover, people with other full-time occupations will only go on week-ends or on holidays. As geese become scarcer, and the fall hunting season comes to an end, trappers prepare their equipment for the approaching trapping and moose hunting season, and so on.

6.2.2 Infrastructure and Other Human Modifications for Resource Harvesting

Over the years, certain infrastructures have been constructed throughout *Paakumshumwashtikw* to support resource harvesting activities. There are notably several camps, used at different periods of the year, scattered along the coast and on the islands as indicated on Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7. Each of these comprises permanent structures, either frames to be covered by tarps when used or wooden cabins. Equipment is usually left there year round. Also, when the camps are inhabited, a tepee is usually set up. The location of these camps is chosen based on access, shelter from the wind and distance from the high tide mark. If access becomes too difficult, because of land uplift, a camp is moved. However, this does not happen often. The spring goose hunting camp, for example, moved from *Waapischinikaau* to its current location in 1985 (Fig. 3). Other camps have been abandoned for other reasons. For instance, a former fishing camp

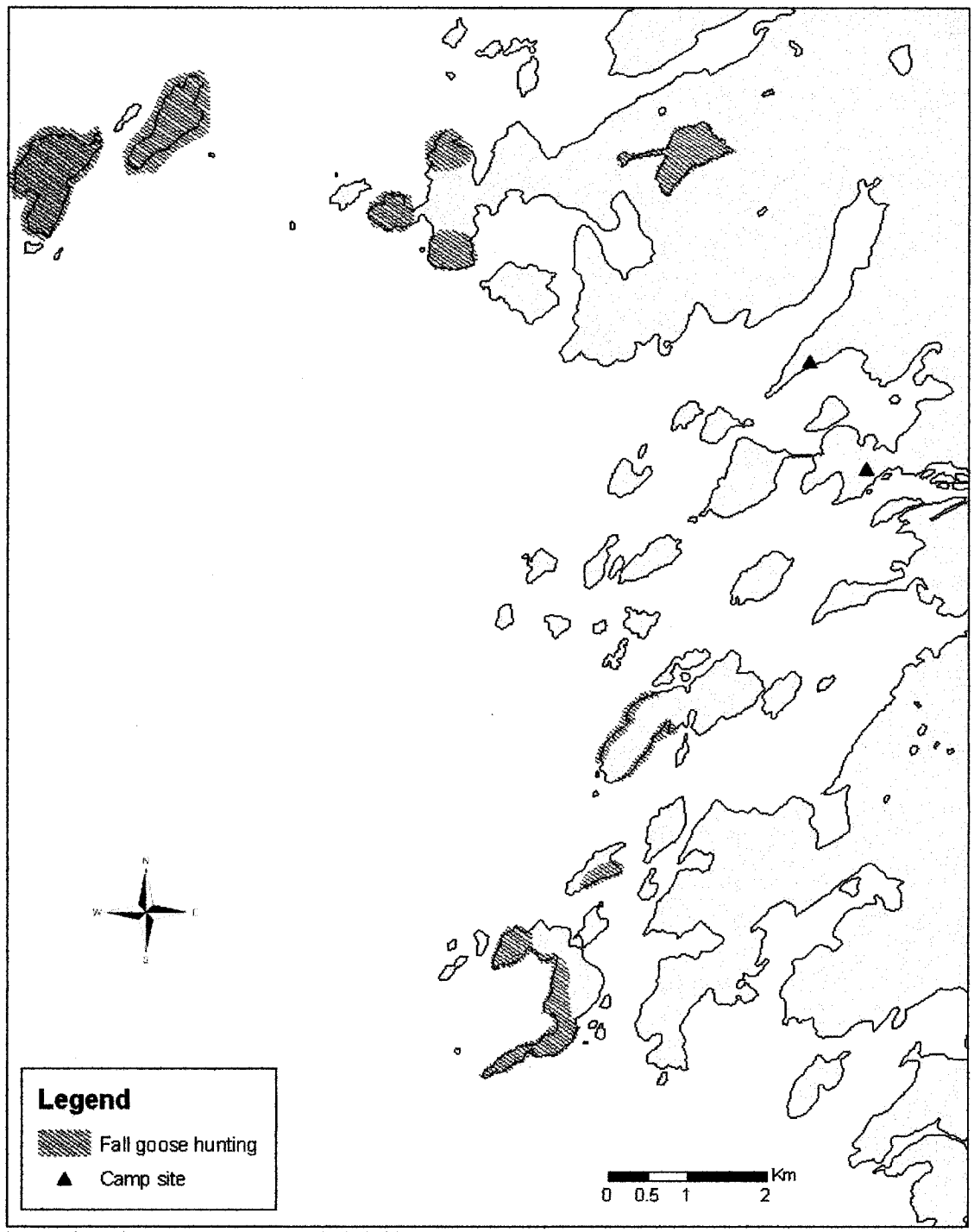


Figure 7. Fall resource harvesting at *Paakumshumwashtikw*.

located opposite the old HBC port was abandoned simply because "people don't bother coming so far anymore", said Fred Stewart (see Fig. 3). Moreover, Elmer Visitor explained that the use of larger motorised boats now prevents access to some shallow areas previously accessible by paddling canoes.

There are also smaller structures that are used for hunting and trapping. Goose blinds, circular structures made of rocks or spruce branches, are found all along the small bays where the spring goose hunt takes place (see Fig. 5 and Appendix 2). These serve to shield the hunters so that geese flying nearby cannot see. For the fall hunt, Fred Stewart explained that "[t]he geese fly from the coast to the islands to eat berries. Therefore, we build blinds where they fly to shoot them. There are a lot of blinds on the islands where the geese fly over." Thus, blinds for the fall hunt are scattered throughout all the islands indicated on Figure 7 where hunting is practised. These blinds are used in the summer for duck and loon hunting as well. Moreover, there are wooden posts, some used to set up snowy owl traps and others for fox traps, at several locations along the coast, notably on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw* and on the point near the spring goose hunting camp at *Chiipiitukw*.

6.2.3 Perceived Environmental Changes

Several changes have been observed at *Paakumshumwashtikw* in the past several decades. Because of the intimate relationship between Cree way of life and the land, these changes have had impacts on Cree resource use and management. For example, at least half of the informants were significantly concerned about the decrease in geese numbers they observed along the coast. Clara Visitor compared the current situation to that of her youth, approximately 50 years ago:

> When I was young and we were staying on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, we would live in a teepee, and we could hear the geese at night. There were lots of them. My mother would tell us to go outside, we would walk to the water and we could hear all the geese. And, even though there were only a few hunters, they killed a lot of geese. … Last year, Fred [Stewart] did not even kill ten geese…

Along the same lines, referring to the "old days", Billy Gilpin added that "there were lots of geese at that time. Now it's not like that, they're not so plentiful". Some also noticed a decrease in their 'quality': "birds, especially the geese, were much nicer back then, and even my parents said that, … and there's not as many as before", remarked Fred Stewart. James Stewart, who was born at *Paakumshumwaau* but now lives in Chisasibi, has also observed changes in geese behaviour. For example, he explained that they now fly more during the night, and also fly up and land back on the same spot instead of going towards the islands as they used to do. It appears that these changes have had impacts on hunting practices, notably with respect to the location of hunting areas. Three main reasons have been suggested to explain the observed changes. Most informants suggested that the huge reservoirs created by the hydro-electric development have affected geese flying patterns and attracted the birds inland. Four informants were also concerned about the impacts on the geese of using charter planes[19] or other motors along the coast. One of them, Sam Georgekish, witnessed significant changes in goose hunting as they started using charter planes. He made the following observation:

> We used to kill lots of geese every year. Then, when they started using charters, that's when I noticed the decline. The following years, when we used to go to Poplar river [a few kilometres north of *Paakumshumwaau*], our hunting wasn't as

> good as before. But every year we use the charters. Now the geese are more inland. They say it's the reservoirs, I think it's the charters, too. ... 1983 is the first time I think we used the charters.

Interestingly, four informants, including both men and women, suggested that changes in hunting practices might also have had negative impacts on the geese. They mentioned the recent increase in number of hunters and the lack of discipline of some of the younger ones. One of them, Clara Visitor, recounted:

> My late father [the former tallyman] did not allow people to hunt in the bay over there. The geese would gather there and there were lots of them. My father only allowed the hunters to go there when there was a strong north wind. You know, geese have a hard time flying when there is a strong north wind. The hunters killed lots of geese. Now, they [the hunters] don't do that anymore. And there aren't as many geese that come. You know, if you want geese to come to an area, you shouldn't go there for a little while, and let more geese come.

Clara's explanation was confirmed by elder Billy Gilpin who expressed similar concerns regarding the behaviour of some younger hunters, an issue they hope will be addressed through the establishment of the PA.

Quite significant changes have also been observed in the vegetation around *Paakumshumwashtikw*. For example, several informants indicated areas where it used to be only rocks or sand, that are now covered with willows and other shrubs. Vegetation changes have been most pronounced at the interface between aquatic and terrestrial environments. Henry Stewart recalled his late father, Sinclair Stewart the former tallyman, telling him when they went goose hunting together:

> [Reporting his father's words] 'You see where those bushes are, when I was growing up there was no bushes there. We used to be hunting there, and the birds kept moving more into the bay, feeding. Now that the vegetation has grown, they cannot find food there anymore. They can't because of the vegetation'. [Henry commenting] So I don't know, if it's the earth coming up or the tides becoming lower.

