

"LA DIFFÉRENCE" DANS LA NATURE: ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION IN QUÉBEC

Lynn E. Noel for Québec Delegation 1994

INTRODUCTION

Environment and Québec are headline news today. James Bay has polarized water resources and native issues, while Constitutional debates on separatism and the upcoming elections have frozen Federal/provincial relations. Today's political climate particularly challenges Canadian environmental agreements, since most rest on Federal/provincial co-operation. Global, U.S., regional, tribal and local interests also add growing voices to a complex environmental agenda. Environmental scholars and conservationists working in Québec, especially from the States, need a deeper and more sophisticated awareness of how Québec's rich cultural, political and social history fuels the current environmental debate, and how Québec's strong sense of place can be a powerful tool to achieve common environmental goals.

"After a decade of awakening, the Québécois had shed much of the xenophobia they developed during their fierce struggle for survival. But still, every aspect of public policy among them was seen through a nationalist perspective -- that is, through the perspective of the only French-speaking nation in North America. Every major economic advance or project had come to be regarded as the triumphant assertion of the national will. But, oddly enough, while this cultural revival had been going on among them, it had become increasingly difficult to tell the difference between the Québécois and the rest of the North Americans, apart from the fact that they spoke French. Like all other North Americans, they wished to embrace the technological dream, and shrewd politicians among them had found the means to pursue policies of resource sellout on a gigantic scale while making it sound as if they were all necessary in defense of French-language cultural and national survival." (Richardson 1991)

"QUÉBEC, C'EST L'EAU" AND "LA BAIE JAMES, C'EST BOURASSA"

Hydro-Québec has built a nationalist empire on "*la différence québécoise*" and the need for Francophone jobs (Bourassa 1985), (McCutcheon 1991). A consortium of industry and government leaders now promotes Québec's "development of its untapped hydroelectric potential" as a "vision of sustainable development à *la québécoise*." (Bolduc 1990) But when it comes to environment, just what is the "nature" of "*la différence*?" How does the goal of a "distinct society" affect conservation and sustainable development? And where are concrete examples of Québécois working together to solve the problems of water, land and energy conservation that have put them in the political spotlight? An analysis of the province's largest environmental publication, *FrancVert*, sketches some of Québec's priorities among

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environmental topics in the last ten years, while three case studies examine the success of grassroots conservation efforts along the Saint Lawrence, where Québec's history and sense of place are strongest.

"Québec is entirely bathed in water, origin and source of life, and the Saint Lawrence River is our first great communications route, our first highway. The Saint Lawrence is the carotid and the lung of the country. ...But the Saint Lawrence is above all the key to our national heritage. It is by this royal and majestic way that our founders arrived. Thence came to us, over the centuries, our development and enrichment.

"...The World Conservation Strategy begins here, in the post-industrial civilization and despite the laxity of which we are proof. It begins here, in our overheated apartments, in our sadly urbanized landscapes, defoliated, often dehumanized and become so familiar that we no longer see either the danger or the absurdity. The inconsequent disposition of our wastes must cease; misuse of water, waste of energy, clearcutting of forests, extinction of many species of animals and plants, overexploitation of our soils and our fisheries, choking to death from cigarettes and toxic industrial fumes. ...An incurable cancer? The World Conservation Strategy begins here....Our escape is in our hands. May they be aware enough to carry our collective future." (FrancVert editorial, trans. L. Noel) (Plamondon 1984)

These case studies focus on water resources because they are central to Québec's identity, both cultural and economic -- and because they have been largely ignored by the media both inside and outside the province. Québec's recent history and image, especially in the United States, has been pro-development at the expense of environment and local communities. This image is driven almost exclusively by James Bay and James Bay II, whose publicity has dwarfed all other environmental issues emerging from Québec. One key objective of this project was to identify environmental actions in Québec that would balance and complement these facts and perceptions, especially by bringing evidence of community-level action across the language barrier. While nothing can compete with the scale of James Bay projects or their publicity, there are other environmental stories to cover in Québec, and some have happier outlooks.

Québec conservation is happening -- in the heartland. This report surveys a major environmental journal and profiles three environmental "success stories" to show how the province is "thinking globally, acting locally." These two ends of the scale are of particular use for social change. A global perspective can create a broader context for conflicting points of view and provide common ground for constructive negotiation, while local action meets the demand for visible progress with achievable goals and individual action.

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Nongovernmental organizations especially can work around interagency deadlock and provide liaisons between local, provincial and Federal agencies. But most translations are supported by public agencies, and smaller NGOs serving the Francophone community may not present results in English for financial or philosophical reasons. This report focuses on NGO and private efforts which, for the most part, have suffered in lack of translation.

UMBRELLA SURVEY

Québec has a vigorous and active environmental community, which draws much of its inspiration from models outside Canada. A provincial park system established in 1979 covers 4,194 square kilometers, and planners project that its greatest growth is still ahead (R. Allen, MLCP, pers. comm.). A moratorium on the creation of new parks lasted from 1985 to 1991 (de Guise 1993). A 1989 editorial in *FrancVert* announcing the launch of Canada's Endangered Spaces Campaign reports that parks in Québec cover only 0.26% of the province, compared to 8% in Ontario (Bourdages 1989). A 1982 provincial report on the establishment of Québec parks credits the global conservation movement and the American national park system rather than Parks Canada, and refers to Québec's first park reserves of the 1890s as "*parcs nationaux*" (national parks) though they are administered by the province. Under the Canadian constitution, Canadian provinces (rather than the Federal government) hold the rights to most of their natural resources, and Québec's tenure of these rights has had a strongly nationalist tone from the start of its conservation movement.

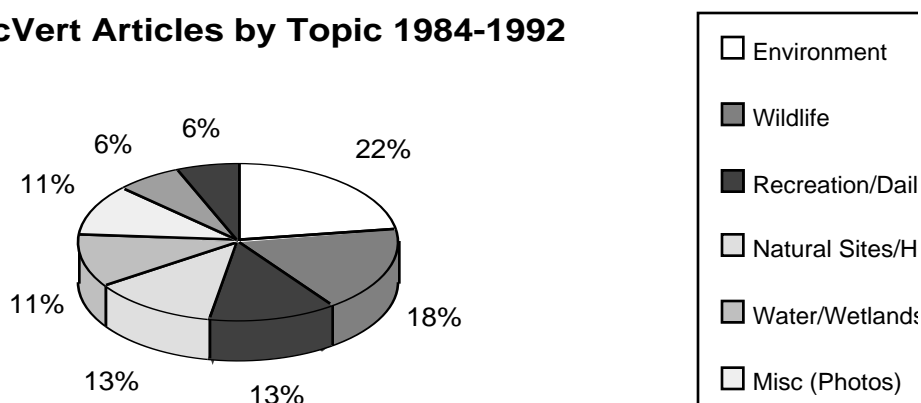
L'Union québécoise pour la conservation de la nature (Québec Union for the Conservation of Nature) is an umbrella organization for conservation, sustainable development and natural/environmental sciences organizations in the province. The UQCN bases its founding objectives on the UNESCO World Conservation Strategy of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), under the motto of "think globally, act locally." The UQCN publishes Canada's major Francophone environmental journal, *FrancVert* (formerly *FrancNord*), whose masthead lists over 100 member organizations ranging from zoos and museums to recreational nature clubs and regional development & watershed associations.

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From 1984-92, *FrancVert* published 348 articles on environmental topics from acid rain to zoological gardens. Their editorial backlist (Editeur 1992) groups these articles by thematic topic¹, analyzed and discussed below.

