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Exploring Institutions, Governance and Collaboration for Regional Integration of Protected Areas in Québec

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**Exploring Institutions, Governance and Collaboration for Regional Integration of
Protected Areas in Québec**

by

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DISSERTATION

**Submitted to the Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Doctor of Philosophy in Geography
Wilfrid Laurier University**

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The concept of protected areas (PAs) has undergone important changes. The goals and purposes of PAs are to conserve animal and plant species, landscapes and ecological processes and to provide for outdoor recreation opportunities. PA management approaches have also undergone important changes. The once widely accepted doctrines of top-down management have been replaced by management models that include a diversity of actors. In some instances, actors are now sharing governing responsibilities with state representatives while in other instances central government has transferred rights, responsibilities and authority to lower levels of government and non-state actors for the planning and management of PAs.

It is generally accepted that PAs should not be viewed as separate entities or ‘islands’ within their region. PAs are connected to their region through ecological processes, social interactions and economic activities. The process of regional integration is heavily influenced by contextual factors such as history, economy, governance and biophysical environments and individual actors’ ability to listen, respect others and compromise. In this study, regional integration is defined as a complex process that incorporates PA staff and regional actors through formal and informal institutional mechanisms in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities through the sharing of individual and shared goals.

Approaches to PA management focus on understanding the institutions, both formal and informal, and governance processes that guide relationships between PAs and regional actors. These were examined with the goals to improve management practices and to contribute to the theory of regional integration of PAs. This qualitative study adopted a social constructivist epistemology, case study methodology and triangulated research methods (interviews, document analysis, participant observations and journaling). Three case studies located in the Province of

Québec were selected: Mauricie Region, Saguenay Region, and Gaspésie Region. Additional site visits were also scheduled in Québec City and Montreal with large environmental non-government organizations and government officials. A total of 96 semi-structured interviews were completed with 99 actors from provincial and federal park and protected area agencies, provincial ministries, First Nations, resource industries, ENGOs and individual citizens.

Each case study had both formal and informal institutions shaped by the regional contexts for integration and communication between PA staff and regional actors. The Mauricie region demonstrated a strong link between different regional actors in the PA planning process. Many participants indicated that there was almost no integration between the La Mauricie National Park and regional actors. The Gaspésie region had multiple perspectives regarding regional integration. Many participants indicated a positive shift regarding the way in which Forillon National Park staff interact with regional actors and attribute this to new mechanisms implemented by park staff to communicate with them. Gaspésie National Park faces challenges regarding information sharing and regional perspectives towards the park. The Saguenay region demonstrated positive long-standing regional integration mechanisms, mostly focused around the marine park, but participants also indicate a change for the better regarding the SEPAQ parks and the forestry industry.

The conceptual framework developed to conduct this study allowed for the examination and explanation of the complex process of regional integration. Regional integration for PAs changes over time and is heavily influenced by individual actors and contextual factors such as institutional histories. Regional integration requires both formal and informal institutions that are capable of operating simultaneously at different scales in order to provide or increase resilience and adaptability of management and planning exercises. Trust between actors is a pre-requisite

for successful regional integration. Since most decision-making occurs through compromises between actors, trust building ensures that there are no perceived ulterior hidden motivations, allowing for a redistribution of decision making powers between actors. Successful regional integration requires that actors participate in decision-making processes from a strategic-level as this ensures that decisions regarding what should be done and how to proceed can properly be reached.

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Dedication

A ma mère Carole Buteau et mon père Cyriel Duitschaever

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List of Acronyms

AR: Aquatic Reserve
BAPE: Bureau d'Audience Public sur l'Environnement/Office of Public Participation on the Environment
BEAR: Bonaventure Estuary Aquatic Reserve
CBD: Convention on Biological Diversity
CCWR: Chic-Choc Wildlife Reserve
CDLGS: Conseil de l'Eau Gaspésie Sud/Water Council of South Gaspésie
CEC: Commission for Environmental Cooperation
CEF: Consortium en Forestry/Forestry Consortium
COSEWIC: Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada
SNAP: Société Pour la Nature et les Parcs/ Parks and Nature Society
CRE: Conférence Régionale des Élus/Regional Conference of Elected Officers
DU: Ducks Unlimited
ENGO: Environmental Non-Government Organization
ET: Equivalent Territories
FFQ: Fondation de la Faune du Québec/Québec Wildlife Foundation
FN: First Nations
FNP: Forillon National Park
FPO: For-Profit Organizations
GNP: Gaspésie National Park
GREMM: Group de Recherche sur les Mammifères Marins/Research Group on Marine Mammals
IBP: International Biological Program
IBRPNP: Île Bonaventure and Rocher Percé National Park
IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature
LDCPZ: Legal Designated Caribou Protection Zone
LMNP: La Mauricie National Park
MDDEFP: Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment, Fauna and Parks
MNR: Ministry of Natural Resources
MTCP: Ministère du Tourisme, Chasse et Pêche/Ministry of Tourism, Fishing and Hunting
MVNP: Monts-Valin National Park
NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement
NQ: Nature Québec
OBVS: Organisme de Bassin Versant du Saguenay/Saguenay Watershed organization
PA: Protected Area
PC: Parks Canada
PTNP: Point-Taillon National Park
QC: Québec
RMC: Regional Municipal Counties
SEPAQ: Société des Établissements de Plein Air du Québec/ Québec Outdoor Recreation and Establishment Organization
SFNP: Saguenay Fjord National Park
SSLMP: Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park
TNC: The Nature Conservancy

WSSD: World Summit on Sustainable Development

ZEC: Zone d'Exploitation Contrôlée/ Controlled Exploitation Zones

1.0 Introduction

Chapter 1 of this thesis contains seven sections. First, the purpose and rationale of this thesis are provided. Second, an overview of the concept of regional integration is provided. Third, the research goal and questions are presented. Fourth, an introduction to the literature is presented. Fifth, is a brief introduction to the research methods and case studies. Sixth, an overview of research contributions is provided. The chapter concludes by providing a brief summary of the following nine chapters.

1.1 Purpose and Rationale

Protected areas (PAs) serve many purposes. They are historical and current symbols of institutions that reflect the ideologies of the state (Kopas, 2007; Chape et al., 2005; Dearden and Rollins, 2009); they are instruments of economic, social policy and development providing for the well-being of the citizens within respective jurisdictions (national, provincial, regional) (Van Sickle and Eagles, 1998; Stynes and Sun, 2003; Eagles, 2002); they serve as instruments of environmental policy by selectively protecting specific landscapes (Terborgh and vanSchaik, 2002); they serve various educational and scientific purposes (Bushell and Eagles, 2007); they represent a type of humanized landscape (Phillips, 2003); they serve as examples of sustainable development (Wallner, Bauer and Hunziker, 2007); they provide extensive outdoor recreation opportunities (Kopas, 2007; Moos, 2002); and they are social constructs that preserve and maintain natural and ecological landscapes and processes (Kopas, 2007).

According to Stynes and Sun (2003), Boyd (2003) and McNamee (2003), a primary reason for the creation of PAs such as national and provincial parks is to aid in the protection of natural and cultural resources in order to ensure the availability of these resources for future generations. By doing so, PAs have the joint mission of protecting resources while also providing for public

use. As such, PAs can also serve as important economic players at regional, national and international levels (Stynes and Sun, 2003; Eagles, 2002). This notion of protecting the environment while also providing for public use has been a major justification for the establishment of PAs across North America since the creation of Yellowstone and Banff National Parks (Stynes and Sun, 2003).

While past autocratic approaches to PA creation and management/s provided many benefits such as landscape preservation, as well as tourism and outdoor recreation (MacEachern, 2001), they have also caused social and political conflict (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997), poverty (Geisler, 2003) and expropriation (McNeely, Harrison and Dingwall, 1994). Government-owned PAs face external threats including, but not limited to, the growing human population (McNeely, 1995), the rise in poverty levels (Barret et al., 2001), an increased competition for and exploitation of natural resources (McNeely, 1995), difficulties in government land purchases or transfers (Rosset, 2010; Campbell and Thomas, 2002), and environmental and climate change (Lemieux et al., 2010). As a consequence, the primary focus for PAs has shifted towards ecological goals, landscape representation, regional integration and sustainable development (Boyd, 2003; Stynes and Sun, 2003; Sportza, 2003) while continuing to provide outdoor recreation opportunities (Eagles, McCool and Haynes, 2002; Stolton, Dudley and Kun, 2010). These new approaches to PA management and clashes between protection priorities and human needs and aspirations have resulted in a noticeable broadening of governance. As a result, various societal actors are now sharing governing responsibilities with state representatives, while in other instances central government has transferred rights, responsibilities and authority to lower levels of government and non-state actors (Alcorn, Luque and Valenzuela, 2003)¹. Such approaches to PA development include private initiatives (Dudley et al., 1999a), co-management

¹ Although now more common, older examples of such approaches do exist: the creation of the Niagara Parks commission in 1885, or the

initiatives (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1999) and trans-boundary initiatives (Hamilton et al., 1996). Although presented independently here, these approaches often function in conjunction, to varying degrees, with one another. These new PA approaches are complex and require innovative changes in institutions and governing processes whereby various levels of governments and other societal actors collaborate and integrate management practices in order to meet organizational objectives.

Although national and state/provincial PAs were once believed by some to provide adequate protection for fauna and flora, studies from the global, (Rodrigues et al., 2004), regional (Cowling and Pressey, 2003) and sub-national (Margules and Pressey, 2000) perspectives have demonstrated that in some instances, these systems can contain low levels of landscape diversity and may not represent all ecosystem types found within the political jurisdiction in the PA system (Vasarhelyi and Thomas, 2006). The creation of government-based PAs has been opportunistic, leading to an uneven distribution and representation of ecological features (Pressey et al., 1993; Pressey, 1994; Beresford and Phillips, 2000). Vasarhelyi and Thomas (2006) argue that although various Park Acts (e.g. Canada National Parks Act) were established to regulate activities within parks, there is often no provision for land management adjacent to the PA. Landry, Thomas and Nudds (2001) and Campbell and Thomas (2002) illustrated the inability, in terms of land area, of current National Parks within Canada to protect and preserve the present and future flora and fauna occurring within them due to their relatively small size and lack of connectivity with other PAs. These authors state federal PAs require various cooperative agreements with other government-owned PAs, land owners and with environmental non-government organizations (ENGOS) and for-profit sectors to increase the connectivity between PAs. This, therefore, can only be achieved through the development of

integrative management practices between regional actors. For this study, regional actors are defined as an individual or organization that is involved in an action or process with regards to PA planning, management or governance (see section 1.2 and 2.1).

It is increasingly being recognized within the literature that various types of PA systems need to collaborate and integrate planning and management with one another in order to effectively achieve their mandates and organizational objectives (Weddell, 2002; Kothari, 2006). The need for collaboration is not only directed at joint agency cooperation, but also at players within other sectors of society such as ENGOs, the private for-profit sector, indigenous people and local communities in the PA regions. Doing so can create a robust system of PAs as many actor groups will be actively involved in the governance of these areas (Kothari, 2006). A balanced approach to PA planning and management needs to encourage as many institutional players as possible to participate in decision-making processes. In turn, these decision-making processes must be designed to address and overcome different perspectives in order to be successful (McNeely, 1999; Brockington et al., 2008). Extensive participation contributes to credible and acceptable (i.e. longer lasting) rules which identify and assign corresponding responsibilities (Costanza and Ruth, 2001). When actors do not contribute to institutional development and maintenance, the likelihood of achieving planning and management goals and practices, and governance, is significantly reduced (Sengupta, Sheladia and Ostrom, 2001; Eagles et al., 2010). The institutional structure, governance processes and rules for collaboration between the various actors are complex as they function at many horizontal and vertical scales and across multiple disciplines (Kothari, 2006). Due to this level of complexity, creating a collaborative management framework for the furthering of PAs within a specific jurisdiction is difficult, as how governance processes and management function amongst actors in PA regions

is currently poorly understood (Kothari, 2006). Therefore, a better understanding of institutional arrangements (i.e. social science focus) for regional integration processes between PA systems and regional actors is required.

In Canada, and more specifically in Québec, multiple types of PAs, such as national parks (Federal and Provincial²), conservation reserves, and private PAs exist. All these PA systems function under differing types of management and governing institutions which then dictate their roles, mandates and planning principles. This in turn affects the roles that these PAs play for the people of Québec, Canada and internationally, and to a greater extent the species and ecosystems that these areas are designed to protect. Many of these PAs are managed differently from one-another and often operate within the confines of their agency due to the institutional and political jurisdictions in which they function. Certain types of PAs (e.g. National Parks) follow the dual mandate of protecting the natural flora and fauna and the ecological systems in which they are found while also providing for public recreational use.

Although there is a broad literature on PA development and management processes, and an emerging literature on PA governance, predominantly within English Canada, there appears to be relatively few publicly available non-government produced documents that focus on the social components of the development, institutional structures, governance or management for PAs within the Province of Québec.

Recent PA development in Québec has focused on 1) expanding the number of PAs (both publicly and privately managed), 2) the manner in which these are managed (government, private, co-management), and 3) increasing the connectivity between PAs (Québec, 2015a) (see section 4.2. for an overview of current PA systems in the province). Therefore, planning and

² The Province of Québec refers to parks within their provincial system as 'National Parks' as they fall within the IUCN category II of National Park.

management of PAs now includes a diversity of actors involved in various integrative management processes creating complex governance approaches. However, little attention has been given to understanding the social components and institutions that guide such processes.

Smith, Muir, Walpole et al., (2003) observed a causal relationship between the quality of governance within a PA management framework and the quality of biodiversity conservation measures. Therefore, the lack of documentation outlining the development of Québec's PAs, the various institutions that shaped this system and the development of governance structures is troublesome. It is difficult to conduct social science research focusing on governance, policy or institutional change within a PA system without first having some understanding of the changes, current institutions and factors that have shaped and influenced that system (Kopas, 2007). According to Kopas (2007), "to understand more fully the various influences on policy, it is essential to understand how changes in policy making context affect the ways in which institutions, ideas, and interest may come to bear on policy decisions" (pg. 19). Given the very limited research on Québec PA governance, the manner in which planning and management is integrated between PA systems, the unique elements of the Québec government and political system, and the significance of Québec's diverse mix of natural PAs, a better understanding of the history, development, and institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration of current Québec PA systems could have practical and theoretical benefits to the broader PA and environmental studies literature.

1.2 Introduction to Regional Integration

Regional integration for the management and planning of PAs is inherently a social process. As illustrated above, for PAs to effectively meet conservation and protection goals, they can no longer operate within the confines of singular agencies. Rather, management and

planning must be integrated between different PA systems and with regional actors near these PAs. Regional integration promotes an approach to PA management and planning that incorporates regional actors in the sharing of information and decision-making processes concerning the PAs and adjacent land uses, thus building regional support and awareness. This in turn ensures that regional actors are cognizant of PA management challenges and take these into consideration when planning land use activities falling outside the PA jurisdiction (see section 2.1 for a definition and discussion of regional integration concepts).

The concept of regional integration is inter-disciplinary, drawing from bodies of literature such as conservation biology (e.g. Aengst, 1999; Worboys, 2010), regional planning (e.g. Alpert, 1996; Slocombe and Danby, 2006), participatory planning (e.g. Lockwood, 2010a; Diduck, 2004), common property and stewardship (e.g. Scherl and Edwards, 2007), ecosystem management (e.g. Costanza et al, 2001a), and market demand (e.g. Mayer et al., 2010). Regional integration focuses on the social relationships associated with the above bodies of literatures. For example, many studies based within conservation biology or landscape ecology domains (e.g. Minor and Urban (2008), Galpern, Manseau and Fall (2011), and Rayfield, Fortin and Fall, (2011) highlight the need to increase connectivity between PAs, but fail to analyze the social components required for this to occur. This thesis contributes to our understanding of this social component. Theoretical underpinnings for regional integration come from complex system theory (e.g. Meadows, 2008), environmental and park governance (e.g. Jessop, 2003; Worboys, Winkler and Lockwood, 2006), and institutions (e.g. Young, 2002a; Eagles, 2009). There is a perceivable lack of research which focuses on understanding how regional integration processes function between different park systems and regional actors in Canada. Regional integration focuses on the social relationships associated with the above bodies of literatures. For example, studies such as Worboys (2010), Luque, Saura and Fortin (2012), Woodley (2010) based in the

conservation biology literature highlight the need to increase connectivity between PAs, but fail to analyze the social components required for this to occur. This thesis contributes to our understanding of these social components.

1.3 Research Goal and Questions

The goal of this research is to describe and analyse institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the regional integration of planning and management exercises amongst PAs in Québec. The objectives are to gain a better understanding of how different types of PAs interact with each other and relevant actors, and to increase theoretical and practical understandings of new institutions and governance approaches for PA planning and management. In order to understand these institutional arrangements and governance approaches for planning, management and regional integration, four specific research questions were asked:

1. How has the PA system in Québec developed in the last 50 years reflecting influences such as politics, environmental policies, historical developments and involvement of non-state actors?
2. What are the current institutional arrangements and governance approaches for interactions in terms of planning and management between various types of PAs, and their surrounding regions within Québec?
3. How have interactions between PAs and surrounding regions in Québec affected overall PA development?
4. What does our understanding about the development and current functioning of the Québec system of PAs contribute to current academic discussions on institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the integration of PA planning and management between PA systems?

1.4 Introduction to the Literature

As described in the preceding section, the concept of regional integration is inherently a social process where the only way to effectively link management goals and objectives between different PA systems and between PAs and regional actors and land use planning systems is through the crafting of institutions operating at the proper scale and designed to address specific problems and goals. Authors such as Dudley, Hockings, and Stolton (1999a), and McNeely, Lockwood, and Chapman (2006) have emphasized that an approach to regional integration must be grounded within regional contexts, and that building regional support for PAs is of crucial importance to their survival (Eagles, McCool, and Haynes, 2002; Eagles et al. 2010). Therefore, obtaining a better understanding of specific institutions for regional integration of PAs can contribute to developing better modes of governance leading to more robust PA systems.

The concept of regional integration cannot be grounded within an individual discipline; the concept is interdisciplinary drawing on theory from the fields of human ecology, regional planning, resource management and landscape ecology as noted above, focusing on the social components, as well as theory from the fields of public participation (e.g. Diduck, 2004; Reed, 2008; Stolton, 2010; Walner et al., 2007), complex systems (e.g. Costanza et al., 2001a; Meadows, 2008; Kay, 2008; Francis, 2008), environmental and PA governance (e.g. Rhodes, 1996; Jessop, 2003; Sorensen and Torfing, 2007; Francis, 2003, 2008; Hanna, Clark and Slocombe, 2007; Lockwood, 2010a), and environmental and PA institutions (e.g. Berkes, 2002; Graham et al., 2003; Eagles, 2008, 2009; Hogden, 2006; Young, 2002a, 2008). These theoretical underpinnings of regional integration are further explored in Chapter 2. Although facets of this concept have been explored in and around PAs located in developing countries, and outside of the PA literature (e.g. resource management), less attention has been given to exploring this

concept within North America, the types of institutional mechanisms in place for regional integration between PA systems, and how regional actors are included in this process.

1.5 Introduction to Research Design and Methods

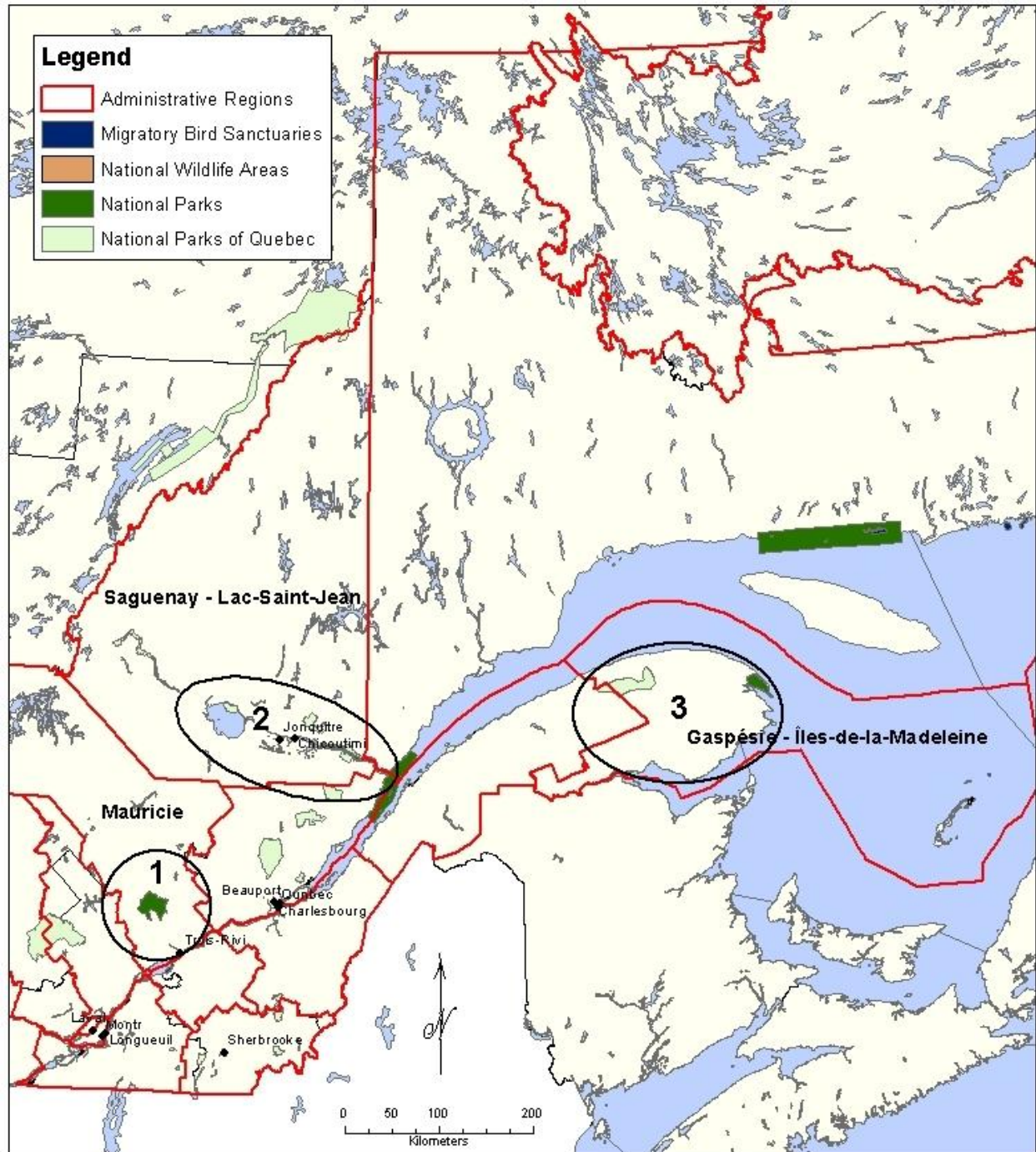
It is beyond the realm of this study to examine how management practices are integrated between various PA systems for the entire Province of Québec. Therefore, three case studies, which provide a diverse representation of PAs in terms of ownership, size, type, historical development and governance approaches, have been selected for this study. Each case study is further discussed and justified in section 3.4.

This study employed a qualitative approach grounded in a social constructivist epistemology to examine regional integration processes in three case studies. Three national or provincial PAs and their regions were selected as case studies for this research³. These are 1) La Mauricie National Park Region, 2) Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park Region, and 3) Gaspésie National Park and Forillon National Park Region (Figure 1).

In order to meet the research goal and to answer the research questions, the three case studies were selected in order to provide a more holistic understanding of institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration of PAs and, to allow for comparisons to be made between case studies.

Additionally, these case studies have important provincial PA development programs; existing political rifts between the provincial and federal government in terms of National Park creation and management; important First Nation (FN) presence; and influences from economic sectors such as forestry which have had and continue to affect PA planning and management.

³ Originally, Gaspésie and Forillon National Parks were treated separately but due to similarities between these two parks and results from interviews, they were grouped together and treated as one large case study region. Further explanations are provided in Chapter 5.



(P. Schaus. (2015). WLU, GES.)

Figure 1. General Location of Case Studies

Multiple methods for data collection were employed in this research. Chapter 3 provides a detailed explanation of the methods and how they come together to answer the research questions and research goals.

The main methods include:

- i. Literature review focused on regional integration, public participation, systems theory, environmental and PA governance and, institutions theory and PA institutions;
- ii. Review of government and private sector documents;
- iii. Semi-structured interviews with key informants related to PAs and regional integration (N=99)
- iv. Participant observation during PA planning and management meetings
- v. Journaling

1.6 Research Contributions

This study provides new insights regarding how provincial PAs in Québec are created and managed; identifies institutional arrangements and mechanisms, both formal and informal, for regional integration between PA systems and with regional actors; discusses challenges regarding neoliberal approaches to PA governance and management; compares and contrasts research results to the broader institutions and governance literature; and provides new insights taking into consideration the role and effect of contextual factors in shaping regional integration.

1.7 Overview of Chapters

The next 9 chapters of this thesis are structured in a way that allows me to answer my four research questions. Chapter 2 presents a literature review focused on eight main areas relevant to the research: regional integration, public participation and regional integration,

systems thinking, governance, institutions, and management approaches to regional integration of PAs, conceptual framework, and conclusion. These informed the development of the conceptual framework that guided the research and is discussed in detail at the end of this chapter. Chapter 3 presents the researcher's epistemology and describes the methodology and research methods, and justifies the use of qualitative methods, data sources, data analysis procedures, researcher bias, and limitations. Chapter 4 presents background information on the development of PAs in the Province of Québec. Chapter 5 presents the results from interviews conducted with senior government and ENGO officials located in Québec City or Montreal. Chapter 6, 7 and 8 present the results from each of the case studies. Each results chapter provides a description of contextual factors, the results of participant interviews and a summary of formal and informal institutional mechanisms for regional integration. Chapter 9 returns to the research goals, questions and conceptual framework and discusses these from the context of the results. Chapter 10 provides a summary of the thesis, examines the contributions made to the academic literature and contributions for policy, and makes recommendations for future research. Final thoughts regarding the main contributions of the thesis and the research process conclude this chapter and the thesis.

2.0 Literature Review

This chapter contains the literature review. The chapter is divided into 8 sub-sections: 1) regional integration; 2) participation and regional integration; 3) complex systems; 4) governance; 5) institutions; 6) management approaches to regional integration of PAs; 7) conceptual framework; and 8) chapter conclusion.

2.1 Regional Integration

The relationships between both individual PA systems (e.g. between National Parks Systems and Provincial Park Systems or between a Provincial Park System and a Private Reserve) and surrounding regions is of crucial importance, as state-owned PAs alone cannot protect all biodiversity (Landry, Thomas and Nudds, 2001; Slocombe and Dearden, 2009; Worboys, 2010; Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003). Beginning in the 1980s and taking prominence in the 1990s, research on PAs acknowledged the importance of managing for ecological integrity⁴. Current practices of ecosystem management of PAs recognize: 1) conservation of the connectivity of lands between various PAs to preserve ecological processes; 2) conservation of the connectivity of lands between PAs and surrounding landscape areas to preserve ecological processes; 3) consideration of activities that occur at spatial and temporal scales beyond traditional management methods; and, 4) incorporation of human values into the use of the landscape (Woodley, 1997, 2009, 2010; Worboys, 2010).

Foundations for regional integration of planning and management of PAs are based on numerous sources of knowledge (Table 1). Regional integration focuses on approaches to PA planning and management that are regional in scope by including various PA systems and

⁴ Although the concept of ecological integrity began to be widely adopted during this time period in management and planning processes, the idea is not new. Ecosystem management in PAs was discussed as early as 1932 (Woodley, 1997).

regional actors⁵ through informal and formal participation and decision-making processes to achieve and integrate regional PA planning and management (Dudley et al., 1999b; Worboys, 2010). Regional integration can lead to a better understanding of social relationships that influence the outcomes and impacts of land use on ecological/spatial systems.

⁵Actors can include but are not limited to industry sector, ENGOs and local community members and general public.

Table 1. Selected Contribution to Regional Planning and Management for Protected Areas and Conservation

Theory	Contribution to Regional Planning for Protected Areas and Conservation	Selected References
Ecological Science/Conservation Biology	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Large, buffered, connected reserve network required to meet conservation goals such as biodiversity conservation, maintaining ecological and evolutionary processes.• Upwards of 25 to 75 percent of any given area may require some degree of protection• Surrounding areas, not just core reserves, must be considered in planning and management	Aengst, (1999), Bakkar and Lockwood, (2006), Chape et al., (2005), Irwin and Andrew, (2000), Worboys, (2010).
Regional Planning and Bioregional Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Wilderness is an essential element of the regional mosaic• Importance given to human/nature relationship, and balance between ecology and socioeconomic factors• Regional approaches help to address problems outside strict protected area boundaries• Community involvement in Planning and Management decision-making	Alpert (1996), Beresford and Phillips, (2000), Danby and Slocombe, (2002), Rodrigues et al., (2004), Schonewald-Cox et al., (1992), Slocombe and Danby, (2006),
Participatory Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Development of approaches to improve planning and decision-making in complex environments such as when planning for sustainability and ecological integrity	Chess and Purcell, (1999), Diduck, (2004), Gunton and Day, (2003), Lockwood, (2010a), Mitchell et al., (2002).
Common Property and Stewardship	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Understanding cultural capital- how societies interact with, and manage, their environments.• Alternative approaches that may help complement and support traditional protected areas, such as extending conservation activities outside of protected areas boundaries	Agrawal and Gibson, (1999), Anderson and Ribot, (1999), Berkes, (2004), Brechin et al., (2002), Collins (2005), Ostrom, (1990), Scherl and Edwards, (2007).
Ecosystem Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Process of managing and understanding the interaction of biophysical and socioeconomic environments within regional systems- of understanding the human/nature relationship• Emphasizes the need to focus on large-scale, system wide perspectives to achieve goals such as ecological integrity, biodiversity conservation, and sustainability	Agee and Johnson, (1988), Berkes and Folke, (1998), Costanza et al, (2001a), Grumbine, (1994, 1997), Imperial, (1999), Slocombe (1993, 1998).
Market demand	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Parks, by acting as a tourism destination, can serve as an important economic driver to the region in which they are located	Mayer et al., (2010), De Lacy and Whitmore, (2006), Eagles and McCool, (2000), Moisey, (2000).

Essentially, regional integration of PA planning and management is a social process. As a process, it examines the manner in which various PA systems and other actors work with each

other, through both formal or informal institutional arrangements and governance processes to achieve some level of integration for the planning and management of PAs. Therefore, regional integration is the incorporation of multiple actors in the planning and management of a specific PA region (Dudley et al., 1999a, b; McCleave, 2008; Saunier and Meganck, 1995). The concept of regional integration can be defined as:

The manner in which various protected area agencies and relevant actors engage and interact through both formal and informal institutions in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities and challenges for the integration of protected area goals and objectives^{6,7}.

Recent development of PA systems takes into consideration ecological processes and threats originating outside PAs (Margules and Pressey, 2000), the application of gap analysis (Rodrigues et al., 2004) and biodiversity hot spot analysis (Lamoureux et al., 2006), the understanding of local community support or demands and the need to include them in planning and management of PAs to ensure long-term effectiveness and viability of PAs (Mitchell et al., 2002), market or financial demand for PAs to serve as economic drivers (De Lacy and Whitmore, 2006) and the need for inter-agency cooperation to facilitate creation of networks for PAs (Worboys, 2010; Vasarhelyi and Thomas, 2006). Central to the concept of regional integration for PA planning and management is actor participation. This is further examined below.

⁶ Adapted from McCleave (2008).

⁷ This is the author's definition of regional integration for protected areas. This term and its applicability as a concept to this study is further examined in the forthcoming sections.

2.1.1 Participation and Regional Integration

The new multi-level governance approaches to PA systems are complex, uncertain, multi-scale, and affect and include a diversity of actors and agencies through complex processes, requiring transparent decision-making which is flexible and embraces a diversity of knowledge and values (Reed, 2008; Stolton, 2010). In many instances, civil society actors demand a greater role in decision-making processes affecting PAs; the role of ENGOs and the private sector in managing PAs or some aspect of them has increased, often in partnership with government. In some cases, the classic, state-based model has been augmented and in others replaced by diverse forms of often complex co-management and partnership arrangements and delegated authority (Lockwood, 2010a, b; Gunton and Day, 2003). Some authors have attributed changes in governance to a decline in public confidence in the processes that generate policy decisions and to a reduced trust in those creating the policies (Goodwin, 1998; Rowe and Frewer, 2004). Others have attributed these changes to an organizational realization that the inherent complexity of conservation and development efforts requires more capacity than any single organization can provide (Berkes, 2004; Selin and Chavez, 1995). This has resulted in broad organizational collaboration and integrated initiatives creating both mutual benefits and challenges for involved parties (Brechin et al., 2003a; Selin and Chavez, 1995). In the context of PAs, participation is understood as the special relationship between social actors and the spheres of decision-making (Goodwin, 1998).

Participation is central to planning and management of complex systems due to the large number of actors involved in and impacted by decision-making processes. Through local participation, the long-term viability of institutional arrangements for regional integration can be increased (Alcorn et al., 2003; Eagles et al., 2002; Diduck, 2004; Reed, 2008; Madill, 2003).

Participatory and social learning approaches emphasize dialogue, mutual learning, continual evolution of ideas, problem definition and access to information and understanding that fall outside scientific realms (Reed, 2008). These approaches instil a sense of ownership in decision-making processes, and facilitate implementation (Diduck, 2004; Mitchell, 2002). Such approaches enable individuals, communities and organizations to identify appropriate techniques for reaching decisions and to navigate through the complexities of socio-ecological interactions (Schwass, 2004). Local participation can thus provide a balanced perspective relative to an issue (Dearden, 2004; Madill, 2003; Mitchell, 2002).

There are many people and organizations that may contribute to or be affected by decisions and a distinction should be made between an active and inactive public (Diduck, 2004). The active public normally includes industry associations (e.g. tourism board, forestry associations), ENGOs and other organized groups that are devoted to resource and environmental issues and that actively participate in diverse management functions including planning, research and policy development (Diduck, 2004; Hallahan, 2000). The inactive public does not typically become actively involved in social or environmental issues for various reasons: work and home obligations; absence of information; insufficient resources; as well as shortage of opportunity or perceived impact on the decision-making process (Diduck, 2004; Hallahan, 2000; Mitchell, 2002). Managers working with an active public and trying to engage the inactive public focus on actors, defined as individuals or groups that are directly affected by or who have an interest in a decision, or who have legal responsibility and authority relative to the decision(s) being made (Mitchell, 2002). Participation can thus represent a redistribution of power from managers to the public, although the degree or amount of power being redistributed can vary (e.g. Arnstein, 1969; Wight, 2004).

Within the context of regional integration, processes and techniques often vary amongst actors and are a reflection of differing levels of power held. Governance processes and institutions (both formal and informal) can create or stabilize expectations for all involved actors. The notion of crafting institutions for collaboration is often discussed in term of ‘regimes’. Young (1989) defines a regime as “social institutions governing the actions of those involved in specifiable actions. They may be more or less formally articulated and may or may not be accompanied by explicit organizations.” (pp. 12-13). This definition refers to the proactive construction of rules and norms that regulate collective action for a specific objective. The regime structures then will stem from rights and rules that establish hierarchical relationships among actors and give responsibilities to regime participants (Brechin et al., 2003a).

Participation processes and partnerships can be established at different times during planning and management of complex PAs. Mitchell (2002), Diduck (2004) and Smith (1982) suggested that participation in planning processes can occur at three levels: the ‘normative’ level where participants determine what should be done, the ‘strategic’ level where participants determine what can be done, and, the ‘operational’ level where participants determine what will be done. Most public participation processes occur at the operational level. However, participatory processes should include the public in the normative and strategic level. Doing so allows management and planning approaches for complex PAs to have better levels of acceptance (Reed, 2008; Smith, 1982). These processes are often referred to as collaborative planning and management approaches (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Gunton and Day, 2003). Such approaches are often justified on the premise that they create a more open and transparent process and promote better equity between participants (Gunton and Day, 2003; Selin and Chavez, 1995). When all participants are involved in defining problems and identifying

solutions, especially at the normative and strategic stages, they are more likely and willing to accept the proposed recommendations (Mitchell, 2002). Although public participation is essential in planning and management of complex PAs, associated processes can generate many challenges.

2.1.1.1 Challenges for Participation and Regional Integration

Although participation and collaboration are important in planning and managing complex PAs, there are substantial institutional and circumstantial obstacles (Lockwood, 2010b). The relationships between PA agencies and other actors can affect planning and management goals and outcomes. In some situations, institutional culture within many agencies often hinders collaboration (Selin and Chavez, 1995). In other instances, governments and related sub-agencies often do not have the formal institutional capacity to develop collaborative agreements with other agencies (Prato and Fegre, 2005). When collaboration does occur, it is often of a voluntary nature. This has been highly criticized on the premise that no legal recourse is available if compliance does not occur between one or more parties (Campbell and Thomas, 2002; Shafer, 1999; Vasarhelyi and Thomas, 2006). Danby and Slocombe (2002, 2005) observed that intergovernmental cooperation can succeed for single issues and specific resources but more comprehensive projects often have little success. Poor institutional fit, improper scales of operation and inherent organizational complexity have often been limiting factors for the development of such initiatives (Brown, 2003; Chester, 2003; Selin and Chavez, 1995).

A response to failures of past top-down approaches to PA management has been to develop and incorporate community-based and multi-level approaches to planning and management (Alpert, 1996; Berkes, 2004; Lockwood, 2010a; Wilhusen et al., 2003). When government recognizes locally developed rules, local level institutions have the capacity to

enforce those rules (Berkes, 2002, 2004). Yet, local initiatives often do not possess the capacity in terms of finances, enforcement and protection and are thus continually reliant on higher levels of government (Alpert, 1996; Berkes and Folke, 1998; Diduck, 2004; McNeely, 1999). In other instances, such approaches have been criticized for placing too much emphasis on developing partnership arrangements rather than focusing on PA management (Berkes, 2004). Many failures of local level management are attributed to improper fit and scale of institutional arrangements. Governments have often treated local communities as small, homogeneous entities with no internal conflicts and assumed that they act as democratic and consensual units (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Anderson and Ribot, 1999; Brown, 2002). Yet, treating communities as homogenous and socially stable fails to recognize significant differences of potential actors inherent to the community (Berkes, 2004; Brown, 2002). Differential power relations within local level communities often pose obstacles that can lead to marginalization and exclusion of certain members. Integration of local communities, and understanding social and economic differences within broader scale PA planning and management must be recognized (Brown, 2002; Wallner et al., 2007). Berkes (2004) argued that it is more useful to focus not on communities per se but on the institutions that define the community. Agrawal and Gibson (1999) proposed that the key to success for community-based integration lies in the need to develop and implement legitimate, accountable and inclusive decision-making processes that account for the interests of all actors within the community (e.g. Whitelaw et al., 2008). However, a common complaint from local partners is the lack of flexibility in agency procedures for implementing agreements (Selin and Chavez, 1995).

Indigenous rights have gradually been incorporated in planning and management of PAs (Alcorn et al., 2003; Berkes, 2004). Creation of PAs by external authorities on indigenous

territory can be done effectively only if FN people's rights are acknowledged and if they retain some level of control over planning and management practices (Berkes, 2002; Francis, 2003). This can be further complicated depending on whether there is a land treaty in place or not. A common approach has been to develop co-management agreements between FN groups and the external authority, typically, as part of some larger agreement such as comprehensive land claims (Alcorn et al., 2003; Boyd, 2003; Danby and Slocombe, 2005; Francis, 2003). These practices result in cross cultural challenges often requiring institutional adaptation between FN and external authorities (Alcorn et al., 2003; Brockington et al., 2008).

An absence of mutual trust between agencies and relevant public regarding the connectivity of lands between various PAs is often present and creates tension which can impede regional integration. McCleave (2008) observed reluctance from park staff to integrate management and planning activities with regional actors, such as tourism operators or relevant local communities, due to a loss of control in decision-making. In some cases, lack of trust is based on past historical context between certain parties and may lead to an unwillingness to engage with each other (Chess and Purcell, 1999; Fortin and Gagnon, 1999; Hanna et al., 2008). Restoring trust between the public and governmental agencies requires flexible institutional designs and decision-making processes at the normative and strategic levels (Cortner et al., 1998). However, institutional mechanisms for planning and managing across jurisdictions are largely exploratory and uncertain, often requiring adaptive approaches⁸ (Cortner et al., 1998). Relational factors can also cause challenges by discouraging collaboration between various actors. Organizations which have had bitter relations in the past may find it difficult or impossible to reach consensus on anything (Diduck, 2004; Selin and Chavez, 1995).

⁸ Certain exceptions do exist such as the Niagara Parks Commission and Ontario's eight conservation authorities, which plan, manage and operate over large multi-jurisdictional land areas. The Niagara Parks Commission was created in 1975 to specifically solve many of the problems mentioned.

Effective regional integration requires willingness from and opportunities for all actors to participate in decision-making processes so that decisions can be made by consensus. Such processes require high degrees of trust, goodwill and mutual respect among participants (Diduck, 2004). A potential risk associated with consensus-based processes is that in an attempt to accommodate all actors, decisions are made through compromises and are not necessarily optimal. Involving various actors can also delay decision-making and implementation processes and increase cost (Bovaird, 2005; Boyd, 2003). Lessened accountability caused by an increase in actor involvement and blurred line(s) in decision-making processes are other concerns related to regional integration.