Thus, a couple of decades ago, Sinclair Stewart was already observing that terrestrial vegetation, particularly bushes, was replacing aquatic vegetation in several locations. Henry suggests that these changes could either be caused by isostatic rebound or lower water levels in James Bay (see Section 4.1). James Stewart also observed that areas where the favourite aquatic plants of the geese grow are diminishing. Changes in terrestrial vegetation have also been occurring. Walking on an island renowned for goose hunting, Fred Stewart mentioned that "[p]eople used to come here to gather berries. There used to be more berries, but now the trees are taking over". Fred said that they had not come to hunt on this island for three (3) to four (4) years, "because the trees are too high" and less berries are growing to attract the geese. Also, contrary to the widespread belief that trees in subarctic climates have extremely slow growth rates, there is solid evidence that trees have grown significantly along the coast and on the island over the past fifty years. Standing where her family used to set up camp on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw*, Clara Visitor observed: "We used to stand here, besides the *miichiwaahp* [tepee], and be able to see the water. Now there's trees in the way, and tall ones, too." At another location, on *Kampaniiu minishtikw*, a wooden cross was planted surrounded by then tiny spruces trees some fifty years ago. It is now surrounded by trees more than

seven meters tall. In 1985, to reduce the impact of such tree growth on geese flight patterns, flyways or 'goose corridors' were cut through the trees in different locations along the coast of Old Factory bay. When asked whether this was a regular practice when he was young, Fred Stewart answered: "[w]e didn't need to because there were no big trees back then, only small ones. Today, the trees are tall". According to him, these flyways were not aimed at modifying flight patterns, but were rather put where birds were observed to fly.

6.3 Implications for the Protected Area

One of the main conclusions to emerge from the above documentation is that the bay of *Paakumshumwashtikw* is not just a place from the past, but is an important part of the present and most informants hope to see this continuing into the future. In this context, recording knowledge about the land is crucial to ensuring this continuation. As stressed by Edward Georgekish, if not preserved, this knowledge could disappear rapidly and have dramatic impacts for Cree identity:

> In order for the Crees to survive as a nation, I think we have to exercise and practice the traditional way of life. There are young people who want to pursue the traditional way, who want to maintain the tradition. … Time will tell if we can maintain those values. I think it's very important, because the elders and those people that practice the traditional way of life will leave us within a couple of years, maybe within a decade . But the important thing is that we understand their way of life, that we preserve the traditional way of life, in spite that [sic] we've been exposed to the outside word.

It is also noteworthy that most of the area of *Paakumshumwashtikw*, including the outermost islands, is still used extensively either for goose or duck hunting, trapping or fishing. Such observations help to explain the strong desire of Wemindji Crees to ensure the longer term protection of *Paakumshumwashtikw.* As stated by elder Harry Hughboy, tallyman of an adjacent hunting territory, "it's important to protect the land because people will always go to Old Factory to use the resources there." Moreover, continued local use and attachment to the land provide a certain degree of legitimacy to local aspirations for enhanced control over this territory, as will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7. ASPIRATIONS AND APPROACHES FOR THE PROTECTED AREA

7.1 Local Cree Aspirations and Concerns

> It's important to protect certain areas. And, that's what we're saying with this project, to protect certain areas that will be of special significance to the people, our heritage, our way of life, to show that we've been here, that we have been on the land since time immemorial, and I think, as people, we have to show that to society as a whole... (Edward Georgekish, April 2004).

In the above statement, Edward Georgekish expressed a desire to see Cree cultural heritage, identity, and the land these are rooted in protected and enhanced, a wish that found echoes in all the discussions I had with other Wemindji Cree community members. The community's strong support for the project stems, on the one hand, from their desire to establish a formal PA on their traditional territory which would be under their control and management, and also from their apprehensions about the future threats to the land and sea, which were detailed in Chapter 5. These threats have both internal and external sources. Surprisingly, few concerns were expressed about the possible negative impacts upon their community of creating this PA. Instead people were upbeat about the benefits that would flow from the project. These can be summarised as follows, in no specific order of importance:

- To ensure the long-term protection of the land, water and wildlife resources around the *Paakumshumwaau*;
- To protect sites of cultural and historical importance;
- To protect and enhance their *Iyiyuuch* identity;
- To retain and enhance local Cree control over the land;

- To develop locally-managed low impact economic ventures such as eco- and ethno-tourism or outfitting.

These aspirations, which are discussed in further detail in the following subsections, can be seen as representing the building blocks forming the foundation for the PA they hope to establish.

7.1.1 Protecting the land

A description of the ecological, cultural and historical importance of *Paakumshumwashtikw* was provided in Chapter 6. Protecting the land and water, including plants, animals and cultural sites, is one of the fundamental objectives the Wemindji Cree hope to achieve with this PA; almost all community members I spoke with stressed this point. When asked why the PA would be a good idea, Nancy Danyluk answered:

> Our ancestors a long time ago used to live around the area, where they used to live, like dwellings and marks, it would be protected, no one would be allowed to touch it, unless they're given permission by the tallyman to do this to the land.

Interestingly, informants identified both external and internal threats to the land. These include intrusions by southern hunters and developers as well as Crees from other communities and concerns about unsustainable resource use within their own community.

Informants were especially hopeful that the PA would protect the land from external threats. A quarter of the informants specifically stated that the PA should prohibit high impact activities such as mining, and hydro-electric development. Fred Stewart was particularly concerned about their lack of control over the mining industry: "if people come to look for the mining resources, I cannot stop them." Likewise, many

community members have witnessed the negative consequences of hydro-electric development elsewhere in James Bay, even on some of the Wemindji hunting territories, and want to protect the *Paakumshumwaau* from a similar fate. External threats mentioned by informants also include unsustainable hunting, trapping and fishing by outsiders, both non-indigenous as well as members of other Cree communities. The building of the James Bay Highway, and more recently of the permanent road to Wemindji, have greatly facilitated access to the traditional territory of Wemindji. And, as discussed in Chapter 4, the JBNQA land regimes offers only weak protection against external intrusions. As stated by Sam Georgekish, the local CTA project manager:

> The problem we have [on category 3 land] is that there's more people coming in from other communities, because there's a road that goes through the Wemindji traplines. We have people coming from Mistissini, Waspanipi, Waskaganish coming unto our territory.

Sam recounted an incident that illustrates his concern about the hunting practices of some non-Cree hunters that come on their territory.

> White men are now allowed to hunt whitebirds (ptarmigans). They weren't allowed before, but now they're allowed. And the Cree people, they really like these birds. Once, I saw white men in a vehicle. They were hunting whitebirds, but they only took some parts of the birds. I don't know which parts, but they threw the rest away. And this is happening more and more. It's not good for us. I don't know why they're allowed to hunt the birds. They're wasting them. When we kill birds, we use everything.

He was also concerned about the unsustainable hunting practices of Cree people from other communities:

> We have people coming from other Cree communities, without asking the tallymen for permission. One time, they killed 11 moose on one trapline. It's overharvesting. That was within what we consider like a protected area; there's always moose there, but you only take what you need.

To illustrate the relative importance of this incident, based on the CTA's records, Wemindji hunters have killed an average of 21 moose per year on their entire territory since 1988. These incidents, and numerous others of similar nature, have been corroborated by several members of the community and documented elsewhere (eg. : Scott & Webber, 2001). This issue of outsider intrusion is closely tied to the perceived loss of control discussed below in section 7.1.2.

Internal threats are considered to have less impacts than external ones, but were still of concern to many informants. In particular, changes in hunting practices that have lead to unsustainable resource use were said to be contrary to Cree values. As mentioned in section 6.2.3, four (4) informants attributed a decrease in coastal goose populations to changes in Cree hunting practices, especially amongst the younger hunters. Another informant, elder Emily Hughboy, also noted that younger hunters will often kill young animals that should be allowed to mature and reproduce. She was concerned that such practices would deplete animal populations. These informants blamed a loss in Cree values and customs for such changes in behaviour. Interestingly, Samuel Georgekish also suggested that all motors should be prohibited within the PA. Although several members of the Stewart family, including Fred the tallyman, expressed concern about the impact

on geese of using bush planes, it is likely that such a prohibition would not be acceptable. The use of motor boats, skidoos and charter aircraft has become integral to their resource harvesting practices, but better management of these and their impact would probably receive wide approval. Discussions about improved resource management approaches, including locally implemented limits on resource use or hunting practices if necessary, are consistent with local aspirations to ensure the long term health of local resources. Past experience with the imposition of limits on local resource use include a voluntary reduction in harvesting geese during the spring goose hunt of 1996 after concerns about the status of the sub-Atlantic sub-species of Canada geese were raised by the Canadian Wildlife Services (Mulrennan, 1998). The Crees co-operated in a goose survey and reduced their harvests (Mulrennan, 1998).

7.1.2 Protecting Wemindji Cree identity

As discussed in Chapter 6, Cree identity is closely tied to the land, and to their customary way of life. Therefore, protection of Cree identity is highly dependent on protection of the natural resources and cultural sites, described above. In parallel, the importance of maintaining customary harvesting activities within the PA was repeatedly emphasised. As stated by Nancy Danyluk, the Wemindji Crees are seeking a formal designation for their territory that would "protect the area so other people wouldn't come and explore our area, but not necessarily for the Native people. They could continue doing whatever they want, like hunting and fishing". For approximately 300 out of the 1,200 people within Wemindji whose full-time occupation is fishing, hunting and trapping, these rights are not only fundamental to the maintenance of the local subsistence economy, they are essential to the preservation of the Wemindji Cree way of

life. On the other hand, significant declines in local resources would impede the customary way of life. Therefore, protection of customary harvesting practices should not occur at the cost of sustainable harvests; this would be contrary to Cree views of environmental protection and wildlife management described in Chapter 5.