FrancVert Articles by Topic 1984-1992



The general "Environment (*Environnement*)" topic (n=79) contains articles on global issues like acid rain, the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, reports on laws and policies, and a strong subtheme of urban/industrial issues from pollution to recycling. Mining is a major industry in Québec, and seven articles cover mining issues, particularly aluminum. Urban water pollution and recycling efforts account for eight articles, while only two articles in this category cover dams and none specifically mentions hydropower or Hydro-Québec in the title. When hydropower is an issue, it is in the context of damage to wildlife and not to water resources (see *Eau* below), and nowhere in Québec's leading environmental journal is there a general article on rivers as an environmental issue.

Wildlife (*Faune*) is Québec's long suit (n=61). The first park reserves in the province were primary for hunting and fishing, and the provincial ministry for resource management is *le Ministère de Loisir, Chasse, et Pêche* (Ministry of Recreation, Hunting and Fishing). World Wildlife Fund's Québec office is a leader in Canada's "Spaces and Species" campaign, and a majority of the UQCN's membership is from wildlife interest groups like birdwatching clubs

¹There is a small (3-5%) amount of overlap in these categories when articles cover more than one topic; to preserve the categories created by UQCN, the list was not reclassified.

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and zoological societies. The province sponsored a "conservation of wildlife week" in 1988 which produced several general-audience publications to promote awareness (Ministère de Loisir 1988), (Ministère de Loisir 1988). Wildlife makes good ecojournalism, especially as the tone of *FrancVert* titles tends to focus on the endangered and threatened ("*Des animaux malades du fleuve*, "Sept-Oct 1990; "*Pitié pour le pluvier siffleur*," Été 1988; "*Les espèces menacées sonnent l'alarme*," *Hors série #1* 1988). Many articles present wildlife as a global environmental issue, and this perspective is evident in the case studies as well (see below). *FrancVert* is Francophone Canada's equivalent of *Nature Canada*, and the two are similar in design and content.

Recreation reflects the membership again, but this category combines three of UQCN's people-focused topics. Recreation (*Loisir*) accounts for 33 articles from hiking, cycling and rafting to ecotourism, while two smaller categories of "*L'environnement quotidien*" (n=7) and "*alimentation*" (food) (n=5) cover choice of clothing and irradiated food. Northern coverage is limited to commercial hunting and fishing, with little coverage of native lifeways. The urban Francophones of the Saint Lawrence are a watershed and a world away from the Cree and Inuit of Hudson's Bay.

Policy, wildlife and people account for over half (53%) of *FrancVert*'s coverage. Natural sites (*Sites naturels*) was the next single largest category with 37 articles, more in fact than recreation's 33, and 7 articles on natural history (*histoire naturelle*) were added to this group for a combined 11%. Another 11% of miscellaneous (*divers*) category includes photoessays and interviews, while plants (*flore*) (22 articles) receive as much coverage at 6% each as agriculture (9 articles) and forestry (13 articles) combined.

Water has a fragmented and southern constituency in Québec. *FrancVert* distinguishes wetlands (*milieux humides*, 6 articles), which have a strong lobby, a provincial guidebook (*FrancVert* 1992) and their own legislation, from *milieu aquatique* (12 articles) which is largely a cross-reference to the wildlife and water categories. Water has its own category (*Eau*, 20 articles) which is dominated by the Saint Lawrence to the exclusion of anything in the Hudson's Bay watershed. The French language distinguishes between "*une rivière*" which has its mouth in fresh water and "*un fleuve*" which flows into the ocean, and The Saint Lawrence is **The River** of Québec. Eight articles give *Saint-Laurent* in the title ; four more use *le fleuve* for either the Saint Lawrence or the Saguenay; and few appear to cover areas outside the Saint Lawrence watershed. This study was based on a title survey, and deeper review of articles

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may contradict this: but it appears that only two *FrancVert* article from 1984 to 1992 examined James Bay. The first reported local opposition to U.S. contracts and to the "sixth line" of hydro towers through local communities (Hamann 1986). The second took a wildlife perspective of freshwater seals (1987). The word "threatened" appears in quotes.

This distribution confirms a comment made outside of a formal interview by a Québec environmental leader: "Rivers are not an issue in Québec." Yet outside the province, they are Québec's most visible environmental issue (McCutcheon 1991), while within the province, they have been on the development side of the coin for thirty years (Bourassa 1985) despite the best efforts of Québécois conservationists, who have often been labeled outsiders. This tension between insiders' and outsider's perspectives is common in conservation, and other cases have been documented in Canada (Noel 1987). The enviro-cultural tensions of the James Bay Projects have been well-documented elsewhere (op. cit), so the purpose of this report is to ask, not "why are rivers not an issue?" but "what are the issues?" In fact, as this report demonstrates, rivers are central to many conservation issues in Québec, and this focus is increasing. However, moving toward an understanding of the Québec perspective requires a Québec angle of approach.

THREE CASE STUDIES

Case studies in this project were chosen for three reasons: insider recognition, measurable success by global criteria, and the presence of international stakeholders. A fourth criterion emerged through research: conservation starts at home, in this case in the Saint Lawrence heartland.

INSIDER RECOGNITION

The Québec agency primarily responsible for resource management is the *Ministère de Loisir Chasse, et Pêche* (MLCP), which also contains the provincial wildlife and park services. The Director of provincial parks, as in other provinces, is the Board member for the Canadian Heritage Rivers System and the liaison with the Federal and Provincial Parks Council (FPPC). In a preliminary round of interviews, the current and former directors of the MLCP, M. Luc Berthiaume and M. Guy Bussière, were invited to identify the top three environmental success stories in the province. Both named the Saguenay without hesitation. Each also recommended the Jacques Cartier and the Marine Bird Conservation Project. The Jacques Cartier was part of Québec's first

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provincial park and as a Heritage River has become a model for intergovernmental co-operation; the Marine Bird Conservation Project has received considerable international recognition and is being considered for provincial park status. These case studies, then, are examples of success by which Québécois government leaders wish to be evaluated.

MEASURABLE SUCCESS

Each case study can also be measured by objective standards of the global conservation community.

- a) *SPECIES IMPROVEMENT: Documented evidence exists that species classed as endangered or threatened have improved in numbers and/or in health under the conservation regime (though no cases are "closed");*
- b) *PROTECTION POLICIES :Case studies resulted , or are about to result, in the establishment of a protected area with provincial legislation (and in some cases local and/or federal);*
- c) *PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT: Local communities participated in management planning and are actively involved in stewardship of the resource.*

Each case study will use these three criteria as a discussion and evaluation framework. As the case studies demonstrate, there is a strong developmental sequence in these criteria, and to achieve the first one must begin with the last.

INTERNATIONAL STAKEHOLDERS FOR SPECIES

Aquatic species are by their nature transboundary resources, and have stakeholders outside Québec . The primary *raison d'être* of all three case studies involve species protected under international convention: salmon under the North Atlantic Salmon Convention Organization (NASCO), whales under the International Whaling Commission , and seabirds under the RAMSAR Convention on Migratory Waterfowl. In the conservation of transboundary species and in water resources, Québec 's policy of "*maîtres chez nous*" (Bourassa 1985) intersects the interests of the Canadian federal, U.S. and global conservation communities, and becomes subject to international law and global scrutiny.

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CONSERVATION STARTS AT HOME

All case studies are recently connected under a broad vision which is among Québec's most sweeping plans for conservation: the *Plan d'Action Saint-Laurent*, or Saint Lawrence Action Plan (Canada/Quebec 1993). Other rivers in Québec are seen primarily as developable resources, but the Saint Lawrence is Québec's heartland. "70% of Québec's population lives on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Half of them draw their drinking water from it." (Canada/Quebec 1993) The Saint Lawrence provides a rich fishery, the continent's largest shipping route and power for Québec's top 50 industries, and suffers from the province's worst pollution. It is here that problems are most severely felt, and unsurprisingly here that action is taken first. Case studies were identified individually before the plan was formally announced in 1993, and only in the course of research were the links to the Saint Lawrence Action Plan discovered. Many of these links remain to be implemented under the five-year plan itself.