As demonstrated in the preceding discussion, regional integration as a concept is complex and interdisciplinary. The concept of regional integration for PA management appears to be ill-defined and understudied. The following sections present a number of theoretical bodies of knowledge and management approaches which will assist in the creation of a conceptual framework facilitating the examination of regional integration of PAs in Québec.

Recognition of connections between PAs has resulted in planning systems that move away from site specific approaches to regional ones (Dudley et al., 1999a,b; Sportza, 2003; Worboys, 2010). Such change in PA development and management lends itself well to complex systems thinking and is particularly relevant to development and management of complex PAs systems.

2.2 Theoretical Underpinnings of Regional Integration

2.2.1 Complex Systems

A system in the most general sense is a set of things such as people and biota that are interconnected to form a unique behavioural pattern over time (Hugget, 1993; Meadows, 2008). This definition suggests that systems consist of three parts: elements, interconnections and

purpose/function. Elements of complexity in PAs include the PA and the people, fauna and flora located within and around the PA. Interconnections are the relationships that hold elements together such as social norms, ecological processes and communication of knowledge. Purpose results from behaviour or actions and not from goal setting. Function refers to a system's ability to ensure its own perpetuation (Meadows, 2008). Systems may be influenced, constricted, modified or driven by external forces including market or natural processes. The manner in which a system will respond to external forces is intrinsically characterized, inherently complex and uncertain (Costanza et al., 2001a; Meadows, 2008). Complex situations involve surprise and often high levels of uncertainty giving the impression that there is no exact way of analyzing each system (Kay, 2008). This impression is evident in traditional science thinking where small parts of our environment are linearly analyzed through rational causal frameworks to solve problems and control our world (Meadows, 2008).

Attempts to understand complex and uncertain situations have not been fruitful, as systems contain significant non-linearity relationships (Berkes and Folke, 1998; Costanza and Ruth, 2001). Development in complex system analyses has resulted in a shift away from linear and reductionist science to investigating connections between organizations, sources of control, and hierarchies/scale (Constaza et al., 2001a; Hugget, 1993). A systems approach to understanding complex situations will emphasize wholeness, interconnectedness, resilience, adaptation and feedback (Meadows, 2008; Kay, 2008) and will acknowledge the inherent instability, disequilibrium, dynamism, chaos, nonlinearity and uncertainty within (Berkes and Folke, 1998; Constaza et al., 2001a; Kay, 2008; Slocombe, 1999).

Amongst concepts relevant to various complex systems, one that is most relevant to this discussion is the concept of social-ecological systems as it captures the sense of

interdependencies between human systems and ecosystems (Berkes and Folke, 1998; Francis, 2008; Kay, 2008). Ecological systems can be broadly understood as the interactions between organisms and their physical environment (Purves et al., 2004). Social systems can include those dealing with governance (Costanza et al., 2001a) and institutions dealing with property rights and access to resources (Ostrom, 1990; Rose, 2002), and knowledge systems (Berkes and Folke, 1998; Berkes and Davidson-Hunt, 2008). Any issues of design, implementation and management of PAs, especially for large regional landscapes are embedded in this approach (Francis, 2008).

Resilience refers to the ability of a system to persist and maintain integrity (Constanza et al., 2001a). An important measure of resilience is the scale of the disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes in structure. Although criteria for measuring ecological resilience are relatively well established and accepted there are no well recognized criteria for economic or cultural resilience. Many studies have suggested that social-ecological systems that have existed over a period of time can be understood as resilient (Berkes and Folke, 1998; Ostrom, 1990). However, determination of resilience within a system can sometimes only be confirmed after the fact and is dependent upon the complexity of the system (Constanza et al., 2001a) and involves uncertainty. Complex systems approaches manage uncertainty through adaptive responses by combining historical, comparative and experimental approaches at a scale which is appropriate to the issue (Holling, Berkes and Folke, 1998; Olsson, Folke and Berkes, 2004).

Adaptive management is designed to deal with unpredictable interactions between humans and ecological systems. Resource management policies are treated as experiments which serve as learning tools for managers. Unlike conventional resource management practices, adaptive management practices place emphasis on feedback mechanisms which shape and instruct new policies and institutions (Noble, 2004; Olsson et al., 2004). According to Noble, adaptive

management is important as, “bringing policy decision-makers, disciplinary specialists and concerned interests together in one arena enables cross-disciplinary links to be formed and focuses policy and management on practical options and on important systems indicators” (pp. 447).

Systems theory is relevant to PAs governance as it facilitates recognition that social-ecological systems are inherently complex, non-linear and that traditional managerial approaches may be inherently flawed. Systems theory also lends itself to social learning, planning and management in response to a better understanding of social expectations (Francis, 2008). Systems theory recognizes the need to shift focus from the part to the whole; in this case, focusing not on an individual PA, but rather, on the interactions between various PAs, PA systems and surrounding regions.

Governance processes can aid in explaining social and ecological systems (e.g. resilience, interrelationships and interdependencies) and can offer a multitude of adaptive approaches to management and planning such as influencing political arrangement and the creation of new institutions to aid in the integration of planning and management exercises (Pollock, 2009).

2.2.2 Governance

Governance has been defined in many ways (Table 2), and although all definitions have some level of similarity, they reflect the changing role of government and the increased participation of society. Governance should not be used synonymously with government; rather, governance signifies a change in the meaning of government in which processes of governing and ordered rule transcend the state to also include non-state actors to create conditions for collective action (Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998; UNDP, 1997). Rhodes (1996) suggests that government refers to activities supported by formal authority, while governance refers to

activities supported by shared goals. Governance as a concept points to the creation of structures which cannot be externally imposed but, rather, are the result of multiple governing interactions that influence involved actors (Kooiman and Van Viet, 1993). Such shifts have occurred across both vertical scales (e.g. up to international levels and down to community levels) and horizontal scales (e.g. between various government actors or between government actors and ENGOs) (Barret et al., 2001; Paavola, 2007).

Table 2. Select Definitions of Governance		
Author(s)	Definition	Approaches and Uses of Governance
Borrini-Feyerabend (2003)	Governance can be defined as the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public concern, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say.	Four main types of PA governance are described 1) Control by government 2) Control by private landowners 3) Control by various social actors together (co-management) 4) Control communities
Graham, Amos and Plumptre (2003)	Governance is the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say. Fundamentally, governance is about power, relationships and accountability: who has influence, who decides and how decision makers are held accountable.	Graham et al., propose four types of governance approaches to PA management 1) Government management 2) Multi-stakeholder management 3) Private management 4) Traditional community management
Jessop (2003)	Governance can be understood as the reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organization being based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations.	Governance is multi level requiring shifting of governing responsibility across both horizontal and vertical scales of political and economic power. This creates governance networks.
Kooiman (1993)	Governance can be seen as the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing. Governing can be considered the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities.	Kooiman describes three modes of governance 1) Self-governance 2) Co-governance 3) Hierarchical governance
Sorensen and Torfing (2007)	Governance networks are defined as a relatively stable horizontal articulation of interdependence, but operationally autonomous actors; who interact through negotiations; take place within regulative, normative, cognitive and imaginary frameworks; they are self-regulating within limits set by external agencies; contribute to the production of public purse	Networks will vary based on institutional, political and discursive contexts. They may be formal or informal; can be intraorganizational or interorganizational; they can be self-grown or initiated from above; they can be temporary or permanent; may be sector specific or society wide in scope; and may be focused on policy formulation or on policy implementation.

Table 2. Continued. Select Definitions of Governance

Author(s)	Definition	Approaches and Uses of Governance
Sorensen and Triantafillou (2009)	Governance is understood as the processes of governing in an efficient, effective and democratic manner by involving both the government and other social actors.	Governance is regarded as a complex process of co-governance involving a plurality of affected public authorities and private stakeholders in carrying out various governance tasks through different forms of self-governance. Examples of self-governance are present in governing activities such as participatory planning and network governance.
Stoker (1998)	Stoker discusses and defines governance through five propositions <ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government;2) Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues;3) Governance identifies the power dependence involved in collective action;4) Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors ;5) Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on power of government to command or use authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide	N/A

Many authors have questioned the role of government in governance (Peters and Pierre, 1998; Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998). Rhodes (1996) stated that the task of government is to facilitate social-political interactions; to encourage multiple and various arrangements for coping with problems; and to distribute services equitably amongst actors. Paavola, Gouldson and Luvanka-Orvaska (2009) and Stoker (1999) advocate that the role of government has shifted from being a provider and controller to being a facilitator and enabler. Irrespective of this shift the role of government remains important as government retains regulatory powers and fiscal responsibility (Saunier and Meganck, 2009).

The concept of governing within governance approaches is important to understand. Kooiman (1993) defined governing as:

...the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities. (pp. 4)

Governing, thus, is a process of steering that involves all relevant actors and takes place through different mechanisms, while governance is the result of actions taken, a mode of social organization (Kjaer, 2004; Peters and Pierre, 1998; Rhodes, 1996). Under new governance arrangements and changing roles of government, the boundary lines between and within public and private sectors have become increasingly blurred (Stoker, 1998). Francis (2008) and Sorensen and Triantafilou (2009) stated that generally, governance refers to networked hybrid organizations, which Jessop (2003) defined as:

The reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organisation being based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations. Governance organised on this basis need not entail a complete symmetry in power relations or complete equality in the distribution of benefits: indeed, it is highly unlikely to do so almost

regardless of the object of governance or the ‘stakeholders’ who actually participate in the governance process. (pp. 142)

Network governance recognizes the increasing need to include relevant and affected groups and organizations to help overcome problems in terms of societal fragmentation and policy change (Sorensen and Torfing, 2007; Sorenson and Triantafilou, 2009).

2.2.2.1 Protected Area Governance

PA governance, arguably a subset of environmental governance, follows the above conceptualizations and applies them to PA issues (Francis, 2008). According to Alcorn et al., (2003), governance and institutional factors form the heart of PA management and provide the means for responding to global biophysical and socio-economic trends through various planning approaches. Governance, however, is not synonymous with planning or management. Planning is an activity that can be understood as a process for purposefully anticipating, determining, and selecting actions to help achieve those objectives (Lockwood, 2006; Selman, 2000).

Management is concerned with resources and actions (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006; Lockwood, 2006). Governance addresses power, authorities and responsibilities for management decisions and their execution (Francis, 2003, 2008; Graham et al., 2003). Governance approaches are diverse and complex (Table 2) and have an influence on the planning and effectiveness of management of PAs and ultimately determine social and ecological objectives (Balloffet and Martin, 2007; Worboys, Winkler and Lockwood, 2006).

The development of various approaches to PA management in the last few decades has raised issues related to planning, on-site management and arrangements for governance (Dearden et al., 2005; Francis, 2008; Hanna, Clark and Slocombe, 2008). Dearden et al., (2005) have stated that “it is not sufficient to have the right numbers of PAs in the right places, it is also

necessary to ensure that their governance is able to manage them in an effective manner and produce the desired outcomes.” (p. 98). Smith et al., (2003) showed that there is a causal relationship between the quality of governance and conservation.

Phillips (2003) describes a paradigm shift in thinking about PAs over the last 30 years, reflected in IUCN categories V and VI, which recognize situations in which long-established patterns of resource use have co-existed with biodiversity. Protection activities within these PAs are designed to foster conservation and sustainable use (Beresford and Phillips, 2000; Francis, 2008; Phillips, 1997, 2003). These changes in opinions and adoption of new PA categories connect with one of the agreements of the 5th World Parks Congress held in Durban, South Africa. This agreement recognized that governance plays a key role in achieving both environmental and social goals of PAs (Balloffet and Martin, 2007; Lockwood, 2010a).

The last 30 or so years have witnessed a change in the governing capabilities of governments as more demands and expectations have been placed upon them (Francis, 2008). Traditional institutional processes have become marginalized while new processes, business and civil society institutions assume a more important role in various governance approaches for PAs and have become more central to public policy (Kettl, 2000). Due to the past ineffectiveness of authoritarian styles of government, organizations such as ENGOs and other actors have become qualified agents in the search to define, plan and implement policies and programs that are of direct concern to them (Lockwood and Kothari, 2006; McNamee, 2010). Public governance systems exist because both civil society and government have realized the importance of partnering in order to make governance more efficient. However, the increased number of actors involved has augmented the complexity of planning and management approaches and could become detrimental to required cooperation.

PA governance incorporates both social and ecological concerns by addressing the who's, why's and how's of decision-making. Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2006) provide a list of seven ecological and social concerns related to decision-making and planning within PA governance (Table 3).

Table 3. Biodiversity and Social Concerns of Governance for Decision-making and Planning
determining where a protected area is needed, where it should be located and what type of status it should have;
determining who is entitled to have a say about matters relevant to the protected area;
creating rules about the land and resource uses allowed inside the protected area, and establishing zones for different levels of access and use;
enforcing the agreed zoning and rules;
deciding how financial and other resources will be spent to support specific conservation and sustainable development activities concerning the protected area;
generating revenues and deciding how those are distributed and used;
entering into agreements with other parties to share or delegate some of the above powers and to decide about other matters relevant to the protected area
Adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2006)

The governance structure and in situ planning and management approaches are largely dependent upon formal mandates and legal and customary rights. Regardless of formal authority, decision-making can be influenced by the interplay of history, culture, access to information and economic outlooks. Understanding governance approaches and decision-making processes is inherently complex and often requires a holistic perspective (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006). This can be aided by examining the role of institutions in governance as institutions shape social practices, and affect governance outcomes (Cortner et al., 1998; Paavola et al., 2009; Sgobbi, 2010).

2.2.3 Institutions

Institutions are central to governance and various definitions are provided in Table 4. For the purpose of this paper institutions can be understood as a “cluster of rights, rules and decision-making procedures that give rise to a social practice, assign roles to participants in the practice, and guide interactions among occupants of these roles.” (Young, King, and Schroeder, 2008, pg.

xxii). Institutions can thus be understood as systems of established and prevalent social rules which provide stable structures for social interactions (Dietz et al., 2002; Hogden, 2006). Institutions should not be confused with organizations; these, such as government resource management agencies, international development agencies, ENGOs and community associations are the main entities that enact conservation activities through institutions' rules of the game in which they participate (Brechin et al., 2003b; Young, 2002a).

Table 4. Selected Definitions of Institutions		
Author(s)	Definition	Theoretical understanding of how institutions establish outcomes
Berkes and Folke (1998)	Institutions can be defined as humanly devised constraints that structure human interactions. They can be made up of formal constraints (rules, laws and constitutions) and informal constraints (norms of behaviour, conventions and self imposed codes of conduct.	Institutions are the mediating factor that governs the relationship between social groups and the life support ecosystems upon which social, political and economic organizations depend.
Cortner et al., (1998)	Institutions in their broadest sense include both formal and informal institutions such as administrative structures and customs and practices.	Institutions are understood as the expressions of the terms of collective human experiences. They reflect the way people interact with one another and the ways they interact with the environment. Institutions are what people use to solve social problems.
Hogden (2006)	Institutions are systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions. Language, money, law, systems of weights and measures, table manners, and firms (and other organizations) are thus all institutions An institution is a special type of social structure that involves potentially codifiable and (evidently or immanently) normative rules of interpretation and behaviour.	The notion of collective intentionality arises when an individual attributes an intention to the group in which he or she belongs while holding that intention and believing that other group members hold it, too.
North (1990)	Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interactions.	Institutions include any form of constraint devised by human beings to shape human interactions. Institutions can both be formal constraints, such as rules devised by human beings or, informal constraints such as conventions and codes of behaviour. Institutions reduce uncertainty by providing structure.
Ostrom (1990)	Institutions refer to the sets of working rules that are used in decision-making processes.	Based on Ostrom's definition, institutions determine who is eligible to make decisions, what actions or procedures must be followed, what information must be provided and what payoffs will be provided to participants based on their actions.
Prato and Fagre (2005)	Institutions can be understood as the set of rules used by individuals to organize repetitive activities that produce outcomes. These rules can be both formal and informal.	Institutions create incentives and disincentives in the form of opportunities and constraints that influence human and organization behaviour. In turn, these behaviours influence outcomes of people and organizations.

Table 4 continued. Select Definitions of Institutions		
Author(s)	Definition	Theoretical understanding of how institutions establish outcomes
Vatn (2005)	Institutions are the conventions, norms and externally sanctioned rules of society. They provide structure to for the relationships between humans and natural resources.	Two perspectives are discussed: The social constructivist perspective, where behaviour is based on social constructs such as norms, rules and expectations of society. The individualist perspective, where individual behaviour is calculated based on rationales.
Young, King, and Schroeder (2008)	Institutions are clusters of rights, rules and decision-making procedures that give rise to a social practice, assign roles to participants in the practice, and guide interactions among occupants of these roles	Three perspectives are discussed: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) the collective-action assumes that at any given point, individuals have preferences that are individualistic and that they endeavour to maximize payoffs to themselves 2) The social-practices perspective assumes that the identities of individuals are shaped in part by group members; are influenced by the logic of appropriateness; and are compliant with institutional rules 3) The knowledge-action perspective which stresses agency, individual leadership and the role of governance systems in shaping the way environmental problems are understood. Prevailing discourses support institutional changes while institutional changes often reflect shifts in pertinent discourses

An important distinction should be made between formal institutions and informal institutions (North, 1990; Prato and Fagre, 2005; Young, 2002a)⁹. Formal institutions are systems of rules, decision-making procedures and programs which are articulated in constitutive documents (e.g. Parks Act, land claims agreements). Informal institutions are social practices that are based on the rules of the game but also include common discourse in terms of which issues to address, informal understanding regarding appropriate behaviour on the part of participants, and routine activities that evolve in conjunction with efforts to implement rules (e.g. incorporating FN knowledge in formal planning and management practices of PAs) (Hogden, 2006; Scott, 1995; Young, 2002a)¹⁰. Although informal institutions are often based on rules, procedures and programs presented in constitutive agreements, social practices have evolved over time in ways that do not easily trace back to their constitutive foundation, even though they are well understood by participants (Hogden, 2006; Young, 2002a). In this context, rules should be broadly understood as norms of behaviour and social convention as well as legal entities (Hogden, 2006; Searl, 2005).

The role of institutions in guiding and determining environmental outcomes is well recognized (Imperial, 1999; Young, 2008). Young (2008) stated that there are two general perspectives held by institutional theorists regarding the manner in which institutions can influence or guide outcomes: (1) the collective-action perspective and (2) the social-practices perspective. The collective-action perspective assumes that individuals have preferences that are individualistic and that they endeavour to maximize payoffs to themselves (Hogden, 2006; Weber, Kopelman and Messick, 2004; Young, 2008). The social-practices perspective assumes that the identities of individuals are shaped in part by group members; are influenced by the logic

⁹ Young (2002a) refers to formal institutions as 'thin' and informal institutions as 'thick'.

¹⁰ Formal institutions can also be understood as formal constraint; informal institutions can also be thought of as informal constraints (e.g. Berkes and Folke, 1998; North, 1990).

of appropriateness; and are compliant with institutional rules (Young, 2008). Although these two perspectives are well grounded and recognized, others have more recently been proposed. As an example, Breitmeier, Young and Zurn (2006) provided the knowledge-action perspective which stresses agency, individual leadership and the role of governance systems in shaping the way of understanding environmental problems. In this context, Young (2008) stated that prevailing discourses support institutional changes while institutional changes often reflect shifts in pertinent discourses. Although not exhaustive, these perspectives demonstrate ways institutions can affect outcomes.

The success or collapse of complex systems planning and management is largely dependent upon the scale, fit and interplay of institutional arrangements (Paavola et al., 2009; Young, 2002a). Fit can be understood as the capacity of environmental institutions to change and solve environmental problems once they arise. The concept of institutional scale functions under the assumption that differences exist between local and national politics or between national and international politics. Interplay can be defined as the manner by which distinct institutional arrangements are linked both vertically and horizontally (Berkes, 2002; Young, 2002a). Often, institutional misfit arises because human systems of rules and mechanisms for coordination and control are rooted in history and reflect past and present struggles in the distribution of power (e.g. Agee and Johnson, 1988; Costanza et al., 2001b). A mismatch of scale, fit and interplay between institutions often results in unsustainable planning and management practices (Imperial, 1999; Paavola et al., 2009). Due to the increase in complex and often uncertain social-ecological processes within governance systems, institutions have to become more flexible and adaptable to remain resilient (Lockwood et al., 2010).

2.2.3.1 Protected Area Institutions

There are a multitude of institutional arrangements for managing PAs (e.g. Glover and Burton, 1998; Graham et al., 2003; More, 2005; Alcorn et al., 2003; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2006). Eagles (2008, 2009) suggested three overarching institutional options for examining management within the context of PAs: (1) ownership of resources, (2) sources of income, and (3) management body. He proposed four alternatives for resource ownership, three alternatives for sources of income, and six types of management bodies (Table 5) leading to 60 possible combinations of management approaches for PAs.

Table 5. Elements of Protected Area Management		
Ownership	Income	Management Body
Government Agency	Government Grants	Government Agency
Non-profit organization	Fees and Charges	Parastatal
For-profit organization	Donations	Non-profit organization
Community		For-Profit Organization
		Private landowner
		Community

Adapted from Eagles (2009)

Barborak (1995) and McNeely (1999) provide two additional institutional options: 1) the legal framework guiding management and 2) decision-making body. Although there are many institutional options for managing PAs, eight appear to be most commonly used (Barborak, 1995; Eagles, 2008, 2009; McNeely, 1999) (Table 6).

Table 6. Institutional Models for Protected Area Management		
Name	Institutional Arrangements	Example
National Park Model	Ownership: Government Income: Taxes Management body: Federal Government	Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
Parastal model	Ownership: Government Income: user fees Management body: Provincial Government	Ontario Parks
Non-Profit model	Ownership: Private non-profit Income: Donations Management body: Private non-profit	Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve, Costa Rica
Ecolodge model	Ownership: Private-for-profit Income: User Fees Management body: Private-for-profit	Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve, South Africa
Public and for-profit model	Ownership: Government Income: taxes and user fees Management body: Provincial Government	British Columbia Provincial Parks
Public and non-profit model	Ownership: Government Income: user fees Management body: Provincial Government	Misery Bay Provincial Park operated by the Friends of Misery Bay, Ontario
First Nation and government model	Ownership: First Nation Income: Taxes and user fees Management body: Federal Government and Nguraritja Aboriginal Government	Uluru-Kata Tjuta, Australia
Traditional community model	Ownership: community Income: user fees Management body: community	Miskito Coast Protect Area, Nicaragua

(Barborak, 1995; Eagles, 2008, 2009; McNeely, 1999)

These types of institutional arrangements treat management as operating within the confines of a single model. However, with increasing trends towards regional integration of PAs, many of these models exist side by side under various institutional frameworks and work towards a common goal or objective, agreed upon through broad consultative processes (Davey, 1999; McNeely, 1999). Governance in regional approaches to planning and management is increasingly regarded as a complex process of co-governance involving a plurality of public authorities and private actors in carrying out various governance tasks through different modes of self-governance (Sorensen and Triantafillou, 2009). Regional approaches have also been influenced by larger institutions such as the WWF, UNESCO, UNEP, UNDP and the

WCPA¹¹ which have been influential in the creation, augmentation and further development of PAs at local, national and global levels (Lockwood, 2006). These have both advanced and impeded the formal objectives of conservation and social justice within PAs by defining who has access to a resource, who participates in key decision-making processes and how rights and duties are transferred to others (Brechin et al., 2003b; Geisler, 2003).

Complex interrelations between various organizational bodies can cause significant challenges for resolving institutional conflicts (e.g. Yellowstone to Yukon approach). Complex PAs require a wide diversity of institutional approaches. Large-scale PA institutions, such as those operating at a provincial or national level, can undermine institutional mechanisms of smaller scales such as traditional approaches to conservation (Berkes, 2002). Small scale institutions, such as local knowledge, can be more in tune with specific and complex interactions of natural capital, something that large-scale institutions may not always comprehend (Berkes, 1999; Anderson and Ribot, 1999). Complex PAs require multifaceted systems of governance with cross-scale institutional linkages (Bellamy et al., 2001; Berkes, 2002; McNeely, 1999; Worboys and Lockwood, 2010). Cross-scale collaboration and integration between various PA systems is essential to provide the resilience necessary for meeting the challenges associated with planning and managing complex PAs (Alcorn et al., 2003).

Institutional arrangements will vary depending on the context and objectives established for a PA system and will require innovative intra-organizational approaches for collaboration. The diversity of institutions involved in governance processes will stimulate creativity, enabling different types of organizational approaches to meet various management objectives (Brechin et al., 2003b). According to Kopas (2007), policy is not the simple aggregation of bargaining between actors and organizational interests but rather a result of institutional frameworks in

¹¹ These are the World Wildlife Fund; United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization; United Nations Environment Program; United Nations Development Program; IUCN; World Commission on Protected Areas.

which competition occurs. By making certain policy options available while precluding others, institutions structure and shape competing interests and ideas presented by individuals and organizations. Thus, an understanding of the combined effects of institutions coupled with various interest groups and ideas is necessary to fully explain policy outputs which, in turn, affect the choice of governance approach. Costanza et al., (2001a) stated that the goal of policy is to make unambiguous, defensible decisions, often codified in laws and regulations often written in absolute terms to facilitate their enforcement.

2.3 Management Approaches to Regional Integration of Protected Areas

2.3.1 Government Protected Areas Systems

Governmental approaches for establishing PAs usually follow a systematic approach for identifying representative terrestrial and marine environments e.g. Canada National Park System Plan; Australia Interim Biogeographic Regionalization (Bakkar and Lockwood, 2006; IBRA, 2011; McNamee, 2003). In such systems, the government owns the land; management authority is housed within a government agency, branch or ministry; and, the source of income is typically derived from societal taxes and user fees¹² (Eagles, 2008). In certain instances, the government can delegate all or certain aspects of management to a parastatal or ENGO, a private operator, or a community (Eagles, 2008; McCutcheon, 2009; McNeely, 1999).

Government PA systems exist globally and can be typified under various federal and provincial/state initiatives such as national, provincial or state parks; wildlife reserves, sanctuaries and preserves; marine PAs; and conservation authorities (Brennan and Miles, 2003; McNamee, 2003; Shrubsole, 1996). Typically, national and state/provincial parks in countries such as Canada, Australia and the United States are large and well-established due to the high

¹² This is not always the case. In Australia, the land for certain national parks belongs to aboriginal groups and is leased to the government (Collins, 2005).

percentage of public and crown land under either federal or provincial/state ownership (Hillstrom and Hillstrom, 2003; Young, 2011). They are systematically designed to aid in the protection of ecological and cultural resources (Stynes and Sun, 2003; Boyd, 2003; McNamee, 2003). Other types of systems such as migratory bird sanctuaries and wildlife reserves tend to be smaller but have strong wildlife protective powers (Hillstrom and Hillstrom, 2003).

Government PAs face many challenges. In the United States, Canada and Australia, most remaining “untouched” parts of the landscape were originally considered ‘worthless’ (Pressey, 1994; Rodgers et al., 2011; Stolton, Dudley and Beland-Lindahl, 1999) but have become forest managed for timber (Shands and Healy, 1977; Braithwaite et al., 1993)¹³ or were designated as PAs (Danby and Slocombe, 2002, 2005). Henderson (1992) and Danby and Slocombe (2005) conclude that in Canada, the continued existence of vast and often inaccessible landscapes and regions has mostly been a result of technological and economic limitations but with increasing demands for resources and advances in technology, this is changing.

Although national and state/provincial PAs were once believed to provide adequate protection for fauna and flora (e.g. Chape et al., 2005), studies from the global, (Rodrigues et al., 2004), regional (Cowling and Pressey, 2003) and sub-national (Margules and Pressey, 2000) perspectives have demonstrated that these systems contain low levels of landscape diversity and do not represent all ecosystem types (Vasarhelyi and Thomas, 2006). The creation of government-based PAs has been opportunistic, leading to an uneven distribution and representation of ecological features (Pressey et al., 1993; Pressey, 1994; Beresford and Phillips, 2000)¹⁴. Vasarhelyi and Thomas (2006) argue that although various parks Acts (e.g. Canada National Parks Act) are established to regulate activities within a park, there is no provision for

¹³ Such land is classified as worthless as it is perceived to have a relative lack of apparent economical value. However, such thesis has been contested (Henderson, 1992) as the valuation of nature and ecosystem processes have risen faster than many developmental uses.

¹⁴ Many older parks were often created for recreational or economic purposes (e.g. Banff National Park, Mont-Tremblant National Park) with often little concern for the protection or preservation of ecological processes.

land management adjacent to the PA. Rather, government PAs require various cooperative agreements with land owners and partnership arrangements with ENGOs and for-profit sectors to regulate land management activities around park lands (Campbell and Thomas, 2002; Parks Canada, 2001).

2.3.2 Private and Community Initiatives for Protected Areas

Private and community initiatives for PAs play an important role in expanding and contributing to those undertaken by governments (Nelson et al., 2003). Under such systems, ownership, authority and responsibility of managing a PA rest with one or more owners, including private land owners (OMNR, 2010), communities (Kothari, 2006; Wels, 2003), ENGOs (Coston, 1998; The Nature Conservancy, 2011), or for-profit organizations (FPOs) (Dufour, 2004). Funding for such PAs differs according to ownership type. Private landowners and communities are often self reliant. Government may sometimes assist private individuals through tax reductions (OMNR, 2010) or financial grants (MDDEP, 2002). Funding for ENGOs includes donations, fundraising, user fees and commodity sales (Eagles, 2008). For-profit organization funding is derived from user fees, government grants and tax rebates (Stolton et al., 1999).

The existence of private initiatives is dependent on individual or organizational willingness and capacity to participate, which is often influenced by monetary incentives provided by government. For example, the Ministry of Natural Resources of Ontario has created the Managed Forest Tax Incentive Program under which land owners voluntarily manage forests on their lands and receive annual property tax reductions as incentive. This program has been successful as private landowner participation increased by 1500 properties (14%) and 169,000 hectares (24%) between June 2004 and June 2009 (ECO, 2010). The voluntary nature of this program does not ensure continuity of forest protection (OMNR, 2012). The Québec Ministry of Environment,

Sustainable Development, Fauna and Parks (MDDEFP) developed a program providing financial assistance to land owners and small companies that designate part or all of their lands as PAs. According to Jacques Perron (Personal communication, Jacques Perron, Director of Environment and Parks, MDDEP, May 10th, 2010), this program is not successful or well received by private landowners as designated lands must be managed in perpetuity under one of the IUCN categories. Therefore, it could be concluded that the Ontario model is more successful in gaining support by being more flexible.

Through private land purchases and cooperative agreements with land owners, ENGOS, such as Ducks Unlimited (DU) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC), play a key role in land protection efforts by creating and expanding PAs and maintaining ecological processes (Hillstrom and Hillstrom, 2003). Non-government organizations, such as friends groups, are also increasingly cooperating with or assisting government PAs through donations and service delivery tasks (Dearden, Bennet and Johnston, 2005; Nelson and Sportza, 2000).

Contributions from FPOs to conservation vary from protecting large environments such as the Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve in South Africa (Loon, Harper and Shorten, 2007) to the forestry industry protecting select tracts of forest from exploitation (Gullison, 2003; Stolton et al., 1999). In the forestry sector, contributions have often been driven by government, ENGOS and market pressures towards sustainable forest management practices through the Forest Certification Council (Gullison, 2003; McAfee and Malouin, 2005). Although certified forests are numerous in North America and Europe, few are present in tropical countries, likely due to lack of financial incentives (Freezailah, 1995; Rametsteiner and Simula, 2003; Siry, Cabbage and Ahmed, 2005).

Although ENGOS and FPOs have the ability to pursue their goals outside the relatively inflexible channels of (inter)governmental communication and negotiation (Jasanoff, 1997), this

has been identified as a potential shortcoming as ENGO board members are not elected and are not accountable to citizens for their actions (Alcorn et al., 2005; Borrini-Feyerabend, Jonston and Pansky, 2006). However, they remain accountable to their membership.

2.3.3 Co-Management Initiatives for Protected Areas ¹⁵

Co-management initiatives involve the collaboration of two or more partners. This approach is rapidly evolving as governments and civil society partnerships tend to be more robust than a single agency for management of PAs. Co-management is defined as an “officially designated PA where decision-making power is shared between state agencies and other partners, including indigenous people and local communities, and/or ENGOs and individual or private sector institutions” (Kothari, 2006, pp. 528). Co-management arrangements can range from one partner being dominant and only involving other partners in occasional consultations or benefit sharing, to all partners being equally represented in decision-making (Kothari, 2006). Most co-managed PAs are site and case specific and management objectives between sites are often varied resulting in a diversity of initiatives (Canadian Parks Council, 2008).

Arrangements, responsibility, accountability and authority of co-managed PAs are shared under various institutional structures and rules of partnerships by actors that may include government agencies, local communities, private landowners and increasingly FNs people (Canadian Parks Council, 2008; Kothari, 2006; Wellings, 2007). Formal decision-making, accountability and responsibility are given to a formal authority such as a government agency, board of directors or community council; this formal authority is usually required by law or policy to collaborate with other actors. Collaboration ensures consensus in decision-making allowing for a balance of power between involved actors (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003). Co-management is more a process than a definitive end-point and encourages situations of social

¹⁵ Co-Management can also be referred to as ‘Joint Management’ (Wellings, 2007), “shared-management”, “shared decision-making” (Nelson et al., 2003) and collaborative management (Kothari, 2006).

engagement and experimentation. Most initiatives are relatively new and serve as a learning ground providing that adaptability and flexibility are maintained by partners (Kothari, 2006; Plummer and Fitzgibbon, 2004). Co-management initiatives are also multi-level and multidisciplinary. Various partners possess different capacities and advantages on which other partners rely and build upon; but partners may also have contrasting interests (Kothari, 2006).

Most national or state/provincial PAs were conventionally managed by governmental authorities using a top-down approach but in certain instances, some or all aspects of management have been brought under co-management arrangements due to protest, conflicts and recognition of rights. In Canada for example, many national PAs are part of lands which traditionally belong to FN peoples (Langdon, Prosper and Gagnon, 2010) or were inhabited by private land owners (e.g. Forillon and Kouchibouguac National Parks) (Fortin and Gagnon, 1999). The creation of parks was often done without adequately consulting local people and could result in the forcible exclusion of these local people from the park (Dearden and Langdon, 2009). In the 1970s, recognition of FN rights and concerns over expropriation brought a change to these practices (Berger, 1977; Collins, 2005). In 1982, the new Canadian Constitutional Act recognized treaty rights of FNs. Since then, FN people participate in consultation and co-management arrangements on all national park creation (Boyd, 2003; Canadian Parks Council, 2008; Langdon et al., 2010). Dearden and Langdon (2009) stated that since recognition of land rights, over 50% of the new land area within the Canadian National Parks system has been protected with FNs support. Other countries, such as Australia, provide examples of recent recognition of FNs people through joint management and aboriginal ownership of PAs. For example, Uluru-Kata Tjuta, Booderee and Kakadu National Parks are leased back to a Commonwealth Agency, Environment Australia, and are managed by boards, of whom the majority of members are aboriginal (Bridgewater et al., 1999; Collins, 2005). Although the

inclusion of FNs in PA development and management has increased, there continue to be challenges. Boyd (2003) stated that PA development can be hindered by FN interests that are not in line with those of the PA agency. Bridgewater et al., (1999) caution that although FN people are often keen to protect their land, they can sometimes lack the educational or economic capacities to do so effectively and often require government assistance.

2.3.4 Transboundary Initiatives for Protected Areas

The origins of transboundary¹⁶ PAs (TBPA) date back to the early 20th century when Waterton-Glacier National Parks were designated as an International Peace Park to commemorate the long history of peace and friendship between Canada and the USA (Sandwith et al., 2001; Slocombe and Danby, 2006). Sandwith et al., (2001) defined TBPA as:

an area of land and/or sea that straddles one or more boundaries between states, sub-national units such as provinces and regions, autonomous areas and/or areas beyond the limits of national sovereignty or jurisdiction, whose constituents parts are especially dedicated to the potential and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed co-operatively through legal or other effective means. (p.3)

More recently, TBPA arrangements have multiplied due to increasing recognition that managers of various types of PA systems need to collaborate in order to effectively achieve their mandates and organizational objectives (Weddell, 2002; Kothari, 2006). According to Danby (1997), TBPAs provide two main benefits, peace and enlargement of reserves. Slocombe and Danby (2006) and Sandwith et al., (2001) state that they can also increase the effectiveness of PA, improve dialogue between PAs, and promote mutual learning. Bennet (2003), Worboys (2010), and Beazley (2003) also indicate that TBPAs can counter threats by increasing and maximizing resilience through integrating PAs and regulating land use in the region of the PA. Thus, large

¹⁶ Transboundary PAs can also go by “transfrontier parks” and “transborder PA co-operation” (Sandwith, et al., 2001), “peace parks”, “transboundary conservation areas” and “transboundary migratory bird corridors” (Mittermeier et al., 2005, as cited in Slocombe and Danby, 2006).

TBPAs are more likely to fulfill their role in biodiversity protection and maintenance of ecological process (Pressey et al., 1993). Besides collaboration between governmental agencies, TBPAs also include players from other sectors such as ENGOs, FPOs, FNs and local communities (Wolmer, 2003a). TBPAs can be understood as large, complex and highly experimental exercises in co-management initiatives.

The goals of TBPAs can be as varied as the parties that create them. International examples include the Arctic Council, comprised of all 8 Arctic countries who have agreed to protect a percentage of their arctic territory through the creation of national or other types of PAs within their respective countries (Bloom, 1999; Huntington, n.d.; Young, 2002b, 2011); the Greater Northern Appalachian Bioregion (Hamilton and Trombulak, 2010) and the Yukon to Yellowstone Initiative (Aengst, 1999; Locke, 2010) both designed as large conservation corridors. Although much attention has been placed on transnational PAs (Zbick and Green, 1998) many sub-national TBPAs exist. An interesting example includes the Saguenay St. Lawrence National Park, under co-management between the Province of Québec and Parks Canada, presumably to quell political rifts between the two governments (Fortin and Gagnon, 1999). Other types of TBPAs include Integrated Conservation Development Programs (ICDP)¹⁷,¹⁸ a conservation and economic response (mostly through foreign aid) to developing country requirements for locally based sustainable projects¹⁹(Alpert, 1996; Hughes and Flintan, 2001; Scherl and Edwards, 2007); and Biosphere Reserves, designed to symbiotically link conservation and development through local community initiatives and government-level effort (Francis, 2004; Pollock, Reed and Whitelaw, 2008; Pollock, 2009).

¹⁷ For a history of ICDP development, see Alpert (1996).

¹⁸ ICDPs exist under various names such as “people-centered conservation and development” and “eco-development” (Scherl and Edwards, 2007). Authors and agencies also include projects termed as “community-based wildlife management” such as the CAMPFIRE program in Zimbabwe (Frost and Bond, 2008).

¹⁹ Recent programs can be observed in developed countries such as PA developments for eco-tourism development purposes between the Province of Québec and the Kativik Regional Government (Québec, 2002b; Nunavik Parks, 2007).

Analyses of TBPAs have illustrated the broad political, social, economic and ecological diversity within TBPA approaches worldwide (Bloom, 1999; Hamilton and Trombulak, 2010; Sandwith et al., 2001; Wolmer, 2003a, b) and have revealed that TBPAs have individual and collective challenges such as lack of political support and participation; difficulties in integrating goals and objectives; conflict between government agencies and ENGOs; and, a need for outreach and education programs. TBPA initiatives spanning inconsistent institutional frameworks raise important questions about power, control, authority, accountability and legitimacy. Integrated conservation and development programs have been criticized on the grounds that the initiative follows a top-down approach as programs are entirely dependent on state or foreign donor assistance; communities are treated as homogeneous entities; and economic development has taken precedence over conservation goals²⁰ (Alpert, 1996; Terborgh, 1999; Oates, 1999; Scherl and Edwards, 2007). Biosphere Reserves are often short of financial and administrative support from government (Francis, 2004); local participation or support is sometimes lacking (Wallner, Bauer and Huntziker, 2007); reserve participants and other actors are prone to conflicts of interest (Shaffer, 1999); and the general management structure and framework lack formality (von Droste, 1995).

The above discussion presented insights into new approaches for PA planning and management. Increasingly, PAs serve as anchors in comprehensive land use and regional planning initiatives (Nelson et al., 2003). Their role in the restoration of cultural practices and ecological processes has been recognized as essential (Nelson et al., 2003; Pressey et al., 1993). Concurrently, the integration of actor participation, indigenous knowledge and the economic, cultural and social needs of people living in the vicinity of PAs has been increasingly recognized

²⁰ Not all ICDP approaches are failing. Some argue that the manner in which their successes, or lack thereof, has been evaluated is flawed and that more time is needed in order to better understand the worth of such initiatives (Brechin et al., 2002; Brechin et al., 2003a; Brown, 2003). Others argue that the only effective means of conserving biodiversity and ecological processes within developing countries is to re-institute strict government control and enforcement of activities within specific areas of interest (Locke and Dearden, 2005; Terborgh, 1999; Oates, 1999).

and incorporated into planning and management practices. This has created complex interdependent systems requiring innovative governance and institutional approaches for planning and management so as to integrate these between PA systems.