7.1.2 Control Over the Land and Resources

Over half of the informants hoped that an official PA would increase their formal control over what happens to their land, especially regarding access to their territory and resource use by outsiders, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Nancy Danyluk depicted the current perception in the community as follows:

> we've lived on the land for so many years before Hydro-Quebec came and invaded the area. People lived, they were happy, they lived off the land. Now they're looking over their shoulder all the time to see who's coming over our land doing all this. So [...with a protected area...] they [the tallymen] would have control over what's happening. The area that is not invaded yet, it's the bay, the James Bay area. People would have control over that area, if it's protected along the bay.

Although the tallyman system is recognised by the JBNQA and the more recent *Paix des Braves*, there is a perceived loss of control over the land and resources in the community. A major objective of the PA is to reinforce the authority of the tallyman, which would be a culturally appropriate strategy for enhancing environmental protection and placing limits on both local people and outsiders.

Members of the local Cree Trappers Association (CTA), of the Wemindji Council and other community members have all emphasised the crucial role played by the

tallymen in local decision-making about their traditional land and resources. Although respect for the tallyman system is still strong within the community, this customary system has been somewhat undermined in recent years, due both to increasing outsider intrusions and changes in local harvesting practices. Moreover, as indicated above, this loss of control and threats to local resources are perceived not only in relation to large scale industries, but also with regards to individuals, both native and non-native. Facing such control issues, it was essential to most community members interviewed that decision-making related to the PA should not only be kept within the community, but also that it should occur under the customary tallyman system. As stated by Nancy Danyluk:

> Whoever's land it is, you have to consult him before doing anything, because it's been like that since times immemorial. You cannot just go on somebody's trapline and say I'm doing this on your land; you have to first consider the tallymen, and they're the ones that will say what can happen on their land.

Thus, to respond to these community members, the PA should be embedded within the customary land and sea tenure system. Rodney Mark, the Wemindji Council deputy chief, suggested that this would entail legally defining the role played by tallymen. "You see, now the tallyman's role is customary. It's based on words. So , ... I would like to have, I don't know how to say it, I guess official or legal recognition of their role". According to him, defining the precise role of the tallymen would constitute a crucial step towards reinforcing their authority

Because the JBNQA does not apply below the low-tide mark, the issue of keeping control within the community appears to be especially important for Wemindji Crees'

offshore territory. At present, water is under federal jurisdiction, while all offshore islands are under the jurisdiction of Nunavut. This artificial separation is contrary to Cree perception of the land and sea as continuous and integrated "scapes" (Mulrennan & Scott, 2000: 683). Moreover, as Henry Stewart said, since his "people have been using these islands for a number of years for different reasons [...] the islands should come in with *Paakumshumwashtikw*". Thus, although the Wemindji Cree have been the stewards of this coastal and offshore portion of James Bay for centuries, their marine customary tenure rights remain unrecognised by central government These rights are however under negotiation (Alan Penn, personal communication, June 2005). Therefore, for those customary marine rights to be maintained and even strengthened, it is crucial that the Wemindji Crees play a dominant role in the management of the proposed PA.

7.1.3 Other economic benefits

Some informants saw in this PA initiative an opportunity to develop small-scale economic activities that would generate much needed revenue within the community. To put this aspiration in context, there are strong pressures for indigenous peoples to abandon their customary way of life in favour of the market-economy (Feit, 1995). These occur in conjunction with significant population increases, probably up to fivefold, since the beginning of the century (Feit, 1995). Edward Georgekish explained the situation faced by his people:

> We're now in the economical world, everyone wants to be part of the job market, and it's understandable, especially for the young people. ...
>
> You need money in today's society. You need to pay for the gas, you have to pay for your house, you have to pay for your truck and your skidoo, your

> transportation, the dogs, we don't use the dogs, like in the sixties. Things, life has changed, drastically.

As suggested by Edward, the realities of village life require that the Wemindji Cree engage in the market economy. Although the *Paix des Braves* and JBNQA include some provisions for revenue distribution to the James Bay Cree communities, most revenues from natural resource exploitation on their territories flow out of the region with limited benefits to local communities. Thus Edward further explained his community's desire to have access to some of those revenues:

> We want to prosper like everybody else ... So if we're just sit back and do nothing, we won't get anywhere. We want to be part of it, ... we want to take a piece of the pie, instead of being exploited.

In this context, four (4) informants, including two members of the Stewart family, expressed a strong interest in low impact economic development projects such as small scale tourism and potentially outfitting in the *Paakumshumwaau* watershed and coastal area in conjunction with the creation of the PA. Henry Stewart described his vision of this venture as follows:

> I have a dream. I'd like to see people come down and into the lake to go fishing. We have a big lake there, with lots of fish, and same in the river. I would like to see the continuation of that canoeing, with camping and hiking and going around.

Likewise, his sister Dorothy hoped to see "an eco-tourism business that is restricted to certain times of the year and that would allow people to pass down the river with guides to appreciate the beautiful landscapes and scenery". One of the principal benefits of such a venture was said to be job creation for members of the community, and "probably year

round employment instead of seasonal", as suggested by Fred Asquabaneskum, a member of the Wemindji Council. Such employment could include jobs in organisation and planning, as well as guiding and even cooking during the expeditions. However, although this is a potentially sustainable activity, only two or three families (those on whose hunting ground it would occur) are likely to directly benefit from it. Other indirect economic benefits could include the sale of traditional arts and crafts as well as goods from the local stores. An additional benefit, aside from economic impacts, would be the potential to increase control over access and resource use by having guides keep an eye on outsiders' hunting, fishing and trapping within their territory. Thus, there appears to be potential and interest within the community for a variety of low-impact, small scale tourism-related activities. However, there is divergence regarding the specific form this tourism industry should take. For instance, both year round and seasonal activities were mentioned, as indicated in Dorothy Stewart's and Fred Asquabaneskum's quotes above. Moreover, some would like the clientele to be restricted to James Bay inhabitants, whereas others hoped to welcome 'southerners' (non-indigenous inhabitants of southern Quebec or Ontario). Finally, the issue of who could be involved and benefit from this tourism/outfitting business is likely to give rise to some debate, as members of the Stewart family hope to retain control over it while others express hope to be part of it, too.

In summary, there appears to be a vision within the community with regard to the potential a PA holds for them, both in term of natural resource conservation and also the strengthening of the local subsistence economy as well as culture and identity. Moreover, the five general issues underlying the community's aspirations: 1) protection of the land;

2) protection of cultural and historical sites; 3) protection of their identity as *Iyiyuuch*; 4) enhancement of local control, and 5) the provision of economic benefits, are closely interrelated. Enhanced formal control by the community would likely strengthen their ability to protect the land, to promote their views and culture, and also to derive economic benefits from the PA project.

7.2 Developing the *Paakumshumwaau* protected area

7.2.1 Cree Customary Resource Use and Management

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the customary resource management system of Wemindji Crees (for details see Feit (1989; 1995) and Scott (1986; 1987). Rather, as stated in section 1.3, my objective was to identify key features of this system that are compatible with both local and external aspirations for the PA. The notion of a PA is not new to the Wemindji Crees, as illustrated through many of their customary management practices. For example, Samuel Georgekish mentioned an area where moose hunting is prohibited except under special circumstances, an area that "we consider like a protected area". This helps to explain why the Crees support the idea of giving a formal PA status to *Paakumshumwaau*. It also explains why the informants find the idea of a PA appropriate, particularly in the coastal portion of the *Paakumshumwaau*, although most of them admitted to be only vaguely familiar with conventional western PA models. Three elements of the Cree customary resource management system that would be accommodated within the PA are: the values of reciprocity and respect (mentioned in Chapter 5), the concept of sustainable use, and the importance of flexibility and adaptability.

The values of respect and reciprocity were frequently highlighted by informants during discussions concerning the PA. Several local aspirations regarding the PA initiative are related to these values. For instance, Crees seek greater respect from outsiders and central governments toward their land, authority and management practices. All the while, they also respect the needs and aspirations of non-native society, as clearly indicated by Edward Georgekish in the following:

> We're all God's creation, for one thing! So, you have to live in harmony with one another. They [non-aboriginal] have their needs, you know, and we have ours...so how do we combine the two...are we going to be confrontational and all that? Or are we to have a mutual understanding to accommodate one another? They have their needs and we have our needs also.

Interestingly, the value of respect was also highlighted in the recent *Paix des Braves* accord announcing a "new nation-to-nation relationship, one that is open, respectful of the other community and that promotes a greater responsibility on the part of the Cree Nation for its own development within the context of greater autonomy" (Anon., 2002: 6). Respect for the tallyman was also emphasised by over half of the informants. As stated by Dorothy Stewart, " [w]e must respect all the decisions of the tallyman so that the animals are not depleted". Respect for the land and the animals was also mentioned repeatedly. Clara Visitor told me: "[y]ou need to show respect to the animals, to the geese, if you want them to come back year after year". Many informants, including members of the Stewart family, considered it essential that these values constitute the foundation of the PA.