CASE STUDY #1: JACQUES CARTIER HERITAGE RIVER

DESCRIPTION

La rivière Jacques Cartier rises in the Laurentian Mountains between Chicoutimi & Québec City and flows 177 km to the St. Lawrence at Donnacona. Draining a basin of 2,515, square kilometers, the river and its ten tributaries are managed in two distinct sections. The upper section from the headwaters to Tewksbury flows through a wooded fault-block valley in the 670 square kilometer Jacques Cartier Provincial Park in the Laurentian wildlife reserve, while the lower section runs through the Valcartier Military Reserve and the communities of Tewksbury, Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier, Shannon, Sainte-Catherine, Pont-Rouge and Donnacona. The Jacques Cartier was nominated to the Canadian Heritage Rivers System in June 1987 for natural, cultural and recreational value including: natural history and scenic beauty; transportation, exploration and the history of Québec; salmon fishing, canoeing, kayaking and rafting.

The Jacques Cartier is the only salmon river in Québec within 30 minutes of a major urban center. Its fisheries have been celebrated since the arrival of its namesake explorer in 1534, and 1768 maps refer to the river as "salmon fishing river." Canada's first aquaculture was spawned here in 1857 using trout and salmon eggs from the Jacques Cartier, and a private fishing club was formed in 1877. (Cartier 1994) In 1895, the Jacques Cartier was specifically recognized in the

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founding of Québec's first national park, the Laurentides Reserve. The preamble to the law states "that no watercourse is comparable to the Jacques Cartier, where the trout reach five pounds; Jacques Cartier Lake is equally good and exceeds any lake in the province for fly fishing." (Ministère de Loisir 1982)

But the first dam was built in 1870 to serve the flour mills of the flat Saint Lawrence fields, and in 1880 the first hydroelectric mill spanned the Sullivan waterfall. 1887 saw the last mention of the Jacques Cartier as a "celebrated salmon fishing site." Paper mills, hydroelectric stations and more dams sprang up along the river, and by the 1970s the salmon runs had dropped to zero. The Laurentide park, although protected from settlement, "was considered primarily as a forest reserve...and as a hunting and fishing site" (Ministère de Loisir 1982) and the headwaters were thus also unprotected from commercial exploitation. Urbanization was encroaching on the banks with concrete and riprap, and pollution threatened water quality and wildlife.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

In 1979, a group of sport fishermen and local citizens formed the *Comité de Restauration de la Jacques Cartier*, "Committee to Restore the Jacques Cartier, which soon became a nonprofit corporation. Its eighteen-member board of directors (*conseil d'administration*) is drawn from representatives of the nine riverfront municipalities and nine elected members from different interest groups like private landowners and salmon fishers. The *Corporation pour la Restauration de la Jacques Cartier* set four goals:

- 1) *to reintroduce Atlantic salmon (Salmo salar) into the river;*
- 2) *to manage the river to meet the needs of the community;*
- 3) *to encourage use of the river for teaching and research; and*
- 4) *to promote the development of cultural, heritage and recreational tourism elements. (Cartier 1994)*

Over the next fifteen years, the CRJC worked with provincial, Federal and industry officials to achieve these objectives.

PROTECTION POLICIES

The province created Jacques Cartier Park in 1981 under the terms of its provincial parks act, *Loi sur les parcs* (Ministère de loisir 1993). While this protected the headwaters from logging, mining and commercial hunting and

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fishing, it gave no protection downstream. The CRJC began working on sport fishing management, and began a salmon restocking program in 1981 (see chart). In 1985, a fish ladder with a "trap and truck" operation was installed at the Donnacona hydro dam. Returning salmon enter a special cage with a hydraulic lift which transfers them to a refrigerated truck for transport around the warmer, slower waters of the dam pool. Salmon are released in the cold, highly oxygenated waters of Jacques Cartier Park where the gravel spawning beds are clean and undisturbed.

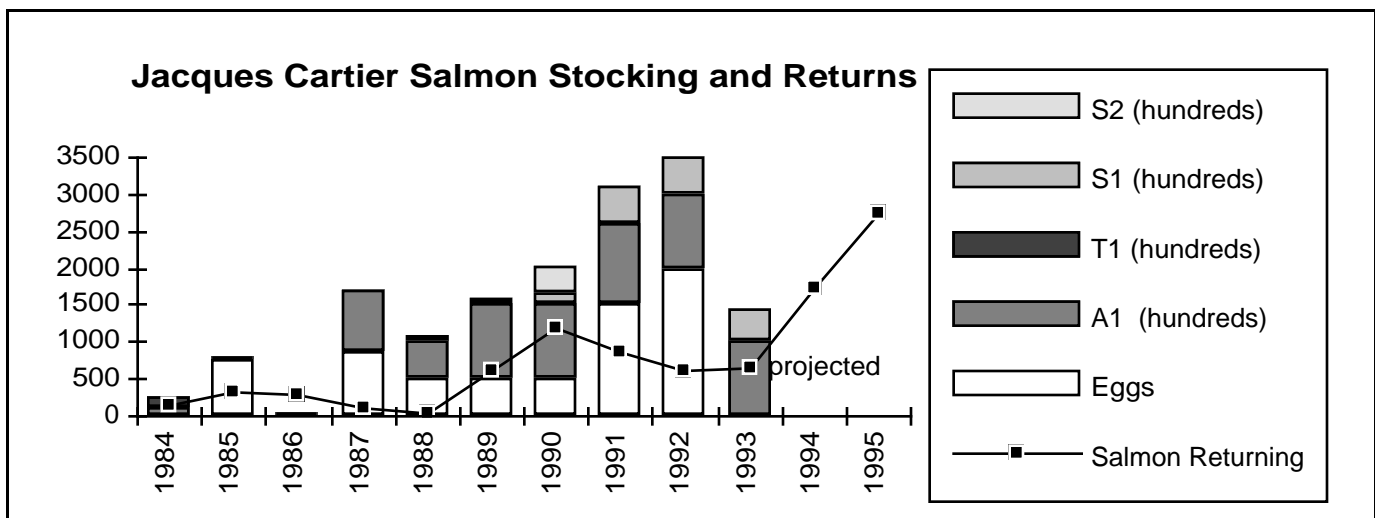
This unusual process is fascinating to watch, and the visitor center includes a glassed porthole where visitors can observe salmon awaiting the truck. Educational and economic value were enhanced by developing the *passé migratoire* as a tourist attraction which in 1993 attracted 18,000 visitors (twenty-seven per fish) to Donnacona. The town hosts a Salmon Festival the last week in June, with special salmon activities in the Donnacona schools. The CRJC also developed local awareness with a series of six educational kiosks in local towns as the beginning of an active education program. To support the stocking program, CRJC members constructed an artificial spawning grounds at Cap-Santé and a series of four incubators. With this hatchery infrastructure in place, the program has recently moved from eggs to alevins (A1, T1) and parr (S1, S2) (see chart).

To protect this investment, the CRJC began with a streambank cleanup in 1985 and moved on to more active management. In 1986, the MLCP acquired 1,332 hectares of streambank from Domtar, representing 62% of the banks below the park boundary. With a total of 77% of riverfront now in public lands, the CRJC and MLCP nominated the Jacques Cartier as Québec's first Canadian Heritage River in 1987. This Federal/provincial co-operative program provided matching funds for a management plan, which was completed in 1993. Federal/provincial tensions have delayed the formal acceptance of the management plan, since current Québec policy prevents provincial officials from "submitting" plans for Federal "approval" even though the CHRS is an interprovincial body where Federal agencies have only two votes in fourteen. With Québec's recent change in Board membership and pending the outcome of the upcoming elections, the Secretariat hopes to formally designate the Jacques Cartier (by accepting its management plan at a Board meeting) as a Canadian Heritage River in January 1996. According to MLCP officials, "Québec doesn't need anyone else to designate this management plan for us; we can recognize it ourselves." True for any province under CHRS policy; doubly true, as usual, for Québec.