A balanced approach to integrating PA planning and management needs to encourage as many institutional actors as possible to participate in decision-making processes (McNeely, 1999; Brockington et al., 2008). Extensive participation contributes to credible and acceptable (i.e. longer lasting) rules which identify and assign corresponding responsibilities (Costanza and Ruth, 2001). When actors do not contribute to institutional development and maintenance, the likelihood of achieving planning and management goals and practices, and in turn good governance practices, is significantly reduced (Sengupta, Sheladia and Ostrom, 2001; Eagles et al., 2010).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Rapoport (1985, p.256) defines conceptual frameworks as “neither models nor theories. Models describe how things work, whereas theories explain phenomena. Conceptual frameworks do neither; rather they help to think about phenomena, to order material, revealing patterns-and pattern recognition typically leads to models and theories”. Thus, conceptual frameworks allow the researcher to map out the manner in which he or she perceives key elements and relationships of a problem or system and provides a list of variables that can be drawn upon during the analysis of data (Costanza et al., 2001; Mitchell, 2004). Simply put, a conceptual framework is a system of concepts, assumptions, beliefs and expectations that inform the research (Maxwell, 2005).

The conceptual framework developed to understand institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the regional integration of planning and management of PAs in

Québec draws from the theoretical underpinnings and management approaches previously reviewed in this chapter (Figure 2).

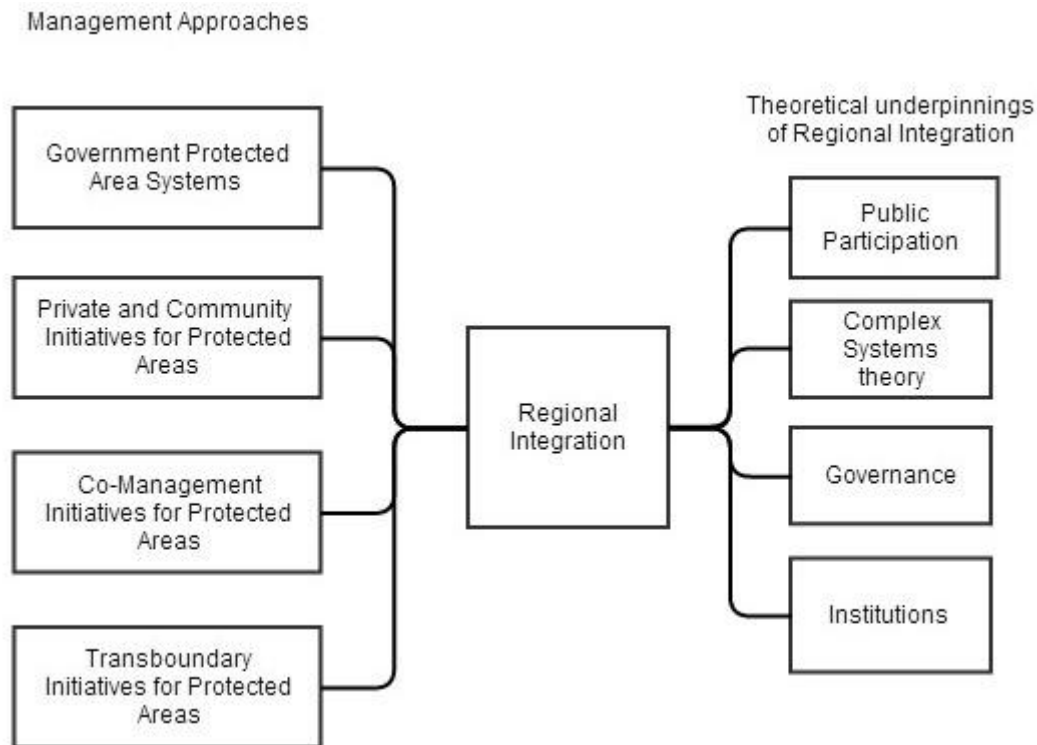


Figure 2. Management Approaches and Theoretical Underpinnings Influencing the Conceptual Framework for Regional Integration

The conceptual framework for regional integration is organized under four main categories: actors, context, institutions, and management goals and objectives (Figure 3). As presented in section 2.1, regional integration is a process that is shaped by the actors participating in the process. It is understood through theoretical underpinnings of regional integration (sections 2.1 and 2.2) that actors both within PA systems and regionally will engage with each other using both formal and informal institutional mechanisms in order to meet both short and long-term planning and management goals (section 2. 3). Such processes are inherently complex and are shaped by a number of contextual factors.

The development of the theoretical framework was an iterative process that evolved throughout the course of the research. The framework presented below reflects the role of both

formal and informal institutional mechanisms for regional integration, and demonstrates the importance of regional contexts in shaping these.

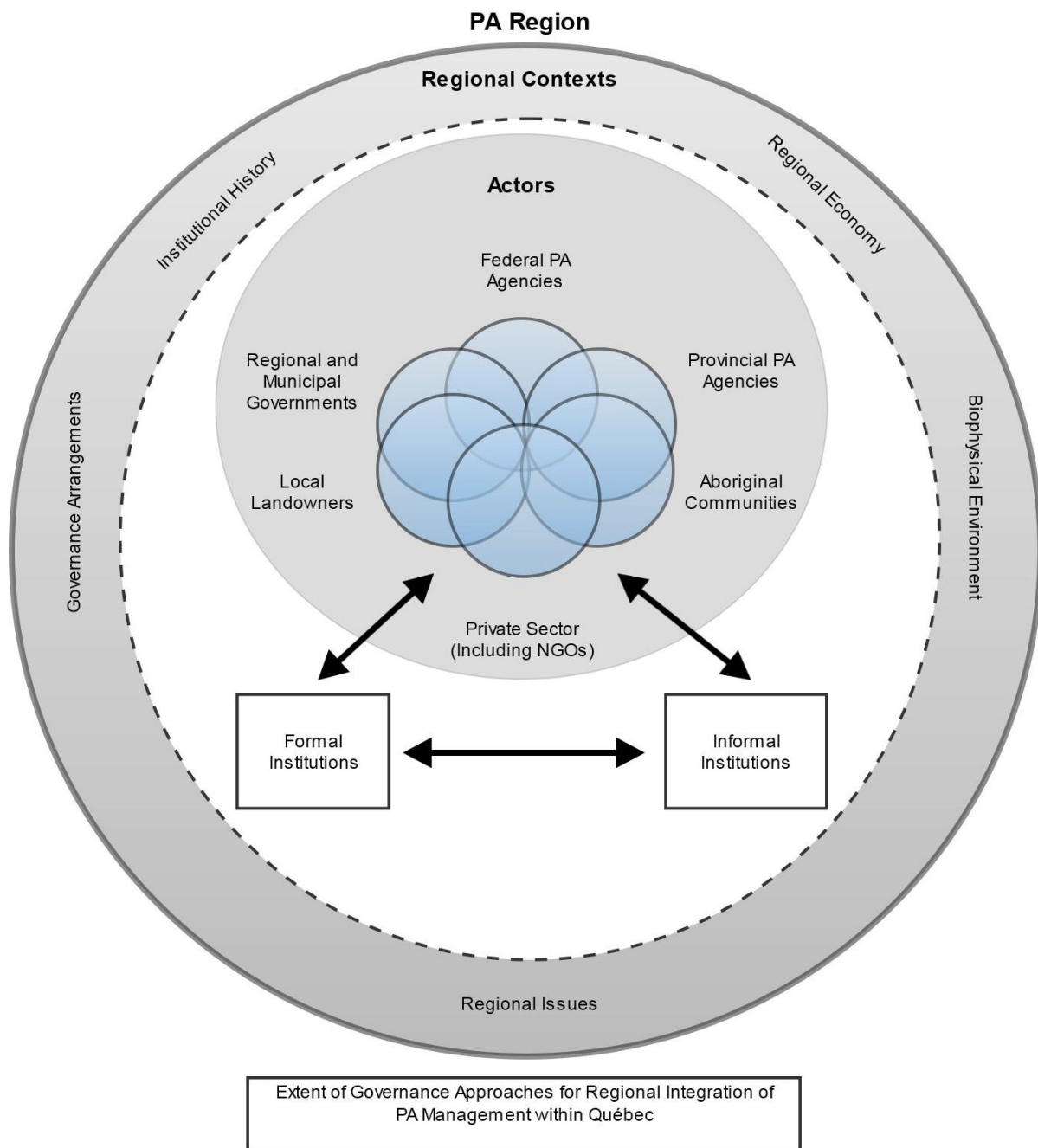


Figure 3. Conceptual Framework for Institutional Arrangements and Governance Approaches for the Regional Integration of Protected Areas in Québec

2.4.1 Actors

As presented above, there are now many actors involved in the governance of PAs. Since this thesis focuses on understanding institutional mechanisms regarding the integration of planning and management processes between PAs and regional actors, there are a number of actors involved. In this context, actors are understood as an individual or organization that influences or is influenced by actions and decisions regarding PA development, management and governance. These actors are part of a complex social-ecological system that functions, although not exclusively, at the regional scale of the PA (e.g. Agrawal and Gbudson, 1999; Sorensen and Triantafilou, 2009). Although providing a general classification of actors is difficult if not impossible, the term can include PA staff such as those working within Parks Canada or Québec's national park system; private sector industries such as logging and tourism companies; non-government organizations such as SNAP (Société pour la Nature et les Parcs); FN communities; local landowners near PAs; and, any member of any other community that does not belong to any group mentioned above. Although there are groups of people and organizations, such as visitors and contractors that use or work within certain types of PAs, they are not included as actors in this study as they tend not to be directly involved or associated with processes for integration of planning and management of PAs in Québec. Although associations or lobby groups composed of and representing visitors and affiliated with provincial and federal parks in English Canada such as friends groups can be important actors, no such groups existed in the core study regions during this research²¹.

²¹ Friends groups have for Québec national Parks have been created in the past, but only to address or lobby for the preservation of park when threatened by government policy changes (e.g. SOS Mont-Orford, 2010).

2.4.2 Context

The context within which regional integration of PAs attempts to operate is influenced by multiple contextual factors. Based on the literature review, there are multiple contextual factors that appear to influence the regional integration of PAs. These are:

- 1) regional economy and demographics;
- 2) biophysical environment;
- 3) institutional history;
- 4) governance arrangements between actors; and,
- 5) important regional topics.

Regional economy and demographics can have an important impact on the regional integration of PAs. For example, a weak regional economy and dependence on natural resources can create issues related to mechanisms for interaction between PA managers and regional actors (Barret et al., 2001; Borrini-Feyerabend, Jonston, and Pansky, 2006). Furthermore, regional expectations regarding the economic impacts of PAs can be severely overestimated by regional actors facing economic hardship, creating difficulty in building relationships between PA staff and regional actors.

Biophysical environments have a direct impact on the types of resource industries that can operate within a region, the location of towns and cities, road placement and development, and types of outdoor recreational activities. The location of PAs within specific biophysical environments can have a direct impact on allowing or preventing access to various resources. Furthermore, the ecosystem-based and conservation literature shows that ecological processes such as fauna and flora, watersheds, air, pollution, sedimentation function within complex continually changing systems, outside of political and jurisdictional boundaries.

Understanding institutional histories is an important component of regional integration as it can affect the relationship between PA and regional actors. For example, authors such as Fortin and Gagnon (1999) have demonstrated that the creation of PAs, and the promises made during their inception by political actors can have lasting effects on the relationship between park and regional actors.

As previously discussed in the literature review (section 2.2.2) governance refers to processes for decision-making, which actors are involved, the manner in which they are involved, and how power for decision-making is shared (Jessop, 2003; Kooiman, 1993; Graham, Amos and Plumptre, 2003). Developments regarding the increased role of society in governance for PAs have influenced how regional actors are identified, how they interact with each other and the influences they hold for decision-making (Phillips, 2003; Ballofet and Martin, 2007; McNamee, 2010).

Important regional topics or issues can have a significant impact in shaping relationships between PA staff and regional actors (McCleave, Espiner and Booth, 2006; von Ruschkowski and Mayer, 2011). Regional topics can influence regional actor's perception of the benefits of PAs or existing and proposed PA management mandates. Therefore, recognizing and taking into consideration regional topics can increase our understanding of PA and regional actor relationships.

2.4.3 Institutions

Institutions play an important part in the regional integration of PAs. As reviewed in the literature (Section 2.2.3), institutions can be both formal and informal and both influence and are influenced by regional actors for the regional integration of PAs. Institutions are systems of established and prevalent social rules that provide stable structures for social interactions (Dietz et al, 2002; Hogden, 2006). In turn, social interactions shape and modify institutions.

Formal institutions, such as statutory laws, or land claim agreements can play an important role in regional integration as they serve as a formal mechanism that guide decision-making processes. Informal institutions such as social norms and common discourse between actors are important to regional integration as they provide an informal understanding of appropriate behaviour and allow for routine activities to develop in conjunction with efforts to implement formal institutions (Hogden, 2006; Scott, 1995; Young, 2002a).

The regional integration of PAs is dependent upon the scale, fit and interplay of both formal and informal institutions operating within the social-ecological system. The interplay of both formal and informal institutions for shaping regional integration is thus defined as institutional arrangements. As past and current institutions tend to be rigid, a mismatch of scale fit and interplays between institutions can result in poor planning and management practices. For regional integration to succeed, increased flexibility and adaptability in institutions is required (Lockwood et al., 2010)

2.4.4 Management Goals and Objectives

The multiplicity of actors in the regional integration of PAs generates multiple goals that can be both directly or indirectly related to the PA. Such goals can be short, medium or long-term and can be either very specific or very broad; can focus on increasing the ecological diversity of a PA region; or, developing economically sustainable projects within the PA region.

The literature indicates that, increasingly, the regional integration of PAs functions within the realms of various institutional frameworks that work towards common goals and objectives which are agreed upon through consultative processes (Davey, 1999; McNeely, 1999). Thus, developing goals and objectives is increasingly viewed as a process of co-governance in which various actors carry out governance tasks through different modes of self governance (Sorensen and Triantafillou, 2009).

Developing and attaining management goals and objectives is largely dependent on involving or soliciting participation from relevant actors. These new multi-level governance approaches to regional integration must embrace the diversity of knowledge and value brought by the various involved actors. Through participatory and social learning approaches, participation can allow for an increase in viability of long-term institutional arrangements for the regional integration of PAs.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by presenting and defining the concept of regional integration. The concept of regional integration is broad and grounded within multiple bodies of literature. The theoretical foundations for this concept such as public participation, systems theory, governance and institutions are presented. Then, relevant PA management approaches are provided. The chapter concludes by presenting and explaining the theoretical framework for regional integration developed to guide this research.

3.0 Methodology and Methods

This chapter begins by introducing the philosophical framework that guided this study, the qualitative and case study based methodology and the reasons for adopting this approach. Then, the specific methods for this study, including case study justification, data collection and analysis procedures are provided. Finally, the challenges encountered during this study and data collection phase are discussed.

3.1 Epistemological and Philosophical Framework

It is important to understand the philosophical framework used by the researcher as this guides the manner in which the research is approached (Cresswell, 2009). The philosophical framework proposed for this study is social-constructivism. Social constructivism falls under the subjectivist epistemology. The subjectivist epistemology is rooted in the belief that there is no concrete, knowable reality, or meaning. Rather, reality is a social construct shaped by language, labels, actions, and routines which constitute symbolic modes of being in the world. Reality is embedded in the realm of social affairs and has no concrete status of any kind. Reality can be shaped by these symbolic modes and may result in the development of shared but multiple realities which can be sustained or confined to only those moments in which it is actively constructed and sustained (Cresswell, 2009; Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Thus, reality is varied and multiple, compelling the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories (Cresswell, 2009). Under such an epistemological stance, it is important that the researcher identify, through self-reflection, how their understanding of reality has been shaped and to rely as much as possible on the participant's views of situations being studied (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998). The researcher's journaling process is further explained in section 3.4.3.

The social-constructivist framework recognizes that individuals co-create subjective meanings of their experiences in an attempt to understand the world in which they live (Patton, 2002). In this way of understanding knowledge, it is evident that meaning will be constructed in varying ways by different people even if it is in relation to the same phenomenon (Crotty, 1998). This framework assumes that everyone is born into a socially and culturally constructed set of norms which serve as a starting point from which social actors recognize, produce and reproduce social actions. Researchers that adopt this anti-essentialist framework focus on explaining how their research participants construct their perceived social reality (meaning) through specific linguistic, social and historical contexts (institutions). They focus on addressing the processes of interactions among individuals by focusing on specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998; Schwandt, 2001). Under this theoretical framework, the researcher seeks to understand the context and setting of the participants by visiting this context and personally gathering information. Crotty (1998) states that such an understanding is misleading if not set in a genuinely historical and social perspective. Through data analysis, the researcher makes an interpretation of the results, an interpretation shaped by the researcher's own experiences and background. Thus, the research processes under this theoretical framework are largely inductive with the researcher generating meaning from the data collected. The basic premise and assumptions of a social-constructivist framework are reflected in the methodology and methods selected.

3.2 Methodology

In order to gain a better understanding of the institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration of PAs in Québec, the research adopted a multi-case study methodology. The case(s) are a specific and unique phenomenon that are bounded by time,

place, event and activity for which the researcher collected detailed information using a multi-method qualitative data collection procedures over a specific period of time (Creswell, 2009; Stake, 1995). Case study methodology is ideal for conducting a holistic, in-depth investigation (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991) as it is a “systematic inquiry into an event or set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest” (Bromly, 1990, pp. 302). A case study research strategy arises when the researcher desires to understand complex social phenomena by focussing on understanding the dynamics present within a single setting (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). Case study methodology is known as a triangulated research strategy as it is designed to bring out details from the view point of multiple participants through the use of multiple data sources (Feagin et al., 1991; Tellis, 1997). Yin (2003), states that in case study methodology, triangulation can be achieved through the use of multiple sources of data such as document analysis and in-depth interviews.

A multi-case study design was adopted as it allowed for both within-case and cross-case analyses to be conducted. This permitted the researcher to draw upon cross-case conclusions that allowed for more generalizations than an individual case study would (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). A multi-case study design is often used for developing new theories (theory building) and for examining unfamiliar situations (McCutcheon and Meredith, 1993; Perry, 1998). Theory-building research is focused and begins as close as possible to the ideal that there is no theory under consideration and no hypothesis to be tested allowing for true meanings to emerge from the data (Perry, 1998). The case studies selected allowed for comparisons to be made and for the researcher to better understand the various institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the regional integration of PAs within Québec. The multi-case design employed a multi-perspective analysis of the voice of government employees, private sector industry, members of

ENGO groups, members of FN communities, and local community members near PAs and the interactions amongst them.

3.3 Selection Process and Case Studies

Case studies were selected based on the rationale that the regions needed to be broadly similar to one another in terms of types of PAs (e.g. federal, provincial, municipal) and regional contexts (e.g. economy, industry, history of PA creation) in order to be able to make comparisons between them. Case studies are based on the existing administrative regions within the province (see chapter 4). Since the goal of this research is to examine institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration of PA systems and regional actors, having three case studies permitted this. The following section provides the rationale used in selecting the case studies. This is followed by a general description of each site (see Chapter 4 for a detailed account of PA development within the province). Chapters 6-8 provide additional information for each case study.

3.3.1 Rationale for Case Study Selection

Case study regions were selected based on the following criteria:

- i. include multiple and varying types of PAs;
- ii. multiple and varying actors relevant to the planning, management and governance of PAs;
- iii. be relatively accessible to the public;
- iv. located in relatively developed parts of the province;
- v. include both newly and well established PAs; and,
- vi. have natural resource /economic activities located near PAs.

The Mauricie and Gaspésie regions were selected due to their similarities. Both contain at least one national park (either federal or provincial) falling under IUCN management category two; both the LMNP and the GNP are bordered by two wildlife reserves and both are in close proximity to urban centres. Additionally, LMNP is under federal authority while in Gaspésie, GNP is under provincial authority. This difference allows for comparisons to be made that point to specific factors that foster and impede institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration.

The Saguenay Region was selected due to the unique types of PAs present such as the co-management agreement between Parks Canada and the SEPAQ for the SSLMP and, the complex and ongoing public participation processes with nearby municipalities and FN communities in relation to park management. Also, understanding the manner in which the SSLMP and adjacent terrestrial PAs and resource-based industries within this region have developed institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration provides answers to the research questions posed.

The FNP sub-region was selected as it includes the first National Park to be established in the Province of Québec by the Government of Canada. Due to the expropriation and relocation of many homes and municipalities during establishment of the park, there is a long history of confrontation in planning and management between the park and nearby municipalities and people. Examining the manner in which institutional arrangements and governance approaches have developed and currently function provides insight into how interactions between the park and its surrounding region have affected the overall effectiveness and implementation of planning and management within the park. Although FNP is not directly bordered by other PAs, examining dialog between this park and other PAs close by and in the larger Gaspé region (e.g.

GNP) provides interesting information that can be compared to other case studies such as LMNP Region.

These three case studies are the most significant and relevant to my research as they represent the major PAs along the St-Lawrence corridor in Québec. Therefore, including all three case studies has allowed for a broader, multi-case examination and understanding of institutional history between actors; current institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration; and an understanding of how interactions between PAs and their regions have been defined, addressed and implemented. The case studies provide a broad diversity of regional integration experiences.

Other potential case studies were identified but rejected for the purposes of this study. The Abitibi-Temiscamingue was originally considered as a potential case due to the large number of provincial PAs, the types of major resource industries (mining and forestry) and the presence of a provincial national park. However, this case was rejected on the premise that although it contained numerous PAs, with the exception of the provincial national park, none of these were actually staffed, making data collection impossible. The Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve region was also originally considered for this study. However, cost of travel and travel times ruled out this case.

3.3.2 Overview of Case Studies

3.3.2.1 La Mauricie Region

The Mauricie Region is located north of the St Lawrence River in the Laurentian foothills halfway between Montreal and Québec City. Over half of the provincial population resides within this area. The region has one large federal national Park, La Mauricie National Park (LMNP) and numerous provincial PAs. The LMNP is located near two urban centres, Shawinigan and Trois-Rivieres that have a combined population of 180,000. The LMNP is

bordered by two wildlife reserves (Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve and St-Maurice Wildlife Reserve) and one Controlled Harvesting Zone (ZEC) (Chapeau-de-Paille ZEC) (Parks Canada, 2010a) (See chapter 4 section 4.1.1 for more information on Wildlife Reserves and ZECs). The Matawin River borders the LMNP to the north while the Saint-Mathieu-du-Parc and Shawinigan municipalities border the park on the south. An outfitting operation (hunting and fishing) is located on the north side of the Matawin River adjacent to LMNP. The Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve is bordered by the Des Nymphes ZEC and an Outfitting Operation on the South West Side while the St-Maurice Wildlife Reserve is bordered by the Wessonneau ZEC on the north side (Figure 4). Forestry is the largest industry in the area. There are five private Nature Reserves located in this PA region (Reserve Naturelle Carmen-Lavoie, Reserve Naturelle Tortue-des-bois-de-la-Shawinigan, Reserve Naturelle Tortue-des-bois-de-la-Shawinigan (secteur Mouvement-Vert-Mauricie), Reserve Naturelle Tortue-des-bois-de-la-Shawinigan (secteur Pierre Lambert), Reserve Naturelle de L'Envol), one private Voluntary Conservation Reserve (site de ponte de tortues des bois de la rivière Shawinigan) and over 280 provincial PAs recognized under different categories (MNRF, 2012). The southern portion of the region is mostly composed of farmland and small woodlots. Popular recreation activities in the region include hiking, camping, hunting and fishing.



(P. Schaus. (2015). WLU, GES.)

Figure 4. La Mauricie Region

3.3.2.2 Gaspésie Region

The Gaspésie region is divided into two sub-regions based on the types of PAs present within these: The Gaspésie National Park (GNP), and Forillon National Park (FNP).

Gaspésie National Park

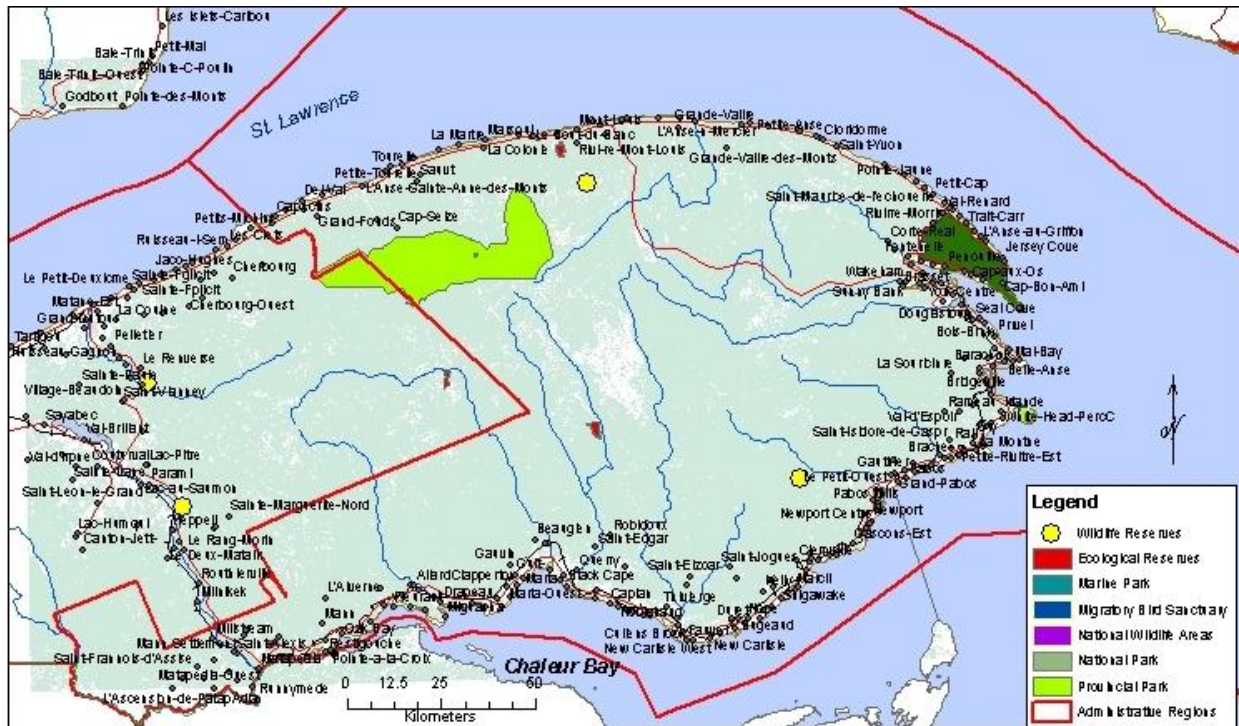
The GNP, established in 1937, was the third PA created by the Province of Québec. The GNP is located inland in the middle of the Gaspé Peninsula, approximately 520 km from Québec City, and protects an area of approximately 802 km². The park is best known for its mountain environment comprising the Chic-Chocs and McGerrigle Mountain ranges which create arctic-alpine and tundra climates. The park also protects a small herd of woodland caribou, the last representatives of this species south of the St. Lawrence River. Regionally, the park is bordered by two wildlife reserves, the Chic-Chocs Wildlife Reserve on the west side of the park and the Matane Wildlife Reserve on the east side of the park (SEPAQ, 2011). The Fernald ecological reserve also borders the park on its easternmost tip. The international Appalachian Trail also crosses the park and both wildlife reserves. Also, Salmon Rivers (a type of river designation) flow through the park and both wildlife reserves. A private Voluntary Conservation Reserve (Rivière Sainte -Anne) is located between Gaspé National Park and the village of Sainte-Anne-des-Monts. There are four municipalities that border the Gaspésie National Park: Cap-Chat, Sainte-Anne-des-Monts, Mont-Saint-Pierre, and Mont-Louis. Major industries in the park region are tourism, forestry and wind farm development. Popular recreation activities include hiking, snowshoeing, camping, fishing, wildlife observation, hunting and horseback riding.

Forillon National Park Region

FNP, located on the north-eastern tip of the Gaspé Peninsula and established in 1970, was the first national park to be established in the Province of Québec by the Government of Canada and protects an area of approximately 244 km². Forillon is located within the municipal limits of Gaspé and is encircled by the communities of Rivière au Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon, Cap-des-Rosiers, Cap-aux-Os, Penouille Peninsula and Saint-Majorite. Unique to this PA area case region is the joint management agreement between the Micmac Nation of Gespeg and Parks Canada.

Under this agreement, a sector of the park is now under a joint management agreement between Parks Canada and the Micmac Nation of Gespeg.

Although the FNP is not directly bordered by any other PA, it is part of the larger ecosystem within the Gaspé region that also includes numerous PAs under private ownership; provincial and federal (Figure 5). Important provincial PAs near FNP include the Parc National de l'Île-Bonaventure-et-du-Rocher-Percé; the ecological reserve of Grande-Rivière, Manche-d'Épée, Mont-Saint-Pierre and the projected ecological reserve of Grande-Rivière. Important federal PAs include the migratory bird sanctuary of Bonaventure Island and, Percé Rock and Saint-Omer. Two private Nature Reserves (Reserve Naturelle de l'estuaires-de-la-rivière-York, Reserve Naturelle de l'Île-de-la-rivière Dartmouth) and two private Voluntary Conservation Reserves (Reserve écologique de la Grande-Rivière, Barachois de Malbaie) are located in this PA region. Popular recreation activities in the region include hiking, camping, fishing, hunting and bird observation.



(P. Schaus. (2015). WLU, GES.)

Figure 5. Gaspésie Region

3.3.2.3 Saguenay-Lake Saint-Jean Region

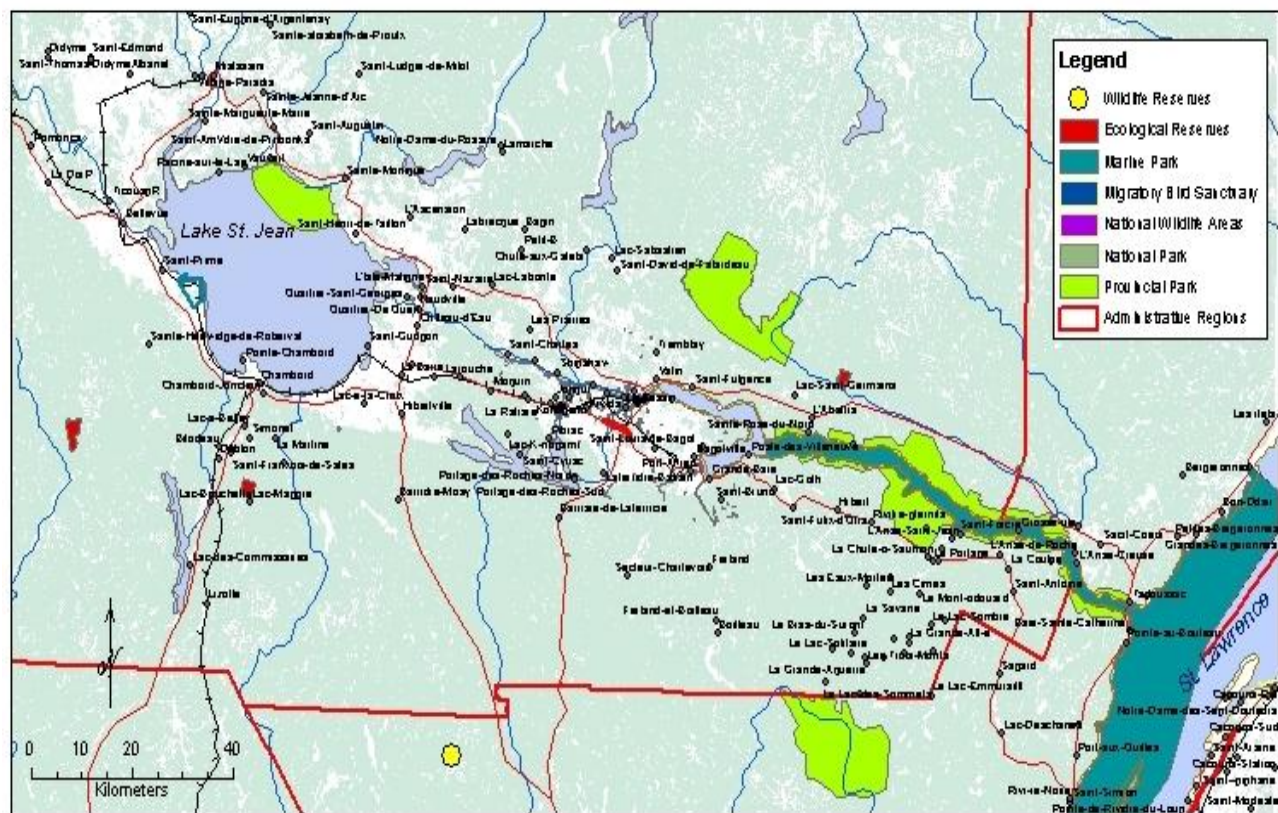
The Saguenay-Lake Saint-Jean region is located on the north shore of the St-Lawrence River, approximately three hours drive from Québec City. There are numerous provincial National Parks, multiple provincial and private PAs and a marine park. The Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park (SSLMP) is bordered by Saguenay Fjord National Park (SFNP) and is in close proximity to five National Parks of Québec (Jacques-Cartier, Grands-Jardins, Hautes-Gorges de la Rivière-Malbaie, Monts-Valins, and Saguenay Fjord National Parks), two wildlife reserves (Laurantides Wildlife Reserve and Ashuapmushuan Wildlife Reserve), three private Nature Reserves (Reserve Naturelle des Mon-et-Merveilles, Reserve Naturelle de l'Île-au-Basque-et-des-Razades, Reserve Naturelle de l'Île-au-Pommes), three private Voluntary Conservation Reserves (Rivière Petit-Saguenay, Refuges Fauniques des Battures-de-St-Fulgence, Petit Marais de St-Gédéon) and multiple smaller conservation areas such as Salmon Rivers.

Important resource industries include forestry in the north, farming around Lac-Saint-Jean, and aluminum smelting due to the abundance of hydroelectricity within the region. Popular recreation activities in the region include hiking, camping, fishing, hunting and whale watching.

The SSLMP was created in 1998 through a joint effort with Parks Canada and the provincial government of Québec. The SSLMP protects an area of 1245 km². It is located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River and covers the entire bed of the Saguenay River from Cap a l'Est downstream on the Saguenay River and the northern half of the St. Lawrence Estuary located between Gros Cap a l'Aigle upstream and Les Escoumins downstream (Figure 6). The park is bordered by seven regional county municipalities which are: Charlevoix-Est, Fjord-du-Saguenay, Ville de Saguenay, Haute-Cote-Nord, Kamouraska, Rivière-du-Loup, and Des Basques (Parks Canada, 2010d). The major industries in the park region are tourism, logging and commercial fishing.

The management of the SSLMP is unique and innovative in Canada. Both the governments of Canada and Québec united in the joint creation and management of a marine PA. Currently, the park is jointly managed between Société des Etablissements de Plein Air du Québec (SEPAQ) and Parks Canada. Parks Canada is responsible for the management of the water portion of the park while SEPAQ is responsible for the management of the land-based portion of the park (Figure 6). Although the park is jointly managed between Parks Canada and SEPAQ, the unique marine nature of the park incorporates other departments which also have jurisdiction in its management through law and regulation enforcement. Some examples at the federal level include the Canada Oceans Act, Navigable Waters Protection Act and the Canada Shipping Act. Examples at the provincial level include the Québec Sustainability Act, Petroleum Product Act and the Cultural Property Act. In addition, both Parks Canada and the MDDEFP have identified municipalities and townships that are both affected by and impacted by the park

and its visitors. These municipalities and townships are part of the coordination zone which extends from Ville de Saguenay, upstream from the Saguenay River, to Tadoussac, including all of the municipalities along the fjord. Along the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, it extends from La Malbaie, downstream, to Les Escoumins, including the land claimed by the Essipit Innu FN. On the south shore, the municipalities running alongside the estuary between Kamouraska and Trois-Pistoles form part of the coordination zone, including the land claimed by the Malecite FN in Viger. The purpose of the coordination zone is to include residents in management decision-making so as to maintain a climate of cooperation with nearby communities and to foster their sense of ownership of the park (Parks Canada 2010d).



(P. Schaus. (2015). WLU, GES.)

Figure 6. Saguenay-St. Lawrence Region

3.4 Data Sources

As previously indicated in section 3.2, the exploratory nature of the research required the use of a triangulated research strategy. A triangulated research strategy allows details to emerge from the viewpoint of multiple data sources. To obtain the data, four research methods were employed in this study:

- 1) Document analysis of relevant government and private sector documents;
- 2) Semi-structured interviews with key informants;
- 3) Journaling; and
- 4) Participant observation.

These four data sources were selected on the basis that they would each provide specific facets and would complement each other when examining regional integration for PAs within the case studies. Each of these methods is presented and discussed below.

3.4.1 Document Analysis

Employing documents as a source of data has long been used by researchers within the social sciences. Prior (2008) asserts that there are two main forms of document analysis. The first can be referred to as the traditionalist approach which focuses on the collection and analysis of document content more than on documents as agents and actors. Documents under this view are approached as a source of information and the content (writings and images) that they contain is reviewed for appropriate data (Prior, 2008). The second approach places emphasis on studying documents as a topic rather than as a resource. Under this approach, focus is placed on understanding the manner in which any given document came to assume its actual content and structure (Prior, 2008), and is similar to Foucault's (2005) discussion on the archaeology of documentation. Approaching the document analysis as a topic rather than as a resource creates a new dimension of analysis which concerns the way in which specific documents are used in

social interactions and the manner in which they function. Examining documents as a topic, thus, generates questions about what documents “do” rather than what they “say”. However, such distinctions between forms of document analysis only hold at a conceptual level as the lines between these become blurred at an empirical level due to their interrelated nature (Prior, 2008). Therefore, both approaches for document analysis outlined by Prior were employed in this study through a latent content analysis process using an interpretive directed reading approach (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). A latent content analysis focuses not on frequency of words or phrases (e.g. manifest content analysis), but rather, focuses on notions or concepts within the text (Elo and Kyngas, 2008; Krippendorff, 2013). An interpretive directed reading approach to document analysis uses pre-existing themes, in this case derived from the literature review (e.g. governance, participation, management) to guide the content analysis process.

Document analysis was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved an extensive analysis of government documents which provided historical context and guidance for the field base research. Focus was placed on documents which provided information regarding the various rationales and influences (e.g. political, economic, environmental) for the creation of PA systems in the province; and, how such rationales and influences led to the implementation and creation of different PA systems. Due to an apparent paucity of published literature on this topic, various archives, primarily, the National Assembly of Québec Library and Archives served as the primary location for document collection. This library serves as provincial repository for all types of materials including reference material, research studies, archival records and current events. The library also has an extensive collection of Québec and federal government publications and is linked to 40 other government libraries across Canada. This document source was also supplemented by visiting the libraries at Laval University, University of Québec at Chicoutimi, McGill University, and the James Gordon Nelson and George Francis collections at

Wilfrid Laurier University, due to their extensive collections on aspects of PA history, development and management; environmental resource growth and development within Québec; and, documents outlining historical aspects of resource development within Québec. The document analysis identified various actors in the development of Québec's PA system and allowed me to map out similarities and differences in regards to the level of cooperation, collaboration, communication and activity between current actors involved with Québec's PA systems.

The second phase of document analysis occurred on an ongoing basis alongside the field research within the case studies. In this phase, documents such as administrative reports from various provincial or federal PA systems, newsletters and publications from the private sector were collected and reviewed following the same methods and process as described above. This document analysis allowed for a chronology of events regarding the rationales and influences for PA development in the province and how these have affected the implementation and creation of different types of PAs and PA systems. These data add depth and strength to the identified themes derived from the interviews. Both phases of document analysis helped in providing context to the data collected during the interviews.

3.4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to share and describe their experiences in terms of PA development and associated influences in the Québec system, and how various interactions or specific factors between PA systems and relevant regional actors influenced or affected the integration of planning and management practices between PAs. Through the process of combining the information collected from the document analysis and corroborating and comparing it with the data obtained from the interviews, valuable information was obtained and generated allowing me to answer my four research questions.

For this research, McCracken's (1988) Long Interview Technique (LIT) was selected as it emphasises the use of literature to develop and build upon previous work while also remaining open to new themes, ideas and patterns of interaction. The LIT provides the researcher with the "... opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves (McCracken, 1988, pp. 9). According to McCracken, (1988), the LIT allows for:

- 1) Intensive rather than extensive research. Although this method cannot be used to make generalizations to a larger population, McCracken (1988) argues that the LIT allows the research to view and provide an understanding of the complicated character, organization and logic of culture from the perspective of key informants. For this research, this relates to understanding the development of PAs and the evolving relationships between various government and private industry sectors in the planning and management of current PAs;
- 2) The identification of patterns and relationships between multiple issues so that complex systems can be understood;
- 3) The researcher is an active instrument in the collection and analysis of data; and,
- 4) Analyzing data using a set methodology.

The LIT has four steps of inquiry:

- 1) The literature review;
- 2) Self reflection;
- 3) Interview Procedures; and,
- 4) Data Analysis.

3.4.2.1 Literature Review

The literature review served as mechanism for understanding and defining problems and provided background information, such as concepts, on which perceptions depend (McCracken, 1998). For qualitative research, a literature review plays an important role in sharpening the

researcher's capacity for surprise as the researcher has a set of expectations which the data can defy. To this end, the literature review allows the data from the research project to be compared and questioned against theories within the researchers field (McCraken, 1998). The literature also serves other purposes. It aids in the development of the research instrument by identifying areas which need to be explored and examined, it specifies categories and relationships that can serve in organizing data and provides insight into larger factors that can influence and direct respondent testimony (McCraken, 1988).