A practice directly linked to the values of respect and reciprocity to the land is that of "only taking what we need from the land", to use words pronounced by Fred Stewart. This sustainable use approach makes the preservation of the Cree customary way of life compatible with both local aspirations for the long term protection of the land and western approaches to resource management. Another practice related to sustainable use and mentioned repeatedly by informants is the rotation of harvesting efforts. As explained by elder Emily Hughboy, the Crees "move around and do not kill everything around their camps.[...] The Crees know about the gestation period of animals, so they know for how long they have to wait before returning to a spot to hunt or trap". Hunters will let some areas rest, allowing the resources to replenish themselves, before returning. On a shorter time scale, goose hunting areas are also rotated to allow geese to rest. This practice is well illustrated on Figure 5 in Chapter 6, for example, showing the various sites used by the Stewart family for the spring goose hunt. Further, Fred Stewart explained that when there is no wind the hunters may not even go out at all, to avoid scaring away the geese with the noise from the rifles. These practices were considered by most community members I spoke with to be compatible with their view of the PA.

Finally, in order to survive the major changes observed in Cree society and on their traditional lands over the past several decades, local customary resource management practices have had to demonstrate remarkably adaptive abilities, as mentioned in Chapter 4. This flexible and adaptive ability would, on the one hand, constitute a guarantee for the long term protection of local resources by responding to environmental changes. On the other, it would also ensure that the PA evolves in conjunction with Cree society. Moreover, it should be emphasised that Cree customary

management practices build on local knowledge of the land, which is in turn constructed through continuous use of the land and resources.

7.2.2 Methodologies and Precedents from Protected Areas Elsewhere

Most of the local Cree aspirations outlined above are consistent with those of other indigenous communities seeking enhanced control over the land and sea and hoping to protect valuable natural resources and/or cultural sites. Therefore, although the experience with community-based PAs world-wide has been rather mixed as discussed in Chapter 2, precedents and methodologies used in other cases can still inform the *Paakumshumwaau* PA project. This section highlights some of the more interesting precedents.

Looking at world-wide experiences with community-based resource management, successful initiatives generally tend to enjoy the political support of centralised authorities with adequate socio-institutional structures and financial resources (Johannes, 1998; Wilshusen, Raleigh et al., 2002). As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, the World Commission on Protected Areas, an IUCN commission, propose a framework of particular relevance to the Wemindji PA proposal: "Community Conserved Areas". These are defined as "Natural and modified ecosystems, including significant biodiversity, ecological services and cultural values, voluntarily conserved by indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities through customary laws or other effective means" (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004: 51). They are basically areas managed by local communities through customary systems. However, Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* stress the importance of recognition and support from national governments to these community-based PAs, especially "in cases when they face threats from different forces and when

communities are in a situation of vulnerability" (2004: 51). This document places strong emphasis on the importance of governments and other external agencies to act only upon "request, or with the prior informed consent" of local communities (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004: 67, 71, 74). Interestingly, these "Community Conserved Areas" can fall under all of IUCN's categories[20], ranging from Strict Nature Reserves to Managed Resource Protected Areas. This framework thus provides local communities with great flexibility regarding the degree of protection, management and access they consider appropriate for a PA. Examples of such "Community Conserved Areas" include the Alto Fragua-Indiwasi National Park in Colombia. The Ingano Indians have been recognised by the Colombian government, through negotiations involving a local NGO, as the principal actors in its planning and management (Oviedo, 2002). Another interesting example mentioned in this document is the Cuvu Tikina coast in Fiji Islands. In this case, local communities are also working with a local NGO to enhance their coastal resource management system and also to strengthen their relations with government and other local stakeholders such as tourist operators (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004). One case not referred to in the IUCN document but worth mentioning is the San Salvador Island Marine Conservation Project, described by Berkes *et al.* (2001). This represents another such bottom-up initiative, successful both in terms of community involvement and biodiversity protection. Interestingly, in this case, an external actor and Peace Corps Volunteer triggered the initial discussions that led to the creation of this PA (Berkes et al., 2001). According to Berkes *et al.* (2001), continued advice from a local NGO also contributed to the success of this community-based initiative. Eventually, the government

also became a major partner in this initiative, through a resource management agreement with local fishers (Berkes et al., 2001).

To truly enhance local control and address local aspirations and values, PA policies must refrain from stopping simply at incorporating indigenous interests within a Western conservation framework. The Indigenous Protected Area Program in Australia represents an innovative and appealing approach, more appropriate than so-called community-based initiatives in which decision-making authority often eludes local community members (Muller, 2003). Building on indigenous communities' own will to conserve the land (Muller, 2003), it differs markedly from community-based resource management that simply aims to provide them with incentives to do so (Brown, 2002). This framework is also particularly appealing because it allows indigenous communities to decide for themselves the level of involvement they wish the government to have (Smyth, 2001, cited in Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004). Such an approach, which falls within the "Community Protected Area" framework described above, is particularly relevant to the Wemindji PA proposal, an initiative proposed by the community itself. And, according to Smyth (2001, cited Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004), this approach has advantages both for the indigenous community and the government, because it contributes to the national PA system and generally requires less efforts and resources on the part of government than the establishment of conventional PAs.

Turning more specifically to examples in Canada, Quebec's new *Paysage Humanisé* (Humanised Landscapes) designation, within the new *Natural Heritage Conservation Act*, is potentially very promising with regards to accommodating the local aspirations outlined above (see Chapter 3). This designation responds to Wemindji Cree

aspirations to continue their customary resource harvesting practices by recognising that human-nature interactions are compatible with conservation objectives. Moreover, while this designation gives local authorities a dominant role in the design and management of the PA, it provides formal government support, a condition necessary to the achievement of Wemindji Cree aspirations as discussed in section 7.1. As highlighted in Chapter 3, PAs established under the federal government only devolve significant authority to the local level after long and often straining negotiations with indigenous communities. However, since the offshore portion of the proposed *Paakumshumwaau* PA falls under federal jurisdiction, federal agencies are involved in the discussion. The *Parc Marin du Saguenay* is an instructive precedent to investigate, since it involves a unique partnership between federal authorities and Quebec provincial authorities in the planning and management of a PA in a geographical area straddling both jurisdictions.

Finally, continuing advice from an external organisation has also been key to the success of community-based resource management initiatives in several cases (Beger et al., 2005; Pollnac et al., 2001; Stevens, 1997b). This role has been highlighted in the San Salvador Island Marine Conservation Project (Berkes et al., 2001), Alto Fragua-Indiwasi National Park (Oviedo, 2002) and Cuvu Tikina coast (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004) cases mentioned above. In the case of the Wemindji PA proposal, McGill University in partnership with Concordia University, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Quebec's Ministère du Développement Durable, Environnement et Parcs, Cree Regional Authority and the Grand Council of the Crees can fulfil this role. Dorothy Stewart explains how she envisions this relationship as follows: "I see that they can be our partners in terms of relations. We can help each other in future projects and

environmental issues that relate to our livelihood." The groups involved in this partnership are outlined in Appendix 3. The role of the team of researchers is to provide support and expert advice to the Stewart family, the Wemindji Council and the community as a whole. They can also, if requested by the community, assist in the negotiation process between those different institutional levels within the community as well as with higher levels of government and any other external stakeholders, such as mining companies. However, it is important to stress that, despite the importance of external support, it is imperative that local actors, primarily the Stewart family and also the Wemindji Council and the community as a whole, maintain ownership and control over the project.

CHAPTER 8. BROADER IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

The Wemindji PA initiative is not unique in the sense that numerous community-based PAs have been established throughout the world over the past two decades. However, the different partners involved in this particular initiative seek to develop an innovative approach that would constitute an alternative to some of the limitations of more conventional community-based PA models described in Chapter 2 and extend the terms of more standard co-management arrangements. This last chapter explores some of the challenges and opportunities involved in the establishment of this PA. A set of guidelines are proposed that will hopefully be of use to the Wemindji community, Council and the Stewart family in providing some direction for the next steps towards the establishment of this PA at *Paakumshumwaau*.

8.1 Challenges and Opportunities

The Stewart family, Wemindji Council and Wemindji Cree community as a whole are likely to be confronted with at least some of the challenges faced by community-based PAs elsewhere. As discussed in section 2.2, the failure of community-based PAs has generally been attributed to implementation problems. Similarly, the two main challenges that can be foreseen in the *Paakumshumwaau* PA are: 1) the integration of the customary family-based land and sea tenure system within a PA that seeks to fulfil a broader set of objectives; and 2) central governments' resistance to the devolution of power at the local level.

Regarding the first challenge, recent academic literature underscores the importance of moving away from the notion that communities are internally homogeneous in terms of interests, values, knowledge and political power (Agrawal &

Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004; Natcher & Hickey, 2002). Thus, more flexible PA policies and models must be developed to take account of the complexities of local communities, especially indigenous ones. Framing conservation within local institutions requires exploring the complexities of local communities and thus offers a better chance of taking into account community heterogeneity.