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Using the CHR management plan as an interagency umbrella, a ZEC, or *Zone d'Exploitation Contrôlée*, was created to manage fishing licenses and public access, as well as the *Statut du Saumon* adopted in 1991. This ZEC was the first management area under mixed jurisdiction in Québec, involving nine municipalities, the CRJC, the MLCP, Domtar and Environment Canada. To further increase visibility, the Jacques Cartier was twinned with the Dordogne River in France, also the site of an active salmon restoration program; the "*jumelage*" also reinforced Francophone pride and French heritage. In 1991 the CRJC received a Heritage Canada Award for the excellence of its conservation and restoration efforts. (Cartier 1994)



Source: (Cartier 1994)

Note on chart: there is a two-year lag between the release of a juvenile salmon and its return as an adult, and a three-year lag for eggs. These correlations can be seen in the rates of return.

SPECIES IMPROVEMENT

The first adult salmon returned to the Jacques Cartier in 1983. In 1990, the CRJC registered a record return of 1185 fish, and a closely managed sport fishery reopened, for the first time in over a century, in 1991. The stocking program doubled between 1989 and 1992, and the CRJC is forecasting returns to double each year in 1994 and 1995. 200,000 more eggs were deposited in the incubators in 1993, and the *passee migratoire* was officially "opened" on June 21 in a ceremony attended by CRJC, MLCP and Federal officials. The CRJC plans to

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extend its management of the sport fishery further up the river corridor, and to conduct a management study of the Déry gorge, site of the first dam on the river, to ensure fish passage. Revenues from access rights increased from \$15,000 in 1992 to \$20,500 in 1993, and extension of the ZEC is a long-term management goal. (Cartier 1994)

The Jacques Cartier's restoration was first motivated by a simple goal: salmon fishing. But this consumptive incentive soon broadened, as fishermen and landowners alike learned what it took to ensure healthy salmon populations. Wildlife restoration led to habitat conservation and then to watershed planning. Today the CRJC promotes the Jacques Cartier as "*une rivière pour tous*": a river for everyone. Canoeists, kayakers and rafters challenge the whitewater rapids on the upper reaches of the park (Gourde 1986), (Porterfield 1992), while trails for hiking, cycling and nordic skiing crisscross the valley. The hydroelectric station at Déry has turned their beautiful old stone mill, the Moulin Marcoux, into a Québécois folk art gallery and theatre for poets, playwrights and *chansonniers*. Schoolchildren write poems and create posters for art contests and under the CRJC's education program, "*Découvre Ta Rivière*" (Discover Your River) which promotes watershed consciousness of the Jacques Cartier basin as a whole. To protect a salmon, the communities of the Jacques Cartier have learned, is to protect wherever it can swim.

CASE STUDY #2: SAGUENAY MARINE PARK

DESCRIPTION

The Saguenay fjord at Tadoussac marks the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River and the head of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The river has a watershed of 114,960 sq km, and flows through a glaciated fault valley in the Canadian Shield from Lac St. Jean eastward to the Saint Lawrence. Major tributary basins include the Mistassini, Péribonka, Ashuapmushuan and Chicoutimi Rivers. The combined watersheds of the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean region cover 87,970 sq km, divided into four major ecoregions: the mountain massif of the Canadian Shield, the foothills in the headwaters, the clay and sand floodplain, and the lake and river itself. (Savard 1989) Eleven municipalities have a combined total of approximately 31, 727 residents. 66% of these (20,935) live in La Baie, while the population density elsewhere in the region is only 3.2 residents per sq km. Major economic activities are forestry, farming, fishing, mining and aluminum refining. The majority of the Saguenay corridor is managed under two co-operative protected areas: the provincial *parc du Saguenay* established in 1983

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and the Federal/provincial *parc marin du Saguenay* now under development (see below).

The Saguenay's location and geography make it one of the richest aquatic habitats in the world. It is Québec's only midlatitude fjord and the site of an unusual confluence of fresh and salt water. Glaciers scoured the basin to a steep-walled depth of 320 meters before meeting more resistant bedrock at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. At Tadoussac, a rock shelf rising close to sea level admits salt water at high tide, but prevents passage at low tide (see diagram). Warmer fresh water flowing in from the river (11° C) flows over the denser, colder water (1° C) of the fjord, creating marine and freshwater layers in the same water body. Just outside the fjord, currents from the Gulf tides and the St. Lawrence River mix nutrients from below with sunlight from above. Plankton flourishes in this rich water column, forming the base of a teeming food chain that supports fish, seabirds, marine invertebrates like starfish and sea anemones, seals and whales.

These are the Saguenay's most celebrated creatures. Eleven of Québec's fifteen species of cetaceans can be found in the Saguenay estuary (Lavoie 1985). Five species of whale frequent the Saguenay: the common porpoise (marsouin commun), beluga (béluga), fin (petit rorqual), humpback (rorqual commun) and blue whale (rorqual bleu), the most species observable at any single point in Canada. The three larger whales (rorquals) are listed as "vulnerable" under COSEWIC (the Committee on the Status of Endangered Species in Canada/*CSEMDC, Comité sur le statut des espèces menacées de disparition au Canada*), while the porpoise is listed as "threatened." The belugas of the Saint Lawrence represent an "endangered" population, literally "in danger of extinction" (see below).

Native peoples used the Saguenay since the end of the Ice Age, both for food and for transport. Jacques Cartier explored the region in 1534, and by the end of the sixteenth century Tadoussac was the continent's great center of the fur trade. Basques hunted whales and seals here from 1635 to the eighteenth century, and porpoise skins and oil were sold along the coast. From the 1700s on, forestry opened the region to settlement, and farms sprang up on cleared land. 1842 found a dozen mills between Tadoussac and Saint-Fulgence, and two decades later there were fifty-eight in Ha! Ha! Bay alone, employing over 2,000 workers. Log drives and sawdust choked the river bottoms, while dams, canals, stages and quays lined the shore. The lumbermen opened the first inns and hotels to tourists and fishermen, and ran the first cruises on the Saguenay from

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Chicoutimi, presaging its development as a tourist center. By 1925, Alcan had established its base of operations in the Saguenay basin, close to huge deposits of bauxite and to the water that transported it cheaply and smelted it into aluminum with cheap hydroelectricity (Canada/Quebec 1991). Toxics poured unremarked into the river and into the whales.

Until the 1930s, Canada offered a bounty on beluga whales in the St. Lawrence, on the grounds that they depleted fish stocks. During World War II, pilots used them for target practice because the white whales were easy to spot. After the war, fifteen new dams harnessed the Saguenay until by 1960 the river was producing 2500 megawatts of power for aluminum smelters and pulp and paper mills. Tons of industrial waste were contaminating everything in the food chain. In 1972, a Toronto photographer went to the Saguenay on an eye-opening holiday.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Léone Pippard was not a biologist, but she knew how to observe. No one seemed to know much about these small white whales, and from 1975 to 1977 she and a colleague, Heather Malcolm, began to study the belugas at first hand. They observed behavior patterns and began to track families and individuals -- and noticed scars, lesions, birth defects and dead whales. They presented a research report to the Canadian government in 1978, where it was largely ignored. (Van Gelder 1988) But a Québec conservation group, the *Société linnéenne*, took up the cause and began to sponsor whale-watching cruises on the Saguenay, and promoted the idea of a marine park. (Beaucher 1989). In 1982, scientists released the results of a four-year autopsy study of 48 beluga whale carcasses, revealing that the animals were riddled with over 24 contaminants from PCBs and DDT to arsenic and benzopyrene. Some belugas were so polluted that government regulations required that the carcasses be treated as toxic waste. (Delisle 1987) Frustrated by government inaction, two of the biologists who conducted the study resigned to found the Saint Lawrence International Institute of Ecotoxicology (Came 1990), whose Adopt-a-Beluga campaign raised \$5,000 per animal for research and public education.