For this research, the literature review served many purposes. First, it grounded the concept of regional integration and was used in the formulation of the theoretical framework. The literature review was also used as a guide in the development of the research instrument as it identified areas that had not yet been explored or could benefit from further inquiry. The literature review provided insights into various aspects of PA and resource management which were used to ground various concepts, or as probes during the interview process. Finally, the literature review allowed for research results to be compared and questioned against existing theories and management practices.

3.4.2.2 Self Reflection

Although referred here as 'self reflection' McCraken refers to this second step of the LIT as the review of cultural categories. In this step, the investigator begins to view himself as an instrument of inquiry by attempting to gain "a more detailed and systematic appreciation of his or her personal experience with the topic" (McCraken, 1988, pp.32). McCraken (1988) outlines three purposes of the self reflection process. The first involved the researcher's ability to self reflect on the topic and to identify themes and relationships which may not have been considered by the scholarly literature. Once identified, these can be applied to the questionnaire development. Secondly, the researcher uses self reflection to understand the topic and the

manner in which he or she perceives it. The researcher must identify, examine and reflect on the associations, incidents, assumptions and biases related to the research topic. Doing so provides the researcher with the ability to distance himself from the interviewees so as to properly collect the interview data. By identifying personal biases, the researcher is able to address these in the data analysis thus, increasing the strength of the analysis. The third purpose of self reflection is to allow the researcher to prepare for data analysis. In so doing, “the investigator listens to the self in order to listen to the respondents” (McCracken, 1988, pp. 33).

Self reflection played an important role in this research and was conducted from the onset of commencing this PhD. Thoughts and ideas regarding this thesis project, expected relationships between actors, reasons for PA development, or lack thereof, and the types of collaborations between actors and PA systems were recorded. Much of this was heavily influenced by my previous schooling, research and discussion with academics and family members residing in Québec. The preliminary document analysis and preparation for the field component of the thesis allowed me to obtain a better understanding of the general provincial PA context which allowed me to reflect on my previous assumptions and biases. Throughout the field research, continual self evaluation of my previous assumptions was conducted based on the information presented during participant interviews. These processes allowed me to better understand common themes and linkages during the data analysis procedure.

3.4.2.3 Interview Procedure

The development of the interview guide was informed through the conceptual framework and literature review. The interview guide was composed of semi-structured, non-directed questions (Appendix A). This allowed respondents to tell the story in their own terms as questions were phrased in a non-directive manner. A semi-structured interview process was selected as it provided the flexibility, something a structured interview process would not due to

inherent rigidities such as a strict sequenced script of uniform questions. Semi-structured interview processes are particularly well suited to exploratory research. This interview style provides the flexibility regarding the sequence of questions asked; how questions are asked; how specific areas may be further explored during the interview; interviewees have the ability to express their opinions in their own terms; and, interviewees can provide justifications to their answer. This allows each interview to be shaped by the interviewees own understanding of reality and of the researchers interests (Mason, 2004). Although a semi-structured interview process does not necessarily allow for the comparison of answers to a common questions such as a structured interview process does (e.g. see Firmin, 2008), this was deemed acceptable due to the associated benefits noted above.

In order to sustain the discussion in an unobtrusive manner, the researcher employed two types of prompts. *Floating prompts* employed several features of every day speech such as raising one's eyebrow or repeating the key terms of a respondent's last remark so as to prompt them to provide a more in-depth discussion of the subject matter. *Planned prompts* were used when the respondents did not discuss their story on their own. Such prompts were used when categories identified in the literature review and self reflection did not emerge spontaneously from the discussion. Planned prompts provided the respondents with the opportunity to consider and discuss certain factors that do not always readily come to mind. The interviews began with a relaxed, benign discussion focused on the interviewer and interviewee background so as to set a pleasant atmosphere and reduce any potential uncomfortable feelings on behalf of the interviewee. As the interview unrolled, floating and planned prompts were employed when needed. Interviews were concluded by asking participants if there was a specific topic brought up during the interview they would like to further discuss or, if there was anything else they thought should be mentioned or discussed.

All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Extensive notes were made after each interview, identifying themes to further probe, perceptions and linkages between interviews. The length of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours, with the average interview lasting 55 minutes. All interviews were transcribed into NVivo 10 by the author using Dragon Speech Recognition Software. Section 3.5 explains how participants were selected, the number of participants interviewed and the interview process. Section 3.6 presents data analysis procedures. .

3.4.2.4 Discovery of Analytic Categories

Data was analyzed using McCracken's (1988) five stages of analytic inquiry. In the first stage, each utterance within the interview transcript was treated individually irrespective of its relationship to the other aspects of the text. In the second stage, these observations were taken and developed according to the evidence in the transcript and in the literature. In the third stage, the interconnections between observations made in the second stage were examined and contrasted against the literature and personal self-reflection. In this stage, the focus shifted away from the individual transcripts and focused towards the observations themselves. In the fourth stage, the observations generated were compared and grouped under various patterns and analytic themes. In the fifth stage, the patterns and themes were re-examined within the context of the transcript and were subjected to a final analysis to determine and verify if they are appropriate and representative of the themes under which they were placed.

3.4.3 Journaling

Throughout the research, a journal was kept so that my observations, thoughts, interpretation of my interactions with research participants and emerging themes and concepts could be recorded. In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection (Stake, 1995; Schwandt, 2001). Therefore, keeping a journal allowed me to critically

self-reflect on the development of my research and provided me with the ability to look back for clarification if needed be regarding certain interviews or in the development of analytical themes. After the completion of an interview, I would take time to write out personal thoughts regarding the interview such as my impression of the participant's message and body language and of the general ideas, issues or problems presented by the participants. Ideas and thoughts were also recorded in my journal when transcribing and analyzing the transcripts as this provided a written account of my thought development and allowed me to trace the origins of concepts and themes derived from the research. Journaling also increased the validity of the research as I was able to trace back the origin of a theme to determine if the original concepts were accurately represented by the theme. According to Schwandt (2001) reflexivity is a "very important procedure for establishing the validity of accounts of social phenomena (pp. 224).

3.4.4 Participant Observation

Participant observations provide the researcher with comprehensive perspectives regarding the phenomenon being studied. By going directly to the site, talking with and observing participants, the researcher is able to recognize several nuances of attitudes, behaviour and social processes that may not be evident or measurable using other methods (Babbie, 2012). Although not anticipated in my research proposal, I had the opportunity to observe participants in their social and environmental settings during my field research. In certain instances, these observations were informal, such as participating in discussions with local residents at coffee shops, gas stations or hiking trails. In other instances, I was invited as an observer to regional meetings related to the creation of new provincial PAs. These forms of participant observation were extremely valuable to my research as they supplemented and corroborated data obtained from my interviews and document analysis.

3.5 Data collection

Before traveling to the case studies to conduct the interviews and field observations, a summary overview of each case study was created. The case study overviews were based on the review of local news articles, documents and, previous trips and personal knowledge of the case studies. The overview of the case studies included:

- i. A list of all PAs in the regions;
- ii. PA related issues;
- iii. A preliminary list of gatekeepers;
- iv. Potential topics relevant to regional integration to follow up with during interviews; and,
- v. Categorization of participants based on their occupation in relation to regional integration.

Four separate research trips were conducted between July 2013 and November 2013. The first set of interviews was conducted in July 2013 with central provincial government officials and heads of ENGO organizations in Montreal and Québec City. Interviews for the Gaspé Region and Saguenay-St. Lawrence region were conducted between August 27th and September 20th. Between the 15th and 27th of October, the interviews for the Mauricie region were conducted. From the contacts made during the research trips, I was invited to attend two steering committee meetings related provincial PA creation for the Mauricie region in October and November 2013. I also participated in the SSLMP steering committee meeting held in November, 2013. Extensive notes were taken at these events and were used as additional data and to supplement and corroborate information presented during the interviews. Although not anticipated, informal discussions with local community members in my research sites also took place haphazardly. These discussions occurred in coffee shops, gas stations, hiking trails, tourism information centres and grocery stores. Although informal, these discussions provided

meaningful information regarding the personal values, opinions and attitudes of local residents towards a specific PA.

Key informants were selected from six broad groups deemed capable of providing the necessary data to meet the goals and research questions of the thesis. These six broad groups provided the main perspectives for this research:

- 1) Government employees (federal-GovF, provincial-GovP and municipal-GovM);
- 2) Politicians ((federal-PoF, provincial-PoP and municipal-PoM);
- 3) Scholars, but within and outside University (Sch);
- 4) Private sector, including ENGOs (PS, ENGOs);
- 5) First Nation communities (FNC); and,
- 6) Private Land Owners (PLO).

Before commencing the interview process, the researcher made contact with members from each of these six groups. To this end, a snowball sampling technique was applied. Snowball sampling is a non-random sampling technique often used to contact “hidden populations” and can be very effective in locating and contacting members of a special population when conducting exploratory research (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997). The special population which the researcher attempts to contact using this technique will usually have either one or more of the following: a special skill, particular knowledge (either through personal experience or education), or they have particular characteristics. In order to use snowball sampling, I first identified and selected members from each of the six key informant groups. These served as “gatekeepers” and were asked to provide the names of several potential participants they thought could provide rich data for this research project. These gatekeepers were also asked to provide the names of people or organizations that might not share their perspectives on the integration of PAs. These potential participants were then contacted and the same process as described above

was repeated. This generated a preliminary list of participants and allowed me to organize interview times and dates before arriving on site.

Neuman (2003) suggests that researchers end the process of snowball sampling when they have either exhausted all potential contacts for new participants or have deemed the sample size to be large enough for purposes of their research. Thus, sampling continued until several participants from each group had been identified and interviewed, when no new themes or concepts were emerging, and when no new participants were identified.

Key informants were identified and selected based on their experiences and ability to inform the research. Selection criteria included their place of employment, title and role, affiliation, experience and expertise related to their various facets of knowledge concerning regional integration of PAs in Québec. In many instances, the key informants identified were the only ones within an organization or park system deemed capable of participating in this research based on their knowledge. For example, there are 2-4 senior level positions (Park Director, Science and Conservation, Visitor Services, Maintenance/Operations) within each of the SEPAQ Parks who had sufficient knowledge to answer my research questions.

All respondents were provided with an information letter and were asked to sign a consent form based on Wilfrid Laurier University research ethics procedures (Appendix B and C). Due to the potential political implications relative to the interview, anonymity was an important concern to participants. For participants that did not want to be named in this study, a code was assigned to them so as to maintain their anonymity (e.g. ENGO-1; ENGO-2). The interview data results are presented in quotations and are referenced according to a specific key informant group.

A total of 96 interviews were conducted with 99 participants (three joint interviews) (Table 7). All interviews except two were conducted in French. Two participants were not

comfortable speaking French and opted to conduct the interview in English. Several respondents had more than one affiliation (e.g. park staff and local resident) and this was deemed valuable in terms of perspectives and discussion during the interviews. A total of 90 interviews were conducted face-to-face in an informal setting selected by the participants such as a café, house or place of employment. Six interviews were conducted over telephone due to the participant's unavailability during site visits. In three instances, two participants were interviewed together at their request. In one instance, the participants lived together and in the other two instances, participants were colleagues and felt more comfortable participating in the interview together. Relevant documents were collected during the site visits and after interviews. Documents collected included management plans, reports and brochures.

Table 7. Study Participant Categorization

Informant Category	Mauricie	Saguenay-St. Laurence	Gaspésie	Government and ENGO Headquarters	Total
Parks Canada	2	2	3	4	11
Provincial Government	2	2	2	7	13
Municipal Government	2	5	8	-	15
SEPAQ	1	12	6	2	21
ENGO	4	3	4	4	15
Private Business	2	1	4		7
Private Land Owner	3	4	3	-	10
First Nation	1	4	2	-	7
Total	17	33	32	17	99

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis was guided by McCracken's (1988) previously discussed five stages of analytic inquiry. The recorded interviews were transcribed directly into and analyzed in NVivo 10. This software program was used as a tool for organizing the raw data into meaningful codes and categories relevant to the research questions; this program served only as an organization

tool and not as an analytical resource (Straus, 1987). This process is further examined below and examples are presented in Table 8.

3.6.1 Data Analysis Procedures

The data analysis procedure was based on an inductive thematic research approach designed to identify patterns and frequency of codes organized under themes from the interview data. An inductive approach to data analysis means that patterns, codes and themes for analysis are derived from the data rather than being imposed by the researcher prior to data analysis (Patton, 1980). A thematic analysis process moves beyond simply counting specific phrases or words. Rather, thematic analysis focuses on describing both implicit and explicit ideas within a data set organized under themes. Codes are used to develop and represent the identified themes and are linked to raw data as exemplifiers (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Thematic analysis procedures move beyond simply focusing on consensus across and within a data set as this inherently restricts the scope of the data analysis procedure. Rather, a thematic analysis focuses on code frequency. Code frequency broadens the scope of research inquiry as it accentuates the need to focus on both recurring codes and outliers. These codes then can highlight relevant information pertinent to the research goals and questions which could have otherwise been missed (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Such an approach to data analysis is well suited to this research considering the adopted epistemology, snowball sampling and interview procedures employed (see section 3.1; 3.4.2.3; and, 3.5). Therefore, research results are informed by themes and codes derived through the thematic analysis procedures detailed below.

Data analysis was conducted in four steps. First, data analysis began by reading through all transcripts for each case study in chronological order while also recording my observations and thoughts in my journal. This allowed me to obtain an overall impression of the data.

Once all transcripts had been read through for a particular case study, I re-read through each transcript, line-by-line, and began the process of assigning open codes to the data. Daly (2007) states that open coding are “a way of opening up the data in order to explore what it means.” (p.230). Thus, open coding allowed ideas, themes and concepts to be identified (Neuman, 2006). Once the open coding process was completed, I began to bring together these themes and concepts together into a higher level of abstraction know as categories. According to Daly, categories bring together concepts which are both similar and dissimilar, but related, in order to create emphasis on internal continuities and variability.

The following step in data analysis was axial coding. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), axial coding is described as putting “data back together in new ways by making connections between a category and its subcategories” (pp. 97). These authors emphasize that axial coding remains primarily concerned with the development of categories and sub-categories and is not yet focused on the formulation of main categories that form the overall theory. The research questions and conceptual framework were be used to guide the development of these categories.

Finally, once the axial coding process was completed, selective or, theoretical coding was conducted. Selective coding was used to filter concepts formulated during the axial coding process so as to refine theory and describe how the various categories related to each other (Daly, 2007; Neuman, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This coding process allowed me to bring together categories and sub-categories organized under themes to make an overall theory of the factors that have, and continue to shape the regional integration of PAs in Québec (see Table 8).

Table 8. Examples of Themes and Concept Used for Data Analysis	
Themes	Definition/meaning
Public participation	Could be in reference to the type or level of involvement; problems associated in doing this;
Communication	The manner in which information is communicated.
Role of Government	What is the role of government or ministries in fostering or impeding integration of PAs
Regime Change	When a political, conservation or economic regime changes what caused that change
Politics	How politics influence decision-making processes
Economy	Economic hardship and the role/influence of PAs
Money	The role it has in PA creation or PA system development
Public Support	How actors at community or regional levels they are
Governance	Support in Decision-making Lack of government Power
FSC	Referring to the effect that FSC certification has had for PA planning and collaboration between regional actors
Collaboration	How actors collaborate with each other; both positive or negative This could mean within a specific agency; between two PA agencies; or, between an agency and other actor
Power	In terms of imbalances or differences between actors
Voice	Which actors have a voice and how important or influential the voice is?
Institutions	This could mean either formal or informal institutions or institutional mechanism
Institutions-History	How historical events have shaped and influenced current regional integration processes
Relationships	Relationships between different actors
Complexity	In reference to the complexity of developing collaborations between PA agencies and other societal sectors. e.g. in developing collaborative participative decision-making procedures between a PA agency and other actors

The document analysis allowed me to gain a deeper understanding regarding how management and planning for various PAs in Québec functions between various PA systems. The document analysis also allowed me to establish a history of PA development in Québec. The conceptual framework was used as a guide for this analysis. Data obtained from the document analysis was also used to provide context and to support results from the interviews at the selective or theoretical coding stage.

Participant observation allowed me to gain insights into how various informants work together under various decision-making mechanisms; to corroborate information presented during interviews; and, to see power relations between informants. Informal discussions with local residents provided new insights regarding perceived problems between various PAs, central government and local economic development initiatives. These insights allowed me to further probe specific topics during interviews and to better understand regional contexts under which these PA systems operate.

During the transcription and interview analysis, journal notes were made regarding the manner in which information derived from the interviews corroborated with the information obtained from the data analysis and participant observations.

3.6.2 Trustworthiness and Accuracy of Results

According to Barbour (1998), trustworthiness, or accuracy, refers to the manner in which the researcher has achieved an authentic representation of participant's perspectives in the results of the study. Accuracy of the results can be achieved through the use of different strategies. For this research, three strategies were used to address accuracy of the results.

First, triangulation of data sources (document analysis, interviews, and journaling) allowed me to develop a strong understanding of institutions and governance processes that have affected and currently guide regional integration of PAs in Québec. Secondly, reflexivity, achieved by journaling throughout the research allowed me to document my thoughts and reflect on how these have changed throughout the project. Third, providing a rich description of the results will allow readers to understand the categories and theories developed and proposed are provided. Finally, negative case analysis (see Padgett, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) was employed to verify that the characteristics of the themes were applicable to all cases within each

study site. When no negative cases or contradictory evidence emerged, it was decided that the themes were accurate and the analyse procedure was complete.

3.6.3 Data Reporting

The data collected for each of the case studies is reported in the following result chapters (chapters 5-8). All data sources including journaling, secondary data analysis, participant observation and interviews are used to present the major themes of this research. However, the dominant data source used to demonstrate key themes is interview data quotes while participant observations and document analysis are used to corroborate interview data. The emergence of these themes occurred through a triangulated coding process (see section 3.6.1). Therefore, singular quotes are used as evidence to exemplify key themes.

The quotes used in the body of this thesis were translated by the author from French to English. The English quotes are used in the body of the text and are linked to the original French quotes included as footnotes.

The use of modifiers is used to provide the reader with a better understanding concerning the number of research participants who said something or had a particular opinion in relation to a particular quote and theme. These modifiers refer to participants within each individual case study. Modifiers used include: few participants (25% or less); some participants (26%-50%); many participants (51%-75%); the majority of participants (76%-99%); and, all participants (100%).

3.7 Research Challenges

Recognizing the limitations of the methods adopted for data collection is important for any research, and some were encountered in this project. A limitation of this study was that gatekeepers did not always want to collaborate as they did not understand or see the value of a qualitative research project. I speculate that this was often due to the individual's background

and professional training. For instance, certain individuals with a background in the ‘hard’ sciences (e.g. biology) had a difficult time understanding how interviews or documents could serve as research data.

The restructuring of the Parks Canada Agency after the announcement of the 2012 federal budget caused some problems in terms of obtaining a research permit, identifying gatekeepers and scheduling interviews with park staff. The Parks Canada Agency was in the restructuring process during my field research planning and site visits which meant that certain park staff members that were originally in positions that dealt specifically with my research were either no longer employed by the park, were not granted permission to speak with me, or had not been in the position long enough to provide meaningful information regarding my research questions.

The research only reports on the views expressed by the persons interviewed and these may not fully represent the views of the group to which they belong. Conjointly, the snowball sampling technique adopted has inherent selection bias. This selection bias may also contribute to the limited amount of dissension between participants in each of my interviewee sub-groups.

The six telephone interviews proved to be more challenging and less insightful than the in-person interviews because I could not observe body-language nor employ floating prompts. In certain instances, and due to the remoteness of the parks, the telephone signal would be lost midway through an interview and would often be inoperable for multiple hours and sometimes days. This required me to call at a later date and continue the interview from where we left off. In-person interviews were sometimes cut short or did not start on time due to personal reasons. For instance, one interview began 1 hour late because the interviewee’s cat was shot the morning we were supposed to meet.

Although not a limitation per se, it became evident during the field site visit to GNP and FNP that these two sites should be combined into one large case study due to the multiple interactions between regional actors and the relatively small geographical size of the Gaspésie region.

Finally, not all key informant groups are represented equally. For instance, access to private landowners in Gaspésie was restricted by certain gatekeepers due to privacy concerns, or the property owners being away on vacation. In other instances, contacting and obtaining consent for interviews proved difficult due to the lack of presence of specific actors in the region (e.g. SEPAQ staff in la Mauricie) or due to their remoteness (e.g. FN communities in La Mauricie).

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the epistemological and methodological approach used to guide the research. The study employed a social constructivist philosophical framework and a quantitative case study approach to examine regional integration. Three case studies and the rationale for selecting them are presented. A total of 96 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 99 provincial and municipal government officials, Parks Canada and SEPAQ staff, private business owners, ENGOs, FN members, private citizens and resource users. A detailed description of data sources, collection methods, analysis, interpretation and reporting is then provided. The chapter concludes by reviewing challenges encountered during the data collection process.

4.0 Québec Protected Areas Overview and History

Chapter 4 presents contextual information regarding the current types of PAs within the Province of Québec and their development. The chapter begins by providing a historical account of PA development; five periods are used to represent major changes. Causal pathways and major processes and influences that shaped the PA system within the Province of Québec are described. Although there is a broad literature base on park development and management processes, and an emerging literature on park and PA governance, predominantly within English Canada, there are relatively few publicly available documents that outline or describe the development, management structure or governance system(s) of parks and PAs within the Province of Québec. Documents that do exist (memoirs, parliamentary minutes, official government reports, historical accounts and, scientific papers and books) are dated (pre-1985) and provide limited information due to either their specificity or general broadness. Documents that detail the rise and rapid development of the PA system within Québec post-1985 are typically sporadic and incomplete. The majority of documents available tend to be reports based on scientific inquiry focusing on the biological and biophysical aspects of PAs and do not touch upon actual governance processes. The data for this section comes from these documents and is supplemented by historical accounts from participants (see section 3.5.1 for a summary of the document analysis procedure and archives used). Thus, this section provides a broad overview of PA development. It should not be viewed as a complete account of PA history for the province as such research was beyond the realm and intended purpose of this thesis. However, the information presented below does provide valuable contextual information relevant to the three case studies presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The second half of the chapter provides a general overview and description of current PA categories and distribution within Québec. This will provide the reader with a clear

understanding of PA arrangements and context within the province and in relation to the three case studies.

4.1 Overview of Historical PA Development: 1880-1936

Determining the exact moment when the conservation movement emerged in Québec is difficult. According to Hebert (2006), multiple isolated initiatives by universities and federal and provincial government employees for the protection of forest and wildlife resources were put forward during the early to mid 19th century. Yet none were able to gain traction due to the prevalent societal belief that natural resources were so vast that they were inexhaustible. According to Gillis (1992), a concerted conservation movement in the province began in the 1880s following the 1882 Montreal meeting of the American Forestry Association where principles for forest conservation and wise use were presented and discussed. Of the many principles presented, the practice of setting aside large tracts of forests for the purpose of creating forest reserves to ensure future availability of these resources was adopted by the province as a means of counteracting the large-scale deforestation occurring at that time. Thus, a provincial law for establishing forest reserves was created in 1883 and a forest reserve was established on the eastern shores of the Ottawa River. This reserve was later eliminated in 1886 as the government felt the reserve did not support the interest of the settlers within the region. In 1888 the Law on Forests Reserves was abolished as it was perceived by the government as counteractive to provincial growth and development. Yet, the forestry industry required forest reserves to ensure continuous supply of goods and they were the first to advocate for greater forest conservation and management guidelines. As a result, multiple private initiatives were put in place, and later, after a change of government in the early 1890s, with government support (Gillis, 1974).

The creation of the first parks in the province is in part due to this forest conservation movement by industry; to the larger trend in the creation of PAs occurring at the federal level in both Canada and the United States during the late 1800s and early 1900s; and, arguably, to the larger impacts of the late 19th century conservation movement (Québec, 1984; Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984). Although Québec created two parks during this period, each under specific laws (Parc de la Montagne Tremblante, 1894; and, Parc des Laurentides, 1895), the mandates of these parks did not follow those of parks at the federal level (Québec, 1984). Similarly to Ontario's provincial system, these first two parks had already been recognized by the government of Québec, the logging industry and, the hunting and the private fishing sectors as areas of great potential for tourism and industrial natural resource exploitation (Killan, 1993; Québec, 1984). Although the desire to preserve and protect forests, waterways and wildlife was influential in creating these first parks, their designation as provincial PAs did not preclude the industrial use of the natural resources. As such, these first two parks were in fact forest reserves (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984).

Within the 10 years that followed the creation of these two parks, a duality at the management and use level began to emerge within the province in relation to the two main types of activities (forestry and, hunting and fishing) that were primarily occurring within these two PAs jurisdictions. Parks were viewed as areas where forest management had to emphasize forest protection in order to obtain the highest possible yield (both timber and revenue based) and, where hunting and fishing reserves had to be managed to attract visitors while also maintaining the environment for the promotion of desirable game species. This perceptual duality in the management and use of PAs within the province would remain until the end of the 1970s (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984). The forestry, hunting and fishing communities lobbied the government for the creation of new parks which would address their

specific needs and objectives. In 1906, the government of Québec established the Forêt de Chasse et de Pêche de la Gaspésie (now GNP) which followed similar objectives and management mandates as the previous two provincial parks. Following the creation of this reserve, the government of Québec would establish only smaller, either forestry or hunting and fishing reserves, based upon public demands (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984). The manner in which the natural environment of Québec was protected and the types of activities permitted within the three parks established during this period may be a testament to the greater provincial views and goals of the time with regards to the importance of natural resource management.

Paralleling resource development and conservation efforts in terms of PA creation, the provincial government also reverted to leasing large tracts of land in the southern portions of the province for the purpose of creating private fishing and hunting clubs beginning formally in 1885²² as a means of ensuring resource conservation and protection (Gagnon, 2002). This province had a small population base, little income, few government employees, and a very large amount of unmanaged land. The clubs then, served as a government tool for land management whereby club owners were responsible for the management of their allocated lakes, rivers and hunting territory and in return, they were granted sole access to that territory. Under this arrangement, clubs were allowed to develop roads, build cottages and develop fish stocking activities (Pellerin, 2000). In return, clubs would hire enforcement officers that would patrol their club's territory in efforts to prevent poaching and to ensure compliance of club members regarding daily catch limits and provincial game laws. As such, the club's game wardens could prosecute all persons (non-club members) entering their territory. The adoption of clubs was a win-win situation for the government. Not only was the southern portion of the province's

²² The government began leasing waterways in 1883 but it is not until 1885 that a law on establishing private clubs was passed by government.

wildlife resource managed and conserved, but also this entailed very little costs for the government, but did prevent public access to these areas. For example, in 1901, club leases generated \$56,226; fishing licenses generated \$46,537, while government spent \$16,030 on game conservation.

In the early stages of private club development, most leases were granted to English speaking Canadians and Americans, with most being prominent business or political leaders. By 1905, leases began to include French speaking provincial residents and by 1960, over 86% of members were from Québec. However, most members continued to be from the political, business and sports elite (Pellerin, 2000). Thus, the adoption of the private club model by the government may explain why the concept or need of establishing government PAs was never prominent as PAs could not generate the revenue required to staff and manage them. Why would the state create parks when there already existed an effective policy for wildlife protection which also generates a substantial amount of money for the state? This suggests that public demand for PAs available for public use was relatively low during this time period (1880-1936) when compared for example to Ontario (e.g. Killan, 1993)

The differences in motivation and reasons for park creation between the federal system and Québec's provincial system during this period reflect the two doctrines of thought present during the late 19th century and early 20th century; the "gospel of efficiency" and the "doctrine of unselfishness" (Kopas, 2007). The development of PAs within Québec emulated the "gospel of efficiency" (wise-use conservation) which placed greater emphasis on the utility and profitability coupled with judicious and scientific management of natural resources (timber and wildlife) in order to prevent the depletion or complete destruction of these natural resources. The Canadian federal system of PAs was more closely aligned with the "doctrine of unselfishness" as it sought to protect both scenic and wildlife resources for aesthetic rather than utilitarian reasons and

placed greater emphasis on preserving these natural values for both present and future generations (Killan, 1993).

This period sees a duality in terms of conservation values and efforts. On the one hand, there is the forestry industry that requests the creation of government-owned and administered forest reserves through the creation of large provincial parks to ensure the continuous supply of timber. On the other hand, the provincial government has limited economic and personnel resources to create and effectively manage such parks, and sees parks and forest reserves as impeding development. Rather, the government adopts privatization measures through the leasing of its territory to clubs as a means of effectively managing its' vast territory²³.

4.1.1 Québec Park Development: 1937-1976

The year 1937 constitutes a turning point in the development of Québec's network of PAs. The provincial government annulled the Law of 1906 related to the forest, hunting and fishing reserves of the Gaspésie in order to create the 'Parc National de la Gaspésie' (Loi concernant le Parc national de la Gaspésie, 1937). The creation of this park is the first true example of a National Park within the Province of Québec as no form of resource extraction was permitted to occur within its boundary. Contrary to the first three parks created at the end of the 19th century, the goals, mandate and objectives of this park were very much aligned with Canada's National Park system where the area was reserved for the enjoyment and use of the public as well as environmental protection (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984). Thus, this observable change in PA management objectives by the government of Québec depicts a form of ideational interaction as the substantive and operational rules of the Canadian National Park system served as a model for the Government of Québec which was in the process of developing

²³ Most documents regarding the percentage of provincial lands under private club management is currently unavailable. The majority of archives for private clubs in Québec were destroyed by a fire in 1981.

a new regime for PA management (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984). This new regime, however, was short-lived.

One year after the creation of this new Québec National Park, the law was amended in order to authorize the exploitation of forests and wildlife (Loi Modifiant la Loi du Parc National de la Gaspésie, 1938). Further, in 1943, the conservation status of the park was once again amended in order to permit mining exploration and extraction within the park boundaries in order to meet war-time demand for steel, copper and nickel (Lemieux, 1986). Thus, this PA was relegated to forest reserve status a mere 6 years after its creation. This rapid change in status and land use management serves as testament to the economic and political powers of the forest and mining sectors within the province, and to a lack of public support for PAs within the province (Mulroney, 1984). Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier (1984) suggested that a possible cause for poor public support of this park may have been due to its remote location and associated difficulties regarding access for the general public who otherwise might have visited the site.

The Parc du Mont-Orford, created in 1938, would represent the fourth initiative undertaken by the government of Québec to protect the province's natural environment during this time period. This park, once again created under a specific law, was able to dodge the anti-preservation pressures observed during that period by banning all forms of resource extraction from occurring within the park's boundaries. However, the development of this park stagnated until the early 1960s when a private contractor undertook the development of an alpine ski facility (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984) while a non-governmental organization (Jeunesses Musicales du Canada) developed and instigated the Centre d'Art which would serve as both a children's music camp and musical development centre for young and upcoming artists (Jeunesses Musicales du Canada, 2010). This push in development from the private and not-for-profit sector would mark this provincial park as the first in Québec to be specifically managed in

terms of public use and recreation. After approximately 10 years of operation by the private and not-for-profit sectors, the government of Québec seemed to realize the benefit of PAs designated for public use and to understand that such parks could also be managed for ecological integrity. This shift in government perception is evidenced by the tabling of a preliminary Park Act in 1971 by the liberal government and the creation of a Park Act in 1977 under the Party Québécois government (MTCP, 1979). The act would provide clear structure and direction regarding park creation, planning and management approaches (see section 4.1.1.2). The apparent interest in PAs and environmental protection on behalf of the provincial government during the 1970s has been attributed in part as a response to international institutional developments such as the Stockholm Declaration (1972), the creation of the United Nations Environment Program (1973), the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (1973) the Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution (1979) (Québec 2002a), and the International Biological Program (IBP) (1964-1974) (Québec, 1986).

4.1.1.1 From Private Clubs to Public Wildlife Reserves

The Second World War marked the beginning of the end for private clubs within the province. During the war, many rural communities depended on hunting and fishing to feed their families as government rations did not suffice. Yet, access to lands and waters for such activities was often restricted as a result of leases to private clubs. The lakes and lands that were publicly available quickly became depleted due to overharvesting. Thus, the lands and waters of the private clubs became attractive hunting and fishing grounds, even if such activities were not legally permitted. In many instances, municipalities were encircled by private club leases, essentially entrapping residents. This created a dilemma for club game wardens as these men often came from and lived within these municipalities. The wardens were paid to enforce club

regulations and prevent poaching; yet their communities required the wildlife resources found within the clubs to survive (Roy, 2012).

The after war period and associated rise of the middle class marked a change in attitude and the rise of consumptive outdoor recreation activities within the province. We see a return of American hunters and fisherman to their clubs and a rise in membership from the Québec population. In its inception, club membership was almost exclusively given to US or English speaking Canadians. During the Duplessis government era (1944-1960), more and more Québec citizens, both French and English speaking, were given club leases. However, many of these new leases were only granted to regime partisans. The average Québec citizen was still unable to access much of the provincial territory for fishing and hunting purposes. Many saw this as special treatment bought by businessmen from government officials and began advocating for the removal of these private rights in favor of public use (Pellerin, 2000). For example, slightly more than 23,000 km² of the province was occupied by private hunting leases in 1914 (Ingram, 2013). The fact that the average Québécois could not access nor hunt or fish on the best lakes, rivers and lands was not acceptable to supporters of the rising Nationalist movement. During the late 1950s and escalating throughout the 1960s and 1970s, multiple occupy movements and general disregard of boundaries and catch/possession limits began to occur within club limits throughout Québec. Conjointly, beginning in the late 1950s, the purpose of the clubs, in terms of resource conservation, began to be heavily questioned by the Minister of Hunting and Fishing. In 1957, this Minister declared that over 40% of all clubs in the province did not have an adequate amount of wardens resulting in an inadequate protection of wildlife and extreme levels of poaching (Pellerin 2000).

The rise of the Nationalist Movement during the 1960s led to the 1970 social and political movement, lead by Premier Robert Bourassa, whereby it was essential that all Québec

citizens regain their provincial rights to access, fish and hunt on the lands and waters currently under lease to private clubs. With this mantra, the government annulled or did not renew existing club leases. Instead, it created wildlife reserves owned and managed by the Ministry of Tourism, Hunting, Fishing and Leisure on the previous club leases which allowed all members of the public to practice hunting and fishing activities. In 1977, under the newly elected Parti Québécois government, all remaining clubs were abolished, new wildlife reserves were created and a new management concept, ZECs (Zones d'Exploitations Contrôlées), were adopted.

Interestingly, the ZEC management model followed similar principles as the previous clubs. The ZECs were operated and managed by non-government members, who collected membership and user fees and were responsible for the environmental health of their territory. Where ZECs differed from clubs was in their management structure. ZECs, under this new regime, were now considered as not-for-profit organizations, were no longer exclusive, and were managed by an elected board of directors. This government action democratized access to hunting and fishing areas while also minimizing the management costs to government.

Since Wildlife Reserves and ZECs operate on crown lands, the management structure for these areas is two-fold. Wildlife Reserves and ZEC managers focused on ensuring the proper management and use of fish and wildlife stocks, campgrounds, hiking, canoe routes and guiding services for the enjoyment of guests; they are not responsible for, nor have any jurisdiction over the management of forests and timber harvesting. This falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR). The MNR was and continues to be the land manager for forests located on crown land and is responsible for assigning forestry harvest rights to industry.

Both the ZEC and wildlife reserve management structures exist to this day, but are no longer regarded as conservation or PA tools. Furthermore, since 1999, the wildlife reserves have been under the management of SEPAQ, a crown corporation.

4.1.1.2 A New Conservation Regime

Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, some members of the provincial parliament from the liberal party began to question and compare Québec's PA system to other Canadian systems and that of other countries. Through this comparison, it was recognized that the PA system within Québec was poorly developed and that existing parks did not actually protect the natural environment of the province. From this, the liberal government realized that there was an urgent need for the development of a PA system using internationally accepted criteria in order to keep face with other provincial and national jurisdictions within Canada. However, the liberal party realized that such a system could not be created without the formulation and adoption of a provincial Act for PAs. It was clear that the previous four parks, which were created under individual laws and placed under control of the Department of Forests and Mines were incapable of withstanding economic pressures placed by the private sector (e.g. forestry, mining), arguably, the main vocal group to this government ministry (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984). Therefore, in the early 1970s, the government undertook the writing of a bill for the creation of a province-wide Parks Act similar to that created by Parks Canada in 1930 and Ontario Parks in 1956. However, the advancement of this bill through the National Assembly was halted due to a provincial election in 1976. The newly elected Party Québécois would not re-table this bill until 1977. Working in conjunction with the liberal party, the Party Québécois successfully presented the bill to parliament in 1977. As the new Parks Act did not permit any form of resource extraction to occur within provincial parks, management responsibility was shifted from the department of Forestry and Mining to the Department of Tourism, Chasse et Pêche as this provided a better fit (Loi sur les Parcs, 1977).

In conjunction with the development of a new Parks Act, the IBP, which took place between 1964 and 1974, coupled with changing provincial politics, the rise of the silent

revolution, the demise of the private clubs, and the interdiction of resource extraction activities in provincial parks led to the creation of the Law on Ecological Reserves in 1974, which was implemented in the late 1970s (see section 4.1.2) (Québec, 1986). Since the IBP was focused on conserving natural environments and resources for the promotion of human use, ecological reserves (now Wildlife Reserves) were managed primarily for hunting and fishing but also allowed for multiple other uses such as outdoor recreation activities and the commercial exploitation of natural resources such as timber and mineral resources (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984; Québec, 1986). Therefore, these reserves had a much better level of fit to regional demands than did provincial parks as they allowed the Government of Québec and private sector industries to continue exploiting natural resources without requiring changes or amendments to the laws as occurred with the four previously discussed provincial parks.

4.1.2 Québec's Park Development: 1977-1992

Before 1977, the government of Québec did not establish park classes, but rather developed a classification system for the entirety of its territory based on areas designated as reserves. As such, and over a period of 82 years, reserves were designated as parks, forest reserves, hunting and fishing reserves, salmon fishing reserves, and wildlife reserves. However, with the adoption of the Park Act in 1977, the government of Québec felt that adopting two classes of parks would provide for the simplification of management responsibilities and would allow for the better protection of the province's natural environment. Therefore, the previous four parks and all hunting, fishing and forest reserves would be classified as either recreation class parks or conservation class parks in which no form of resource extraction, with the exception of fishing, would be allowed. Two main issues would arise from this (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984).

First, the prohibition of hunting and resource extraction such as forestry and mining in the four existing parks, for all new parks, and especially in existing hunting and fishing reserves caused a massive repercussion from the resource industries involved and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources²⁴. As such, government negotiation with the forestry and mining sectors (both private and public) would lead to a substantial reduction in the size of the existing four parks and government proposals for significantly smaller new parks. For example, the ‘Parc des Laurantides’ was turned into a large wildlife reserve and two small conservation parks were created: the Parc de la Jacques-Cartier on the south and Parc des Grands-Jardins on the west. Furthermore, Parc de la Jacques-Cartier was only created in response to public pressure to prevent the Jacques-Cartier River from being dammed for hydro-electricity. These negotiations, decisions, and impacts on the PAs network were deemed acceptable as the government had to limit the impact on economic activities tied to the exploitation of its natural resources (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984). The pre-existing fishing and hunting reserves were designated as parks under the Act but this was modified in 1979 due to pressure placed on the government from the private sector (e.g. forestry). Thus, the government would modify the Park Act and abolish the designation of fishing and hunting reserves as parks and would instead designate them as “réserve faunique” (wildlife reserve) where hunting and fishing would be allowed to continue as in the past (SEPAQ, 2010). Through the 1980s, this system would rapidly develop, becoming one of the first networks of government-managed wildlife reserves in Canada for the purposes of hunting, fishing and forestry (SEPAQ, 2010b)²⁵. The popularity of reserves would increase as the public began to view these as areas where they could reconnect with the natural and historical heritage of the province. In turn, these wildlife reserves would be placed

²⁴ This Ministry was responsible for ensuring that other government and ministerial programs never negatively impacted the resource industries of the province. This continues to be the case.

²⁵ Although similar and much older systems such as the federal National Wildlife Areas do exist, these do not allow hunting and fishing activities (Environment Canada, 2013).

under the management and jurisdiction of the Minister of Natural Resources and Wildlife in the late 1980s (SEPAQ, 2010).

Second, implementing the classification system would prove difficult as it was impossible to successfully manage each park under just one of these two classes due to the nature of the activities allowed; some conservation class parks permitted certain types of outdoor recreation activities to take place while recreation class parks also needed to be managed in order to preserve their ecological integrity²⁶. Thus, these two park classes essentially became secondary managerial objectives due to the high level of interpretation required in their successful management. Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier (1984) argued that the classification system for provincial parks in Québec can be justified by their alternative motives of protecting the natural heritage of the province. This was enforced by the powers of the Ministère du Tourisme, Chasse et de Pêche (MTCP) which was the sole government provider of outdoor recreation within the province. Municipalities and regional governments did not have the legal power required for the creation of regional parks the way Ontario's Conservation Authorities do but were able to create small municipal parks. Due to this high involvement in outdoor recreation provision by the MTCP, it was suggested in early 1979 that all conservation class parks be transferred over to the Minister of the Environment as they would be better able to manage such parks for their intended purpose (Conseil Consultatif de l'Environnement, 1979). In conjunction with this recommendation, the Environment Advisory Board also suggested that the MTCP delegate power to municipalities in order to allow them to create regional recreation class parks as this would lessen the otherwise required involvement and oversight of the MTCP due to the passing of the Law on Urban Development (Law on Urban Development, 1979; Conseil

²⁶ Precise historical documents outlining how ecological integrity was determined or measured in 1977 were not found at the time of writing. Based on secondary document information, ecological integrity appears to be used loosely, in reference to maintaining specific species populations.