In the case of *Paakumshumwaau*, the PA will be nested within a host of different institutional levels: the Stewart family, in particular Fred Stewart, as customary steward of the area, the Wemindji Cree community as a whole and the local Wemindji Council, as well as wider regional Cree authorities and both levels of central governments. One issue will be to maintain the support of the Stewarts, on whose land the PA will be established, while maintaining the support of the wider Wemindji community and other actors just mentioned. Equity is also likely to be an issue. As mentioned in Chapter 2, several authors suggest that equitable sharing of resources and/or benefits within the community is one of the desirable goals of such community-based conservation (Kellert et al., 2000; Perreault, 1996; Pollnac et al., 2001). However, imposing decision-making structures based on western values of equity and fairness remains paternalistic (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). When customary institutions retain legitimacy amongst the local population, such as in the Wemindji community, an alternative and more appropriate approach is the protection and reinforcement of local customary systems of resource management and benefit sharing, even though those might appear inappropriate from a western perspective.

In this project, some informants mentioned their desire to see the entire coast of Wemindji protected and even larger portions of their territory. For example, some

informants not directly related to the Stewart family pointed out some sites they would want to see protected on their own family hunting territory. Also, a few informants expressed their wish to participate in a small-scale tourism business at *Paakumshumwashtikw*. Thus, despite the many advantages proposed by a PA nested within customary institutions, this approach will require some working out in the community.

The second issue is closely tied to the first one, but also involves the higher institutional levels outlined above. As highlighted in Chapter 2, one of the main problems with community-based PAs has often been the lack of political will at the level of central governments (Brown, 2003; Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Muller, 2003). PA precedents in Canada indicate a similar situation; as discussed in Chapter 3, the Canadian government has been very hesitant to devolve any significant degree of management authority at the local level. On the other hand, a "partnership" or "community-control" level of co-management would probably correspond better to the community's aspirations described in the preceding chapter (Berkes *et al.*, 2001: 199). As for Quebec, the province has been taking small steps towards these approaches to co-management, but still fall short of giving adequate recognition to local values with respect to natural and cultural resource management. On a more positive note, both the Canadian and Quebec governments have demonstrated their will to work in collaboration with the Wemindji community, the Stewart family and the university research group. They are partners on the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Community University Research Alliance (CURA) grant recently awarded to this project. Moreover, as the preceding chapter suggests, many local Cree aspirations and interests regarding the PA proposal are

compatible with governmental aspirations. Hence, it is hoped that discussions in the upcoming months will lead in the direction of an effective co-management regime that will respond to all institutional levels.

With regards to opportunities, there is much evidence of strong support from the community for the PA project which, together with effective participation in decision-making, has been identified as a crucial factor in the success of community-based PAs elsewhere (Johannes, 1998; Pollnac et al., 2001; White et al., 2002). Moreover, community-based frameworks such as the IUCN Community Protected Areas described in section 7.2.2 and the new Humanised Landscape designation available in Quebec provide considerable opportunities to frame this PA within Cree views of environmental protection. Moreover, such frameworks allow for the inclusion of low-impact activities such as subsistence fishing, hunting and trapping, and possibly small-scale economic ventures such as tourism, which would likely create much needed, although limited employment in the community. And they imply considerable degrees of local decision-making, thus responding to many of the local aspirations documented in this research.

8.2 Guidelines

Considering the above opportunities and challenges, and given that we are working towards a community-based culturally-appropriate PA, my original objective to produce a model or a "blue print" for this PA now seems too prescriptive and limiting. As a researcher working with the community and more specifically with the Stewart family, offering such a rigid framework would be an inappropriate and uncomfortable outcome of my research. The development of guidelines that represent a summary of the insights

gained through my research with the Stewart family, the Wemindji Council and the community will hopefully be of more use for establishing the *Paakumshumwaau* PA:

- Any high impact development activities that would affect negatively customary resource harvesting, sites of historical importance, etc. should be prohibited.
- It should be framed within Cree values and views of environmental protection, and embed itself within customary institutions, particularly the hunting-territory hunting-boss system.
- Subsistence resource harvesting should continue, and doors should be open for locally managed low impact economic development.
- It should allow for continued and enhanced local management, with support from governments and the university researcher partnership. Government support is especially important in obtaining official recognition for the PA that would allow the Crees to deal with external threats to natural resources such as competition from sports-hunters, hydro-electric development and mining.
- Any management plan should be flexible and adaptive, to be able to respond to any technological, environmental, and social changes that may occur in the area.

It is hoped that these guidelines will lead to the establishment of a PA that responds to local interests and aspirations, while also attracting support from the Quebec and Canada governments. While it is early days and the details of how this PA will take form have yet to be worked out, there are reasons to be optimistic since many of the elements that can lead to success, such the strength of local and external support, are present.

As a final point, it is worth noting that there are threats, such as those related to global warming, that will likely be beyond the ability of the PA to counter. Similarly, the intensity and extent of the forest fires that burn uncontrollably in the region in the final days of writing this thesis serve to remind us of the unpredictability of nature and the range of challenges Crees face in this project[21]. However, this PA, if properly planned and managed, and consistent with Wemindji Cree views, can go a long way towards not only enhancing Wemindji Cree control and identity, but also protecting a portion of their territory and resources that holds particular biological and cultural significance to them and also therefore to Quebec and Canada as a whole. It is my fervent wish that this thesis research has made some contribution to the realisation of this goal.

ENDNOTES

[1] The term 'aboriginal' will be used in the Canadian context, and the term 'indigenous' will be used in an international context.
[2] As discussed in Chapter 4, the James Bay Cree territory is divided into family hunting territories, each of which under the responsibility of a hunting boss or tallyman.
[3] Dr. Scott, who is the research team project leader, has been working with the Wemindji Cree community since the late 1970's. Throughout these years, he has developed a good relationship with community members, and has acquired a good knowledge of the community.
[4] The name of this bay refers to the trading post ("comptoir de traite" in French and translated as "factory") established in the bay from the 1930s to the late 1950s, as discussed in Chapter 6.
[5] There is ambiguity regarding the exact areas designated by the names *Paakumshumwaau* and *Paakumshumwashtikw*. Because such a division between the river and the bay was indicated to me by a couple of informants, including the area's hunting boss, it will be used.
[6] Category Ia: Strict Nature Reserve managed mainly for science; Category Ib: Wilderness Area managed mainly for wilderness protection; Category II: National Park managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation; Category III: Natural Monument managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features; Category IV: Habitat/Species Management Area, managed mainly for conservation through management intervention (Chape, 2003).
[7] The remaining twenty percent (20%) had no particular status according to the IUCN (Chape, 2003).
[8] Two reasons are generally proposed to explain the good condition of indigenous peoples' lands: 1) the effectiveness of their customary resource management systems, or 2) low population densities combined with lack of technology (Faust & Smardon, 2001).
[9] IUCN Category V refers to Protected Landscapes where human-nature interactions have resulted in ecosystems of particular aesthetic, cultural and/or ecological value (Chape, 2003).
[10] See (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999) for a discussion of the implications of a focus on institutions for conservation.
[11] The designation of Whytecliff Park (located on the traditional territory of the Squamish Nation) as Canada's first "no take" MPA was announced by DFO in 1993 (Wallace & Boyd, 2000: 17). However, rather than being a strict MPA, Whytecliff Park is a municipal park with boundaries coinciding with certain fishery closures that fall under the Fisheries Act. According to Jamieson and Levings (2001), fisheries closures should not be considered MPAs because they are under regulation rather than legislation. Thus, Whytecliff park, which is not included in DFO's list of officially designated MPAs, is not included in this analysis.
[12] It is noteworthy that this Ministry has recently merged with the Société de la faune et des parcs du Québec (FAPAQ), thus widening its jurisdiction to include PAs into its mandate. It has also changed its names from Ministère de l'Environnement to Ministère du Développement Durable, Environnement et Parcs to reflect this new mandate.

[13] This act replaces both the *Ecological Reserves Act* (R.S.Q., c. R-26.1) and the *Act Respecting Nature Reserves on Private Land* (S.Q., 2001, c. 14).
[14] The relocation to Wemindji was motivated by the increasing shallowness of the estuary and related problems accessing the bay by boat.
[15] See Scott (1989; 1992) for discussions of reciprocity in the context of Cree historical and contemporary relationship with white society.
[16] Significance of sites along the river have been documented by the 2004 cohort of McGill School of Environment students participating in this project. See Chapter 1 for details on McGill University's involvement.
[17] Full time hunters are on an income security program. It is aimed at guaranteeing minimum income for Cree individuals practising their traditional way of life was created under the JBNQA. See Scott (1984).
[18] People rarely go from Wemindji to *Paakumshumwashtikw* only for berry picking because of distance. Also, since this activity is not under tallyman authority, community members are allowed to do it anywhere and generally prefer going on islands closer to Wemindji.
[19] Charter planes are used in the spring to bring people back to the community after the goose hunt, because the ice is too thin to travel safely by skidoo.
[20]See Chape (2003) for a description of IUCN PA categories.
[21] According to Robert Lemay from the *Société de protection des forêts contre le feu* (SOPFEU), even at the beginning of June, 2005 has been the fifth worst season for forests fires in Quebec since 1921 (Cited in: Anon., 2005).

REFERENCES

Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. C. (1999). Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development, 27*(4), 629-649.

Anon. (1975). *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement*. Québec City: Les Publications du Québec.

Anon. (1992). *International Convention on Biodiversity*. Retrieved January 28, 2005, from http://www.biodiv.org/convention/articles.asp?a=cbd-08

Anon. (2002). *Agreement Concerning a New Relationship between Le Gouvernement du Québec and the Crees of Québec.* Nemaska/Québec: Cree Regional Authority/ Le Gouvernement du Québec.