Meanwhile, in 1982, Québec had begun the process of creating a provincial park along the Saguenay with a series of public hearings. Of 51 reports received, 59% supported the creation of a park for conservation, only 13% opposed it -- of which 8% would support a recreational park -- and 25%, primarily landowners, made no mention of the proposed classification. (Ministère du Loisir 1982). In

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1983, the *Parc du Saguenay* was created under the Québec Parks Act (*Loi sur les parcs*). This protected riverfront lands but had no jurisdiction over waters, since those belonged to Fisheries and Oceans and Transport Canada. A co-operative study for the peripheral zone of the park in 1984 stressed economic development and tourism, and set the stage for future studies in the St. Jean region (Québec 1984).

By now over 25,000 people had participated in Saguenay whale-watching cruises, and the Beluga Foundation had been established in 1984 to channel their contributions into action. In 1985, *FrancNord* (now *FrancVert*) published an "acting locally" column called "To the Defence of the Belugas," and Alcan commissioned a study by André Marsan & Associates which discovered that 1965 tons of toxic hydrocarbons (HAP = *hydrocarbures aromatiques polycycliques*) were being discharged annually into the St. Lawrence. The next year, Greenpeace launched a campaign to save the beluga, and collaborated with Alcan and three Québec environmental groups -- FOSEM (Foundation for the Protection of Endangered Species), SVP (*Société Pour Vaincre la Pollution*), and UQCN -- on a conservation strategy. Alcan pledged to "adopt" the belugas, under the principle of "*polluer payeur*," or "the polluter pays," and committed \$5 million over five years to environmental protection (Delisle 1987). In 1988, the *International Forum on the Future of the Beluga*, convened at Tadoussac and chaired by FOSEM President Jacques Prescott, drew over fifty scientific papers on marine mammals, toxic wastes, endangered species and protected areas (1988).

By the late 1980s, the belugas were international news. Articles in *Maclean's* (Came 1990; Corelli 1990), *Borealis* (Jones 1992), *Audubon* (Luoma 1989), *International Wildlife* (Penfield 1990) and the *World Press Review* (Benesh 1989) highlighted the plight of the "Doomed Canaries of Tadoussac," and *Ms.* magazine profiled Léone Pippard, who had been apostrophized in the *World Press Review* as "Our Lady of the White Whales" (Van Gelder 1988). A confluence of interests was swelling for change.

Rumblings of change were emerging in the headwaters too. In 1985, a series of local community hearings in the Lac St. Jean region (Hamann 1985) drew the largest crowd in the history of Québec's BAPE (*Bureau des audiences publiques sur l'environnement*) despite a snowy January evening. The issue was not wildlife, but water levels: citizen's groups complained that Alcan was maintaining the lake level too high, for too long, causing erosion and flooding and damaging tourism and local residences. The industry-owner of 60% of the

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shoreline argued that the level was necessary for hydroelectric generation, and if its management was not accepted, "it could just go away. And goodbye to \$30 million for the region." (Hamann 1985). The BAPE negotiated a compromise that broadened the discussion to a wider frame of regional sustainable development. In 1988, another conference convened at the opposite end of the Saguenay watershed from Tadoussac's beluga scientists. Unshaken by the largest earthquake in Québec's history on 25 November, the General State of the Environment (*États généraux de l'environnement*) conference unveiled a sustainable development strategy for the Saguenay/Lac-St.-Jean region. The findings were summarized in book form in 1990 by Québec entomologist Michel Savard in *Pour Que Demain Soit: Un région fait le point sur son environnement (So Tomorrow May Come: A Region Takes Stock of Its Environment)* (Savard 1989). A waterfall in the cover title illustrates again the central role that flowing water plays in the Québec economy and ecology.

Yet land and water conservation remained unaware of each other. *Pour Que Demain Soit* devotes a chapter to wildlife (*l'exploitation de la faune*), including the "precarious situation of the Atlantic Salmon," and an entire chapter to aluminum production, without mentioning whales or any form of marine life outside the commercial fishery (Savard 1989). The beluga conference proceedings do not include a paper on the provincial Saguenay Park, and the *Ministère de Loisir, Chasse et Pêche* is not listed among the representatives of environmental and socioeconomic groups (*les conférences des organismes environnementaux et socioéconomiques*) (1988). Integrating land and water was the next step, and it would take Québec into Federal territory.

PROTECTION POLICIES

With the terrestrial park in place, the stage was set for development of a marine counterpart. A National Marine Parks Policy had been passed in 1986 and a workshop convened for August 1988 (Graham 1990), and any Federal/provincial agreement was a welcome sign to Ottawa that separatism could be overcome by co-operation. In 1988, Canada and Québec pledged \$2.4 billion over the next ten years to clean up the St. Lawrence and create a sanctuary for the belugas, and began negotiations for the creation of *le parc marin du Saguenay*. A SORECOM study conducted in 1989 reported strong local support for the project: 83% of Saguenay/Lac St. Jean citizens supported the creation of a marine park, 68% wanted it imminently and 70% wished to participate in the development of a management plan. (Dubois 1993). An advisory council of local communities, scientists, the UQCN, and the Coalition

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for the Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park formed early in 1990, and on April 6 of that year, Québec and Canadian governments announced a Federal/provincial agreement for the Saguenay Marine Park and held a joint series of public hearings.

The proposed park is an interagency dream, and a manager's nightmare. "Jurisdictional questions of the Saint Lawrence River would rout the most determined lawyer." (Maltais 1987) As Québec constantly reminds Upper Canada, the Canadian constitution guarantees to the provinces all those rights to resources existing at the time of Confederation; but New France has not forgotten their explorer heritage or the King to whom they owe their first allegiance. "Québec's border was defined by Royal proclamation in 1763 by a line extending from the St. Jean River on the North Shore, past cap des Rosiers on the Gaspé, and passing the eastern extreme of Anticosti Island." (Maltais 1987) Federal agencies claimed jurisdiction too, from Fisheries and Oceans to Transport Canada. This was only the second marine park in Canada; the first, Fathom Five in Georgian Bay, dealt only with fresh water and touched no political boundaries. Some groups wanted to see the new park extend all the way to the south shore of the St. Lawrence; others felt it should stop at the mouth of the estuary. Federal agents could regulate marine mammals, anadromous fish, transportation and navigation, but the province issued passenger permits and controlled timber and mining rights.