Consultatif de l'Environnement, 1979). Indeed, in the later part of 1979, the Minister of the Environment was given jurisdiction for the management of conservation class parks (Canadian Society of Environmental Biologist, 1987) while regional governments (see section 4.1.3) were given the legislative power to create PAs in the early 1980s.

Although the Parks Act was adopted in 1977, the government would not put forward a formal management plan until 1982. This management plan, presented two years after the creation of the World Conservation Strategy by the IUCN, was largely designed to meet the objectives of that strategy (Québec, 1986). However, the absence of this management plan for the first five years of the Act's existence lead to arbitrary interpretations of the law making it impossible for the Ministry of the Environment to properly move ahead in the elaboration of Québec's conservation class park system as these parks were to be created using a system's plan modeled after that of Parks Canada and Ontario Parks. Therefore, conservation class parks were to be designed to represent the geophysical regions of the province while recreation class parks were to be created based on public demand. Thus, as determined by the ministry, the management plan listed 44 geophysical regions within the province. These geophysical regions had been chosen based on environmental aesthetics rather than ecological standards. The ministry did not want to divide the province by ecological regions as these were deemed too specific and numerous, thus hampering the government's ability to easily develop a system of provincial parks.

Although these regions were contested by the scientific and ENGO community as they lacked homogeneity in their representation, it is possible to speculate based on the rapid rise in park creation in the latter half of the 1980s and early part of the 1990s, that the adoption of these 44 geophysical regions allowed the government to meet its goals much more easily than if it had

adopted ecological regions due to lessened complexity (Personal communication, SEPAQ Park Staff, Central Office, August 16th, 2014).

This period (1977-1992) in park development also marks two major and fundamental shifts in the development of PAs across the province. The first concerns the creation and inclusion of a non-governmental organization in decision-making processes concerning parks and PAs and the second focuses on public outreach and inclusion in decision-making processes on behalf of the government.

The Fondation de la Faune du Québec (FFQ), created in 1984 by the Minister of the Environment through the passing of the Conservation and Development of Wildlife Act (2002), and which began active duty in 1986 represents the first non-governmental organization that worked alongside the provincial government for the promotion of PAs, more specifically for the promotion and creation of wildlife reserves (FFQ, 2010). The FFQ functioned under directives from the minister of the environment and served as a tool for the promotion of PAs throughout the province and benefits by not having to worry about bureaucratic red tape (FFQ, 2010).

The Québec Provincial Park Act (1977) was the first document legally obliging government to conduct and promote public participation in the advent of the modification of a current park or in the creation of a new park (Bourdage, Bouchard and Trepanier, 1984; Mulroney, 1984). Based on observable public participation processes in other parts of Canada, the Québec Park Act required that all public participation processes occur at the normative level, before the actual development or modification of the park. Thus, the public consultation system employed by the MTCP was arguably better suited to not only understanding the needs and concerns of the public, but to resolving these before the actual implementation of decisions on behalf of the government (Eidsvik, 1978).

4.1.3 Québec Park Development: 1992-2002

Park development in the Province of Québec from the early 1990s to approximately 2002 was largely influenced by international changes, meetings and conventions which called for management changes and increases in representation of PAs by various governments and levels of bureaucracy. Of specific importance to this discussion is the May 1992 Nairobi Conference for the Adoption of the Agreed Text of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the June 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio “Earth Summit”) which served as the main venues for the signing of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD, 2010). Along with this, Québec’s PA development would also be shaped by the release in 1994 of the IUCN guidelines for the categorizing of PAs (Québec, 2002a; Dudley, 2008).

Although the early 1990s are a turning point in the development of PAs within the Province of Québec, the government had already begun to question the development and effectiveness of its conservation system in the late 1980s after the release of the Brundtland commission report (Québec, 2002a). Although the Brundtland commission report highlighted the need for the conservation of natural resources, the Province of Québec would not begin to act on this until the Rio Earth Summit of 1992. Thus, the global developments and pressures for the conservation of earth’s resources served as a trigger for the process of developing a province-wide strategy for the development, promotion and monitoring of PAs. In so doing, the CBD convention and the IUNC guidelines of 1994 served as instrumental guidelines (Québec, 2002a). In 1995, the World Bank would again highlight that PAs, although not the only mechanism, are a very important tool in the protection of biodiversity and serve a crucial purpose of measuring and monitoring the progress of various states in meeting the goals outlined by the CBD in 1992 (Québec, 2002a; Bond, 1995). Therefore, in order to properly protect the various ecosystems and native species within the province and also to promote sustainable use of natural resources, the

Province of Québec would create an ensemble of tools such as management plans for public lands and endangered species. In order to successfully implement these plans, the province enacted six laws between 1992 and 1995 (Table 9). It is worth noting that these six laws were influenced by and sometimes based on similar federal laws (Table 9) (Québec, 2002a).

Table 9. Provincial Laws and Federal Inspirations	
Provincial Laws enacted between 1992 and 1995	Influential Federal Laws
Environmental Quality Law	Law on National Parks
Conservation and Valuation of Fauna Law	Law on Fisheries
Law on Parks	Law on oceans
Law on Ecological Reserves	Law on wildlife conservation
Law on Endangered and Threatened Species	
Law on Forests	

(Québec, 2002a)

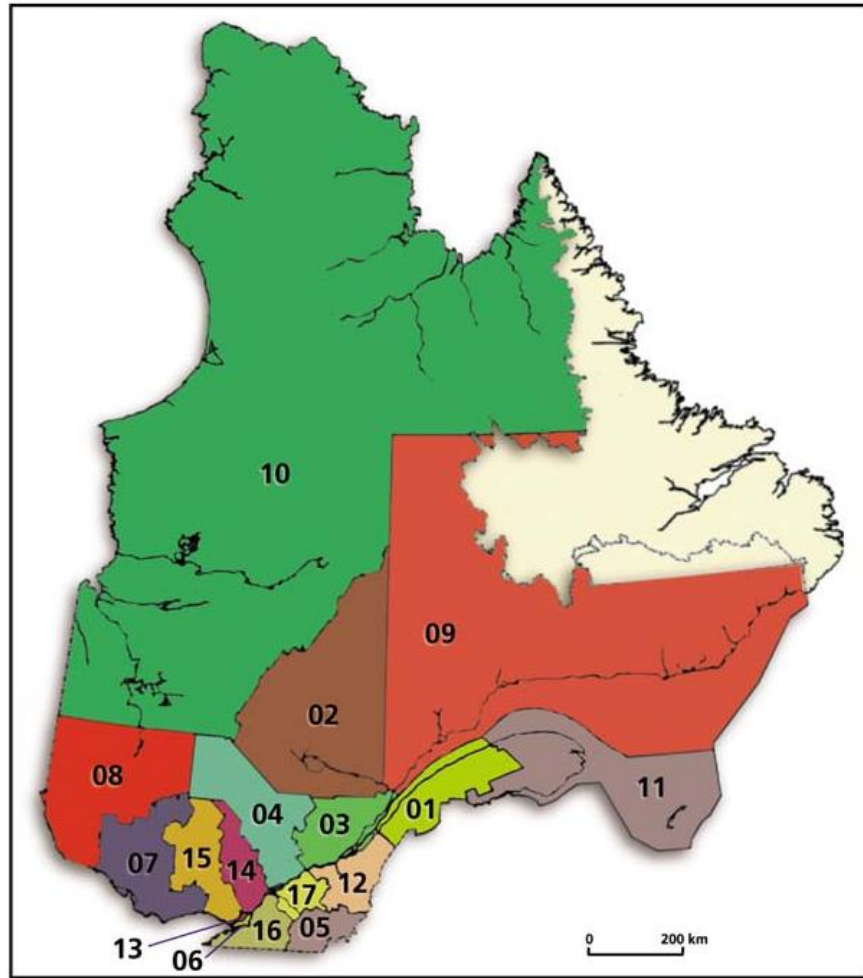
The IUCN guidelines were adopted as a mean of categorizing all PAs throughout the province as this, in the government's opinion, allowed for the accurate counting of PAs within the province (Ministère de l'Environnement, 1999). Therefore, under these 6 new laws, various government ministries were assigned specific duties for the protection of the biodiversity and ecology of the province, within parks, crown and private lands. Under these ministries, multiple types of PAs, designated under various titles, were developed and managed within 17 administrative regions throughout the province (Table 10 and Figure 7). These administrative regions were instigated by the government in 1966 as a mean of reducing the level of scale of decision-making, and to better organize activities and interventions from different ministries and government organizations (Québec, 2015b). The administrative regions were created through government decree and their boundaries were defined based on each region's geographical particularities and homogeneity, natural resources, economy and demographics (MAMOT, 2014; Québec, 2015b). These administrative regions act as a second government tier and are managed by a regional government, Conference of Elected Officers or CRE (Conference Régionale des Elus). These CRE's are responsible for ensuring the proper planning and development of their

respective administrative region. The CRE is comprised of elected municipal officials, socioeconomic sector representatives, FNs and various ENGOS, and works alongside government representatives from both regional and central provincial level ministries (Affaires Municipales et Occupation du Territoire, 2015).

Table 10. The 17 Administration Regions

01-Bas-Saint-Laurent	10-Nord du Québec
02-Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean	11-Gaspésie-Iles de la Madeleine
03-Capitale Nationale	12-Chaudière-Appalaches
04- Mauricie	13-Laval
05-Estrie	14-Lanaudière
06-Montréal	15-Laurentide
07-Outaouais	16-Montérégie
08-Abitibi-Temiscamingue	17-Centre du Québec
09-Côte-Nord	

(Québec, 2015b)



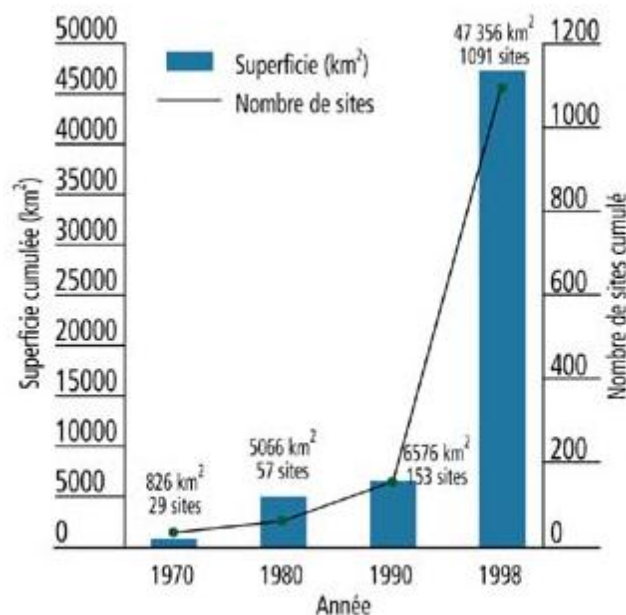
(Québec2015b)

Figure 7. Administrative Regions

Due to this rapid and extensive development of PA and biodiversity protection frameworks, the government would adopt in 1996 a strategic plan for the implementation of the CBD where the government highlighted the fact that PAs constitute one of the fundamental elements for the successful achievement of this plan (Québec, 2002a). Although a change in value from resource extraction and economic gains to biodiversity protection in the development of PAs within the province is observed, the economic value of these PAs was still very much at the forefront of discussions. The government and proponents of the strategic plan were required to provide and justify many of the objectives and goals in terms of economic and revenue possibilities for the province (Québec, 2002a). Although we can observe a rapid development

and valuation of PA legislation and to an extent development within the late 1990s and early 2000s, the representation of PAs throughout the province is relatively weak.

Although Québec claimed to have over 1100 PAs that met the IUCN classification standards by 2002, these only represented 2.8% of the province's land base surface. Yet, this was a vast improvement from the 0.5% of the early 1990s (Québec, 2002a). Many of these PAs were simply created by administrative technicalities as they already existed but were then simply not recognized as a PA under an IUCN category by the province. For example, in 1998, the provincial government designated 693 reserves and 162 salmon rivers as PAs, an increase of more than 128% (Québec, 2002a). This was no doubt done as a measure to keep pace with the development of PA networks in other jurisdictions in Canada and at the global level (Figure 8).



(Québec, 2002a)

Figure 8. Growth of Québec's Protected Area System

Finally, the actual effectiveness of the PA network across the province was questioned and scrutinized by both the government of Québec, the scientific community and other national and international parties due to its small geographical size, its lack of proper representation of the

province's ecological systems, and the diversity of organizations involved in PA development within the government that had, up to this point, functioned relatively independently from one another and primarily within the provincial political realm (Québec, 2002c).

Of the 1100 PAs, 86% were created based on geophysical attributes, rather than ecological features. As such, these PAs were designed with the precise intent of protecting very specific biodiversity or geological elements that typically only required the creation of small PAs. However, with the creation and adoption of the CBD, Québec was under tremendous pressure to vastly increase the size of individual PAs (Québec, 2002b). Since Québec was so late in putting in place a parks law and in the creation of actual PAs, the provincial lands had largely been allocated into other land uses, most of which involved some form of resource extraction, most notably, forestry.

Therefore, the government began to adopt a planning framework for the development of corridors and agreements between various members of the public as this was deemed the only technique that would allow properly developing and protecting the biodiversity of the province. The government was essentially forced to develop relationships with various private sector agencies, FN people and the general public. This is evidenced by certain developments in the early 2000s with the creation of the Wildlife Refuge of Mastigoushe adjacent to LMNP; the Wildlife Refuge de la Pointe-de-l'Est located besides the National Wildlife Refuge de la Pointe-de-l'Est (Québec, 2002a). Although attempts were made to create linkages between various types of PAs, these were done without proper planning frameworks and discussion between the Québec provincial government and federal government (Québec, 2002b, c). These developments appear to have been conducted on an ad hoc basis; information detailing the planning frameworks used or the manner in which such decisions were made and the persons or agencies responsible for tabling these were not available to the author. The linking, coordination and

further development of corridors would not fully develop until the mid 2000s. Although development had begun in terms of creating PAs and collaboration between agencies for the proper representation of these areas, this was impossible to do without modifying the provincial geophysical system plan.

After the adoption of the 1996 strategic plan for the implementation of the CBD by the government of Québec (MEF, 1996), it was quickly realized that the current geophysical system plan would not be capable of properly meeting the 1996 strategic plan as it was too general and ill defined. During this same period, Canada signed the NAFTA agreement (1994) alongside the US and Mexico and created the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC). The CEC was responsible for managing environmental problems common to all three countries. As such, its first task was to develop a two tier ecological mapping plan, one at the continental level and the other at the country level. Canada, with collaboration from provincial and ministerial governments would further subdivide the country into smaller ecological zones with 13 of these located in Québec (Figure 9).

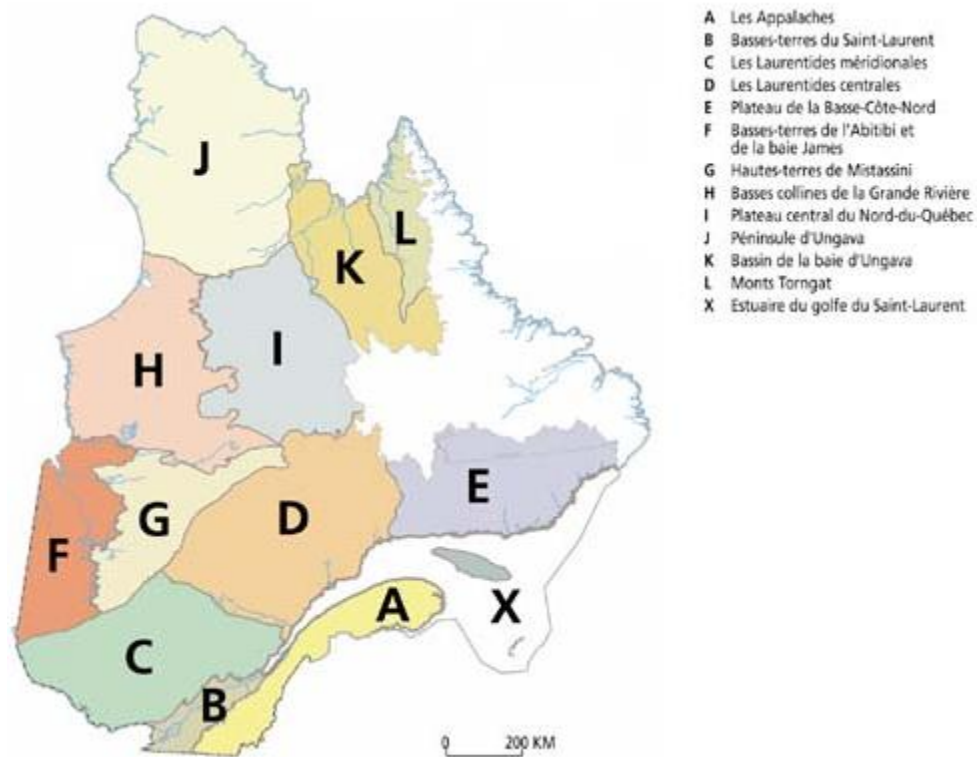


Figure 9. Québec Ecological Zones (Li and Ducruc, 1999)

The Ministry of the Environment of Québec would adopt these 13 ecological regions for the province wide system plan for the development of PAs in 1997 (Ducruc, Gerardin, and Gaudreau, 1996; Québec, 2009a). Although the new system plan was developed and implemented in 1997, the government would refrain from using it as an implementation tool until the mid-2000s as it had not fully analyzed and understood or had it mapped out the manner in which current PAs would assist in properly representing the regional biodiversity within each of the 13 ecological zones (Li and Ducruc, 1999). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the system plan was created as a means of allowing the government to retain a form of credibility for the development of its PAs system when compared to that of others within Canada and internationally. In 2001, in conjunction with the adoption of the new system plan, the Government of Québec would amend the Park Act to replace the notion of conservation and

recreation class parks with that of a national park as stipulated under the IUCN criteria. This provided a better level of fit with other changes that had occurred in the development of PAs within the province (SEPAQ, 2010a). At the same time, the government would delegate visitor/tourism management responsibility for all national parks of Québec to a newly created government crown corporation, SEPAQ, in order to alleviate some management burden (SEPAQ, 2010).

Before 1999, responsibility for all visitor services in Québec's provincial parks (now referred to as the National Parks of Québec) was outsourced to the private not-for-profit sector as a response to province-wide economic stagnation. The late 1990s and early 2000s saw the park system experience rapid growth in terms of park creation and total land area percentage designated as PA. However, the types and quality of services provided differed tremendously between each park. Park attendance rates fell due to poor satisfaction levels regarding the services provided. Upon review of the provincial park system and through discussions with other park agencies (namely Ontario Parks), the government decided to alter the management structure of its park system (Personal communication, Louis Hebert, retired SEPAQ and Parks Québec employee, October 30, 2014). In 1999, the management authority for all park systems was given to the SEPAQ who were already managing all wildlife reserves. Under this model, the government owns the land, management authority is given to a crown corporation (SEPAQ), and the majority of funding is derived from user fees. This model provides the efficiencies and responsiveness of a private company, and ensures that standards exist and are maintained across all parks while reducing economic dependence from government.

Until 2002, the development and management of PAs within the Province of Québec had essentially been managed by the provincial government and various ministries. Apart from the joint development, creation and management agreement between the federal government (Parks

Canada) and provincial government for the SSLMP, and joint agreement and cooperation between the FFQ and its federal equivalent Wildlife Habitat Canada for the creation of 8 wildlife reserves (FFQ 2010), there were few cooperation or coordination efforts for the development or promulgation of a coordinated park system between the federal and provincial government.

Cooperation between the private sector and the provincial Ministry of the Environment in the promotion of PAs was almost non-existent during this period. It is difficult for the government to establish new parks as the lease holders of public land would have to retract their contract (Québec, 2002a). However, a small rise in public attention for the formation of an organization without direct ties to the government and with a mandate to create PAs begins to be discernible throughout the southern part of the province in the early 1990s. As such, the Réseau de Milieux Naturels Protégés was created in 1993. This group would act as one of the main public voices for the promulgation of PAs throughout the province until the early 2000s (Réseau de Milieux Naturels Protégés, 2010; Québec, 2002a). By 2002, it had successfully lobbied government for the creation of 23 municipal parks and 7 regional parks designated under IUCN classifications and recognized by the province as provincial PAs.

By the end of 2002, the government had realized that it was impossible for it to assume the sole responsibility of ensuring the proper representation of the natural regions and biodiversity of the province through the creation of government managed PAs. It recognized that the public would have to play a key role in securing this biodiversity, especially since a large majority of identified areas or species at risk were located throughout privately owned land, predominantly in the southern part of the province along the St-Lawrence (Québec, 2002b). However, this would not be fully addressed until 2006 possibly because the government was not able to address or involve the public sooner in the management of PAs as relatively few interested lobby groups existed. Rather, public lobby groups and ENGOs would act and function

at regional or municipal levels and would push for the creation of very specific parks, typically, for recreational and sometimes resource-based purposes (Québec, 2002a). This public perception of provincial parks is not surprising as park development from the late 1970s onward typically focused on recreational purposes regardless of park class. Therefore, recreation became associated by the population with any type of parks regardless of its intended status, thus hampering the development of parks for ecological and biophysical purposes (Québec, 2002a). However, according to the Société pour la Nature et les Parcs du Canada (SNAP) (2010), a chapter of SNAP, a large development occurred in the early part of the 2000s when non-governmental organizations such as SNAP and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) began advocating for the creation of large PAs and the further development of existing PAs. These pressures and lobbying placed on government would indeed succeed at the beginning of 2002.

This period (1992-2002) is also marked by the government acknowledging the role that FNs people should play in the development of PAs in Québec. According to the Minister of the Environment (1999), it was important to ally forces while developing and maintaining positive relations with FN groups as they controlled large portions of the northern territory of the province under the James Bay Agreement and the Constitutional Law of 1982, (Québec, 2002a, 2002b). Therefore, if the government wished to develop PAs within its northern territory, it would have to do so with the cooperation of FNs people. Meanwhile, their representatives expressed their consent in the creation and development of PAs within their territory, albeit under certain conditions such as a voice in decision-making processes and the possibility to benefit from economic effects directly and indirectly derived from the PAs (Québec, 2002b).

4.1.4 Québec Park Development: 2002 Onwards

In August-September 2002, the government of Québec attended and presented a report for the development of its PAs since the adoption of the CBD in 1992 at the World Summit on

Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg. Although the government of Québec had developed and implemented various legal measures for the promotion of a system of PAs across the province based on the CBD, it was severely criticized by the international community for the inadequacy of the size and distribution of PAs within its current system (Québec, 2002b; Québec, 2010a).

In the later part of 2002, upon its return from the WSSD, the Law on the Conservation of Natural Heritage whose objective was the protection of the character, integrity and diversity of the natural provincial heritage was passed by the provincial parliament (Li and Ducruc, 1999). Under this law, the government committed to have 8% of its territory designated as protected by 2005, would recognize public properties that meet the IUCN standards as PAs, and would instigate a registry of PAs within the province (Société de la Faune et des Parcs du Québec, 2002; Editeur Officiel du Québec, 2002). The push for inclusion of this registry within this law was for two reasons. First, the registry would allow for monitoring the progress of PA development by the government and other players and for comparisons to be made in terms of number and size of PAs with other Canadian provinces (Li and Ducruc, 1999). Secondly, it would increase the government's level of accountability and transparency to the general public in terms of PA development (SNAP, 2010). Although the government set out to protect 8% of its territory by 2005, only 4.8% was protected by 2007. However, the government was able to meet this goal by 2009 with 8.14% of the territory designated under a PA classification (Québec, 2009a). This rise in PA representation has been attributed to governmental measures to promote and facilitate the designation of PAs by private land owners, to an increase in the rise of non-government organizations and to the development of agreements in PA creation in Kativik with the Inuit people (Québec, 2009a; SNAP, 2010). Although the land owners could collaborate with the Ministry of the Environment for the designation of their property as a PA, very few did as

there was no encouragement to do so (Québec, 2002c). To circumvent this, the government modified its approach with incentives such as tax breaks to logging industry and monetary rewards to private land owners for the designation of either a percentage of their land or its entirety as a PA under one of the IUCN categories (Québec, 2006).

The early part of 2002 saw a rapid rise in FN inclusion in decision-making processes by the provincial government, no doubt, caused by a rapid rise in vocal, social and political FN organizations (Québec, 2002b). The government signed a treaty with the Cree people for the development and management of economic and community prospects predominantly, in terms of forestry and mining (Québec, 2002b). Secondly, the government signed a treaty with the regional administration of Kativik designed to accelerate economic and community development over a 25-year timeline. A major part of this agreement was the development of tourism attractions. Under the Minister of the Environment, 3 new national parks of Québec were created within the northern provincial territory and were placed under management of Nunavik Parks which functions within the Kativik Regional Government. Therefore, the provincial government deemed the management body of these parks to have a better level of fit within the Kativik Regional Government than in the provincial government as it was better accepted by the Inuit people (Québec, 2002b; Nunavik Parks, 2007). The scarce public and government documentation suggests that the treaty with the Kativik Regional Government is the latest development in FN inclusion in decision-making processes in terms of PA development within the province.

In 2005, the Minister of the Environment tabled, to municipalities across the province, a systems plan which would serve as ground work for the creation of a provincial sustainable development law. The purpose of advertising this plan to municipalities from across the province was to obtain feedback and general acceptance so as to mitigate potential clauses for rejection

when presented in the general assembly (Li and Ducruc, 1999). Through extensive public participation processes, changes were made and the bill successfully became law in 2006 (Editeur Officiel du Québec, 2006). Under this law, the minister of the environment became the ‘Minister of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks’ (MDDEFP). This law also marks a turning point in the *modus operandi* and power relationship between the government, social institutions and members of the general public. Although the MDDEFP would act as the formal decision maker, decisions would not be made using top-down approaches as was done in the past. Rather, the government would rely on information from other provincial government ministries, the scientific community, private (for-profit and not-for profit) organizations, members of the public and FN communities in decision-making processes on the creation of new PAs. It is through the creation of this new ministry that the government was able to designate over 8% of the province as protected by 2009.

After meeting the target of 8% of the province designated as PAs, the provincial government set a new goal of 12% for provincial PA representation by 2015. The manner in which this is achieved is further explored in the following section and is discussed in the case study chapters 5, 6, and 7.

4.2 Overview of the Current PA System

PAs in Québec are classified under one of 24 designations, some of which are further subdivided into more specific categories. Ownership and management authority is held by various government ministries, both Federal and Provincial, and private and not-for-profit authorities and individuals (Québec, 2009a) (Table 11). Québec recognizes and counts all types of PA systems that are present within the province and that meet the criteria of one of the six IUCN PA categories towards fulfilling the PA percentage target; these include federal, provincial, private and not-for-profit PA systems. The majority of PAs are located in the

southern regions of the province (below the 50th parallel) and tend to be relatively small. Many of these PAs are designed to protect specific tracts of forest, a threatened floral environment or, specific species (e.g. categories 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 21, 22, 23). The larger PAs represent National Parks (both federal and provincial) and projected biodiversity and ecological reserves²⁷ (e.g. categories 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17). PAs in the northern region of the province (above the 50th parallel) are less numerous but tend to be much larger. The majority of these PAs are biodiversity reserves and ecological reserves such as caribou calving grounds and national parks (e.g. category 7, 14, 18) (Figure 10) (Table 11).

²⁷ These are protected areas that have not yet been formally designated and approved by government.

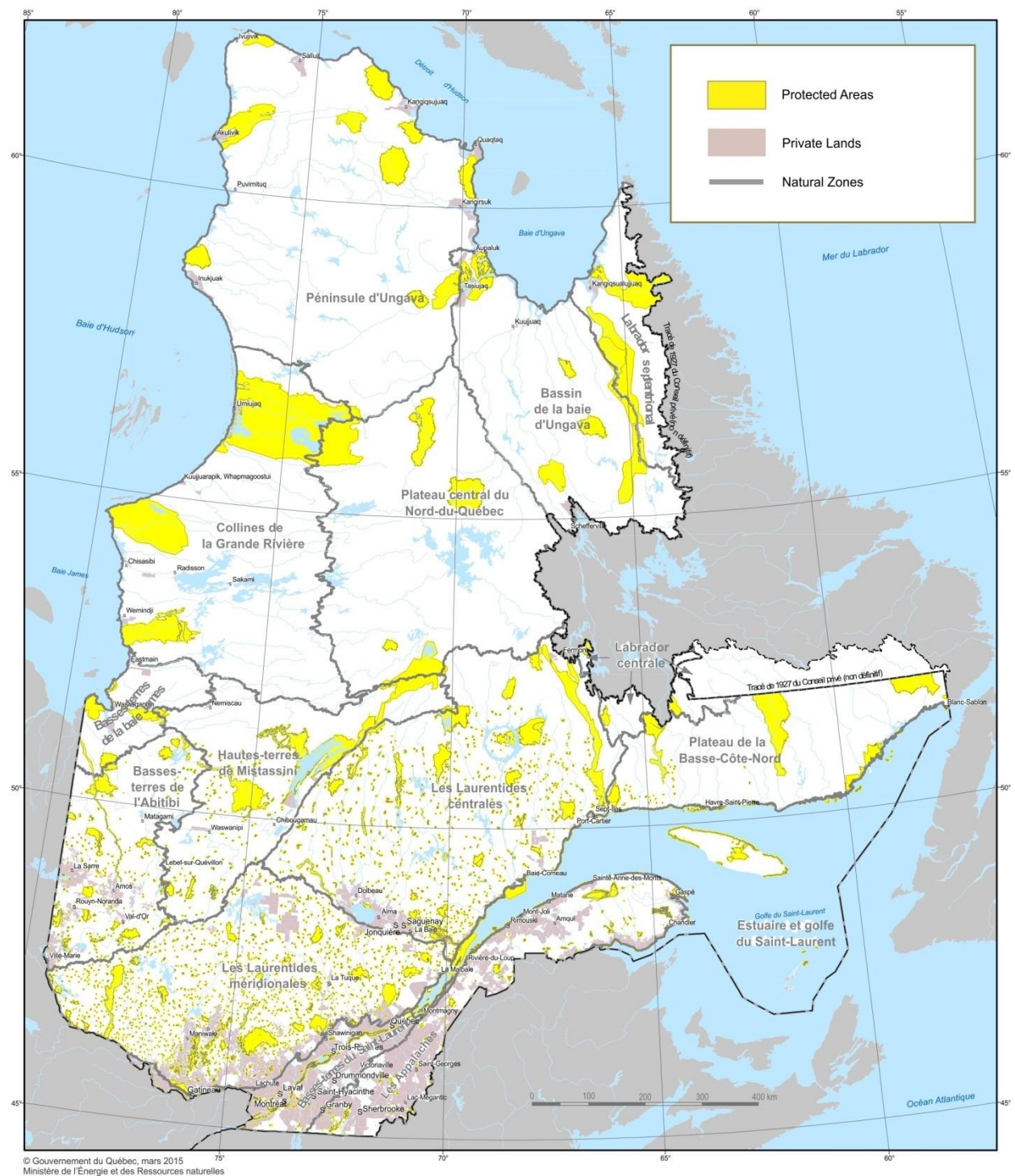


Figure 10. Distribution of PAs in Québec

Table 11. Québec Protected Area Categories				
Category Names	Size of PA categories in ha	Percentage of Provincial Land coverage¹	Ownership	Management Authority
1) Écosystème forestier exceptionnel				
• Forêt ancienne	265.23	0.02	Provincial	MNR
• Forêt rare	38.95	0.00	Provincial	MNR
• Forêt refuge	13.47	0.00	Provincial	MNR
2) Habitat d'une espèce floristique menacée ou vulnérable	36.19	0.00	Provincial	MDDEFP
3) Habitat faunique				
• Aire de concentration d'oiseaux aquatiques	3200.57	0.19	Provincial	MNR
• Aire de confinement du cerf de Virginie	1103.15	0.07	Provincial	MNR
• Colonie d'oiseaux en falaise	0.90	0.00	Provincial	MNR
• Colonie d'oiseaux sur une île ou une presqu'île	0.31	0.00	Provincial	MNR
• Habitat du rat musqué	30.15	0.00	Provincial	MNR
• Habitat d'une espèce faunique menacée ou vulnérable	2.30	0.00	Provincial	MNR
• Héronnière	24.96		Provincial	MNR
• Vasière	0.01		Provincial	MNR
4) Parc Marin	1244.72	0.07	Provincial	Joint Provincial and Federal
5) Milieu naturel de conservation volontaire	103.07	0.01	Private	MDDEFP
6) Parc de la Commission de la capitale nationale (Canada)	361.31	0.02	Federal	Federal
7) Parc national du Québec	37411.76	2.24	Provincial	SEPAQ
8) Parc national et réserve de parc national du Canada	897.33	0.05	Provincial	Fédéral-Parks Canada
9) Refuge biologique	4476.37	0.27	Provincial	MNR
10) Refuge d'oiseaux migrants	500.78	0.03	Provincial	Canadian Wildlife Service
11) Refuge faunique	18.78	0.00	Provincial	MNR and Certain Municipalités
12) Réserve aquatique	1.56	0.00	Provincial	MDDEFP
13) Réserve aquatique projetée	7354.53	0.44	Provincial	MDDEFP
14) Réserve de biodiversité	2286.16	0.14	Provincial	MDDEFP
15) Réserve de biodiversité projetée	58513.23	3.51	Provincial	MDDEFP
16) Réserve de territoire pour fin d'aire protégée	1849039.21	1.11	Provincial	MDDEFP
17) Réserve de parc national du Québec	14570.11	0.87	Provincial	MNR
18) Réserve de territoire pour fin d'aire protégée	18487.16	1.11	Provincial	MDDEFP

Table 11Continued. Québec Protected Area Categories				
Category Names	Size of PA categories in km²	Percentage of Provincial Land coverage¹	Ownership	Management Authority
19) Réserve écologique	963.43	0.06	Provincial	MDDEFP
20) Réserve écologique projetée	616.34	0.04	Provincial	MDDEFP
21) Réserve nationale de faune	62.22	0.00	Provincial	Canadian Wildlife Service
22) Réserve naturelle reconnue	192.72	0.01	Private	MDDEFP, TNC
23) Paysage humanisé	0.00	0.00	Provincial	N/A
24) Paysage humanisé projeté	0.00	0.00	Provincial	N/A
Total	152777.71	9.16		

(Québec, 2015c)

¹ Based on a total provincial land area of 1,666,441 km² (Québec 2009a).

Although there are many categories of PA within Québec, the recognition of private PAs by the province as part of the provincial PA percentage is unique in Canada. There are two categories of private PAs in Québec: 1) Milieu Naturel de Conservation Volontaire (Voluntary Conservation of Natural Areas), 2) Réserve Naturelle Reconnue (Recognized Natural Reserve). PAs within the ‘Milieu Naturel de Conservation Volontaire’ category are jointly managed by a private landowner and the Ministère des Ressources Naturel (MRN)²⁸ while PAs within the ‘Réserve Naturelle Reconnue’ category are jointly managed by a private landowner and the Ministère du Développement Durable, de l’Environnement, Faunes et des Parcs (MDDEFP). The legal recognition of private PAs under one of the IUCN categories by the Province of Québec is a relatively recent and unique phenomenon in Canada. Beginning in the early 2000’s, the government of Québec realized that it was impossible for it to assume the sole responsibility of ensuring the proper representation of the natural regions and biodiversity of the province through the creation of government managed PAs. Limited provincial government funding for land

²⁸ Many Private PAs within this category are managed or jointly managed by The Fondation de la Faune du Québec (FFQ). The FFQ was created in 1984 by the Minister of the Environment (now MRNF); began active duty in 1986; and, represents the first non-governmental organization that worked alongside the provincial government for the promotion of protected areas. The FFQ functions under directives received from the MRNF and serves as a tool for the promotion of protected areas throughout the province and benefits by not having to worry about bureaucratic red tape (FFQ, 2010).

acquisition and the high value of property, mostly in the southern portions of the province, created a difficult environment for government when attempting to establish and connect PAs. The government recognized that the public would have to play a key role in securing this biodiversity since a large majority of identified areas or species at risk were located throughout privately owned land, predominantly in the southern part of the province along the St-Lawrence and many existing PAs were quite small or poorly connected with one another (Québec, 2002b).

To increase the number, connectivity and size of PAs in the southern regions of the province, provincial government relies on partnership development with private land owners and large ENGOs such as DU and The Nature Conservancy. The MRN and MDDEFP have created programs that allow private landowners to designate a section or the entirety of their land as protected. This land is then legally recognized by government, is given an IUCN category number by government based on the type of PA and use allowed on the site, and is managed according to a management plan developed by the MDDEFP or MNR and the landowner for a minimum of 25 years. Designating PAs within the northern regions of the province is often difficult due to the presence of logging and mining claims by private companies and corporations. To circumvent this, the MDDEFP has developed a program in which private companies can join by protecting designated sections of their logging or mining claims from resource extraction activities and in turn private companies receive tax breaks from the province as an incentive for participating. Again, the land designated as protected is managed according to a management plan developed by the province (MDDEFP) and the private company.

To date, the MDDEFP program for private PAs (i.e. réserve naturelle reconnue) comprises 175 private PA reserves with a combined size of 192.72 km² (Québec, 2015c). The MNR program for private PAs (milieu naturel de conservation volontaire) is comprised of 169 private reserves with a combined size of 103.07 km² (Québec 2015c).

Although important, this system of private reserves is quite small, and does not always take into account other similar types of private PAs such as land trusts created by ENGOS such as the TNC, DU or smaller provincial organisations as these have typically not been assigned an IUCN category due to time and cost (see section 5.4) and are, therefore, not counted in the provincial registry.

4.2.1 Meeting the 2015 target of 12% of PAs

The current process for identifying and designating PAs in Québec was developed by the MDDEFP in the mid-2000 when working to meet the 8% target of provincial PAs. Under this process, the staff within the MDDEFP conducted multiple analyses to determine the current number, distribution and type of PA within each of the 13 ecological regions of the province. This allowed staff to identify the type and percentage of land that would need to be designated as protected in order to meet the target. It should be noted that this PA planning process does not focus on establishing National Parks of Québec, but rather focuses on creating other types of PAs such as aquatic and biodiversity reserves (see Table 11). Once identified, these areas were highlighted on maps and sent to each of the 17 CRE's, one for each administrative region, for review. The CRE had the task of disseminating this information to relevant actors within their region such as the forestry sector, ENGOS, municipalities and elected officials for review. Upon review, the CRE would forward the comments back to the MDDEFP. The MDDEFP would take these comments into consideration before making a final decision regarding the proposed PAs. This would be sent back to the CRE for a final review. Once completed, the legal mechanisms for the designation of these proposed PAs would commence.

The public was also given the opportunity to propose potential sites for PAs but the government would not necessarily accept these recommendations. Although the public and industry were given an opportunity to comment on the types, size and location of proposed PAs,

this process was often viewed as restrictive, top-down, having inadequate public participation and outreach programs, and lacking government flexibility regarding decision-making. This sometimes created frictions between the resource industries due to the surprise of having PAs show up on their forestry maps without their prior knowledge. In other instances, communities and ENGO organizations were often surprised when PAs they suggested and requested were not adopted by the government.

To address these issues, the government modified its approach in 2010 when developing the strategy for meeting the 12% target for 2015. This new strategy is designed as a ground-up approach whereby the government works in collaboration with each of the 17 administrative regions at a normative and strategic level to identify potential areas for protection. Under this new approach, each CRE is asked to select and identify areas for consideration. This information is obtained through regular meetings with regional actors such as major resource industries, ENGOs, FNs and elected officials. Members of the public are also asked by the CRE to provide proposals for areas they would like to see designated as protected. Meanwhile, staff members within the MDDEFP create their own maps for each region based on specific ecological criteria and current PA distributions. Following this, government staff will travel to each of the administrative regions and meet with the CRE to compare the two maps and proposed PAs. These meetings allow the government to share and justify their proposed PAs and this also allows the region to tell the government what areas it would like to protect and what areas should not be considered.

After these meetings, government staff rework the maps taking into consideration all comments and propositions made by the regions. These maps are then sent back to the regions for further review. The process of deciding which areas to protect is complete once the government and the regions' CRE both agree on the location, size and designation of all

proposed PAs. Following this, the MDDEFP must obtain approval from the MNR regarding the proposed PAs. One of the main tasks of the MNR is to ensure that any proposed development or modifications to the provincial land base will not negatively affect the natural resource industry. If a proposed PA may have the potential to negatively affect resource development, the MNR has the power to cancel the project by refusing to approve it. The MNR has such powers for natural resource management because Acts, such as the Mining Act, predate most other provincial acts. Obtaining MNR approval for PA creation has often resulted in tensions between this ministry and the MDDEFP due to time delays and power struggles. Although this process for PA identification and creation is extremely time and energy consuming, the benefits of having community participation, buy-in, support, and understanding are seen as critical and required if the government is to meet the 2015 targets. As of 2015, the PA planning process is still underway, with certain administrative attempting to finalize their planning process. A 2014 report (SNAP, 2014) indicates that resource development potentials have undermined the planning process which has resulted in the provincial government failing to meet its target.