Anon. (2004, November 6-7). En bref - Le Québec va relancer les exportations d'énergie. *Le Devoir*.

Anon. (2005). *Feux de forêt : la pluie vient en renfort*. Retrieved June 8, 2005, from http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/abitibi/nouvelles/200506/08/003-feux_foret_mercredi.shtml

Atkinson, K. (2001). New National Parks in the Canadian North. *Geography, 86*(2), 141-149.

Bawa, K. S., Seidler, R., & Raven, P. H. (2004). Reconciling Conservation Paradigms. *Conservation Biology, 18*(4), 859-860.

Beger, M., Harborne, A. R., Dacles, T. P., Solandt, J.-L., & Ledesma, G. L. (2005). A Framework of Lessons Learned from Community- Based Marine Reserves and Its Effectiveness in Guiding a New Coastal Management Initiative in the Philippines. *Environmental Management, 34*(6), 786-801.

Berg, L., Fenge, T., & Dearden, P. (1993). The Role of Aboriginal Peoples in National Park Designation, Planning, and Management in Canada. In P. Dearden & R. Rollins (Eds.), *Parks and protected areas in Canada: Planning and Management* (pp. 225-255.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Berkes, F. (2004). Rethinking Community-Based Conservation. *Conservation Biology, 18*(3), 621-630.

Berkes, F., Mahon, R., McConney, P., Pollnac, R., & Pomeroy, R. (2001). Co-management and Community-based Management. In I. D. R. C. (IDRC) (Ed.), *Managing small-scale fisheries: Alternative Directions and Method* (pp. 193-222).

Bérubé, G. (2003, October 24). La Société d'État entend exploiter tout le potentiel hydroélectrique du Québec en 2020. *Le Devoir,* pp. A1, A10.

Boolane, M. (2004). The impact of game reserve policy on the River BaSarwa/Bushmen of Botswana. *Social Policy and Administration, 38*(4), 399-417.

Borrini-Feyerabend, G., Kothari, A., & Oviedo, G. (2004). *Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas : Towards Equity and Enhanced Conservation*. Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK.: IUCN.

Brandon, K., Redford, K. H., & Sanderson, S. E. (1998). *Parks in Peril: People, Politics and Protected Areas*. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Brassard, F. (2005, March 3). *La progression du Plan d'action québécois sur les aires protégées*. Retrieved April, 1, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/chronique/2005/janvier-mars/050303-aire-prot.htm

Brechin, S. R., Wilshusen, P. R., Fortwangler, C. L., & West, P. (2002). Beyond the square wheel: Toward a more comprehensive understanding of biodiversity conservation as social and political process. *Society and Natural Resources, 15*(1), 41-64.

Brosius, J. P. (2004). Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas at the World Parks Congress. *Conservation Biology, 18*(3), 609-612.

Brosius, J. P., Tsing, A., & Zerner, C. (1998). Representing communities: histories and politic of community-based resource management. *Society and Natural Resources, 11*, 157-168.

Brown, K. (2002). Innovations for conservation and development. *The Geographical Journal, 168*(1), 6-17.

Brown, K. (2003). Three challenges for a real people-centred conservation. *Global Ecology and Biogeography, 12*, 89-92.

Bryant, R. L., & Wilson, G. A. (1998). Rethinking Environmental Management. *Progress in Human Geography, 22*(3), 331-343.

Castro, A. P., & Nielsen, E. (2001). Indigenous people and co-management: implications for conflict management. *Environmental Science & Policy, 4*(4/5), 229-239.

Chape, S., S. Blyth, L. Fish, P. Fox and M. Spalding (compilers). (2003). *2003 United Nations List of Protected Areas*. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK and UNEP-WCMC, Cambridge, UK.

Chapin, M. (2004). A Challenge to Conservationists. *World Watch, 17*(6), 17-32.

Chase Smith, R., Benavides, M., Pariona, M., & Tuesta, E. (2003). Mapping the Past and the Future: Geomatics and Indigenous Territories in the Peruvian Amazon. *Human Organization, 62*(4), 357-368.

Chicchón, A. (2000). Conservation Theory Meets Practice. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1368-1369.

Colchester, M. (2000). Self-Determination or Environmental Determinism for Indigenous Peoples in Tropical Forest Conservation. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1365-1367.

Cree Nation of Wemindji. (2003). *Wemindji: Our Roots and History*. Retrieved March 25, 2003, from http://www.wemindji-nation.qc.ca/roots.html

Cree Nation of Wemindji. (2004). *Mission and Vision Statements: The Vision we hold for our People and Community*. Retrieved December 15, 2004, from http://www.wemindji-nation.qc.ca/mission2.htm

Dearden, P., & Dempsey, J. (2004). Protected areas in Canada: decade of change. *The Canadian Geographer/ Le Géographe Canadien, 48*(2), 225-239.

Denton, D. (1997). Frenchman's Island and the *Naatuwaau* Bones: Archaeology and Cree Tales of Culture Contact. In G. P. Nicholas & T. D. Andrews (Eds.), *At a crossroads : archaeology and First Peoples in Canada* (pp. 303). Burnaby, B.C: Archaeology Press.

Denton, D. (2001). *A Visit in Time: Ancient Places, Archaeology and Stories from the Elders of Wemindji*. Nemaska, Québec: Cree Regional Authority.

Dignard, N., Lalumière, R., Reed, A., & Julien, M. (1991). *Habitats of the northeast coast of James Bay* (Occasional Paper No. 70). Ottawa, Ont.: Canadian Wildlife Services.

Dirzo, R., & Raven, P. H. (2003). Global state of biodiversity and loss. *Annual review of environment and resources, 28*, 137-167.

Faust, B. B., & Smardon, R. C. (2001). Introduction and overview: environmental knowledge, rights, and ethics: co-managing with communities. *Environmental Science & Policy, 4*, 147-151.

Feit, H. A. (1989). James Bay Cree Self-Governance and Land Management. In E. N. Wilmsen (Ed.), *We Are Here : Politics of Aboriginal Land Tenure* (pp. 69-98). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Feit, H. A. (1995). Hunting and the Quest for Power: the James Bay Cree and Whitemen in the Twentieth Century. In R. B. Morrison & C. R. Wilson (Eds.), *Native peoples : the Canadian experience* (pp. 181-223). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Feit, H. A., & Beaulieu, R. (2001). Voices from a Disappearing Forest. In C. H. Scott (Ed.), *Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Québec and Labrador* (pp. 119-148). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Ferguson, M. A. D. (2002). Utilizing indigenous knowledge in environmental research and assessment (Invited paper). *Terra Borealis, 2*, 15-18.

Fisheries and Oceans Canada. (2003). *National Framework to Establish and Manage MPAs*. Retrieved July 28, 2005, from http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/canwaters-eauxcan/infocentre/publications/docs/newmpa/ManageMPA_e.asp

Fisheries and Oceans Canada. (2004a). *Designated Marine Protected Areas*. Retrieved May 25, 2005, from http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/canwaters-eauxcan/oceans/mpa-zpm/dmpa_e.asp

Fisheries and Oceans Canada. (2004b). *Marine Protected Areas Program*. Retrieved July 28, 2005, from http://www.qc.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/ZPMEstuaire/en/prog.asp

Francoeur, L.-G. (2005, 29 et 30 Janvier). Action ou connaissance? À Paris, les scientifiques se sont entendus sur la création d'un groupe mondial d'experts sur la biodiversité. *LeDevoir,* p. 6.

Freeman, M. M. R. (1989). Graphs and Gaffs : A Cautionary Tale in the Common-Property Resources Debate. In F. Berkes (Ed.), *Common Property Resources : Ecology and Community-based Sustainable Development.* (pp. 92-109). London: Belhaven.

Gambino, R. (2002). Park Policies: A European perspective. *Environments, 30*(2).

Gardner, J. (2001). *First Nations Cooperative Management in Protected Areas in British Columbia: Foundations and Tools*. Vancouver, Canada: Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society - BC Chapter and Ecotrust Canada.

Gladu, J.-P. (2002). *Aboriginal Experiences Canada – Parks and Protected Areas*. Retrieved June 13, 2005, from http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/CANADA%20PAPER%20FOR%20EPP.pdf

Goldman, M. (2003). Partitioned Nature, Privileged Knowledge: Community-based Conservation in Tanzania. *Development and Change, 34*(5), 833–862.

Grand Conseil des Cris/ Grand Council of the Crees. (2004, October 2-3). Qu'est-ce le project de développement de la communauté crie de la baie James? *Le Devoir,* p. A 6.

Herlihy, P. H., & Knapp, G. (2003). Maps of, by, and for the Peoples of Latin America. *Human Organization, 62*(4), 303-314.

Hoggart, K., Lees, L., & Davies, A. (2002). *Researching Human Geography*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Hudson's Bay Company. (2005). *Our History: Timelines*. Retrieved May 2., 2005, from http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/timeline/hbc/

Hulme, D., & Murphree, M. (1999). Communities, Wildlife and the 'New Conservation' in Africa. *Journal of International Development, 11*(2), 277-285.

Hunter, G. C. (1970). Postglacial uplift at Fort Albany, James Bay. *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences, 7*(2), 547-548.

Jackson, P. (1983). Principles and problems of participant observation. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, 65 B*(1), 39-46.