Eventually, a working boundary was established of 746 sq km from the mouth of the Saguenay estuary to Cap-à-l'est, just below the left arm of the river at la baie de Ha!Ha!. In the estuary, the park runs from Gros-Cap-à-l'Aigle (east of la Malbaie) to Escoumins, and includes the northern half of the Saint Lawrence River. The province retains jurisdiction over the banks (in the *parc du Saguenay*) and the riverbed, while Federal agencies manage the water column, marine mammals, fisheries and transport. Each government must eventually enact a "mirror law" proclaiming this agreement, which is projected for 1994 or 1995 -- "*si le volonté politique perdure.*"

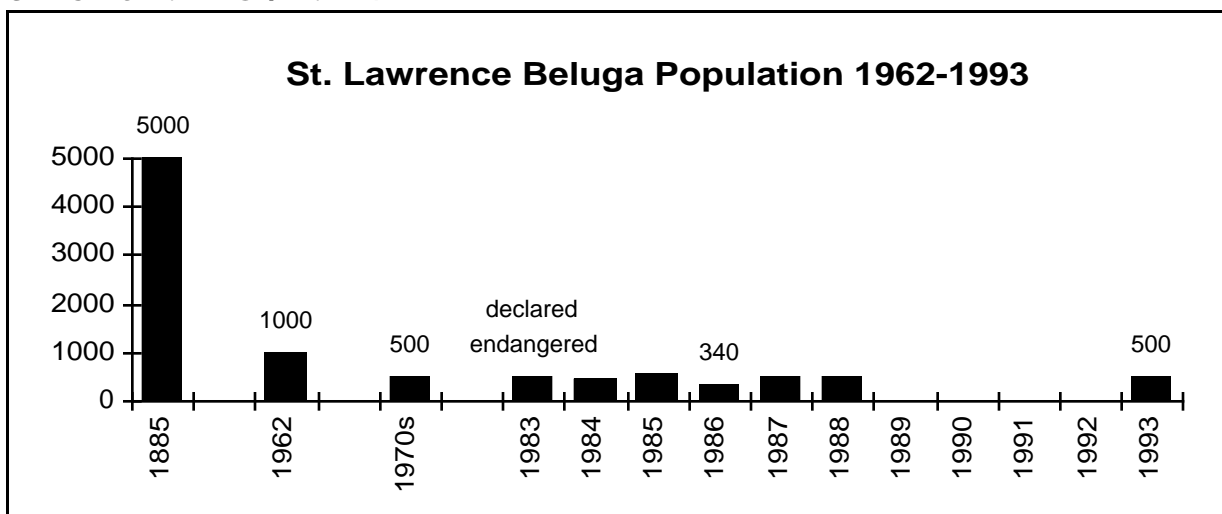
Whether political will will prevail is a big IF in the current political climate, and the Saguenay agreement is first and foremost a child of politics. "It must be understood that the Saguenay marine park is an eminently political affair. The North Shore is Brian Mulroney's country and the Lac St. Jean district that of MLCP Minister Gaston Blackburn. The marine park idea progresses or languishes on the whim of political decisions and the constitutional climate." (Dubois 1993) Availability of funds for such an immense project is a challenge

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in itself, but MLCP officials are confident that the challenge of co-operation will be met. Two national and provincial initiatives provide good foundation for the agreement; in 1990, World Wildlife Fund Canada launched its "Endangered Spaces" campaign which includes provisions for endangered species, with a goal of protecting 12% of Canada's terrain by the year 2000, and in 1993 Québec announced the Saint Lawrence Action Plan as a long-term strategy. With its rich and diverse natural and cultural heritage and strong local support, the Saguenay seems well poised to implement its future as a protected area.

SPECIES IMPROVEMENT



Sources: St. Lawrence Action plan Annual Report 1989-90: "Results for 1988 were compiled from aerial surveys made by Fisheries and Oceans. For prior years, results were taken from the document "Present Information on the status on the population of beluga whales in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and research requirements," Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Scientific Advisory Committee, Fisheries and Oceans." 1993 data from personal communication, Fisheries and Oceans, Québec Region.

The belugas of the Saint Lawrence are holding their own. Populations have risen slightly in the last ten years since the beluga was given endangered status, and surveys are conducted annually. Fisheries and Oceans convened an interdepartmental committee from both Federal and provincial agencies in 1986, and an action plan was proposed jointly with Environment Canada in June 1988. Beluga habitat and biology are less well known than that of Atlantic salmon or alcids, and captive breeding programs or "restocking" are far in the future. Arctic belugas cannot tolerate either the warmer water or the toxic concentrations of the Saint Lawrence, and so the only hope for this small population seems to be to conserve their only known habitat. In the process, the Saguenay may also preserve not only hundreds of other species, a

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spectacular ecoregion and a rich history, but a positive link between Canada and Québec.

CASE STUDY #3: LOWER NORTH SHORE MARINE BIRD CONSERVATION

DESCRIPTION

The Lower North Shore of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence is over 1000 kilometers from Québec City, from road's end at Havre Saint-Pierre to the ferry at the Labrador Straits. Fifteen tiny, isolated communities averaging 350 residents can be reached only by coastal boat, and the primary activity is codfishing. 72% of the region's 5,900 residents are Montaignais, and the remainder are mixed Anglophone (80%) and Francophone (20%). (Blanchard 1988) The Québec-Labrador, as it is known, is a region of barren offshore islands, rocky coastline and boreal forest with minimal support services and few links to the outside world. "Crab and seal fishing, trapping, bird harvesting, and wood gathering are important seasonal activities. Due to the rapid development of improved services, greater availability of imported foods, and increased purchasing power since the 1960s, these subsistence activities no longer function as survival needs; however, they serve as important cultural and recreational activities" (Blanchard 1987).

Seabirds nest in huge colonies on the North Shore islands, and are protected by Canadian federal sanctuaries and international law. Quebec enacted its first law controlling bird and egg harvest in 1851 (Blanchard 1984). Illegal hunting and eggging of alcids, gulls, terns and ducks contributed to the decline of seabird populations, which dropped by up to 84% from 1955 to 1978 (Blanchard 1987). Canadian Wildlife Service biologists reported declines in razorbill (*Alca torda*), puffin (*Fratercula arctica*), common eider (*Somateria mollissima*), common murre (*Uria aalge*), and black guillemot (*Cephus grylle*) (Chapdelaine 1980) in (Blanchard 1987). A survey of Lower North Shore heads of household in 1981 and 1982 reported that "94% of residents believed it was acceptable to harvest seabirds when used for food; 65% did not know that murre were fully protected; 81% favored an open season on murre (Blanchard 1987). The total Lower North Shore annual kill of seabirds and sea ducks (both illegal and legal) was estimated at 98,000 (Blanchard 1984). A subsequent study of children revealed abundant misconceptions about biology, conservation and wildlife laws, and widespread utilitarian attitudes towards seabirds (Hallowell 1985)"

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(Blanchard 1987). When the sanctuary caretaker system was phased out beginning in 1958, conditions at seabird sanctuaries deteriorated, and populations declined from disturbance and overharvest (including bycatch of diving birds in fish nets set too close to sanctuary islands), until two sanctuaries were listed as "abandoned" by 1972. In 1985, there was only one warden for 400 kilometers of coast (Blanchard 1988) .

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

The Canadian Wildlife Service stepped up census research and enforcement in 1978 and 1979, but regulatory management presented challenges on the isolated coast. A nongovernmental education organization, the Québec-Labrador Foundation (QLF), had a history of community service programs on the Lower North Shore, and seabird researcher Kathleen Blanchard had a strong connection with both the birds and the communities so similar to her family's in Newfoundland. In 1977, Blanchard began offering annual youth conservation programs at the bird sanctuary on Saint Mary's Island through QLF. Combining outdoor education and conservation biology, the four-day intensive program taught basic ecological concepts, sanctuary etiquette, and wildlife law. Both children and their parents demonstrated increased knowledge and concern for seabirds, and a gradual change in hunting and eggging behavior over a period of ten years (Blanchard 1988).