4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a general overview of PA development that occurred in Québec from the 1880s to the present and answers the first research question of this thesis. The development of the PA system in this province was and continues to be largely influenced by the natural resource sectors, the MNR, and more recently, international PA targets and standards. Although park creation and management has at certain points been influenced by conservation doctrines in North America (e.g. creation of some of the first parks or the adoption of a Parks Act), the province has largely developed its PA system independently.

It is only within the last 20 or so years that Québec began looking for ideas outside of the province in order to develop its PA system. This resulted in a rapid development of PAs and

much experimentation on behalf of the government, relevant ministries and other societal actors. There appears to be a clear lack of policy direction from civil or scholarly community regarding the development of the provincial PA system. Furthermore, the amount of literature or research focusing on PA management or policy development from within the province is slim, indicating a potential lack of interest or perceived value from academia or government within the province. Unlike their English counterparts, there is a lack of coherent bodies of user groups (e.g. Friends Groups) within the province. This makes understanding user needs difficult. Finally, the historical context for PA development provides contextual and situational information relevant to specific issues related to regional integration as discussed in the following four results chapters.

5.0 Interactions between Federal and Provincial Government Ministries and Large ENGOs for PA Planning and Management in Québec

5.1 Introduction

PA planning and management at a province-wide level is a complicated process; it often requires political bargaining between federal and provincial governments. Decision-making between provincial ministries is often tested due to imbalanced power relationships, and this can result in unidirectional communication pathways between ENGOs, government and associated ministries. This process then affects how PA planning and management within the province is advanced and determines how actors are included in decision-making processes. This chapter outlines how government agencies, operating in central offices at the provincial level, interact with each other regarding the planning and management of PAs within Québec. The role and manner by which Parks Canada and large national and provincial level ENGOs related to PA creation are included in this process is also examined. The themes explored include formal and informal mechanisms for communication between government agencies and ENGOs and the strength of the relationships between actors. This chapter sets the context for the presentation of the individual case studies in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

5.2 Federal Decision-Making in PA Planning and Management

In Québec, there are two federal national parks (Mauricie and FNP), one national marine park (Saguenay-St. Lawrence marine park), and one national park reserve (Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve) under the management of Parks Canada. All of these parks take directives from the regional Parks Canada office located in Québec city.²⁹

²⁹ The regional office was in transition during the field work period and currently no longer formally exists. All National Parks now take directives from the central offices of Parks Canada located in Ottawa.

The relationship between Parks Canada and the MDDEFP is described as amicable and respectful by both parties, specifically because Parks Canada understands its jurisdictional limits, which are the four national parks under its management.

Communication between Parks Canada and the MDDEFP occurs infrequently and on a per issue basis. The type of communications, either formal or informal, depends upon the type of problem or project being discussed and the stage of development. Parks Canada does not actively contribute or participate in any discussions with the MDDEFP regarding the development and creation of new provincial PAs. Parks Canada feels that if they were to contribute to the discussion without first being invited, this could create bad relationships with the province as it could be perceived that a federal agency is dictating how the province should be doing their work.

I can give you a very concrete example, which is to verify the feasibility of creating a marine PA in the Magdalen Island, where we recently signed a relatively general agreement with Québec which states that the two tiers of government Ottawa-Québec will work together and will share the required resources to evaluate the feasibility of a park. PC Staff 1)³⁰

Although the province is in the process of creating new PAs, there are no discussions between the MDDEFP and Parks Canada regarding linkages between the national parks and provincial PAs. Parks Canada does see benefits in planning for or creating linkages to ensure greater ecological integrity, especially considering the planning exercise being conducted by the province (section 4.2). Also, even if valued, Parks Canada is unable to propose the creation of linkages between PAs to the province due to political barriers and perceived federal imposition on a topic where they have no jurisdiction. Such discussion must originate from the provincial government.

³⁰Je peux te parler d'un exemple très concret, qui est de vérifier la faisabilité d'une aire marine aux îles de la Madeleine pour laquelle on a signé plus récemment avec le Québec une entente assez générale qui dit essentiellement que les deux niveaux de gouvernement Ottawa-Québec vont travailler ensemble et vont partager les ressources requises pour évaluer la faisabilité d'une aire marine. (PC Staff 1)

First, I would be inclined to answer by stating that if both parties respect their responsibilities and we do not go and invest on infrastructure that does not belong to us. It goes both ways. For Québec, there is the law on ecological integrity which states that we are sovereign and that we are integral, and we you say integral, it means you do not give up anything. (PC staff 2)³¹

However, when asked, they remain very open and willing to collaborate with the provincial government and other actors to promote conservation projects.

If we look at this from a provincial or global level, or look at the landscape from a smaller regional scale such as the Gaspésie, where the federal, provincial and municipal, we come together to explore how to better protect, no we do not do this. But we are willing, within our organization to openly collaborate. (PC Staff 2)³²

Certain government employee's from the MDDEFP are dissatisfied with Parks Canada's management capacity regarding planning and management activities occurring within the federal parks, especially with the LMNP and FNP. One example put forth by MDDEFP staff was the annual road bike race that occurs in LMNP every summer.

How does having thousands of tourists for a weekend fit with the management mandate of the park. On top of this, when this race occurs, regular visitors have no access to the park. (MDDEFP Staff 2)

In regards to FNP, MDDEFP staff members perceive the park as having inadequate facilities and visitor services due to funding restrictions imposed by Parks Canada. The MDDEFP has indicated to Parks Canada that the provincial government will strongly consider taking possession of the park once their lease is over in the late 2020's. One Parks Canada employee states:

... With Forillon, the new minister, before being minister, spoke up, this is the minister Gaëtan Lelièvre who wants to repatriate Forillon and make it part of the SEPAQ parks. This is in the news and we will see how it will play out. (PC Staff 1)³³

³¹ De prime abord j'aurais tendance à répondre assez candidement en disant c'est que chacun respecte ses responsabilités et on n'ira pas investir sur des infrastructures qui ne nous appartiennent pas. Ça se joue des deux côtés. Dans l'Québec il y a une loi sur l'intégrité territoriale qui dit qu'on est souverain et qu'on a une intégrité et quand tu dis intégrité, tu ne cèdes pas. (PC Staff 2)

³² Si on s'élève en altitude et on regarde la province où on veut regarder de façon globale l'ensemble du territoire ou à plus petite échelle une région disons la Gaspésie où le fédéral et le provincial et le municipal, on se met ensemble pour explorer ensemble comment on peut mieux protéger, non ! Nous on a une volonté dans notre programme, on collabore on est ouvert. (PC Park Staff 2)

³³ ...au niveau de Forillon, le nouveau ministre, avant d'être ministre, s'est élevé, on peut en parler c'est du domaine public, de nouveaux ministres responsables des régions, Gaëtan Lelièvre, le ministre délégué, il veut rapatrier Forillon et le faire gérer par la SEPAQ. C'est dans les journaux et on va voir comment ça va se dérouler. (PC Staff 1)

Communication between Parks Canada and SEPAQ occurs infrequently and in an informal manner on a case-by-case basis between staff that have similar positions within each agency.

Yes, we do share information and speak with them (SEPAQ) but there is nothing that is structured because regardless, the position of Québec is quite clear, they will not accept to give away their land for PAs, they have their own objectives. They have given themselves international objectives and have participated in multiple international forums and have signed agreements such as protecting 10% of the St. Lawrence. It is their game on their turf. (PC Staff 1)³⁴

Park staff from both agencies noted that there has been a great deal of informal communication regarding the development of an ecological integrity plan and assessment tool for both park systems. Most of the communications revolved around information sharing between select staff regarding best practices and the effectiveness of the measurement tools in relation to each agency's capacity to implement the tool in the field.

It has happened at least once where we have invited the SEPAQ because they want to meet our people and one of our ideas [ecological monitoring], and they did the same thing at a provincial level. I did the same thing with the SEPAQ where they invited me to their office to show me what they had done. It was more of informal information exchange. They also invited me to sit on their committee as a guest. More formally, they published a document on their ecological monitoring and I was one of the editors for that, which was more formal. These are more relationships and collaborations between scientific staff rather than actual managers, which I am not. (PC Staff 3)³⁵

Parks Canada and SEPAQ noted that communication regarding developing and implementing joint marketing strategies to promote each other's park system within the province is the main form of formal collaboration. Even though each park system markets parks, this is

³⁴ Non ce n'est pas qu'on ne s'en n'échange pas de façon informelle avec les relations que l'on a, par exemple, moi et Raymond, mais il n'y a rien de structurer, d'approche concertée, parce que de toute façon, la position du Québec est assez claire, on acceptera pas de céder notre territoire, ils ont leurs propres objectifs. Ils se sont donnés des objectifs internationaux ils ont participé à différents forums internationaux et ils ont pris des engagements de protéger 10 % du Saint-Laurent. C'est leur game sur leur bord. (PC Staff 1)

³⁵ C'est arrivé à au moins une reprise que l'on a invité la SEPAQ parce qu'il voulait rencontrer les gens, avoir une idée, et ils ont fait l'équivalent de ça au provincial, c'est-à-dire à la SEPAQ et il m'avait invité à aller assister à ça. C'était des échanges à cet égard plus informel qu'autre chose. Ils m'ont aussi invité à siéger sur leur comité mais plus à titre d'invité. Je ne peux pas dire que je suis membre de ce comité-là.... Plus concrètement et plus formellement, ils ont publié un document qui présentait leur approche au niveau du suivi de l'intégrité écologique et je faisais partie d'un comité de révision. Cela a été une invitation plus formelle. C'est beaucoup plus des collaborations entre scientifiques qu'entre gestionnaires parce que moi je ne suis pas un gestionnaire. (PC Staff 3)

seen as win-win proposition as each park offers different products, therefore, reduces competition. Individual parks complement each other's products, thus providing multiple services and attractions for visitors.

With the SEPAQ, we did some promotional work together for promoting the parks in Gaspésie with them. They are quite open, actually very open to integrate us, and vice versa, regarding different initiatives for promoting parks in certain regions. This is a good thing because we all have a role to play and we also recognize that we are not in competition with each other, but rather, we both play an important part in terms of tourism marketing for the regions. There is a relationship that is starting to develop, but we are not yet integrate in a formal way. (PC Staff 2)³⁶

The size of and bureaucracy of Parks Canada has been identified by both Parks Canada and SEPAQ staff as a hindrance to the formal development of communication and cooperative programs as such decisions must all travel through the proper internal communication channels. These bureaucratically laden processes create extremely long delays in decision-making, thus hampering Parks Canada's ability to develop formal ties or collaborative programs with their provincial equivalent.

5.3 Provincial Decision-Making in PA Planning and Management

There are two government ministries responsible for the creation and management of PAs at the provincial level: the MDDEFP and the MNR. The MDDEFP has the official government mandate to identify and create PAs in order to meet the government target of having 12% of the province under PA designation by 2015. The MNR which also has the power to create certain types of PAs (see table 11) plays a supporting role by assisting the MDDEFP in terms of land use mapping and identifying territorial land use zoning restrictions.

³⁶ Avec la SEPAQ, on a fait des activités de promotion, on a positionné le circuit des parcs nationaux en Gaspésie avec la SEPAQ. Ils sont assez ouverts, très ouvert même à nous intégrer et vice versa dans différentes initiatives de mise en marché au niveau régional. Ça, c'est une bonne chose parce qu'on a tout un rôle à jouer et on reconnaît qu'on n'est pas en compétition mais qu'on est chacun un des morceaux importants en termes de destination touristique. Il y a une dynamique qui se dessine, sur laquelle, ce n'est pas intégré encore de façon formelle. (PC Staff 2)

The relationship between the MDDEFP and the MNR was described in different terms based on the participants and their experience, position and projects within each of the ministries. Overall, interactions between the two agencies occur frequently in a formal manner, mostly in relation to the identification of proposed PAs and potential or future natural resource land use plans that may affect the creation of the PAs.

The coordination between the MNR and MDDEFP regarding the creation of PAs ensures the cooperation between industrial sectors such as forestry and the environment. (MDDEFP staff 1)³⁷

The two agencies have very different mandates (sustainable development and environmental protection vs. resource development) and staff characterized the relationship between the MDDEFP and MNR as challenging and sometimes difficult, particularly in relation to finalizing the location and boundaries of proposed PAs.

The MDDEFP is mandated by the government to coordinate the establishment of the PAs. It identifies potential sites of interest, then, sends this information to the MNR. The MNR examines these proposed PA locations in collaboration with industry partners (natural resource sectors) to determine if there will be a negative economic impact (Quebec 2015a).

The biggest influence in all this is the independence, or rather the dependence on natural resources. (MDDEFP Staff 1)³⁸

If it is determined there will be an impact, the MNR cannot accept the proposal and the MDDEFP has to find an alternate location. This whole process is perceived as laden with bureaucracy and is considered very time consuming by MDDEFP staff. Ultimately, no new PA can be created without first being approved by the MNR. The MNR has the ultimate power in terms of final PA location, size and creation. If they deem one region to be too important in

³⁷ La coordination entre le Ministère des Ressources Naturelles et le Ministère du Développement Durable en se qui concerne la création d'aires protégées assurent la coopération entre l'environnement et un certain nombre de secteurs industriels, don la foresterie. (MDDEFP Staff 1)

³⁸ La grosse influence dans cela c'est l'indépendance ou plutôt la dépendance sur les ressources naturelle. (MDDEFP Staff 1)

regards to current or future industry use, they can prevent a PA from being created. In other instances, they may allow a PA to be created but may change its classification in order to allow for specific types of resource use.

Collaboration does work. Yes, we do have two completely different mandates. I am not going to lie and tell you it is not painful or challenging, and it would be easier if we said yes all the time, but the response is almost always no. We are able to make progress because they have to defend the enterprises that they represent and on top of that, they have staff in those regions, they have regional offices. (MDDEFP Staff2)³⁹

The MNR perceives its role as important and primordial to ensuring economic viability of the province's natural resource sector and ultimately provincial economic stability. Although they recognize that the MDDEFP has been mandated by the government to create new PAs, the MNR places greater importance on ensuring continued stability and growth for the resource industries.

The ministry of energy, they have a type of veto due to the rather punctual nature of their business, so when they do not agree, it is as if everything just stops. They have an extreme power on the province's land because they affect very little of it, so it is rare that they will say we are in there way, but when we are, it is over for us. They have this power due to the laws under which they operate. (MNR Staff 2)⁴⁰

In fact, many laws regarding resource use and allocation, such as the Mining Act and Hydroelectric Act, predate most other laws and are used by the MNR as a trump card, or to veto any proposed land use development that does not directly benefit the resource sector or fit with the mandate of the ministry.

Legally speaking, the law on mines and hydro in Québec are essentially indispensable. If there is a hydro-electric project, we must move. If there is a mine, we cannot be there. This is not always the case but it is very challenging. (MDDEFP Staff 2)⁴¹

³⁹ La collaboration fonctionne. C'est sûr qu'on a deux missions complètement différentes. Je ne vous dis pas que ce n'est pas pénible, pas difficile, on trouverait que ce serait plus facile si on disait oui tout le temps mais comme je dirais la première réponse est presque non tout le temps. On réussit à progresser parce que effectivement ils ont à défendre les entreprises et en plus eux ont des ministères en région, eux autres ont des secteurs en régions. (MDDEFP Staff 2)

⁴⁰ Les minières et l'énergie finalement ils exercent généralement un genre de veto étant donné la nature très ponctuelle de leurs interventions, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas d'accord c'est comme si toute arrête. Ils ont un extrême pouvoir sur le territoire parce qu'ils en affectent très peu, donc très rarement ils vont dire qu'on est dans leurs jambes, mais quand c'est le cas, c'est terminé. Ils ont ce pouvoir dû à leurs lois. (MNR Staff 2)

⁴¹ Sur le plan légal actuellement, la loi des mines et Hydro-Québec sont pratiquement des incontournables. S'il y a un projet hydro-électrique il faut se tasser. S'il y a une mine on est comme pas dedans. Ce n'est pas toujours vrai mais c'est lourd. (MDDEFP Staff 2)

This sentiment is felt by certain large ENGOs operating at a provincial level and is also evident by reviewing various PA proposals where PAs were proposed but rejected due to natural resource development potential put forward by the MNR.

The MDDEFP presents their projects to the Bureau of Public Hearings, and sometimes, they make propositions for enlarging an area, and sometimes, these propositions are rejected by the MNR due to the potential or real impact on natural resource industries such as mines or forestry. So I think that within the government, certain economic factors are taken into consideration for PAs. (NQ ENGO1)⁴²

Within the MDDEFP, creating, administering and promoting programs that would allow for private PA creation in the southern part of the province has proven difficult. Although a program was initiated by the government to assist private property owners to designate part or all of their property as protected, this has not attracted much attention from the public.

In the south of Québec, where the majority of land is privately owned, there are not many large properties, and the property owners, this is not what they want to do with their land. They see their land as an investment and not as an area for conservation or protection. (MDDEFP Staff 3)⁴³

The lack of citizen participation in this program has been attributed to government directives that are unclear; to a designation process that is time consuming and costly; that all costs must be first incurred by the property owner; and, that the land owner is doing the work of the government.

One of the problems is that the initiative for creating a PA on private land must originally come from the land owner and not the government. If he decides to prevent certain land activities from taking place on his land, he will have to spend money and time to register his property with the government and this entails a lot of work. For reasons that I think are ideological and dependent on the individual, currently they do not want to be promote or assist in a program that will benefit the government. (MDDEFP Staff 3)⁴⁴

⁴² Le ministère de l'environnement présente son dossier au bureau d'audiences publiques et des fois ils font des propositions d'agrandissement et mentionne que des fois ses propositions d'agrandissement ont été rejetées par le ministère des ressources naturelles par rapport à l'impact sur les coupes forestières ou par rapport au potentiel minier, et c'est certain que les enjeux ou le potentiel énergétique Hydro-Québec peut certainement venir mettre son veto d'agrandissement de territoire que le ministère du développement durable propose, alors je pense qu'à l'intérieur du gouvernement c'est certain que les enjeux économiques sont pris en considération aussi. (NQ ENGO 1)

⁴³ Dans le sud du Québec, où la plupart des terres privées sont situés, il n'y a pas beaucoup de grandes propriétés et les propriétaires, ce n'est pas ce qu'ils veulent faire avec leur terre. Il la voit come un investissement et non come un secteur de conservation ou protection. (MDDEFP Staff 3)

⁴⁴ 16. Un des problèmes c'est que l'initiative pour créer une ère protégée en milieu privé doit venir de l'individu et non du gouvernement. Si lui décide d'enlever des usages sur sa propriété, il doit engager des dépenses et doit enregistrer sa propriété avec le gouvernement et c'est beaucoup travail. Pour des raisons, d'après moi, idéologique et lié à des individus, au moment donné ils ne veulent pas se faire le promoteur d'un moyen pour le gouvernement. (MDDEFP Staff 3)

Government employees in both the MDDEFP and MNR view the concept of connectivity for PAs as important to ensure greater ecological integrity of the province's ecological regions. Yet, they also indicate that planning for this while attempting to meet the government target of 12% is not a current government priority as the government does not see this as actively contributing to growing the provincial PA system.

I will admit that we did not use it for that purpose. In the document regarding connectivity, in there we chose seven to eight parameters and we could have included connectivity. So this is our starting point, but if in the region, they tell us that connectivity is important, we can try to add this in. But there needs to be a reason that demonstrates why connectivity is important in the region or why we need to be thinking about connectivity. (MDDEFP Staff 1)⁴⁵

Rather, emphasis is placed on creating large PAs, in the central and northern regions of the province, as these are deemed capable of ensuring ecological integrity. Currently, the only focus is on meeting the 12%. Once this has been met, then government could work towards linking the large PAs together.

This is very much an approach where we are trying to create large PAs. There are sectors that do not have any PAs, or there are only small PAs. We are trying to create large conservation areas and to spread these out uniformly across the province and in the different administrative regions. Once we have done this, then we will be able to focus on connectivity, sometimes, we need to link these large protected areas with each other depending on species. (MDDEFP Staff 1)⁴⁶

Put slightly differently, another participant indicates that in the eyes of the government, the size of these new PAs ensures that there is no need to have linkages or buffer zone around the PA as their large size already takes into account buffer zones.

⁴⁵ Je vais t'avouer qu'on ne l'a pas utilisé dans ce qu'on fait là. Dans le document, dans le portrait que l'on a fait on avait traité de la connectivité. Là-dedans on a choisi peut-être sept à huit paramètres, sept à huit variables, on aurait pu en mettre plus et la connectivité aurait pu être mise là-dedans. On part avec ça mais si en région ils nous disent la connectivité c'est important qu'on pourrait la rajouter. Il faudrait avoir une raison de dire ah oui régionalement la connectivité on n'en a besoin, on a telle problématique et il faudrait regarder. (MDDEFP Staff 1)

⁴⁶ Ici c'est vraiment une approche où on essaie de mettre en place des grandes aires de conservation. Il y a des secteurs où il n'y a pas d'aires protégées, il n'y a que des petites aires protégées. Ce qu'on essaie de faire ce sont de grands milieux de conservation et on essaie de les répartir, on joue sur la représentativité sur cette zone-là, il y a très peu de noyaux de conservation, on a beaucoup de projets qui sont étudiés actuellement. Après ça dans le fond, on va pouvoir voir de la connectivité, il faut les relier parfois ces aires protégées là, il faut qu'elle soit liée par des milieux propices et dépendant des espèces. (MDDEFP Staff 1)

The MDDEFP has always answered by stating that they create PAs that are large enough that their edges act as a buffer zone. In other words, the buffer zones are already included in the PA. However, we don't understand this because this concept makes no sense at all. (SNAP ENGO 1)⁴⁷

When asked about the importance of linking PAs, the MDDEFP states that this is important and should be thought about, but because this is not a government priority, they, as a government ministry can only focus on this if there is a particular problem for a particular species. Furthermore, participants from the MDDEFP have noted that adding this additional layer to the negotiation process between them and the MNR during the PA planning phase would likely prove to be too taxing and would impede the ability to meet the government target.

...conjointly, it does occur at the regional level, we try to create conservation hot spots while at the same time, the MNR is also implementing its ecosystem management protocol and they are also looking at re-establishing the woodland caribou population; so there are aspects of connectivity, but there needs to be a problem for us to do this. For example, with the woodland caribou, it is clear, the borders and land around PAs must be managed adequately. (MDDEFP Staff 1)⁴⁸

Finally, the MNR and MDDEFP also collaborate with ENGOs (see also section 5.4), typically in an informal manner through ad hoc meetings, and sometimes formally when they serve as government advisors in relation to PA projects. However, under these arrangements, government retains sole decision-making powers.

The NGOs do participate, but in a manner that is more formal, but the government will often take an approach that is more prudent, as although we do want to be counseled and we do want to listen, we do not want to have a structure in place that is too complex. That could prevent us from being able to listen or respond to what NGOs are asking for. (MNR Staff 2)⁴⁹

⁴⁷ La réponse du ministère du développement durable c'était toujours, nous en fait nos aires protégées assez grandes pour inclure la zone-tampon, autrement dit l'ère protégée contient déjà des zone-tampon. Par contre, nous on ne comprenait pas ça parce que ce concept ne fait aucun bon sens. (SNAP ENGO 1)

⁴⁸ ... parallèlement, ça se passe au niveau régional, nous on essaie de mettre des noyaux de conservation et parallèlement le ministère des ressources naturelles est en train de mettre en branle l'aménagement écosystémique et aussi l'plan de rétablissement caribou qui eux regarde; donc il y a des aspects connectivité mais il faut qu'il y ait une problématique. Par exemple dans le corps du caribou forestier c'est clair. Il y a la nécessité que les pourtours des aires protégées soient gérés adéquatement. (MDDEFP Staff 1)

⁴⁹ Les O.N.G. s'assure de participer de façon plus formelle, mais le gouvernement vas souvent prendre une approche plus prudente, tans qu'ont veut bien être conseille et de bien les écouter, mais on ne veut pas qu'il y ait de structures trop complexe qui soient mis sur place. Cela pourrait réduit notre obligation à répondre à ce que les O.N.G.demande. (MNR Staff 2)

One of the main roles of ENGOs as perceived by government participants is to serve as watchdog regarding government decisions, in this case related to PA creation.

The NGO most often play the role of 'watch dog'. They develop a public discourse that supports government mandates. It is certainly true that the pressure exerted by NGOs, in my opinion, there is no clear public opinion without the NGOs. Without a clear and structured public opinion, there cannot be any type of public pressure, which results in no political will and finally, this impacts government programs that dependent on public support. (MNR Staff 2)⁵⁰

5.3.1 MDDEFP and SEPAQ

The relationship between the MDDEFP and SEPAQ was described in very similar terms by participants from both parties. Interactions between the MDDEFP and SEPAQ occur frequently, and between specific senior level managers/directors, most often regarding updates, planning directions and national park creation or boundary changes. Most preliminary discussions are conducted in an informal manner through telephone conversations and individual meetings while final decision-making processes take place in board meetings and are finalized by written agreements.

In parallel, for example we will have a committee where I and my colleague, the director of parks and the equivalent of my position from the SEPAQ will meet three to four times per year and we will discuss items of common interest to insure that we are respecting the relevant laws and that parks are managed appropriately. This ensures that we are all accountable. This is how we proceed and it works very well. However, in day-to-day activities, since it is people within my ministry that have developed the zoning plans, and that we continually have to modify these zoning plans, there are ongoing discussions between staff at the SEPAQ and staff here. (MDDEFP Staff 2)⁵¹

⁵⁰ Les O.N.G. joue surtout un rôle de chien de garde je dirais. Il développe dans l'opinion publique un discours qui alimente sa démarche gouvernementale. C'est sûr que la pression des O.N.G. de à mon avis il n'y a pas d'opinion publique claire sans les O.N.G. Sans opinion claire et structurée il n'y a pas de pression du public il n'y a pas de volonté politique et finalement ça s'enchaîne jusqu'à au programme gouvernemental qui dépend un peu de soutien du milieu. (MNR Staff 2)

⁵¹ En parallèle par exemple on va avoir un comité où moi et mon collègue le directeur des parcs et mon vis-à-vis à la SEPAQ on va se réunir trois à quatre fois par année et on est en va débattre des dossiers d'intérêt commun pour s'assurer que vous respectez bien la loi sur les parcs et gérer de telle façon. Vous allez nous rendre des comptes. C'est comme ça qu'on procède et ça va très bien. Cependant au quotidien, comme ce sont les gens chez nous qui ont préparé le zonage et que l'on doit périodiquement modifier le zonage, il y a des échanges continus je dirais entre le professionnel dans le parc et les gens de chez moi. (MDDEFP Staff 2)

Although the SEPAQ and MDDEFP have different mandates (park creation vs. park management) participants from both the MDDEFP and SEPAQ characterize the relationship as positive, strong and mutually beneficial.

That is under the direction of parks and ecology within the MDDEFP, it is them that have the responsibility of the PA network, so it is them that decide where and what type of PA will be created, while we are the ones responsible for their management. (SEPAQ Staff 1)⁵²

A SEPAQ Staff articulates the benefits to the MDDEFP of having the SEPAQ act as the manager of the Québec National Parks.

So it's fine to create something that is expensive, but afterwards, you must ensure that it remains viable. Us, in terms of an organization that functions like a private enterprise, I think we do a pretty good job of doing this. (SEPAQ Staff 1)⁵³

Because the SEPAQ is a crown corporation working independently from government, it has the ability to respond and adapt to changes very quickly, something the MDDEFP is incapable of doing (See also Eagles, 2008, 2009).

5.4 ENGO Decision-Making in PA planning and Management.

There are four ENGO organizations identified as the most relevant regarding PA creation and landscape conservation at a province wide level. These are: TNC, SNAP, DU and Nature Québec (NQ).

5.4.1 Nature Conservancy of Canada

TNC Québec chapter focuses on conserving important natural areas and plants and animal species, through the acquisition of private land. It is heavily focused on creating land trusts in cooperation with private landowners and in purchasing private lands that have an ecological value for the purposes of conservation (TNC, 2015).

⁵² C'est la direction des parcs écologiques au MDDEFP; ce sont eux qui ont la responsabilité du réseau d'aires protégées donc ce sont eux qui décident où et quel type d'aires protégées vont être mis en place et nous nous sommes les gestionnaires. (SEPAQ Staff 1)

⁵³ C'est bien beau de développer quelque chose qui coûte cher mais après ça, il faut qu'ils le fassent vivre. Nous en tant qu'organisme qui fonctionne comme une entreprise, je trouve que ce que nous on a fait c'est un assez beau succès. (SEPAQ Staff 1)

There is little communication between the TNC and the MDDEFP or with the MNR. Communication between the TNC and MDDEFP occurs on a case-by-case basis. Most often, the TNC will act as a lobby group demanding that government recognize PAs on private lands. For example, the lobbying by the TNC ensured that private PAs created by conservation organizations were recognized by the government as PAs.

I was telling you that PAs established by conservation organizations are actual PAs which are just as valid as those created by government, so I have done some lobbying, and I clearly remember telling them that they should be included in their count and data base which was done at that time. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁴

However, when the PA registry was created and adopted by the province, the private PAs created by the TNC and other conservation agencies were not automatically included. The government now requires that for a private PA to be recognized by government, it has to go through a formal vetting process managed by the MDDEFP, something the TNC deems to be a waste of resources and ultimately not worth doing as the process or government recognition of the area does not ensure greater protection.

When the government renewed its strategy on PAs, they said now, we will create a formal registry for all PAs in the province, and in this process, they excluded all PAs created by conservation organizations, because now, they did not recognize them as PAs. To have them recognized as PAs, they now want us to go through the formal process for being recognized. But conservation organizations have a mission to protect land areas, ok, but spending money just to have them recognized by the government and to meet all this government criteria for a registry that serves no real purpose other than to allow for government to pump themselves up, well we said we don't have time or money to do this. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Moi je disais les aires protégées par les organismes conservation sont des aires protégées aussi valides que celle faite par les gouvernements alors j'ai fait tout un lobby, je me souviens encore pour dire que ça devrait être intégrer dans votre comptabilité et registre d'aires protégée au Québec, ce qui fut fait à l'époque. (TNC Staff 1)

⁵⁵ Quand le gouvernement a renouvelé la stratégie sur les aires protégées ils ont dit maintenant on va avoir un Registre des aires protégées et ils ont exclu tout de suite toutes les aires protégées des organismes de conservation, pas parce qu'il ne constate pas que ce n'est pas des aires protégées mais parce qu'il faut maintenant faire la demande pour être dans le régissent, sauf que les groupes de conservations ont une mission de protéger du territoire, bien mais de l'argent juste pour remplir toutes les conditions pour être reconnu comme être air protégé par le gouvernement dans un registre qui n'a pas plus de raison d'être que pour le gouvernement se prenne les bretelles, nous on se dit on n'a pas le temps ou l'argent pour faire ça. (TNC Staff 1)

Although the government has allocated funds to assist with the recognition of private lands as PAs, these funds are not guaranteed, do not cover all associated costs and vary from year to year.

There are some instances where the TNC will decide to undertake the process of having a private PA recognized by the province, but this is typically only done for large PAs and only in order to receive a municipal tax break.

In certain instances, we did go through the formal government recognition process because we could gain something. For example, in the case of the 'Montagne Vert' here in the region, we had an area comprised of five 75 km² parcels, so lots of taxes. So having this area recognized was advantageous because we had a reduction in municipal taxes. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁶

More recently, the TNC has entered in collaboration with the MNR regarding the creation of private reserves in the southern regions of the province. The MNR has identified specific areas of importance in terms of fauna and flora and has set aside money to protect these. Under the agreement, the TNC purchases the land and eventually, the land is transferred to the MNR.

The MNR, which is very interesting because they have put money aside about five years ago for protecting private PA or wildlife refuges, so often, we purchase the land area and eventually, it will be transferred to them so that they can create a PA. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁷

This partnership functions well because there is more flexibility and less paperwork required from the MNR, especially compared to the process put in place by the MDDEFP.

So this is really a collaboration process that works very well. I think that the MNR is a little bit less demanding than the MDDEFP. I think that the reason why they are more flexible is that the process they have developed is quite recent and that they have not ironed out everything. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Dans certains cas on l'a quand même fait parce que c'est avantageux. Par exemple, dans le cas des montagnes vertes dans la région des cantons de l'est, on a une propriété qui a cinq blocs de 75 km², donc c'est énormément de taxes. Donc, c'était avantageux pour nous d'aller donner un statut de réserve naturelle à milieu privé pour avoir moins de taxes municipale. (TNC Staff 1)

⁵⁷ Le ministère des ressources naturelles qui est très intéressant parce qu'ils ont mis de l'argent de côté il y a à peu près cinq ans pour protéger des propriétés par milieu ou des refuges fauniques en milieu privé donc souvent c'est nous qui acquiescent les propriétés éventuellement ils vont la transférer pour faire une aire protégée. (TNC Staff 1)

⁵⁸ Alors c'est vraiment une collaboration qui va très bien. Je trouve que le commissaire des ressources naturelles est un tout petit peu moins exigeant que le ministère du développement durable. Je pense que le fait qu'ils sont plus flexibles et simplement dus au fait que ce développement est beaucoup plus récent et qu'ils n'ont pas encore tout réglé. (TNC Staff 1)

The TNC also collaborates formally with other resource industries such as forestry and petrochemical companies who can provide grants for conservation and education programs.

We have very recently begun working with the forestry sector. Evidently, the industries have always been included as funders for conservation projects. These people support conservation programs but have never actually done any work per se, they simply provide us with the funding to do the work. (TNC Staff 1)⁵⁹

The TNC does collaborate with other smaller ENGOs in regards to land acquisition for the purposes of protection. These small ENGOs tend to be community-based, small and often lacking monetary resources. In most of these collaborations, the TNC provides most of the expertise, finances and political clout. This is occurring more frequently than in the past due to increases in land acquisition costs and the bureaucratic process if the area is to be recognized by the MDDEFP.

However, some conservation groups do not have the capacity to do this, so when they have land areas or have purchased land areas, they want us to manage them or want us to take them over. (TNC Staff 1)⁶⁰

5.4.2 SNAP

The SNAP is a national organization that focuses on education and cooperation with environmental groups, FNs, government, industrials and local communities for the maintenance and further development of PAs. In Québec, this organization focuses on ‘*the establishment of a true network of protected areas throughout the province, the protection of the boreal forest and the good management existing parks and protected areas*’ (SNAP, 2015). SNAP has no involvement regarding the promotion and creation of PAs on private lands. For public lands, communication and participation occurs between the MDDEFP and SNAP on a case-by-case

⁵⁹ On a commencé tout récemment avec le secteur forestier, évidemment les industries ont toujours fait parti du portrait conservation comme donneur de fin c’est des gens qui nous donnent de l’argent, comme celle par exemple un programme de stages pour les étudiants. Ces gens soutiennent la mission de conservation de la nature mais on n’a jamais fait le travail comme tel avec il nous donne simplement des fonds. (TNC Staff 1)

⁶⁰ Par contre les petits groupes n’ont pas la capacité de faire cela alors quand ils ont des terrains ou ont fait des acquisitions de terrain, ils veulent qu’on en prenne soin où ils veulent s’en débarrasser. (TNC Staff 1)

basis. Discussions between SNAP and the government, and most often with the MDDEFP, revolve around big picture management problems and future management goals and objectives. SNAP places a provincial level focus on the current and future state of conservation and PA efforts and initiatives made by the government.

So in Québec, about 95% of the land area is public, and we do not focus on private lands. Therefore, we advocate for the creation of PAs and for their proper management, but big picture. We do not go into a specific PA and do a land use study to ensure that it is well managed, that is the role of government. (SNAP Staff 1)⁶¹

SNAP communicates and participates in formal meetings with the MDDEFP as an ENGO representative to discuss and comment upon proposed legal projects regarding the creation of new parks. This is perceived as beneficial for the government as it ensures effective participation and strong project buy-in from SNAP. For projects that align with its views, SNAP will develop promotional campaigns designed to inform and sell the project to the greater public and will also work with the affected forestry company(ies) to ensure their support. Through early project involvement, SNAP serves as a powerful outside promoter for government conservation projects.

We try as much as possible to work with the government. Often, we will participate in the writing of bills, acts and laws, and we are included at the very early stages of these projects, so we have a good understanding of these and are active participants in the creation of PAs, we work with the government. There are some instances where the project is condemned to fail, and there are projects that we push when they align with the objectives of SNAP, so we will do public campaigns to push these projects forward. We also have meetings with industry, especially the forestry industry to promote these projects and to give them reasons why they should support them. (SNAP Staff 1)⁶²

⁶¹ Donc, au Québec il y a à peu près 95 % du territoire en terres public et nous on ne s'occupe pas des terres privées. Donc on pousse à la création d'une aire protégée et à sa bonne gestion, mais d'une façon large. On ne va pas dans une aire protégée et faire une étude de terrain pour assurer qu'elle est bien gérée, sa, c'est le rôle du gouvernement. (SNAP Staff 1)

⁶² On essaie de travailler autant que possible avec le gouvernement. Souvent, on participe à un projet de loi, et on est inclus très tôt dans le processus décisionnelle et on va aller décider et rediscuter, alors on n'a une bonne participation au niveau des projets de loi et au niveau des créations des aires protégées, on participe avec le gouvernement. Il y a des fois des projets condamnés et des projets que l'on pousse quand ils s'accordent avec les objectifs de la SNAP, alors, donc, on fait des campagnes publiques pour pousser ses projets là. On fait aussi des rencontres avec l'industrie, entre autres avec l'industrie forestière, pour promouvoir ses projets et leurs donner des raisons pour qu'il les supporte. (SNAP Staff 1)

In other instances, SNAP will make its own proposals for PA creation, PA expansion, or for increased protection or reduction of natural resource use for specific land or water areas.

Therefore, the SNAP can act as both a supporter of government proposals and as a watchdog.

Regarding the decision-making process for other types of PAs, SNAP is involved in the latter project stages, typically after final decisions have been made within the administrative regions, when the proposal(s) is presented for public viewing and commenting through the Bureau d'Audience Public sur l'Environnement (BAPE) (or, Bureau of Public Consultation on the Environment). As an independent organization, SNAP will also act as a consultant, assisting Administrative Regions or actors regarding the benefits of proposed PAs by the government.

*For example, presently I am working with a group of actors in a region which is considering a proposed PA on their land. We will also intervene during public consultation processes, often towards the end of a project since the regional actors have already been approved by the region. (SNAP Staff 1)*⁶³

In other instances, there is no possibility to comment or be involved regarding the creation of certain types of PAs proposed by the MNR. The MNR does not allow public participation in the creation of these PAs (see table 11) because the decision to create these is made solely on scientific bases (Loi sur l'Amenagement durable de Territoire Forestier (2015). However, SNAP, as an ENGO with a focus on PAs, would like to participate in these decision-making processes as they believe they have relevant experience and information.

SNAP also views its role in Québec as being a very strong and loud watchdog regarding the locations, size, number and variety of PAs within the province. In some instances, they have successfully lobbied the government to change the manner by which it categorizes PAs so that these could better represent the true number of actual PAs.

⁶³ Par exemple, présentement je travaille avec un groupe d'intervenant dans une région qui est à la réflexion sur une proposition d'une aire protégée sur leur territoire. Nous on va intervenir aussi au moment des consultations publiques, plus vers la fin du projet, car l'aire est bien délimitée par les intervenants locaux et le savoir consultation public pour le faire approuver. (SNAP Staff 1)

During the 90's, the government percentage was about 3% of PAs but the number calculated by NGOs was more around 1% because there were many areas identified by the government that were not really for conservation. So we did our own analysis and did many campaigns on this topic to push the government, to not count certain 'false' PAs, and they listened. (SNAP Staff 1)⁶⁴

Finally, SNAP often collaborates both formally and informally with other ENGO organizations in Québec. ENGOs will collaborate informally when lobbying or attending government meeting to discuss common points of interest in relation to a PA proposal. Although there may be many participating ENGOs, all with their own priorities, discussing among themselves ensures that they are able to agree on what they would all like to see from the government. Therefore, this ensures that the government receives a cohesive unified message from participating ENGOs.

When there are public consultation meetings for which ever park, we will work together in order to ensure that our messages or positions are in line with each other's and to determine which topic is most important to push for, otherwise, we lose impact. Because when there are many actors saying the same thing, this will result in better outcomes from the government. (SNAP Staff 1)⁶⁵

Formal collaborations also occur between ENGOs and most often revolve around joint project or grant applications. Since there is often a limited amount of available funds, joint applications permit the division of funds across organizations while fostering knowledge sharing.

5.4.3 Ducks Unlimited

DU is a national organization that is also part of a larger conservation movement for the protection and restoration of waterfowl populations within Canada and across the USA and Mexico. As an organization, DU does not create PAs per se. In Québec, there are two main

⁶⁴ Dans les années 90, le chiffre du gouvernement était un peu près 3 % d'aires protégées mais le taux calculé par les ONG environnemental était à peine de 1 % parce qu'il y avait beaucoup d'aires que le gouvernement disait être protégée mais dans le fond, c'était poussé le chiffre. Alors nous on a fait des analyses de carence et on a fait beaucoup de campagne là-dessus pour pousser le gouvernement, et on leur a dit pour telle et telle raison que les grandes aires de mise-bas du caribou dans le nord ne sont pas de vrais aires protégées, alors ils ont arrêté des les calculés. (SNAP Staff 1)

⁶⁵ Quand il y a des audiences publiques pour tel parc par exemple, bien, on va collaborer ensemble pour dire qu'est-ce qui serait le plus important à pousser ou des enjeux précis parce que quand il y a plusieurs groupes d'intervenants et chacun dit cela ou cela, on est pas concertée, ça ne donne pas grand-chose. Alors on va se parler pour concertée les actions et pour avoir un meilleur résultat envers le gouvernement. (SNAP Staff 1)

streams within DU. One focuses on working with private landowners to create or rehabilitate wetlands so as to provide better habitat for wildfowl. The other branch works on public lands, often in collaboration with various levels of government, other ENGOs and industry to assist in the development or restoration of wetlands. In regard to the private lands, in many instances, DU will purchase the land, restore it and develop a management plan. Once the project is complete, the land will often be donated to the government or a specific municipality (DU, 2015). DU does not want to remain the proprietor of these sites due to the high management costs and limited budgets that could be better used to purchase additional lands. In some instances, once government gains ownership, the lands may be given PA status.