Jamieson, G. S., & Levings, C. O. (2001). Marine Protected Areas in Canada--implications for both conservation and fisheries management. *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences, 58*, 138-156.

Johannes, R. E. (1998). Government-supported, village-based management of marine resources in Vanuatu. *Ocean & Coastal Management, 40*(2-3), 165-186.

Kellert, S. R., Mehta, J. N., Ebbin, S. A., & Lichtenfeld, L. L. (2000). Community Natural Resource Management: Promise, Rhetoric, and Reality. *Society and Natural Resources, 13*, 705-715.

Lam, M. (1998). Consideration of customary marine tenure system in the establishment of marine protected areas in the South Pacific. *Ocean & Coastal Management, 39*(1-2), 97-104.

McNamee, K. (2002). From Wild Places to Endangered Spaces: A History of Canada's National Parks. In P. Dearden & R. Rollins (Eds.), *Parks and protected areas in Canada: Planning and Management* (pp. 21-50). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada. (1998). *State of Parks 1997 Report*. Retrieved June 10, 2005, from http://www.pc.gc.ca/docs/pc/rpts/etat-state/pdf/SOP_e.pdf

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2002, July 5). *Stratégie québécoise sur les aires protégées : Québec annonce la mise en réserve de 32 000 kilomètres carrés de territoire à des fins d'aires protégées*. Retrieved May 5, 2003, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/infuseur/communique.asp?no=170

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2002, November 5). *Stratégie québécoise sur les aires protégées : de nouveaux pouvoirs conférés au ministère de l'Environnement*. Retrieved May 5, 2003, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/infuseur/communique.asp?no=269

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2003a). *Muskuuchii hills biodiversity reserve: Conservation Plan*. Retrieved March 25, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/biodiversite/reserves-bio/muskuchii/Psc_Muskuchii-en.pdf

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2003b). *Programme national pour le développement d'un réseau privé d'aires protégées*. Retrieved April 1, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/biodiversite/prive/programme.htm

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2003, February 8). *Stratégie québécoise sur les aires protégées : La majestueuse rivière Moisie : un joyau patrimonial dorénavant protégée*. Retrieved May 5, 2003, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/infuseur/communique.asp?no=318

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2003, March 4). *Stratégie québécoise sur les aires protégées : Québec annonce la protection 3 220 kilomètres carrés de territoire dans le Nord-Ouest du Québec*. Retrieved May 5, 2003, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/infuseur/communique.asp?no=340

Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec. (2004). *2004–2007 Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan*. Retrieved March, 25, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/biodiversite/2004-2007/enbref-en.htm#participant

Ministère des Ressources Naturelles Faune et Parc. (2002). *Highlight on the mines: Wemindji*. Retrieved October 2, 2003, from http://www.mrnfp.gouv.qc.ca/english/mines/quebec-mines/2002-05/wemindji.jsp

Ministère du Développement durable Environnement et Parcs du Québec. (2005a). *Conservation volontaire*. Retrieved April, 1, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/biodiversite/prive/conservation.htm

Ministère du Développement durable Environnement et Parcs du Québec. (2005b). *Paysage Humanisé*. Retrieved April 1, 2005, from http://www.menv.gouv.qc.ca/biodiversite/prive/paysage/index.htm

Mulekom, L. V. (1999). An institutional development process in community based coastal resource management: building the capacity and opportunity for community based co-management in a small-scale fisheries community. *Ocean & Coastal Management, 42*(5), 439-456.

Muller, S. (2003). Towards Decolonisation of Australia's Protected Area Management: the Nantawarrina Indigenous Protected Area Experience. *Australian Geographical Studies, 41*(1), 29-43.

Mulrennan, M. E. (1998). *A Casebook of Environmental Issues in Canada*. New York: Wileys & Sons, Inc.

Mulrennan, M. E., & Scott, C. H. (2000). *Mare Nullius*: Indigenous Rights in Saltwater Environments. *Development and Change, 31*, 681-709.

Mulrennan, M. E., & Scott, C. H. (2001). Indigenous Rights and Control of the Sea in Torres Strait. *Indigenous Law Bulletin, 5*(5), 11-15.

Mulrennan, M. E., & Scott, C. H. (In press). Co-Management--an Attainable Partnership? Two cases from James Bay, Northern Quebec, and Torres Strait, Northern Queensland. *Anthropologica*.

Mulrennan, M. E., Scott, C. H., & Bussières, V. (2003, May). *Creating a Culturally Appropriate Protected Watershed and Adjacent Offshore in James Bay Cree Territory*. Paper presented at the 5th International SAMPAA Conference, University Of Victoria, Victoria, BC.

Murombedzi, J. C. (1999). Devolution and stewardship in Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme. *Journal of International Development, 11*(2), 287-293.

Natcher, D. C., & Hickey, C. G. (2002). Putting the community back into community-based resource management: A criteria and indicators approach to sustainability. *Human Organization, 62*(4), 350-363.

Nepal, S. K. (2002). Involving Indigenous Peoples in Protected Area Management: Comparative Perspectives from Nepal, Thailand, and China. *Environmental Management, 30*(6), 748-763.

Oates, J. F. (1999). *Myth and Reality in the Rain Forest: How Conservation Strategies Are Failing in West Africa.* Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

Oviedo, G. (2002). *Lessons learned in the establishment and management of protected areas by indigenous and local communities, South America: enhancing equity in the relationship between protected areas and indigenous and local communities in the context of global change.* Retrieved June 7, 2005, from www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/CCA-GOviedo.pdf

Parks Canada. (2005). *National Marine Conservation Areas of Canada: List of National Marine Conservation Areas of Canada by Province/Territory.* Retrieved April 10, 2005, from http://parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/amnc-nmca/list_e.asp

Peang-Meth, A. (2002). The rights of indigenous peoples and their fight for self-determination. *World Affairs, 164*, 101-114.

Peepre, J., & Dearden, P. (2002). The Role of Aboriginal Peoples. In P. Dearden & R. Rollins (Eds.), *Parks and protected areas in Canada: Planning and Management* (2nd ed., pp. 323-353). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Perreault, T. (1996). Nature preserves and community conflict: a case study in highland Ecuador. *Mountain Research and Development, 16*(2), 167-175.

Peters, E. J. (1992). Protecting the land under modern land claims agreements: the effectiveness of the environmental regime negotiated by the James Bay Cree in the James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement. *Applied Geography, 12*(2), 133-145.

Pollnac, R., Crawford, B. R., & Gorospe, M. L. G. (2001). Discovering factors that influence the success of community-based marine protected areas in the Visayas, Philippines. *Ocean & Coastal Management, 44*(11-12), 683-710.

Race Rocks Advisory Board. (1999). *Minutes of the first meeting of the Advisory Board 01/Dec./19.* Retrieved October 1, 2002, from http://www.racerocks.com/racerock/admin/rrab/rrab.htm

Rao, S. K., Nautiyal, S., Maikhuri, R. K., & Saxena, K. G. (2003). Local Peoples' Knowledge, Aptitude and Perceptions of Planning and Management Issues in Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve, India. *Environmental Management, 31*(2), 168-181.

Redford, K. H. (1991). The Ecologically Noble Savage. *Cultural Survival Quarterly, 15*(1), 46-48.

Redford, K. H., & Sanderson, S. E. (2000). Extracting Humans from Nature. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1362-1364.

Reed, A., Benoit, R., Julien, M., & Lalumière, R. (1996). *Goose use of coastal habitats of northern James Bay* (Occasional Paper No. 92). Ottawa, Ont.: Canadian Wildlife Service.

Ressource Naturelles et Faune Québec. (2004, March 24). *Pingualuit National Park: Minister Pierre Corbeil delegates park management to the Kativik Regional*

Government. Retrieved April 1, 2005, from http://www.fapaq.gouv.qc.ca/en/c_press/040324nord.htm

Robinson, J. G. (1993). The limits to Caring: Sustainable Living and the Loss of Biodiversity. *Conservation Biology, 7*(1), 20-28.

Schwartzman, S., Moreira, A., & Nepstad, D. (2000). Rethinking Tropical Forest Conservation: Perils in Parks. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1351-1357.

Schwartzman, S., Nepstad, D., & Moreira, A. (2000). Arguing Tropical Forest Conservation: People versus Parks. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1370-1374.

Scott, C. H. (1984). Between "Original Affluence" and Consumer Affluence: Domestic Production and Guaranteed Income for James Bay Cree Hunters. In R. Salisbury & E. Tooker (Eds.), *Affluence and cultural survival: 1981 Proceedings of the spring meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (pp. 74-86). Washington, D.C.

Scott, C. H. (1986). Hunting Territories, Hunting Bosses and Communal Production Among Coastal James Bay Cree. *Anthropologica, 28*, 163-173.

Scott, C. H. (1987). The Socio-Economic Significance of Waterfowl Among Canada's Aboriginal Cree: Native Use and Local Management. *ICBP Technical Publication, 6*, 49-62.

Scott, C. H. (1988). Property, Practice and Aboriginal Rights among Quebec Cree Hunters. In J. Woodburn, T. Ingold & D. Riches (Eds.), *Hunters and Gatherers -- Property, Power and Ideology* (Vol. 2, pp. 35-51). London: Berg Publishers Ltd.

Scott, C. H. (1989). Ideology of Reciprocity between the James Bay Cree and the Whiteman State. In P. Skalnik (Ed.), *Outwitting the State* (Vol. 7, pp. 81-108). New Brunswick (USA): Transaction Publishers.