In 1978, QLF launched its Marine Bird Conservation Project with the goal of "reducing the threat of illegal harvest in a manner sensitive to the culture and conditions of the coast." (Blanchard 1987) The project's four objectives were:

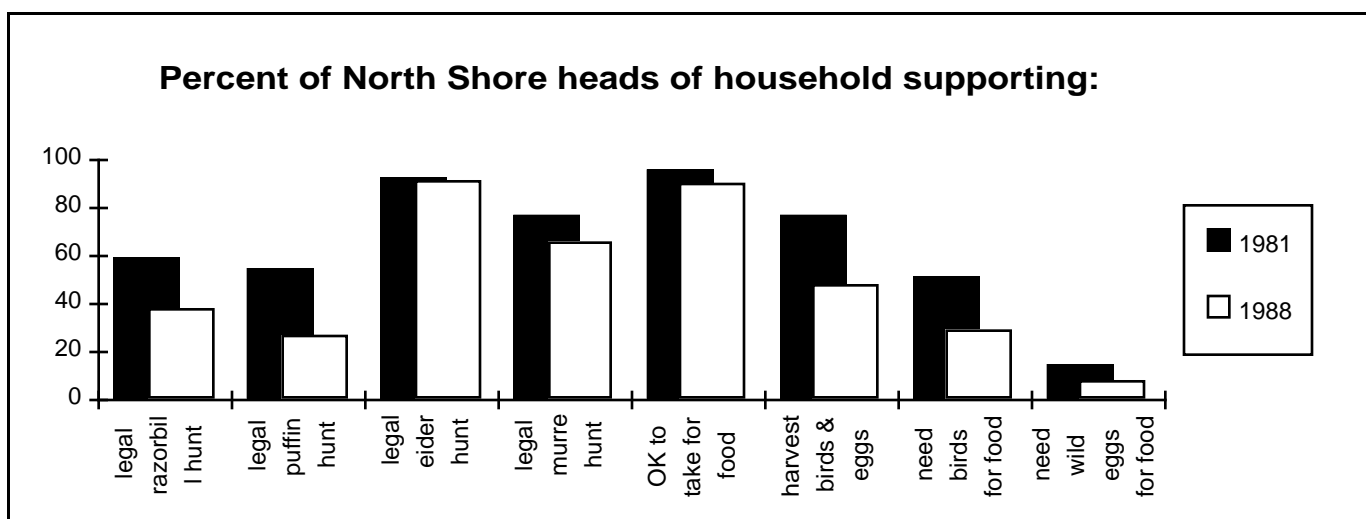
- 1) to teach practical seabird biology and conservation principles;*
- 2) to encourage the development of a conservation ethic;*
- 3) to train residents in conservation leadership; and*
- 4) to build public support for wildlife policies and regulations.*

A broad range of education strategies included production and distribution of posters, slide-tape programs, field guides, elementary school newsletters, calendars, radio programs and a CBC television special, "Home of the Birds." A citizens guide to *Seabird Conservation: It's Up to Us* was distributed along the coast, and the activity book *If I could Only Be a Seabird* is still in demand in local schools.

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The core of the program rests in school and youth programs run by student biologists from Canadian and U.S. universities, which featured poster and poem contests and a community play, *Dreambird/L'oiseau qui rêvait être marin*, developed by Louise Labarre (now Education Director at the Granby Zoo). "In real life, the children were the sons and daughters of poachers; on stage they were seabirds. In practicing their lines at home the players taught their parents about the plight of seabirds and won their support for conservation." (Blanchard 1988) Baseline and followup attitude surveys conducted in 1981 and 1988 showed measurable and significant differences in the attitudes and beliefs of North Shore residents (see chart). The percent who believed it should be legal to hunt alcid species declined, as did the percent who believed it was OK to take seabirds and their eggs for food. The survey also recorded increases in the heads of households' knowledge of wildlife law as measured in correctly stating the legal status of seabird species (Blanchard 1990).



Source: (Blanchard 1990)

PROTECTION POLICIES

Building capacity for local stewardship was an important goal for QLF and the CWS. Meetings for a local wildlife society began in 1983 with a committee of parents, and in 1984 the Culture and Wildlife Society of the Québec North Shore incorporated as the first such citizens' group on the coast. The Society purchased Harrington Harbour's oldest building as a headquarters and heritage museum, and won over \$100,000 in regional and provincial support for refurbishment of this historic house. Another nongovernmental organization,

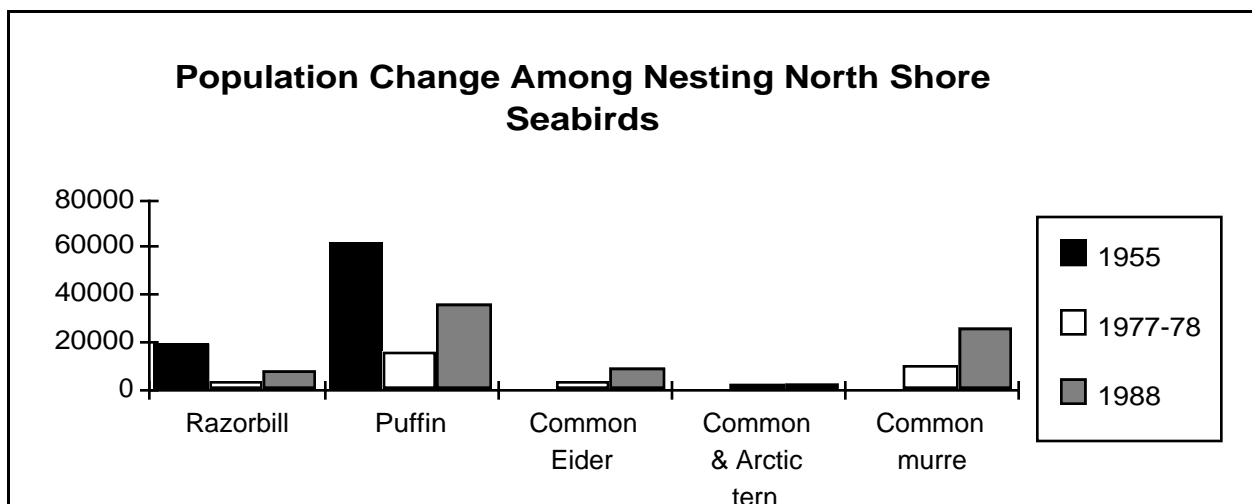
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the Province of Québec Society for the Protection of Birds (PQSPB), collaborated with QLF for study tours of sanctuary islands which resulted in a joint management strategy for the St. Mary's Island lighthouse station. (Blanchard 1990) Though federal and municipal governments had up until now taken the lead in protection strategies, in 1993 a planner from MLCP reported that the province is considering the Harrington-Blanc Sablon area for a provincial park (Roch Allen, interview) under its proposed new system plan, now under development. The MLCP is less aware of conservation activity along the coast than closer to the center of the province, both because the area is so physically isolated and probably also because of the high proportion of native and Anglophone residents. Provincial awareness is increasing, and in the fall of 1993, MLCP staff were proposing to make inquiries regarding QLF's involvement in the development of the proposed park.

SPECIES IMPROVEMENT

Populations of all seabird species nesting in the seabird sanctuaries of the Québec North Shore, most notably the alcids, increased between 1977 and 1988 (see chart). "Populations...have been surveyed (by the Canadian Wildlife Service) on a five-year basis since 1925. The current upswing in population levels for most species is a significant change from the serious declines experienced between 1955 and 1978." (Blanchard 1990)



Sources: (Blanchard 1990) and (Blanchard 1988)

The return of the birds has brought a flock of new objectives for QLF, the Canadian Wildlife Service and local communities. Successful study tours and a

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growing climate for ecotourism has led to examination of the seabirds as a tourism resource, and a 1991 study under the Environmental Partners Fund began to link wildlife conservation with sustainable economic development. QLF led and participated in familiarization study tours for tourism industry leaders, conducted ecotourism workshops, and developed a heritage map of the Labrador Straits. New objectives include enabling local leaders to protect seabirds and develop their local economy through tourism; aid in meeting the organizational and technical needs of local communities; encouraging a partnership approach in conservation and tourism development; and developing tools to document the process of local stewardship in presenting diverse approaches (Zinger 1991). At least six local teenagers now apply for summer jobs in conservation each year, and the demand for the St. Mary's Island youth program has roughly doubled. Membership in the citizen's and youth clubs has grown, and the number of seasonal CWS wardens increased from one to six. Many local students return to work for several summers, and several have pursued careers in conservation (some supported by QLF university scholarships). Parents on the coast universally support the obvious contribution to student employment (Blanchard 1990). This is no small task in fishing communities facing the closure of their way of life. The "Home of the Birds" is the home of human as well as seabird communities, and the one has learned how much each depends on the other.