So for us, when they are created, there are many that our bought, and afterwards, we will give these back to the state, or certain cities, such as Montreal. DU does not keep land. We also have many projects where we have create sites, but these do not remain under our ownership. They are given back to the state because managing these sites requires a lot of resources and we here at DU do not have the appropriate budgets to do this. (DU Staff 1)⁶⁶

Communication between DU and government ministries or agencies at either a provincial or federal level is sporadic, occurring on a case-by-case basis depending on their needs. The majority of collaborations occur when joint projects are developed. Sometimes, the government, most often the MDDEFP, will ask DU to participate in a project when the focus of the project is on wetlands or has a wetlands component. In other instances, DU will ask for government staff with a specific expertise to participate and collaborate on a project. As long as the project proposed by DU falls within the needs or mandate of the specific government agency, using government resources (staff and information) does not cause problems. Therefore, these collaborations occur informally as they fall within the mandates of a government agency and DU. These collaborations are perceived as a win-win for both parties. When government staff

⁶⁶ Alors nous quand ils sont créés, il y en a beaucoup qui sont achetés et par après on va les redonner à l'État ou encore à certaines villes comme la ville de Montréal par exemple. Canards illimités ne garde pas les terres. Il y a aussi beaucoup de projets où on a créé des sites mais qui ne reste pas nécessairement à nous. Ils peuvent être retournés à l'état parce que l'intendance de c'est site c'est très coûteux et cela demande beaucoup de ressources et nous à canards illimités on n'a pas le budget nécessaire pour cela. (DU Staff 1)

members collaborate on a DU project, it ensures the results and recommendations of the project will be better received by the government as their staff's participation on the project increases its validity. When DU participates on a government project, it allows the government to state that they collaborated with outside government agencies and organizations, and benefited from outside expertise, therefore, increasing the effectiveness and accountability of the project.

DU is not involved in discussions regarding the current government process for creating new PAs. As an ENGO, it is not DU's responsibility, nor does it have the mandate or legitimacy to create new PAs across the province. Rather, this is the responsibility of the government.

The government has an invested role here, they are the ones in charge and responsible for the development of PAs. In terms of power to create PAs, the government has the legitimacy to do this where as us, as an NGO, we do not have this, it is not a mandate for us to ensure that different PAs are connected to each other. (DU Staff 1)⁶⁷

However, DU, like any other organization or citizen can and does put forward proposals for specific areas to be considered as PAs by the government during their planning exercises.

DU sees their role as a type of watchdog in regards to government decision-making and project development.

Yes, I think that NGOs are a bit of a counterweight to the government, by this I mean that we act a bit like a watchdog in our own way. Each NGO ensures, in their own way, that the government keeps true to its word. I think that we need to have NGOs because otherwise, many things would not be moving forward in government. (DU Staff 1)⁶⁸

5.4.4 Nature Québec

Nature Québec (NQ) is a provincial level organization that represents over 5000 members and 130 smaller organisms focused on conservation and ecosystem well-being and is a member of the IUCN (NQ, 2015). NQ interacts with the provincial government on an ad hoc basis. In

⁶⁷ Le gouvernement est investi de ce rôle-là, c'est eux qui sont en charge est responsable du développement de ces aires protégées. En termes de raison de pouvoir pour créer des aires protégées, le gouvernement a de la légitimité pour le faire tandis que nous comme organisme privé on n'a pas cette légitimité, ce n'est pas un mandat d'assurer la connectivité ou les liens entre les aires protégées. (DU Staff 1)

⁶⁸ Oui, je pense que les O.N.G. sont un peu un contrepoids au gouvernement alors on sert un peu comme des chiens de garde à notre façon à nous jouer chaque O.N.G. sa propre façon, les chacun d'entre nous assure que ce que le gouvernement fait est de bonne foi. Je pense qu'on a besoin des O.N.G. parce que sinon il y a plein de choses qui n'avanceraient pas au gouvernement. (DU Staff 1)

most instances, NQ acts as a lobby group, putting pressure on the government in terms of PA creation, species protection, development of corridors between PAs, and for developing and adopting large-scale landscape planning practices. A notable result of their lobbying was the creation of a PA registry by the MDDEFP.

There was a large mobilization that took place in the early 2000s in order to change, and actually, we came together with other NGOs in order to ensure that the provincial government would create a real and accurate PA database that meet IUCN PA criteria. We also pressured the government to adopt the 8% target for PAs by 2005 in the first PA strategy. We succeeded in doing this due to the help of other NGOs; we really worked hard to bring different NGOs together in order to achieve this. (NQ Staff 1)⁶⁹

In regards to the current exercise regarding the development of new PAs across the province, NQ collaborates on a case-by-case basis with local communities and the provincial government. In certain instances, local or regional groups will approach NQ and ask them for assistance to propose a PA to the government. In other instances, the government will ask NQ to develop and conduct public outreach activities in order to obtain community support for a proposed PA. In these instances, NQ tends to act as a brokering agent. One participant explains:

Because even for local proposals or demands, often we will try to work with an organization such as SNAP or NQ that will be able to disseminate the information, as these large organizations work at the provincial level and have the ear of government. (NQ Staff 1)⁷⁰

In terms of collaboration between NQ and various government ministries, NQ indicated that very little communication takes place concerning PAs. Since the regionalized decision-making process for PAs was adopted in the mid 2000s, large ENGOs such as NQ are farther removed from the decision-making process as this no longer takes place in central offices. In relation to the new PA creation process, one participant stated:

⁶⁹ Il y a eu une grosse mobilisation au début des années 2000 pour faire changer sa et justement on a fait des mise en accord avec d'autres O.N.G. pour obtenir que le Québec se dote d'un vrai registre d'aires protégées qui sont base et répondes aux critères internationaux de IUNC. On a aussi fait des pressions pour que le gouvernement adopte une cible de 8% d'aire protégées pour 2005 dans la première orientation stratégique gouvernement sur les aires protégées. Nous on a réussi cela avec l'aides de d'autres O.N.G. On a beaucoup participé à la mobilisation d'ONG pour atteindre cette cible. (NQ Staff 1)

⁷⁰ Parce que même pour des demandes locales, souvent on va essayer d'appeler un organisme qui peut relayer l'information comme Nature Québec ou la SNAP, qui eux sont des organismes qui interviennent au niveau gouvernemental. (NQ Staff 1)

There is the MDDEFP who is still in charge of this, but the regions are much more involved than they have been in the past, and I think that the way to proceed, is really with the regions, and to have the CRE coordinate this with all actors, so that they can create committees that can really work on PAs so that decisions can finally be made regarding if they want them. (NQ Staff 1)⁷¹

When communications do take place, they are often item or case specific. For example, NQ proposed to the government in mid to late 2010 that it would like to expand the GNP in order to better protect the woodland caribou population of Gaspésie. Although informed, the government did not participate in the drafting or presentation of this proposal⁷². Rather, it let NQ do the ground work for them. However, poor collaboration and communication with local actors within the park's region have thus far resulted in poor community acceptance of this proposal (this is further explored in chapter 7). A NQ participant explains:

When this proposition was made for a PA, we gave our project proposal to the MDDEFP and we also did a few things to push this project along, but there were also some people from Gaspésie who got scared that the park would get too big, so they created a petition to go against our proposition. (NQ Staff 1)⁷³

Collaboration and communication between NQ and other ENGOS, specifically SNAP, does take place, often in a formal manner for specific topics or projects. Often, NQ will collaborate with SNAP in order to put pressure on the government or to support the government regarding a specific project or proposal in regards to PAs.

Yes, generally we do work together on different projects. We work a lot with SNAP to discuss between us projects and to determine what each of our roles are and how we interpret the project and to determine what our strength our, so that we can work together towards a common cause. This always allows us to maximize our strengths and to work collaboratively. (NQ Staff 1)⁷⁴

⁷¹ Il y a le MDDEFP qui est toujours le plus en charge de ça, mes les régions sont beaucoup plus impliquer qu'au paravent et je pense dans la façon dont on procède, c'est d'y aller avec les régions, et d'y aller avec justement la commission sur les ressources naturelles et de territoire qui implique tous les intervenants dont je vous ai parlé plutôt, et avec ses intervenants, alors ils peuvent créer des comités qui vont vraiment se pencher sur les aires protégées pour que finalement on peut décider si on veut. (NQ Staff 1)

⁷² It should be noted that the government is adopting a landscape approach to land use planning in order to address the declining caribou population in this location.

⁷³ Quand il y eut cette proposition qui a été faite, on a déposé le projet au MDDEFP come projet d'aire protéger, qu'on a le droit de déposer, mais qu'on a aussi essayer de faire des actions pour pousser un peu, mais par la suite il y a eu aussi des gens en Gaspésie qui ont eu peur que le parc s'agrandisse et qu'ils s'agrandissent trop donc il y a une pétition qui a été mise en place pour justement dire, pour aller contre notre proposition d'une aire protégée. (NQ Staff 1)

⁷⁴ Oui, en général on travail ensemble sur différents dossiers c'est sur qu'on travaille beaucoup avec la SNAP pour discuter entre nous d'un projet et voir quelle est a chacun notre interprétation de la situation et voir quelles sont les forces communes qu'on dégage d'un dossier et pour essaie de

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents an overview of decision-making procedures and collaborations between upper tier government ministries and agencies, and ENGOS operating at the provincial and federal level. Overall, collaboration between provincial government agencies does occur but only for specific topics or political issues such as tourism marketing of parks or for information sharing. Interestingly, Parks Canada indicated they are open to working with provincial agencies and ENGOS on conservation projects, yet, Parks Canada interviewees appeared hesitant to formally voice their willingness to participate in any form of conservation planning such as the provincial PA planning process due to the potential for political backlash. This may explain why Parks Canada does not appear to be well integrated with other provincial actors. The relationship between the MNR and MDDEFP clearly demonstrate that there is a significant power imbalance between these two ministries regarding the decision-making process regarding the current PA planning initiative. The fact that the MNR has the ultimate veto power in decision-making demonstrates the provincial importance of preserving access and rights to natural resources for industry.

This chapter demonstrated that although government programs for establishing PAs on private property exist, a lack of stable financial assistance and trust in government have resulted in few citizen initiatives. Rather, large ENGOS such as TNC and DU are perceived as more attractive for the purposes of preserving private lands. ENGOS also play an important role as watchdogs and advisors to government regarding PA projects and programs. There is strong collaboration and often dependence from the government or ministries such as the MNR or MDDEFP on ENGOS to pass messages and facilitate public acceptance for the creation of PAs.

In other instances, these same ENGOs act as watchdogs, critiquing government plans and proposals concerning PAs.

The following chapters provide a more detailed analysis of the collaborative and communication processes regarding PA creation and systems development within three Québec regions and provide different perspectives regarding communication and collaboration for regional integration of PAs between relevant actors.

6.0 The Mauricie Region

Chapter 6 is organized in four sections. Section 6.1 provides context on the Mauricie region. In this section, five contextual elements are presented which have the potential to influence or are related to the integration of PAs within this case study. Section 6.2 presents the relationships between PA jurisdiction staff and regional actors. Within this section I present aspects of the relationship from the standpoint of regional actors (e.g. causes of changes to relationships over time, the types of interactions, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the relationships) and PA staff. Section 6.3 presents overall perspectives regarding formal and informal arrangements for communication and collaboration between PA jurisdictions and regional actors and the PA planning process. Section 6.4 provides concluding remarks.

6.1 Case Study Context

6.1.1 Regional Overview, Demographics and Economy

The Mauricie administrative region (see figure 4 and 8) is located in the central region of Québec, between Montreal and Québec City and has a total land area of 35,452km² or 2.4% of the provincial territory. Over 80% of the land area within the Mauricie region is crown land while the remaining 20% is under private ownership. The majority of private lands are located in the southern portion of the region with the exception of a few large properties located in the northern section and owned by forestry companies. The total population for 2008 is of 262,152 persons or 3.4% of the provincial population (Ministère des Emplois et de la Solidarité Social (MESS), 2011). Over two thirds of this population (180,000 persons) resides in either the city of Trois-Rivières or Shawinigan, both located in the southern portion of the region. Since 1996, the population level has decreased by 1.9%. In 2007, 31.9% of the population was under the age of 29 while 18.2% was over the age of 65. The average population age is 42, slightly higher than

the provincial average of 39. The region faces one of the weakest percentages of workforce replacement in the province, largely attributed to the outmigration of the younger population to large urban centers (MESS, 2011). For 2008, 8.4% of the population was on welfare, an important decrease from the 12.2% recorded for 1998 (Table 12).

Table 12. Population Levels in the RMC, ET and Reserves for the Mauricie Administrative Region.			
RMC and ET	Number of Municipalities	Population Number	Land Area (Percentage of Region)
Trois-Riviere (ET)	-	125 727	1
Shawinigan (ET)	-	51 966	2
La Tuque (ET)	3	15 781	75
Maskinonge (RMC)	17	35 600	6
Mekinac (RMC)	10	12 886	14
Des Chenaux (RMC)	10	17 499	2
Total	40	259 459	100

(MRNF, 2006).

There are three Regional Municipal Counties (RMCs) within the Region: Maskinonge, Les Chenaux and, Mekinac. There are also three Equivalent Territories (ET) which are similar to an RMC: La Tuque, Shawinigan, and Trois-Rivieres. These three RMCs and three ETs represent 40 municipalities and three FN reserves. The majority of municipalities are located in the southern portion of the RMC's with the exception of La Tuque which is located in the central/northern portion. All three FN reserves are located in the northern sections of the region.

The Atikamekw FN community represents over 5% of the FN population in Québec or 5207 persons. The FN is represented by four reserves: the Wemontaci, Obedjiwan, Manawan, and Coucoucache which is non-inhabited. These three reserves are located within the ET of La Tuque. The FN uses the crown lands for hunting, fishing, trapping and spiritual purposes. They are also involved in various land use planning committees and are currently developing a business and management plan for the creation of a community forestry enterprise (Table 13).

Table 13. Population and Land Area size for the Atikamekw First Nation				
Reserve	Resident	Non-Resident	Total	Land Area Size (ha)

Coucouchache	0	0	0	4.85
Obedjiwan	1755	295	2050	926.72
Wemontaci	1052	295	1347	3278.99
Manawan	2400	N/A	2400	750.0
Total	5207	590	2797	4960.56

(MESS, 2011)

Road infrastructure in the southern portion of the region allows for easy movement between municipalities. A major provincial highway (Autoroute 40) transects the region and links it to Montreal and Québec City. Access to the northern portion of the region however, is limited. There is only one main highway that connects La Tuque with the southern towns and cities. Road access from La Tuque to the northern part of the region is restricted by availability of logging roads.

Economy

The region has strong natural resource industry sectors including forestry, mining and hydroelectricity, as well as strong manufacturing and service sectors (MESS, 2011). Over 20% or 20,000 persons are employed in the paper, furniture making, chemistry, and printing and metallurgy industries. Of these, the paper industry is one of the main generators of employment. Although the regional economy has historically been based on the natural resource sectors, the recent forestry crisis has forced an employment shift to the service sector, mostly related to tourism activities, primarily based around fishing and hunting services (e.g. ZECs, fishing outfitters)(Québec, 2014a).

The majority of jobs are located either in Shawinigan or Trois-Riviere while farming jobs are mostly found in the RMC of Maskinonge. The RMC of Mekinak and ET of La Tuque, which are heavily reliant on forestry, have a high unemployment rate as a result of the forestry crisis that occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s (MESS, 2011). The average annual income per individual before taxes is of \$46,956 (MESS, 2011).

6.1.2 Biophysical Environment

According to the MNR, the Mauricie region can be divided into three distinct natural provinces according to the MDDEFP ecozone reference guide (see Figure 9). The St. Lawrence Lowlands is found in the southernmost portion of the region and is predominantly under private ownership. This region is characterized as relatively flat as it represents the remnants of a large marine shelf (Champlain Sea) and has large sedimentary, glacial and moraine deposits. The majority of farming activities within this region occur in this zone due to the rich soils (MRN, 2006).

The majority of the central and northern portion of the region is in the Laurentian region. This region is characterized by rolling hills, valleys and plateaus of up to 600m of altitude. The soil is primarily constituted of metamorphic rocks and glacial deposits. There are many rivers, lakes and eskers within the ecozone.

Finally, the Mistassini Highlands form the northwestern part of the region. This region is characterized by a large plateau with small rolling hills. The soil of this region is characteristic of glacial deposits with small deposits of sedimentary rock (MRN, 2006).

The majority of the Mauricie region is within the Canadian Shield and therefore, has mining potential for steel, nickel, zinc, mica, silver and gold as well as large granite shelves. The LMNP protects a representative portion of the Canadian Shield and the mid-Laurentian ecosystem (MRN, 2006).

The past forestry industry practice of using rivers for conducting log drives has had a negative effect on many rivers within the region. One of the most heavily polluted rivers, the Saint Maurice, and its tributaries served for many decades as a main log drive river resulting in the river bottoms becoming littered with logs. The decay process of these logs has resulted in a loss of habitat and very high levels of methyl mercury within the water column and mercury in

fish and other species (MNR 2006). The mercury level in game fish (walleye, pike and trout) within this rivershed and in over 235 lakes exceeds allowable human consumption rates (MRN, 2006).

The impacts of past industrial and commercial activities have also affected the quality of ground water. For example, Shawinigan was the provincial hub of the chemical industry and as a result, much of the groundwater under the city is heavily contaminated. As a result, since the mid 1970s, the city takes its drinking water from two lakes located within the LMNP.

There are three important hydrological systems within the region. The first is the St. Maurice River which a watershed that covers over 43,000 km² and is the most important to the region in terms of industrial and recreational activities. The second and third are the St. Lawrence River and the Lake St. Pierre. Lake St. Pierre is recognized as a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve and Ramsar site (MRN, 2006).

Three large reservoirs, Gouin, Blanc and Manouane, demonstrate the importance of hydroelectricity for the region. The largest of the three, Gouin, has a volume of over 8 billion m³ and regulates the Saint Maurice River through 8 hydroelectric stations (MRN, 2006).

The region has an annual mean temperature that varies between 0.8 °C and 4 °C. The climate is influenced by the Great Lakes and the American Midwest during the summer and by the Maritime regions during the winter.

Eighty-five percent or 33,881 km² of the region is under forest cover. The southern portion of the region mostly comprises deciduous forests dominated by maple, cherry and ash. The central region is composed of mixed forests dominated by spruce and yellow birch. The northern section of the region is in the boreal zone dominated by fir, spruce and jack pine. The variety of forests within this region has allowed for the harvesting of multiple species and production of diverse products.

The region's dynamic ecosystems are home to many species. The St-Lawrence and Lake St. Pierre serve as the main resting grounds along the St. Lawrence River for waterfowl during their migration route. Lakes and rivers not historically used for log drives contain healthy populations of trout, pike and walleye which have contributed to the region's reputation as a prime fishing destination. Species such as moose, black bear and white tail deer are also present across the region (MRN, 2006).

6.1.3 Institutional History

There are two significant histories related to the regional integration of PAs and regional actors within the Mauricie region. First, the lead up to and creation of the LMNP and the Saint-Maurice and Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve are the most significant in terms of regional influence between PAs and regional actors. Second, the 2009 provincial target of having 8% of the territory designated as protected has had important impacts on current participatory and collaborative processes regarding the 2015 provincial PA target.

The National Park and Wildlife Reserves

As previously presented in section 4.1.1, much of the provincial territory was managed by private clubs, of which a significant portion were located within the Mauricie region from the late 1880s to the late 1970s. Access to the vast majority of the land and water-base within the Mauricie region was restricted to club members. In many instances, small villages such as Saint-Alexis-des-Monts and Mandeville were entirely encircled by these clubs. In fact, some participants reported that growing up, it was illegal for them to go play in the neighbouring woods for fear of getting fined by a club warden. There was very little public land (non-leased) for citizens to go fish or hunt. This meant that resources such as fish and game were quickly depleted on the crown lands outside the reserve. Beginning in the early 1960s and taking prominence in the early 1970s, residents from the Mauricie region, fed up with the imposed

restrictive access to their land, began an occupy movement whereby they would block access roads to clubs, would occupy club cottages and would fish and hunt on the club's territories (Roy, 2007). Under such pressures, the government revoked or did not renew club leases.

In order to create a system whereby all members of the public could access territories for fishing and hunting, the provincial government began creating public wildlife reserves. The Saint-Maurice Wildlife Reserve was created in 1963 while the Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve was created in 1971. The LMNP was created in 1970. The creation of this national park and two wildlife reserves received little opposition from regional actors, rather, it was very well received⁷⁵ as they now had access to well managed lakes for fishing and hunting grounds⁷⁶. For example, the creation of LMNP resulted in the abolition of 16 clubs. Control over the remainder of the territory was given to ENGOs (ZECs) who manage the land and waters for hunting and fishing purposes. In 1978, the government abolished all private club leases on crown land of which 250 clubs were in the Mauricie region. The land base of these clubs was in some instances added to the existing wildlife reserves while the rest was given to ZECs and outfitters.

Although access and use of the majority of the territory continues to be controlled by various management authorities, and in some cases in a similar fashion as was done with the private clubs, this is seen positively by participants as it insures that the resources are well managed and accessible to the general public. One ZEC participant noted:

The ZEC was created in 1976 after the abolition of private clubs in order to allow provincial residents to have access to hunting and fishing on provincial crown land. In the Wessonneau ZEC, on its land area, there used to be 65 private fishing clubs, and now, it is all accessible to members of the public. (ZEC Staff)⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Both wildlife reserves were first classified as parks. Their designation as a wildlife reserve came in 1979 after the creation of the Québec Parks Act. The creation of the LMNP garnered little controversy when compared to the creation of Forillon National Park. For a different perspective, see (Chretien, 1986)

⁷⁶ Although hunting is not permitted in the national park, no participants identified this as problematic as there is ample space to do these activities within the region.

⁷⁷ La ZEC a été créée en 1976 après l'abolition des clubs privées pour remettre sa au Québécois ou donner la possibilité aux Québécois d'aller chasser et pêcher dans leur territoire. Dans la ZEC Wessonneau, sur le même territoire, il y avait 65 clubs privé de chasse de pêche, et maintenant, c'est tout accessible au public. (ZEC Staff)

The 2009 Target

The 2009 target to have 8% of the province designated as protected had a large impact on various forestry industries, FNs and ENGOs within the Mauricie region due to an increase in PA numbers⁷⁸. As presented in chapter 4 (section 4.1.4), the government was rushed to meet its target by 2009. Although consultative processes occurred between the MDDEFP, the CRE and various regional actors, many participants felt that this was not properly done. Many felt that it was not a true consultative process, but rather an information sharing process whereby the government would inform regional actors of its plans. All decisions regarding PA locations and size were completed in house by the MDDEFP and MNR. The forestry industry suffered potential economic losses due to this exercise as large forest tracts were converted to PAs that excluded resource extraction. The autocratic nature of this exercise reduced the trust of some local actors in government and resulted in strong lobbying by the forestry sector against the creation of new PAs.

Due to the less than adequate public participation processes of the 2009 planning exercise, the provincial government gave more power to regional actors in decision-making by placing responsibility in the analysis and decision-making process with the CRE. The CRE functions as a form of regional government and is best situated to communicate with regional actors.

The CRE, like me, I will get involved because we are responsible and we are involved in all aspects related to regional development and here in Mauricie, I know the region very well, so this fits with the mandate of the CRE. (CRE Participant)⁷⁹

This delegation of power from central government to regional actors, and the ability of individuals and regional organizations to propose PAs have been well received by all participants

⁷⁸ Although the creation of large PAs in the northern region of the province greatly contributed to meeting the 2009 target of 8%, each administrative region increased the number of PAs on their jurisdiction.

⁷⁹ La CRE, comme moi, je vais m'impliquer parce que nous on est responsable pi on est implique dans tous les aspects du développement régional et ici en Mauricie c'est moi qui connaît très bien le milieu, alors ca entre vraiment dans le mandat de la CRE. (CRE Participant)

as they now have the capability to make decisions regarding large-scale planning exercises that will influence land usages for future generations.

If someone wants to establish a conservation area in a specific area, it is really the MDDEFP who will receive the proposition and will analyze this proposition, but the region will need to support it. (CRE Participant)⁸⁰

Although the majority of participants in this case indicated that this is a long and often tedious process, they were also of the opinion that the PAs will be much better accepted because all relevant actors will have had the ability to actively contribute to the decision-making process. Most actors have accepted the PAs created for the 2009 target, in part because they feel there is nothing they can do otherwise. However, certain actors question the effectiveness of this process as discussions and final decisions are heavily influenced by the resource sector and the MNR.

6.1.4 Governance Arrangements

This section presents a list of key regional actors for the Mauricie case study. A short overview of their decision-making powers, responsibilities in regard to PAs creation, planning or management and their relevance to specific PAs is provided in Table 14. As described in chapter 3, key regional actors for this study were identified through snowball sampling practices and represent individuals and organizations that are affected or involved in PA planning and management. Therefore, the following list may not be a comprehensive list of all actors.

⁸⁰ Si quelqu'un veut mettre un territoire de conservation dans un endroit particulier, c'est vraiment le ministère du développement durable qui va recevoir ses propositions du milieu et qui va analyser cette proposition, mais ça va se faire avec un bon appui du milieu. (CRE Participant)

Table 14. Regional Actors and Responsibilities

Key Regional Actors	Overview of their responsibilities
Mauricie National Park Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Year round permanent staff at the park• Operate multiple visitor service activities• Conduct park wide ecological integrity programs such as prescribed burns• Collaborate with ENGOs, Government, municipalities and other organizations for the protection of species such as the Eastern Wolf and Wood Turtle
CRE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Responsible for regional development• Mandated by the province to conduct the PA planning process with regional actors• Act as middle-man between the region and provincial government• Represent the RMC's and ET's
Manawan First Nations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participate in the planning process for PA creation• Hold their own meetings with the Federal and Provincial government regarding land claim settlements• Collaborating with the government for the creation of a regional community forest for their reserve
Forestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Several large companies and affiliates operate on the majority of crown land within the region• Are active participants in the planning process for PAs• Have strong economic interest in the outcomes of the decisions made regarding size and location of PAs.• Are part of the FSC certification program
SEPAQ Wildlife Reserves	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Have year round permanent staff within the reserves• Communicate and collaborate with Hydro-Québec and forestry industries operating within the reserves• Provide visitor services and products for fishing and hunting• Collaborate with outside actors or agencies on a case-by-case basis• Rehabilitate the natural environment to protect native species• Communicate with central office regarding land use planning activities occurring within the region• Reliant on central office to make decisions on their behalf
ZEC's	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participate in multiple regional communities regarding various land use planning exercises• Provide visitor services and products such as hunting and fishing• Rehabilitate the natural environment to protect native species• Communicate with various forestry companies operating within their management zone• Communicate with the MNR regarding land use decisions affecting them

Table 14 Continued. Regional Actors and Responsibilities

MDDEFP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central Québec office takes the lead and makes all decisions regarding the PA planning project• Regional office have no decision-making powers regarding the PA planning and implementation in the region• Do not participate in regional meetings regarding PAs, and often do not even know these meetings are taking place.
MNR	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Regional office heavily involved in decision-making regarding PA creation• Posses power to affect decision-making regarding size and location of proposed PAs• Ensure that PA creation will not hamper the forestry industry• Heavy communication and collaboration with the forestry industry
RMC's	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Are informed of proposals for PA creation• Seldom participate in PA planning meetings with the CRE• Ensure the well being of their constituents
Private Land Owners	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communicate with the National Park regarding protection of the Wood Turtle• Some worked with the MDDEFP to protect prime wood turtle habitat on their property• Some collaboration with the TNC for the protection of prime wood turtle habitat on their property
ENGOS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participate in the PA planning process with the CRE• Hold less decision-making power than the forestry industry in the meetings with the CRE• Communicate with the Wildlife Reserves regarding watershed protection• Very little to no communication with Mauricie National Park• Produce communication and outreach documents and information sessions to promote conservation and wise resource use within the region

6.1.5 Important Regional Topics/Interests

Participants identified various topics within the region that have influenced the relationship between regional actors and the manner in which they communicate or collaborate with each other. This section discusses the following topics identified during the interviews: the forestry industry; the wood turtle population; and the government initiative to create new PAs.

Forestry Industry

Forestry is a major industry within the Mauricie Region. It has historically been the dominant industry and is associated with the development and colonization of the region. Many villages and towns in the northern region of the Mauricie have been built around this resource sector and continue to depend on it. The mix of forests within the region provides multiple

sources of raw products and allows for a diversity of forestry companies to successfully operate. There is a large pulp and paper mill within the city of Trois-Rivières and multiple large hardwood mills and the largest popsicle stick making plant in Canada located in the town of La Tuque. These large mills contract out cutting services to smaller operators located throughout the region which employs much of the workforce in the smaller villages such as that of Mandeville and Saint-Alexis-des-Monts. Many other jobs are also related to this sector such as land surveyors, mechanics, road engineers and government employees.

Although the forestry industry crisis that began in the early 1990s and 2000s has had a significant impact on the stability of the industry throughout Québec, the Mauricie region was less affected and recovered reasonably well. In part, this has been attributed to the diversity of the forest stands and resulting products and the niche markets, such as popsicle stick making, that have guaranteed strong demands by national and international buyers.

Now that we are consolidated, it is true that between forestry companies it is now easier than it was in the past since we are now just three large companies which means that it is easier to come together for decision-making because now or later, there will be a time where we will need the support of the others in order to do our work. This type of collaboration here in Mauricie, I think does not exist anywhere else in the province. It is due to the small number of companies here and the types of forest within this region. (Forester)⁸¹

The forestry sector has also undergone multiple changes in regards to management practices (types of cuts and locations of cuts) along with public outreach and education programs (information sharing and communication with outside actors) since approximately 2005. Before 2005, forestry companies operated independently, largely outside of the public eye. However, a provincial movement fueled by ENGO's and provincial artists that produced and diffused information through effective mediums such as documentaries exposed clear cutting practices

⁸¹ Maintenant on a une consolidation c'est vrai entre les compagnies forestières c'est maintenant plus facile que c'était dans le passé parce qu'on est juste trois grosses compagnies ce qui fait que c'est plus facile à se convenir pour une entente parce que tôt ou tard on va avoir besoin de l'autre pour pouvoir faire notre propre travail. Ce type de collaboration ici en Mauricie d'après moi ne se retrouve nulle part autre au Québec. C'est dû au petit nombre de compagnies et au type de forêts dans notre région. (Forester)

and the perceived general disregard for the environment by the industry and the resulting ecological impacts on wildlife and fauna within the province (Payer, Desjardins and Monderie, 1999). Conjointly, the wood and pulp industries were also pressured by market demands to provide certified wood products, most often through the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certification program, for markets.

The coupling of these pressures resulted in a shift by the forestry sector to become more open and transparent by involving and working with regional actors when developing harvest plans, and also in modifying the types of harvesting techniques and practices. Since these changes, the industry has become more complacent with the needs of other actors and has increased their openness to collaborate with these actors. However, some participants noted that although there have been changes, the needs of the industry continue to usurp those of other actors and resource sectors such as hunting and fishing.

Historically in Québec, we had forest concessions which functioned almost like small private clubs, you know, for the small enterprises. Then, people went even further and put up fences and controlled everything. Like I was telling you, the types of forestry harvest procedures have really evolved now. (Forester)⁸²

A participant outside of the industry noted:

I think that the forestry industrials in Mauricie are relatively open to discussions, but it is certain that the certification process sped up this process. (MNR Staff)⁸³

Government targets for new PAs

The provincial government mandate to add 4% of new PAs across the province in order to meet the 2015 target of 12% is definitely a driving force within the Mauricie region. As previously discussed, the provincial government has regionalized this process to the CRE, which

⁸² Historiquement au niveau du Québec, on avait des concessions forestières qui étaient quasiment des petits clubs privés, tu sais pour les entreprises. Pis les gens s'en allaient là-dessus pis on se met une barrière pis on contrôle tous ça. Comme je te dis, les pratiques de coupe forestière ont vraiment évolué aujourd'hui (Forester).

⁸³ Je pense que les industriels forestiers en Mauricie sont aussi quand même assez ouverts aux discussions, mais c'est sur que la certification a fait que c'est arrivé peut-être un peu plus vite que ça se serait fait autrement. (MNR Staff)

is responsible for identifying all relevant actors, organizing working groups to discuss government proposals and for serving as the main contact between the government and regional actors. Of the 17 administrative regions in the province, all following this process, the CRE in Mauricie is the furthest along in this planning project (Personal communication, MDDEFP Staff responsible for the PA planning process, May 10, 2013).

Through this process, multiple actors from the forestry industry, ENGO, FN, and municipal and regional government and staff from the MNR's regional office in Mauricie participate in the decision-making process. All participants noted that this new form of participation was a vast improvement to the previous 2009 exercise since they, as regional actors, hold most of the decision-making powers instead of the government.

Although the decision-making process is now done at a regional level, the MDDEFP in Québec City continues to be responsible for identifying potential PAs of interest; yet, the manner in which this is conducted creates high levels of uncertainty and poor understanding for regional actors. Many participants feel that the government poorly communicates why specific areas are identified and therefore, they are unable to understand the specific reasons why they should protect the sites. This is especially problematic when a proposed PA would negate the future development of important access roads for the forestry industry. Although willing to participate, regional actors requested greater accountability on behalf of the government for proposals made.

However, while working on that project, we realized that all the land areas of interest, even those that the region had clearly indicated did not function for which ever reason, they were still included in the government proposals. This meant that sometimes, forestry companies would not conduct any harvest in those regions because they did not know if it was a PA or if they were allowed to cut. They did not want to harvest a potential PA site only to be reprimanded afterwards. So the government in all this created some miscommunications. (CRE Participant)⁸⁴

⁸⁴Par contre en travaillant dans ce dossier la, on s'est aperçu que tous les territoires d'intérêt, même ceux que la région avait dit, celui-là ne fonctionne pas pour la région pour telle ou telle raison, sont quand même toujours resté dans les affectations. Ce qui fait que des fois il n'y avait pas de récolte faite par les forestières parce que eux ne savaient pas si c'était vraiment une aires protégée projetée ou si ils avaient le droit de couper. Il ne voulait pas aller bûcher le territoire potentiel pour se faire taper sur les doigts par après. Alors le gouvernement dans tout ça a créé un peu de fausses communications. (CRE Participant)

Meeting the government targets for PA creation has a large impact on the forestry sector because they operate over a large portion of the region. One participant noted:

Every time that you add a new PA, it reduces forestry harvest potentials. (CRE Participant)⁸⁵

ZEC and SEPAQ Wildlife Reserve Staff also noted that the creation of PAs could have a negative impact in terms of reducing the availability of land or water available for hunting and fishing purposes.

Although there are other resource sectors such as hydroelectricity and mining operating in this region, there is very little impact upon them because they operate in relatively small and confined areas and it is easy to place PAs around them. Although the voice of all actors is supposed to have the same weight during the decision-making process, many participants not affiliated with the forestry industry or the MNR noted that this was not the case. Due to the large areas affected by PAs and the significance of the forestry industry in the region, they, and the MNR have the greatest power in the decision-making, something not all participants think is correct.

Wood Turtle

Many participants indicated that the protection plan for the wood turtle was an important regional topic. The state of the wood turtle population within the region has been of particular concern to Parks Canada, the MNR and local and provincial ENGOs. The wood turtle is a threatened species in Canada. In Québec, the majority of the wood turtle population is either threatened or endangered. The greatest threats to this species are habitat fragmentation, road mortality, excessive predation, agricultural machinery, and illegal harvesting for the pet trade. To survive, the wood turtle requires very specific habitats, both aquatic and forested, including clean

⁸⁵ À chaque fois qu'on rajoute une aire protégée, ça baisse la possibilité forestière. (CRE Participant)

freshwater streams and rivers with sand and gravel bottoms, wooded river banks, and areas with low human disturbances. The Mauricie population of this species is located within the Shawinigan River watershed that has a total land size of 500 km² with its head-waters located within the Mauricie National Park. Thirty-three percent of the watershed is located within private lands while the rest is on public lands within the National Park and the Wildlife Reserve of Mastigouche (Bourgeois et al., 2009).

The wood turtle population within Mauricie is particularly vulnerable because it only has one main nesting site, located outside the national park boundaries. Population monitoring exercises by park staff and ENGOS (TNC) have recorded a significant drop in population numbers between 2004 and 2005, noting that close to 50% of all nesting female turtles were lost to predation. Studies conducted by Parks Canada have also recorded a decrease in population numbers since 1970 (Bourgeois et al., 2009). The population structure has also changed and is now predominantly represented by juveniles and young adults (2-8 years) (Parks Canada, 2009).

The main threat to the overall Mauricie population has been identified as the fragmentation of its natural habitat. Habitat fragmentation is caused by increased forestry and farming activities, urban development, small hydroelectric dam construction and soil drainage (Bourgeois et al., 2009). Although significant, other threats such as predation tend to occur on a cyclical basis and are more difficult to predict and quantify. Although the National Park is mandated to protect this species, activities occurring outside the park boundary have affected the park's ability to maintain and protect the wood turtle population. To effectively succeed, the park has had to collaborate with other regional actors operating outside park boundaries such as TNC. The TNC has purchased large land areas adjacent to the park that protect important wood turtle habitat (Parks Canada, 2009; TNC 2010).

For example, we did some studies on the wood turtle which demonstrated that the park alone was not able to adequately protect this species, and this demonstrated that we, as park managers, needed to have partners working outside of the park boundaries to preserve this turtle. (Park Staff 2)⁸⁶

However, the effectiveness of these collaborations remains questionable due to continually diminishing population.

6.2 PA Jurisdictional Relationships

This section presents the results from interviews regarding institutional arrangements between regional actors regarding the integration of PA systems and other land use activities. Data from each actor group is presented independently from one another in 6 subsections. This allows for topics, issues and opinions to be presented from the viewpoint of each actor group, demonstrating similarities and differences. Unlike the Gaspésie and Saguenay case study chapters, I was also privileged to observe three meetings regarding the planning of new PAs within the Mauricie region being undertaken by the MDDEFP and the CRE and by receiving meeting updates and minutes for the meetings I could not attend. Attending these meetings provided greater insight into power relations between actors and an opportunity to corroborate the information obtained during individual interviews with that obtained during participant observations. This allowed me to compare the decision-making process described during interviews with the actual process.

6.2.1 Parks Canada

Although the Mauricie National Park has been part of the region's landscape for over 40 years, participants from the park noted that there are no real or enduring relationships with other regional actors. The park operates as a completely independent and standalone unit within the

⁸⁶ Entre autres, en a fait des études sur la tortue des bois qui ont démontré que le parc à lui seul ne peut pas protéger cette espèce-là adéquatement, et cela a démontré que nous, comme gestionnaires de parcs, on avait besoin de partenaires à l'extérieur de notre parc pour préserver la tortue. (Park Staff 2)

Mauricie regional landscape. Although park staff recognized that the park's territory is large, important in terms of preserving ecological process, and that they are a significant tourism draw to the region, there is very little need for them to communicate or develop collaborations with regional actors unless it is for very specific reasons such as for the wood turtle recovery (see section 6.1.5).

The average citizen has appropriated the park. There are many people here that will speak of the park as 'their park'. This is somewhat particular. The advantage that we have had, with the exception of a few cottages and private clubs, is that there was no expropriation that occurred when the park was created. So the context regarding the creation of the park in this region is completely different, especially when you compare this with Forillon. So generally, this is a park where people have appropriated it and is seen as a creator of economic development for the region and are proud of the park. (Park Staff 1)⁸⁷

One park staff member felt strongly that a lack of citizen or other organizational involvement from outside actors was specifically due to the fact that regional actors had a great deal of confidence in the park's management capacities to protect ecological processes, and therefore, there was no need for them to involve themselves with or critique the park.