Scott, C. H. (1992). La rencontre avec les Blancs d'après les récits historiques et mythiques des Cris de la Baie James. *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec, 22*(2-3), 47-62.

Scott, C. H. (2001a). On Autonomy and Development. In C. H. Scott (Ed.), *Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Québec and Labrador* (pp. 3-20). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Scott, C. H. (2003). Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, McGill University. Montréal, Québec.

Scott, C. H. (Ed.). (2001b). *Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Québec and Labrador*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Scott, C. H., & Webber, J. (2001). Conflict between Cree Hunting and Sport Hunting: Co-Management Decision Making at James Bay. In C. H. Scott (Ed.), *Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador* (pp. 149-174). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Sly, P. G. (1995). Human impacts on the Hudson Bay Region: Present and future environmental concerns. In M. Munamar & M. Luotola (Eds.), *The contaminants in the Nordic Ecosystem: Dynamics, Processes & Fate.* (pp. 171-263). Amsterdam: Academic Publishing.

Société de la faune et des parcs du Québec. (2000). *Provisional Master Plan: Parc des Pingaluit*. Retrieved April 1, 2005, from http://www.fapaq.gouv.qc.ca/en/consultation/pingualuit/plan_ping_a.pdf

Stevens, S. (1997a). The Legacy of Yellowstone. In S. Stevens (Ed.), *Conservation Through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas* (pp. 13-32). Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Stevens, S. (1997b). New Alliances for Conservation. In S. Stevens (Ed.), *Conservation Through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas* (pp. 33-62). Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Stevens, S. (Ed.). (1997c). *Conservation Through Cultural Survival.* Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Stocks, A. (2003). Mapping Dreams in Nicaragua's Bosawas Reserve. *Human Organization, 62*(4), 344-356.

Terborgh, J. (1999). *Requiem for Nature.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press/Shearwater Books.

Terborgh, J. (2000). The Fate of Tropical Forests: a Matter of Stewardship. *Conservation Biology, 14*(5), 1358-1361.

Thomas, V. G., & Prevett, J. P. (1982). The roles of the James and Hudson Bay lowland in the annual cycle of geese. *Le Naturaliste Canadien, 109*, 913-925.

Toupal, R. S., Zedeno, M. N., Stoffle, R. W., & Barabe, P. (2001). Cultural landscapes and ethnographic cartographies: Scandinavian-American and American Indian knowledge of the land. *Environmental Science & Policy, 4*(4/5), 171-184.

Usher, P. J. (2000). Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Environmental Assessment and Management. *Arctic, 53*(2), 183-193.

Usher, P. J. (2003). Environment, race and nation reconsidered: Reflections on Aboriginal land claims in Canada. *Canadian Geographer-Le Géographe Canadien, 47*(4), 365-382.

Wallace, S., & Boyd, D. R. (2000). *Out of Sight, Out of Mind and Almost Out of Time: Towards an effective system of Marine Protected Areas in British Columbia.* Victoria, BC.: Sierra Club of British Columbia.

Weber, E. P. (2000). A New Vanguard for the environment: Grass-Roots Ecosystem Management as a New Environmental Movement. *Society and Natural Resources, 13*(3), 237-259.

Wenzel, W. G. (1999). Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Inuit: Reflections on TEK Research and Ethics. *Arctic, 52*(2), 113-124.

White, A. T., Courtney, C. A., & Salamanca, A. (2002). Experience with Marine Protected Area Planning and Management in the Philippines. *Coastal Management, 30*(1), 1-26.

Wilshusen, P. R., Brechin, S. R., Fortwangler, C. L., & West, P. C. (2002). Reinventing a Square Wheel: Critique of a Resurgent "Protection Paradigm" in International Biodiversity Conservation. *Society and Natural Resources, 15*(1), 17-40.

Wilshusen, P. R., Raleigh, L., & Russell, V. A. (2002). By, For and Of the People: The Development of Two Community-Managed Protected Areas in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Forestry, 15*(1), 113-126.

World Rainforest Movement. (2003). *Cameroun: des communautés Baka déplacées par les Parcs Nationaux de Lobéké et de Boumba.* Retrieved January 28, 2005, from http://www.icrainternational.org/website/a_document/b_themas/toc_right_fr.htm

World Wildlife Fund. (1996). *Statement of Principles on Indigenous Peoples and Conservation.* Retrieved January 28, 2005, from

http://www.panda.org/about_wwf/what_we_do/policy/indigenous_people/statement_principles.cfm

APPENDIX 1
DETAILS ABOUT INFORMANTS

Informant Name	Personal Information
Fred Asquabaneskum	Wemindji Band councillor, elder.
Leonard Asquabaneskum	Guide on canoe expeditions down *Paakumshumwaau*, tallyman of hunting ground north of this river
Ronnie Asquabaneskum	Guide on canoe expeditions down *Paakumshumwaau*
Nancy Daneluk	Former Wemindji Council Deputy Chief
Edward Georgekish	Cree Trappers Association officer
Emily Georgekish	Elder
Clifford Georgekish	Elder
Samuel Georgekish	Local Cree Trappers Association project manager, local entrepreneur
Billy Gilpin	Former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman's step-brother, elder.
Emily Hughboy	Elder, Harry Hughboy's wife.
Harry Hughboy	Elder, tallyman of hunting ground immediately north of the *Paakumshumwaau*
Rodney Mark	Wemindji Council Deputy Chief
John Matches	Elder
Tania Monahan-Stewart	Dorothy Stewart's daughter, guide on second canoe trip
Brian Stewart	Sarah Stewart's son, hunts on his Stewart's family hunting ground.
Clara Stewart-Visitor	Daughter of former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman
Dorothy Stewart	Daughter of former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman, Wemindji Economic Development officer
Fred Stewart	Current tallyman of the hunting ground encompassing *Paakumshumwaau*
Henry Stewart	Son of former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman
James Stewart	Former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman's brother, now lives in Chisasibi
Sara Stewart	Daughter of former *Paakumshumwaau* tallyman
Elmer Visitor	Clara Stewart-Visitor's husband, hunts/traps on *Paakumshumwaau* hunting ground.

APPENDIX 2
PICTURES FROM *PAAKUMSHUMWASHTIKW*

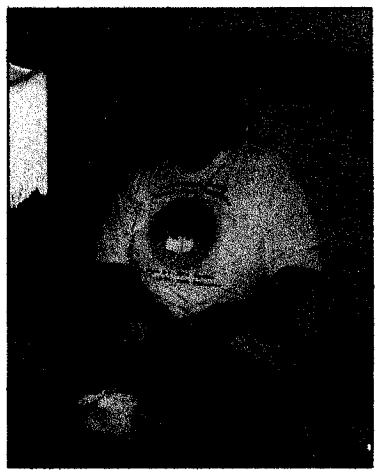
Old Mission on *Ataawaasuu minishtikw.*

Graveyard on *Kaachinwaanikaach.*

Example of goose blind made of spruce boughs.

Old house on *Kampaniiu minishtikw.*

Clara and her daughters processing a bear skin.



Sarah plucking a goose killed at *Paakumshumwashtikw.*

APPENDIX 3
DETAILS ABOUT PARTNERS

Partners	Name	Affiliation
Wemindji Cree Community	Fred Stewart	Hunting territory boss
	Dorothy Stewart	Special Project, Wemindji
	Rodney Mark	Deputy Chief, Wemindji
	Ron Blackned	GIS Specialist, Wemindji
	Edward Georgekish	Cree Trappers' Association
Grand Council of the Crees	Romeo Saganash	
	Geoff Quaile	
	Sam Etapp	
Cree Regional Authority	David Denton	Archeologist, Heritage Projects
Provincial Government	Geneviève Brunet	Environment Quebec, Protected Areas
Federal Government	Luci Bossé	Department of Fisheries and Oceans Head, Marine Protection Zones Program
	Mike Hammill	Department of Fisheries and Oceans Head, Marine Mammal Section
University Research Team		
Principal Investigator	Colin Scott	McGill University, Anthropology
Co-Investigators	Fikret Berkes	University of Manitoba
	Peter Brown	McGill University, MSE*, Geography and NRS
	André Costoupoulos	McGill University, Archeology
	Jim Fyles	McGill University, NRS
	Murray Humphries	McGill University, NRS
	R. Grant Ingram	University of British Columbia
	Greg Mikkelson	McGill University, MSE and Philosophy
	Monica Mulrennan	Concordia University
	Raja Sengupta	McGill University, MSE and Geography
	Renée Sieber	McGill University, Geography
Collaborators	Emily Faries	Laurentian University
	David Denton	Cree Regional Authority
Graduate Students	Karina Benessaiah	M.Sc.: GIS (R. Sengupta)
	Véronique Bussières	M.A.: Protected Areas (M. Mulrennan)
	Margaret Forrest	M.A.: Environmental Ethics (P.Brown)
	Stacey Jarema	M.Sc.: Beaver habitat (M. Humphries)
	Wren Nasr	M.A.: Traditional Knowledge (C. Scott)
	Jason Samson	PhD.: (M. Humphries)
	Charles Shulman	M.A.: (M. Mulrennan)
	Katherine Scott	M.A.: Ethnobotany (C. Scott)
Undergraduate Students	2005 MSE cohort	
	2004 MSE cohort	
	2003 MSE cohort	

* McGill School of Environment

Source: Katherine Scott, MSE, June 2005.