DISCUSSION

Several key themes emerge from these case studies: the role of nongovernmental organizations, the importance of individual leadership, and a strong focus on wildlife. In each case, the emphasis was initially on a wildlife species, and concern for species evolved into concern for their habitat. In no case did the Federal government take the lead, although they provided strong support to NGOs operating at the community level. Federal agencies played their strongest leadership role in the Saguenay, but without the grassroots campaign to save the belugas AND the independent push for sustainable development at the regional and provincial level, little would have been accomplished. And in all cases, a single individual -- Léone Pippard on the Saguenay, Kathleen Blanchard on the North Shore, and Paul-Robert Dion and Dolores Gagné on the Jacques Cartier -- made a personal commitment to move the cause forward. This focus was critical to success.

Wildlife can be a very useful focus for leveraging support for water resources. In these three cases, an appealing animal -- a salmon, a beluga, a seabird -- was

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presented as an individual to get to know. Learning about the animal involves one in its milieu, and provides a reason for learning more about aquatic habitats and how to protect them. In Québec, wildlife also serves as a bridge between two types of conservationists -- the aesthetically-minded, concerned for landscapes and ecosystems, and the more consumptive recreational user and sportsman. Building these kinds of coalitions is critical to the success of any conservation program, and especially so when the divide tends to fall, as it does in Québec, across a language and culture barrier. In organizing around a common goal, grassroots activists focused less on their differences and more on their common interests.

AN EMERGING VISION

A broader vision for whole-ecosystem conservation is emerging in Québec. The province has a broad array of conservation tools (see chart) available to government agencies and citizen's groups. Federal legislation also covers a wide variety of resource concerns, although it is best implemented in co-operation with the province. Conservationists outside Québec would do well to familiarize themselves with provincial policies and programs, and this report attempts to serve that purpose.

PROVINCIAL STATUTES AFFECTING WILDLIFE AND WATER RESOURCES

Ecological Reserves Act	<i>Loi sur les réserves écologiques</i>	L.R.Q. c.R-26
Endangered Species Act	<i>Loi sur les espèces menacées ou vulnérables</i>	L.R.Q. c. E-12.01
Environmental Quality Act	<i>Loi sur la qualité de l'environnement</i>	L.R.Q. c. Q-2
Forests Act	<i>Loi sur les forêts</i>	L.R.Q. c.F-4.1
Parks Act	<i>Loi sur les parcs</i>	L.R.Q. c. P-9
Public Lands Act	<i>Loi sur les terres du domaine public</i>	L.R.Q. c. T-8.1
Water Regimes Act	<i>Loi sur le régime des eaux</i>	L.R.Q. c.R-13

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Wildlife Act	<i>Loi sur la conservation et la mise en valeur de la faune</i>	L.R.Q. c. C-61.1
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Source: (FrancVert 1992)

Groups are using these tools and others up and down the St. Lawrence. Local land trusts are organizing for private lands stewardship (Marcoux 1993). Fishing and hunting outfitters are exploring ecotourism (Marcoux 1993). New parks are underway at long last at La Malbaie and Gaspésie (Parent 1989; Aubry 1993; Gagné 1993). Citizen's groups are questioning dams and flooding for hydroelectricity on the Ashuapmushuan and Moisie Rivers (P. Jones, pers. comm.). Some are even tackling questions of energy and Québec's long-term "need" for hydroelectric development in organizations like the newly formed *Lumière sur Énergie* (P. Shéard, pers. comm.). Shedding "light on energy," hopes founder Périhan Shéard, will involve Québécois in grassroots action for their energy future and the future of their rivers.

OBSTACLES & CHALLENGES TO CONSERVATION

Three major challenges face conservationists in Quebec. **Resistance to outsiders** throws up a culture barrier of language, evidenced by a MLCP official chatting informally about issues raised during the interview. When asked directly, "Would you be telling me this if we were speaking English?" he replied equally directly and with a smile, "No." Language can be deceptive, especially to Anglophones -- English is so transparent to its speakers (especially in North America) that it is easy to see only the content of a sentence, and not the frame of language that carries it. Sometimes a shift off of the same old ground -- in this case, English -- is needed to find common ground.

Local economic needs, both real and perceived, are strong. Activists protesting a new dam on the Moisie last May were rebuffed by local workmen marching to support the creation of new jobs (Peter Jones, pers. comm.) A key to success on the North Shore was accepting those needs at face value, and working to promote community development through conservation. But economic needs can be seen as cultural artifacts too, stemming from Québec's long history of conquering nature. Guy Bussière, former Parks Director of the MLCP, stated in 1987 that "the Québécois "disinterest" in parks is a cultural phenomenon. "Park-culture" is not yet part of our values." "If we are not yet sensitive to conservation," continued Hélène Ross, "it is that our past as colonists and land-

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clearing pioneers, which still permeates us, makes us see nature as a hostile element against which to do battle." (Germain 1987)

If nature is the enemy, then Hydro-Québec and Alcan are the *preux chevaliers*. An Alcan advertisement on the back cover of FrancVert shows a silver waterfall captioned, "Aluminum: as Québécois as wine is French." (see photo section). Another waterfall softens the background for a photo of Hydro-Québec's president Claude Bouvin saying they've changed. "Hydro-Québec was above all, until the 1980s, a great builder of hydroelectric works. It has now become an enterprise dedicated to customer service." (see photo) The battle of industry's knights to conquer nature, to lay its bounty at the feet of their "*belle province*," rides a horse of **development as nationalism** that blends industry with government in a crescendo of resource exploitation. Could any foreign country have stopped the American frontier during the heyday of Manifest Destiny? Could any American unilaterally deny the creation of Denver or San Francisco? But does appreciating what the frontier has created mean we need to create it over and over?

We need a new paradigm of the human/nature relationship, say the Cree and their supporters (McCutcheon 1991; Richardson 1991). But if this is the most important lesson of James Bay, then the most important point of these case studies is that this new paradigm develops through practice. Change may be planted by outsiders, but it grows within a community. Québec, Hydro-Québec and the Québécois must choose change for themselves. For the leaders and membership of the *Union québécoise pour la conservation de la nature*, that change has already begun.

INCENTIVES TO CONSERVATION

Québec has managed to find some strong incentives to conservation. Its desire to comport itself on a national scene has made the province very sensitive to other nations and their view of its management of transboundary resources. Local pride, that *fierté* so classically Québécois, was evident on every face at the opening of the Jacques Cartier salmon ladder and can be mustered in defence of a local species. Economic dependence on a resource can prove a powerful incentive for conservation, as in the case of the Lower North Shore, and even Federal/provincial politics can give a boost to an interagency agreement like the Saguenay when caught on a rising tide.

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National programs like the Saint Lawrence Action Plan and the Endangered Spaces Campaign are in their infancy -- yet Québec has shown leadership in both areas. Perceptions of the North as a hinterland are inescapable, but this does not invalidate the strong progress for conservation in the south. For river activists from James Bay to Lake Champlain, a focus on wildlife concerns and on the Saint Lawrence -- special species, special spaces and places -- may touch common ground with Québec leaders.

No matter the outcome of the September 12 elections, Quebec, Canada and the United States share a common geography and several common histories. These three case studies present examples of conservation success that achieve their distinctiveness *à la québécoise* from a careful attention to species and their spaces. The return of the salmon to the Jacques Cartier, the beluga to the Saguenay, and the seabirds to the Quebec North Shore can be celebrated by Québécois and *étranger* alike, not merely as triumphs for conservation of natural communities, but as triumphs of co-operation for the human communities who care for them in a culture that values nature.

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