I think that the Mauricie Region is a forestry based regions where there are many activities occurring in forests or natural areas, and people see the park as a place of conservation. They really trust Parks Canada for the proper management of the park. And for the people of the region, since they believe in the proper management of the park and think we do a good job, they are not worried about the park. (Park Staff 2)⁸⁸

The park has not faced any problems in terms of outside pressures exerted by regional citizens or environmental groups. Rather, park staff had the impression that the park was well received and accepted as a focal point by the region. In fact, all park staff indicated they felt there was strong community buy-in and support for the park. They justified that this could, in

⁸⁷ Le citoyen normal moyen il s'est approprié le parc. Il y a beaucoup de gens qui vont parler de notre parc national. Cela est assez particulier. L'avantage qu'on a eu à part de quelques chalets et les clubs, c'est qu'il n'y a pas eu d'expropriation quand on a créé ce parc. Ça fait que le contexte de l'implantation du parc ici dans cette région est complètement différent surtout quand on compare ça à Forillon. Alors, sur l'ensemble, c'est un parc que les gens se sont appropriés et qui est vu comme créateur de développement économique pour la région alors les gens sont fiers du parc. (Park Staff 1)

⁸⁸ Je pense que la région de la Mauricie, c'est une région forestière, où il y a beaucoup d'activités en forêt ou en milieu naturel, puis les gens voient le parc comme un endroit de conservation. Ils font vraiment confiance à Parcs Canada pour sa bonne gestion. Et pour les gens du milieu, comme y croient dans la bonne gestion et qu'ont faits un bon travail, il ne s'inquiète pas du parc. (Park Staff 2)

part, be largely attributed to the manner in which the park was created. Although other national parks in Québec have created harmonization tables as a means to deal with regional park issues through discussions with specific regional actors (see chapters 7 and 8), none exists for Mauricie National Park for these precise reasons.

Park staff participants also attribute the lack of problems with regional actors to the fact that large municipalities and cities such as Shawinigan rely on the park's fresh water lakes as a source of drinking water. In fact, the city of Shawinigan requested that 60km² be added to the park in 1974 to ensure that the source of its drinking water be protected from industrial development. This provides strong support for park management from a major public actor, the City of Shawinigan.

One element that can have an effect is that when the park was created, it had a land area of 60km² less than at present. The result of the park's growth came from the city of Shawinigan who wanted to protect a lake that served as its fresh drinking water supply and wanted to protect this lake from future developments and since they knew that if it was included in the park, it would be better protected. (Park Staff 1)⁸⁹

Although the park borders two wildlife reserves and one ZEC, communication with these are described as positive but infrequent, on a per issue basis. Park staff identified two factors that work against the development of communication channels or collaborative projects. First, both the ZEC Chapeau-de-Paille and Wildlife Reserve Saint-Maurice, which border the park, are physically separated by the Saint-Maurice River. In the view of park staff, this physical separation ensures that activities outside park boundaries on adjacent lands have much less effect on the process occurring within the park, and therefore, reduces the need for communication and collaboration.

⁸⁹ Un élément qui peut jouer un peu c'est le fait que le parc quand il a été créé était 60km² moins grand qu'il est actuellement. Et ce résultat était de la ville de Shawinigan qui voulait protéger son lac d'eau potable et voulait l'inclure dans le parc pour le protéger de tout développement et comme il savait qu'il y avait de la surveillance c'était, à ce moment-là le conseil municipal a décidé de faire inclure cette superficie dans le parc. (Park Staff 1)

Second, the physical distance between central offices appears to hinder communications. For the Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve, there is no physical separation between it and the park, however, the physical distance between the reserve's and the park's central offices is approximately 1.5 hours by road and acts as a deterrent for collaboration.

One park staff person noted that there were formal initiatives put forth by the park in the late 1980s and early 1990s to meet with regional actors in order to inform them of park mandates, primarily regarding problems for meeting ecological integrity goals and to develop collaborative, single issue projects. However, with the advent of the internet and email communication, and the perceived success of the information and education sessions by park staff, these in-person meetings and larger email communications have ceased.

During that time period, we had conducted workshops to inform people, because remember that at that time, we did not have the internet; we did not have the same means of communication as today. That was the best way to disseminate information. Now, we do less of these but we are 90% sure that our message was passed and heard. (Park Staff 2)⁹⁰

Park staff noted that communication and collaboration with regional actors does occur but only to address specific problems, typically in regard to fauna. A common example presented in interviews was the protection plan for the wood turtle. Park staff members have developed collaborative programs with various local level ENGOs, the provincial level TNC and biologist from the MNR within the region in order to protect turtle nesting sites located outside park boundaries. The interactions between these actors have been positive, largely because all actors are working towards a common goal that requires the cumulative expertise of each involved actor.

We did do studies on the wood turtle which demonstrated that the park was not large enough to protect this species, and these studies also demonstrated that as park managers,

⁹⁰ À cette époque-là on avait fait les ateliers pour informer les gens parce que l'oublie pas en avait pas l'Internet on n'avait pas les liens de communication commande aujourd'hui. C'était la meilleure manière de diffuser l'information. C'est sûr que maintenant on en fait moins mais on pense qu'à 90 % notre message passé et a été entendu. (Park Staff 2)

*we needed to develop partnerships with outside actors to better protect the turtle, which was well received. (Park Staff 1)*⁹¹

However, maintaining long-term relationships with local level ENGOs has not always been possible due to these ENGO's management, financial constraints and associated staffing structure.

Parks Canada staff realise that they must tread carefully as they are often operating outside of their park jurisdictional boundaries and are dependent on other actors to fulfill park management mandates. For example, Parks Canada was reliant on the TNC accepting to participate in the project and its willingness to purchase large tracts of private lands adjacent to the park's boundaries in order to protect turtle habitat.

Because Parks Canada would be operating outside of its jurisdictional boundary when dealing with issues outside LMNP, many of the decisions and collaborative processes occur informally. This way of doing business is viewed positively by park staff as it is the only way of doing business and allows for rapid decision-making. One park manager clearly noted that it is quite easy to work and develop collaboration for individual projects but much more difficult to develop collaborations and knowledge sharing networks for large projects or for an entire park because goals and objectives at this level are less precise.

Park staff recognized that activities occurring outside the park, especially forestry can potentially have a negative effect on species and ecological processes occurring inside the park. However, due to the size of the park and the fact that it continues to be surrounded by crown land, there are currently no large or significant external impacts or threats, therefore there is no need to develop communication or collaboration programs with outside park actors⁹².

⁹¹ On a fait des études sur la tortue des bois qui ont démontré que le parc à lui seul ne peut pas protéger cette espèce-là adéquatement, et ça l'a démontré que nous comme gestionnaires de parcs on avait besoin de partenaires à l'extérieur de notre parc sectionne message bien passé. (Park Staff 1)

⁹² This concerns all other activities that do not affect the wood turtle.

Park staff members have identified two eastern wolf pack populations within the park as a potential future concern as these two packs travel outside park boundaries and are prone to being harvested for their furs. Park staff participants have stated they will need to develop outreach and education programs but doubt it will have the same success as the program conducted for the wood turtle due to negative social connotations associated with the wolf.

Communication and collaboration between the park and forestry companies is described as positive but occurs infrequently on a case-by-case basis. Positive collaborations between the park and the forestry industry have developed as a response to the park's need to preserve the integrity of landscapes outside park boundaries from being harvested. Through collaboration with forestry representatives, clear cutting harvest methods are no longer conducted on areas outside of the park visible to visitors from inside the park. This collaboration is viewed as a win-win situation by both the park and the forestry industry as it preserves the visual quality of the landscape and has a positive effect on the LMNP watershed.

In some instances, even if the land area is visible from the lookouts, the foresters will alter their harvest protocol so instead of doing a clear-cut, they will do a partial cut, so this way, the forest remains standing and the harvest is not visible to park visitors. The benefit of such an approach is that such cuts also reduce impacts on watersheds that are part of the park. Also, if there are 200, 000 visitors that stop at that lookout point in a year, and they see a clear cut, this will lead to a renewed discussion on poor forestry practices. So this is also beneficial to the forestry industry. (Park Staff 1)⁹³

Park Staff have also noted that participating in FSC certification audits has been beneficial to meeting and building relationships with many regional actors. For the LMNP, these audits act as the main formalized regional structure that allows park staff to interact and demonstrates its role and place as a regional actor.

⁹³ Dans certains instants mêmes si le territoire peut être visible des belvédères, ils [foresters] vont changer leur mode de coupe, alors au lieu de faire une coupe à blanc ils vont faire une coupe partielle ou ils peuvent couper peut-être un arbre sur trois, alors la forêt reste debout et ce n'est pas visible de loin pour les visiteurs de voir qu'il y a une coupe forestière. Le bénéfice aussi de cette entente c'est que ça diminue l'impact sur les bassins versants qui viennent à l'intérieur du parc. Il y a un autre point quand même, si dans une année il y a 200 000 visiteurs qui passent par un belvédère ils voient une cicatrice sur le terrain ils vont se demander pourquoi et la controverse des coupables etc., vas reprendre. Alors c'est aussi gagnant pour l'industrie forestière de garder se territoire la visuellement attirant. (Park Staff 1)

Park staff members are not involved in the current provincial program for creating new PAs. They recognize that because they represent a federal organization, their participation in this program could have negative repercussions in the region. However, they also recognize that they could make positive contributions due to their extensive knowledge of the regions ecological processes. One park staff member stated that he would be willing to participate but only if he was invited by the organizers, but was not comfortable in asking to participate; the offer must come from the region.

6.2.2 ENGOs

Although regional ENGO participants interviewed for this research recognize the importance of the National Park for conservation in the region, they have little to no communication or collaboration with it⁹⁴. The LMNP lists 8 regional partners on its website. These partners were contacted for this study but declined to participate since they are primarily service providers and are not implicated in actual park management and therefore, felt they could not make contributions to the research.

ENGO participants indicated that they would be open to developing communication channels and potentially collaborating with the park for projects. Yet, ENGO participants indicated that the willingness to develop joint collaborations must first come from the park. They attribute the lack of the park's presence regarding regional development projects to the limited resources it has. ENGOs did recognize that the park conducts important scientific studies that could be useful to multiple regional actors, but because the information is not made readily available, regional actors cannot use it.

I think that the park would be potentially open to developing collaborations with us, but it is probably due to a lack of resources on their part and that is why they are not present in the region. We also know that the park conducts multiple scientific studies, so I think that it

⁹⁴ Although the park has worked with local level NGOs in the past, as state in section 6.2.1, this NGO was no longer operating within the region during my field work and past members could not be contacted due to email addresses and telephone numbers that were no longer in service.

could be very interesting if they shared that information with us and that they contribute that information the discussion, but I do not think that they share that information. (NGO1)⁹⁵

Interestingly, although ENGOs recognize the value of these scientific studies, they have not taken it upon themselves to request copies of the studies. One ENGO attributed this challenge to the non-existence of dedicated public relations staff or a mechanism for sharing information between the region and the park.

Some ENGOs are active participants in the PA planning process but question the usefulness of the procedure. The lack of MDDEFP representatives at some meetings was described as problematic as questions posed during the meeting cannot be answered. One participant noted that holding meetings to discuss proposed PAs without having an MDDEFP representative to answer questions was a waste of time.

The meeting we had this week, I thought it was completely useless, well almost useless. A representative from the MDDEFP should have been present to justify their choices and explain the criteria used for making those choices, but as you saw, they were not there and we asked many questions during the meeting that could not be answered. So really, we talked a lot about nothing. (NGO1)⁹⁶

One participant felt very strongly that the MDDEFP at provincial and regional level should attend all meetings since they are the ones responsible for this project. Furthermore, the lack of a regional MDDEFP representative at meetings was also seen as problematic. The major concern was the lack of accountability and transparency on behalf of the government for changes made to the proposal.

And the ministry says 'here this is what we would like to protect' but they do not say why. Because presently, they do not justify where they want to create or why. They only ask us if

⁹⁵ Moi, je pense que le parc serait potentiellement ouvert à faire des collaborations avec nous mais c'est probablement dû à un manque de ressources de leur part qu'on ne les voit pas. On sait aussi que le parc fait beaucoup d'études scientifiques, donc je pense que ça pourrait être très intéressant qu'il partage cette information l'a avec nous et qu'il contribue cette information-là durant les discussions mais je ne pense pas qu'ils diffusent cette information là. (NGO1)

⁹⁶ Moi-même la réunion de cette semaine, je l'ai trouvé complètement inutile, mais pas loin d'être totalement inutile mais presque. Le ministère du développement durable aurait dû être à la rencontre pour justifier leur choix et expliquer les critères qui se servent pour choisir ses sites qui nous ont proposé, mais comme tu as vu lundi, il n'était pas là et nous on s'est posé plusieurs questions dans la rencontre comme pourquoi il est à cet endroit-là au lieu de le mettre à l'endroit X ou Y ailleurs. Alors au fond on parlait de rien. (NGO1)

we are OK or not with what they propose. But since we do not know why those areas need to be protected, it is often difficult for us to make the right decisions. (NGO1)⁹⁷

All ENGO participants were of the opinion that the PA planning meetings were highly skewed in favour of the forestry industry due to the proportionately higher number of forestry participants and the presence of the MNR. Although all voices at these meetings should hold the same level of power, ENGO participants were of a different opinion, often feeling as though they were back benchers lacking respect, power and authority when addressing other actors.

It is difficult for me to say, for example, that what my second or third time participating at the meeting. It is that the foresters take a lot of room as you saw and they have a very important influence on the outcomes of the meetings and the decisions that are taken, but I think that should take a more active role in being more present and vocal in this planning process, but this is a whole new world for us. (NGO1)⁹⁸

Through my observation of multiple meetings, I was able to observe the interactions between actors and often noticed that the concerns or suggestions made by ENGOs were not always acknowledged by forestry representatives and rarely taken into consideration by the committee. It was evident that forestry representatives always had the final word and that preserving the forestry sector was the main interest for most participants.

One ENGO participant identified his participation in other regional committees, specifically regarding the FSC certification process, as a benefit to understanding and being able to communicate effectively with the forestry industry during and outside of the PA meetings.

I think that the most I have learned is through the forest certification process in which I participate and we regularly have meetings and over time, I have learned to understand how they speak and their constraints. (NGO1)⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Et le ministère lui dit voici ce que nous autres on voudrait protéger mais ne dise pas pourquoi. Parce que présentement ils ne justifient pas ce qu'ils veulent créer ou pourquoi. Il nous demande seulement si on est d'accord ou non avec ce qu'ils proposent. Mais comment on ne connaît pas pourquoi sa doit être protéger, des fois c'est difficile de prendre des bonnes décisions. (NGO1)

⁹⁸ C'est dur à dire pour moi, par exemple c'était ma deuxième ou troisième rencontre auxquelles j'ai participé. C'est que les forestiers prennent beaucoup de place comme tu as pu voir et qu'ils ont une très grosse influence sur ce qui ressort des rencontres et les décisions qui sont prises mais, je pense que c'est à nous autres aussi de prendre place dans ce processus là, et c'est tout un monde pour nous autre. (NGO1)

⁹⁹ Je pense que le plus que moi j'ai appris c'est avec le processus de certification auquel je participe parce qu'on a régulièrement des rencontre d'information et à force de les écouter parler et de se faire expliquer on commence à comprendre leurs enjeux. (NGO1)

6.2.3 Forest Industry

The forestry industry does not currently communicate or collaborate with the LMNP. One forestry participant noted that there is no need to communicate with the park because forestry harvests are not allowed within the park boundaries. Future communication with the park was identified as possible, but only in the event of a planned cut near the park boundary and only because they are legally obliged to inform actors in the vicinity of the cut.

Not much, it is really a protected reserve where forestry cuts are not permitted. We can sometimes see the director or senior officials' maybe once or twice a year at a regional meeting. (Forester 1)¹⁰⁰

The forestry industry is an important regional actor regarding the planning and creation of PAs. They are heavily implicated in the land use planning exercise occurring in the region regarding the creation of new PAs. Since they will be the most affected they do not want to have a PA created on an area they plan to log in the coming years.

Participant observation during planning exercises for identifying PAs demonstrated the power that forestry industry actors have in terms of voice and influence in decision-making. The industry's position was often supported by the MNR and CRE, two other regionally significant actors as they hold positions of authority. In many instances, comments made from other actors would be ignored or squashed, especially if these were contrary to, or negatively impacted the resource sector. This created tensions and often caused other actors to stop participating in discussions since they felt their voice was meaningless to the process. For example, MNR and the industry would conditionally accept PA propositions on the basis that these areas could first be harvested. Yet, comments made by ENGOs stating that the entire point of creating a PA was

¹⁰⁰ Pas beaucoup, c'est vraiment une réserve protégée ou ils ne se fait pas de coupes forestières. On voit peut-être le directeur ou certains des employés dans la haute direction une fois ou deux ans dans le cas d'un colloque dans la région. (Forester 1)

to prevent this from occurring were largely ignored on the premise that within 50-75 years, that area would have regenerated to its current state.

Communication and collaboration between the forestry representatives and other land users does exist, however, the relationships vary depending on who the other users are. Often, the relationship between different actors is dependent upon the individuals and their willingness to communicate and collaborate with other actors in order to arrive at a suitable agreement for both parties. What often derails such processes is the actor's unwillingness to actively communicate or make compromises. One participant noted that what makes or breaks decision-making processes is often poor understanding of both other actors' individual personality and a poor understanding of each other's organization mandates and work demands. For example, the SEPAQ replaced the director of the Mastigouche Wildlife Reserve because he was unable to make compromises and lacked the ability to sympathise with regional actors, namely the forestry representatives operating within the reserve. This not only created difficult working relationships but also reflected poorly on the SEPAQ at a provincial level. The replacement is now someone who understands the forestry industry and sees value in developing and maintaining positive and active communications and partnerships with them.

In the first few years, we had an individual in place that was very much indoctrinated in the ecosystem sciences and it was very very difficult, and this was on the SEPAQ side of this. With that person, we had lots of problems, but slowly and surely, I think it is coming back. Often, we did not have problems with the staff, we always found a way to work together and we had a lot of respect for them. For the Mastigouche reserve, the director was an ex-Arbeck forester who had also worked for me. So we still kept ties with each other and we both understand the dynamics of the forestry industry, and we also understand that he has a clientele and fishers and people that pay for the services he offers. So relations between us are good because we understand each other. (Forester 1)¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Dans les premières années on avait une personne qui était là et qui était très endoctrinée du côté écosystémique et c'était vraiment très très très difficile pis ça c'était du côté de la SEPAQ. Avec lui, on a eu beaucoup de problèmes de divergences mais tranquillement doucement je pense que ça revient. Souvent on avait pas de problématique avec les gens en place, les directeurs qui étaient en place ont trouvaient toujours des solutions avec les gens qui étaient sur le terrain pis biens, on avait un grand respect pour eux. Du côté de la Mastigouche, le directeur c'est un ingénieur forestier qui travaillait pour Arbeck et qui a aussi travaillé pour moi et là il est rendu directeur. Fait que, on a quand même gardé des liens pis il comprend aussi la dynamique des forestières, mais nous on comprend aussi de son côté, il a une clientèle pis il a des pêcheurs et des gens qui payent pour avoir des forfaits. Alors, le discours entre nous est mieux parce que on se comprend mutuellement (Forester 1)

However, other regional actors such as ZECs and ENGOs noted that even if good relations exist with the forest industry, it is not always possible to arrive at mutually agreed upon decisions due to differences in management mandates or market demands. In such instances, built-in formal mechanisms require the MNR to assess the situation and make judgement, typically siding with the forestry industry. These actions have left other resource industries (predominantly ZECs) feel as though their concerns have little value or importance to the MNR, even if they are an important revenue generating organization for the region.

However, we would have liked to have been consulted, but they simply said, this is what we propose, but we would have liked to know the justification for it. (ZEC 1)¹⁰²

A comment from an ENGO participant further exemplifies this point:

However, the MNR do not often have the political will to implement or allow for compromises with land users other than the forestry industry. (ENGO1)¹⁰³

The FSC certification process has had an important impact in terms of forcing the forestry industry to actively seek communication and partnerships with other regional actors, specifically for auditing reasons. The certification process has in fact forced the industry to develop communication plans with other relevant actors and in some instances, be a part of collaborations, specifically in regards to the PA planning process. Much of the communication and collaboration occurs through both informal and formal channels. Informal communications are especially important as they facilitate or ‘set the stage’ for creating formal communication and collaborations. Without informal mechanism such as telephone or email conversations or informal meetings at coffee shops to discuss individual or shared problems, it would be impossible to build relationships that allow for purposeful formal forms of collaboration to take

¹⁰² Pourtant, ont aurait aimé ça être consulté mais eu ce sont simplement dits c’est ce que on propose mais nous on voulait savoir la justification par exemple est-ce que moi je peux proposer. (ZEC 1)

¹⁰³ Par contre, ils [MNR] n’ont pas souvent la volonté politique d’implanter des compromis avec les utilisateurs du territoire autre que les forestières. (NGO 1)

place. Understanding each actor's work environment and challenges through the FSC certification process has allowed regional actors to build social capital with each other. One participant described that before the certification process, it was the forestry industry fighting against all other crown land users. Now, with the certification process, the forestry industry works with and collaborates with other land users; and, the atmosphere between actors is now much more conducive to developing collaborative working relationships.

In the beginning, we viewed the forestry industry as creating a siege around the park and we viewed that industry is ruining the natural environment. Since the forestry certification process, the industry is much more open to communicating and collaborating with other regional actors. (Park Staff 1)¹⁰⁴

However, some participants were of the opinion that if there was no market demand for certified wood products and if the government did not have the mandate to create PAs, this industry would not be collaborating with regional actors nor would it be creating PAs or be involved in the process other than to demand that none be created.

Well, as you saw Monday, for a specific group, not creating PAs would be the best option, when we speak of connectivity concepts; the forestry companies want none of it. The foresters see this as a constraint; it will force them to close down their factories in those regions. They are OK in creating PAs only in areas that have no economic value for them, so, this leaves only swamps and wet areas where machines cannot access. (NGO1)¹⁰⁵

6.2.4 First Nation Communities

No communication between the three FN communities and the LMNP occur. FN participants attributed this fact to the physical distance (200km-300km) that separates their communities from the LMNP. FN Participants also noted that there is no need for them to be

¹⁰⁴ Au début, on faisait face à l'industrie forestière un peu comme les gaulois qui étaient entourés par l'industrie et nous ont voyait l'industrie comme les grands méchants qui ruinaient l'environnement. Depuis la certification, ils sont beaucoup plus ouvert à communiquer et collaborer avec les autres intervenant du milieu. (Parcs Canada Staff 1)

¹⁰⁵ Oui bien, tu as vu un peu la dynamique lors de la rencontre lundi. Comme tu as pu voir, pour un certain groupe ne pas crée d'aires protégées, ce serait mieux encore et alors, quand on parle de concept de connectivité, les compagnies forestières n'en veulent pas du tout. Les forestières eux ils voient cela come une contraint; sa va leur cause de devoir fermer leurs compagnies ou leur usine dans cette région. Ils sont d'accord pour les créer seulement dans les territoires où il n'y a aucune valeur économique pour eux, alors c'est surtout les marais ou les régions très humides très accidentées ou la machinerie ne peut pas aller. (NGO 1)

informed, consulted or involved in LMNP management activities as it is located outside of their proposed land claim.

*We do not border with the park, which is why we do not really communicate with them.
(FN participant)¹⁰⁶*

Relationships between the three FN communities and the provincial government have evolved and become more positive since 2004. The landmark Supreme Court case of the Haida Nation vs. the BC government that occurred in 2004 created a shift in government approaches for communicating and collaborating with FN communities in Québec. Before 2004, participants described the relationship between the government and FN communities as poor due to a lack of information sharing and consultation regarding the development of various natural resources on behalf of the government. This led to confrontations between the FN communities and governments which resulted in FN communities organizing road blockades in order to be heard by the government.

With us, in the beginning, the MNR did not really consult with us, it began in 2004, a bit after the consultation process had began for the first PA planning phase. Before that, the government would simply inform us of the decisions that they had or were about to make. Since 2004, after the Supreme Court ruling, this is when they began to consult us. (FN Participant)¹⁰⁷

Since 2004, all participants noted a positive change in attitude on behalf of the provincial government whereby they now actively consult with FN communities. One government participant indicated that it is now a necessity for them to consult FN communities if they want to be able to move forward with any project overlapping with FN lands.

¹⁰⁶ Le territoire du parc ne nous touche pas mais c'est pour ça qu'on ne communique pas vraiment avec eux. (FN Participant)

¹⁰⁷ Nous autres, au début le ministère des ressources naturelles nous consultait pas vraiment, c'est à partir de 2004 à peu près que les consultations en ce qui concerne les aires protégées ... Avant ça s'était plus généralement que le gouvernement nous informait des décisions qu'ils allaient prendre ou qu'ils avaient déjà pris, ils nous donnait juste de l'information ad hoc, et à partir de 2004, après le jugement de la cour suprême, qu'ils sont commencent à nous consulter en amont. (FN Participant)

We cannot do otherwise, we consider them, even the forestry industry is very very respectful towards those communities (FN) and their presence, and this I think are the two largest. (Regional MNR Staff)¹⁰⁸

One FN community member explains this change as:

Today, it is 100%. I think we have developed give-give relationships which mean that when we ask for something, we get it and when they ask for something, we give it. (FN Participant)¹⁰⁹

Although there have been positive changes in how government and FN actors communicate with each other, the role that each actor plays in decision-making is viewed differently by the two groups. Government now consults with FN communities due to legal, political and social reasons and views FN communities as an important actor amongst many. They meet with FN communities and conduct multiple forms of public participation and communication exercises. These exercises inform the government, but the government remains the sole decision maker.

Meanwhile, FN participants described the relationship with government as one that has evolved from being simply based on communication to one based on adopting collaborative approaches for decision-making. FN communities see themselves as having the same level of power regarding decision-making as the provincial government.

Us here, we want to collaborate, for example the MDDEFP consults with us and propose projects or changes and we collaborate with them to address or modify these projects. (FN Participant)¹¹⁰

Most forms of communication and decision-making processes between the government and FN communities occur both informally and formally. Informal communications occur through email or telephone conversations or during lunch or dinner while attending meetings.

¹⁰⁸ Ils sont vraiment des incontournables qu'on doit considérer je pense que les gens, même les industriels forestiers sont très très respectueux envers ses communautés là à leur présence et ce je pense que c'est les deux plus grosse. (Regional MNR Staff)

¹⁰⁹ Aujourd'hui, la c'est 100 %. C'est une relation je pense qu'on a développé qui est donnant-donnant alors un principe quand nous on demande quelque chose il nous guida un et quand il lui nous demande quelque chose on leur donne. (FN Participant)

¹¹⁰ Nous ici on veut collaborer, par exemple ministère du développement durable nous consulte et nous propose des projets ou des changements et nous on collabore avec eux pour adresser ou modifier ses projets là. (FN Participant)

These forms of collaboration allow for information sharing and are used as a lead up to formal types of decision-making processes. Formal communications often take place in board meetings and are typically focused around planning for land use development, agreed upon through the signing of legally binding documents.

It is often through email or phone. It works very well this way. But we also do face to face meetings; we will do workshop meetings with our council and the MDDEFP. This always occurs through formal channels so that we have records of what happened. This is advantageous. Through formal modes of communication we can keep records and know when, where and by who decisions were made. This also increases the accountability of government for decisions made, and we need to have this. (FN Participant)¹¹¹

Finally, one FN participant noted that the change in provincial government which occurs every three to four years was problematic. After every change, they had to spend a good deal of time re-educating the minister responsible or the government, causing significant delays in the advancement of projects, including the creation of PAs. This is one of the main reasons all important decisions and communications between them and the government are done formally as it ensures accountability. However, this process can, and often does, create significant time delays for decision-making which creates frustration and difficulties for FN participants.

Yes, the government does change every 3-4 years, so when we start to engage in discussions, we always have to start back at the beginning. Every time, we have to re-educate these government people we are suppose to work with and this is not easy. (FN Participant)¹¹²

This section demonstrates that FN are now heavily involved in various land use planning exercises, such as the PA planning program, and that their opinion and values are better respected by government officials and other regional actors. The formal process for decision-

¹¹¹ C'est souvent par courriel et par téléphone. Et ça va très bien comme manière de communiquer. Mais on fait aussi des rencontres, on va faire des journées de rencontres de groupe de travail mettant avec notre conseil de bande de Manawan et le ministère du développement durable. Entre nous plus gouvernement ça se tient toujours de manière formelle comme son à l'épreuve des sortes de la communication collaboration qu'on a faite ensemble. Ça c'est avantageux! Regarde manière formelle avec les documents écrits et on peut retracer la manière dont les décisions ont été prises. Et nous ça nous permet d'avoir des comptes rendu des décisions prises. Et de ces rencontres-là. Et on a besoin d'avoir ces formes de compte rendu. (FN Participant)

¹¹² C'est que le gouvernement change à chaque trois ou quatre ans, alors quand on commence à faire des discussions, on doit toujours recommencer au début après chaque changement de gouvernement ou des fois, mêmes après chaque changement de ministre. Il faut à chaque fois rééduquer les gens avec qui on doit faire affaire dans le gouvernement et ça ce n'est pas facile. (FN Participant)

making between FN and government demonstrates a need for proper accountability and transparency, especially considering the frequent turn-over in provincial government.

6.2.5 Local Communities

Local community involvement in PA management or planning activities does occur in the region. Community leaders or organizations can propose individual PAs to the government to be considered in the current PA planning process. Typically, these proposals come from cottagers who want to protect crown land adjacent to their property from being logged. However, very few of these proposed PAs are considered or accepted by the government as they are often relatively small and do not contain significant or important ecological characteristics required for them to be considered in the planning process.

Individuals can collaborate with the government or large and local ENGOs such as the TNC or Mouvement Vert Mauricie (MVM) to create PAs on private lands. This has predominantly taken place around the southern portion of the Mauricie National Park in order to preserve significant wood turtle habitat. These initiatives are the most common and significant in the region as they ensure the protection of a threatened species. Participants indicated that they became aware of the need to conserve wood turtle habitat from development after the national park, in cooperation with local and national ENGOs, conducted multiple forms of public outreach educational activities starting in 2008-2009. Many participants indicated that before this, they had little or no knowledge about the wood turtle or its habitat needs.

Citizens who had created private reserves indicated that it was important for them to do this for multiple reasons. First, creating a private PA would actively contribute to the regional effort to protect the wood turtle. Second, participants indicated that after the number of years they have lived on their lands and the care, time and money they have invested in it, it was worth protecting. Designating their property as a PA insured that no human-induced land use changes

will be allowed and that the area will continue to be managed as per their vision even when they are no longer present. Finally, the PA is the legacy they will leave behind in an area they have cherished for many years. The government is quite apt in collaborating with local landowners for these purposes as this process allows increases in the percentage of PAs on private lands while also protecting a provincially threatened species.

6.2.6 Wildlife Reserves

There is very little communication and no collaboration between the two wildlife reserves (See section 6.1) and the National Park. The park and the reserves will communicate on an informal per issue basis in order to share and learn from each other's experiences in regards to management problems. One wildlife reserve staff member indicated that this is common practice with the park and also with ZECs and tourism outfitters in the region since they often have similar problems. This form of communication is perceived as beneficial as it saves time by preventing each organization from having to independently devise a solution to a similar problem.

Sometimes we can call each other to ask for assistance when we face a problem, essentially to figure out how they may have dealt with a similar problem so this way, we can learn from their experiences and mistakes. It allows us to not have to always reinvent the wheel. (Wildlife Reserve Staff)¹¹³

Informal communication between the National Park and the Wildlife Reserves has occurred in the past, specifically regarding the state of the wolf packs that they share. In these instances, it is the LMNP that contacts the reserves to share their management problem or concerns. These forms of contacts between the park and reserves predominantly serve as education and outreach programs and build social capital for the potential development of future collaborations.

¹¹³ Des fois on peut s'appeler pour demander de l'aide quand on a une problématique, c'est surtout pour savoir comment ils ont peut-être réglé la même problématique alors on peut apprendre de leurs erreurs et de leurs expériences. Sa nous permet de ne pas toujours réinventer la roue. (Wildlife Reserve Staff)

I know that with the director, we spoke extensively last year regarding the wolf population that is based within the park and in the wildlife reserve, and I realized while speaking with the director that the park is monitoring that wolf pack and their behavior and development, and they even monitored that wolf pack when it entered the reserve. That information provides more detail about our territory and allows us to better understand what is happening. But in this case, nothing was formalized; it is more focused on information sharing. Maybe there is some collaboration that could be formed to this regard in the future. (Wildlife Reserve Staff) ¹¹⁴

Although there is a proposal to develop a PA within Mastigoushe Wildlife Reserve, the staff persons at the reserve are not formally involved in this process since they are land managers and not owners. All decisions are made at the central office in Québec for logistic and political reasons. Reserve staff members are informed of the decision-making process and results of discussions as they become available.

We do participate in the process, but this process has really been put in place by Québec and the province has also contacted the park to inform them of the process. In terms of all collaborations and communications with the ministries and other organizations, they appear to be rather good, but note that they all take place in Québec, and I am happy that this is the case because I do not have the time nor do I want to develop these. (Wildlife Reserve Staff) ¹¹⁵

Although the two wildlife reserves are adjacent to the LMNP, reserve staff identify potential reasons why no collaboration and very little communication exists between them as the fact that they are two very different political and jurisdictional entities; one reserve is separated by a natural feature (Saint-Maurice River); the offices of each agency are not in close proximity; and they do not share the same mandates. Participants from the wildlife reserve did not indicate that any type of relationship between municipalities or ENGOs exists.

¹¹⁴ Je sais qu'avec le directeur, on a beaucoup parlé l'année dernière un terme de la population de loups qu'il y a à l'intérieur du parc et dans la réserve et je me suis rendu compte qu'en parlant avec lui, que le parc suivait cette meute là et examine leur comportement et leur développement il est la suivait même quand la meute rentre dans la réserve. Cette information la nous informe un peu plus sur le territoire et ça permet de mieux comprendre ce qui se passe. Mais dans cette optique là, ce n'est rien de formelle, c'est plus le partage d'information. Peut-être que est il y a des collaborations qui peuvent se former à cet égard dans le futur. (Wildlife Reserve Staff)

¹¹⁵ C'est sur qu'on participe à la démarche mais c'est vraiment la démarche qui a été mise en place par Québec et qui ont aussi interpellé le parc pour les informer de leur démarche. En termes de toutes les collaborations, de communications qui sont avec les ministères puis les autres organisations, elles sont assez bonnes notent qu'il faut tout ça à Québec, et moi je suis bien d'accord de ne pas le faire parce que je n'ai pas le temps puis ça ne me tente pas de développer tout cela. (Wildlife Reserve Staff)

6.2.7 Provincial and Regional Governments

This section describes how the MDDEFP and MNR interact with regional actors regarding the planning, creation and management of PAs. The focus is placed on the current PA working group as it is the dominant mechanism in place within the region.

Ministry of Natural Resources

Staff at regional MNR offices are heavily involved in all matters that affect regional planning and decision-making on crown land and operate under the Loi Sur la Conservation et la Mise en Valeur du Territoire et de la Faune. Under this law, the MNR controls all activities occurring on crown land outside of PAs (with certain exceptions, see table 11) and therefore, has strong ties with the resource industries and other regional actors. Conjointly, the MNR is heavily involved in the planning process for meeting the 2015 PA target as PAs are being established on crown land.

The MNR has no direct communication with LMNP regarding information sharing or land use activities. The MNR recognizes the existence of the park within the region but never thinks of including it as a regional actor in land use planning exercises as it is a federal entity. One participant noted during the interview that even though the park represents a significant land area within the region, she had never really thought of including the park administrators in land use planning activities occurring within the region. This participant questioned why this had not yet been done, especially considering the region and decision makers could benefit from the scientific expertise and knowledge of national park staff. According to this participant, the lack of the National Park's presence in regional decision-making, even informally, is most likely due to jurisdictional differences, lack of need and, simply, no one from the region has asked the park to participate in regional activities.

It is correct that it is an actor, but I had not previously realized this. Now that you are talking to me about this, it is true that they are a major, long standing actor in the region. If we look at the map, the national park covers a very large portion of the Mauricie region, it is almost as big as all of the ZEC lands. Now that you mention it, I think that the park should be more present within the region. (MNR Staff)¹¹⁶

The MNR regional office is not required to participate in the early stages of the PA planning process within the region; this is typically done towards the end of the decision-making process. However, due to the regional office's working knowledge of all land use activities occurring on crown land and strong ties with regional actors, they have been invited to participate in the formal planning process from the outset. The participation of the MNR is viewed positively by all actors as it ensures that decisions made at the provincial level reflect and take into account regional perspectives and characteristics. An active MNR representative indicates that provincial government understands regional issues and takes these into consideration during the final planning stages. Through participating, the MNR can also relay information to other provincial departments preventing contradictory directives from being emitted.

I participate in the meetings concerning the PA planning process, this process is a major planning development within this region and since I represent the ministry, I have the ability to participate in the meetings and to see the evolution of all this, and I make the link between what is going on in the region and other process that are occurring within the ministry. (MNR Regional Staff)¹¹⁷

There is also strong communication between the MNR and the CRE in regards to the planning process for the PAs. As the CRE represents the elected officials within the region (mayors) it is often in need of information regarding land use planning exercises and future

¹¹⁶ C'est vrai que c'est un intervenant, mais je n'avais jamais réalisé ça. Maintenant que tu m'en parles, c'est vrai que c'est un gros joueur dans la région et ça fait longtemps qu'ils sont ici dans la région. Si on regarde la carte si, le parc national c'est un très gros territoire en Mauricie, quasiment aussi gros que tous les territoires de ZEC. C'est vrai que maintenant que vous le mentionnez je pense qu'il devrait être plus présent dans le milieu régional. (MNR Staff)

¹¹⁷ Moi je participe à ces rencontres-là, et le dossier des aires protégées, c'est un dossier qui touche quand même, qui est un des enjeux très majeurs pour la région puis c'est sûr que c'est moi qui représente le ministère, moi j'ai au moins la chance de participer aux rencontres du comité de voir l'évolution de tout ça et je fais le lien entre ce qui se passe en région et d'autres processus qui se passe à l'intérieur du ministère. (MNR Regional Staff)

development plans and, thus, communicates with the MNR for this information. Again, the main interest here is in minimizing any negative economic impacts on the forestry industry.

*Here in Mauricie, the CRE and the natural resource regional commission are very much involved in the PA planning process for the forestry companies. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)*¹¹⁸

Through participant observation of planning meetings, it was evident that maintaining the well being of the forest industry through careful consideration in selecting PA locations was a very important concern of the MNR. In multiple instances, the MNR would support arguments made by industry representatives and would also provide suggestions that would be of direct benefit to the industry. The MNR's lack of support for propositions or arguments made by non industry actors demonstrates the high value it places on the forest industry.

The hierarchical structure for decision-making within the MNR was identified as problematic. Although decision-making processes have been regionalized, decisions continue to come from the central office. Therefore, before the MNR regional office can give an opinion they must get multiple approvals following a chain of command. MNR staff often compared themselves to the MDDEFP which, to them, has a greater flexibility in decision-making due to a reduced bureaucracy which greatly facilitates the advancement and completion of projects.

*And I think that in their organizational culture, I think that there is less bureaucracy and procedures which seems much more simple than those for the MNR. (MNR Regional Staff)*¹¹⁹

MDDEFP

The MDDEFP regional office has very little to do with the PA planning process currently taking place. MDDEFP regional offices are not mandated by their ministry to conduct or administer programs on crown land. Rather, their role is to enforce all activities on private lands

¹¹⁸ Ici en Mauricie, en à la conférence régionale des élus avec la commission régionale des ressources naturelles du territoire, et eux ils sont très impliqués dans l'analyse de carence justement avec les compagnies forestières. (MDDEFP Staff Region)

¹¹⁹ Et je pense que dans leur façon de culture organisationnelle je pense qu'il y a beaucoup moins de procédure et la bureaucratie semble beaucoup plus simple que celle du ministère des ressources naturelles. (MNR Regional Staff)

and water as per the Law for the Quality of the Environment. Therefore, the role of the MDDEFP regional office is heavily focused on enforcement, ensuring that regional developments conform to this law. The MDDEFP is able to provide comments on activities occurring on public lands but these have no legal power.

Participants indicated that the regional office was not invited to participate during the preliminary stages of the PA planning process as this fell under the responsibility of the central office. However, they have recently been invited to participate since they are more familiar with regional issues and actors than are central MDDEFP staff members.

I am now involved and they send me more and more information because the department that focuses on ecological heritage and parks within our ministry is now increasingly reliant on me because I understand the region, I know the people and I know what they do. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)¹²⁰

Although willing to participate, one MDDEFP staff indicated that her participation is dependent on available resources. The availability of resources, such as time and personnel, was identified as problematic in terms of capacity to participate and develop communication channels with other actors for this project. Therefore, most regional staff members are kept involved only by receiving meetings minutes and memos.

I am starting to replace the replacement so now we are only two and half to three people to do the work of many people. So because of this, we are not sure how we will be involved with this. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)¹²¹

Finally, the participation of regional staff in this process remains unofficial as they have no legal mandate to participate. Staff recognized that their participation could muddy the water for future PA projects planned to begin in 2015 as the role of the region vs. that of the province for communicating projects will be questioned by regional actors.

¹²⁰ Par contre on m'a inscrit et on envoie des informations de plus en plus parce que la direction du patrimoine écologique et des parcs de notre ministère font appel à moi de plus en plus, parce que moi je connais le milieu régional, je connais qui est qui, et qui fait quoi. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

¹²¹ Je commence à remplacer la remplaçante alors on est quand même, on va se retrouver de deux personnes et demie ou trois personnes pour faire le travail de plusieurs autres personnes. Alors de se fait, on ne s'est pas trop de quelle manière on va être impliqué. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

This is not an official task for the regional district or my minister. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)¹²²

The lack of MDDEFP regional staff in the PA planning process was often described as problematic by other regional actors as it creates a disconnect between the region and the central office representative as this individual could not properly grasp or understand regional dynamics relevant to the planning exercise.

The regional MDDEFP office does collaborate formally with regional ENGOs, mostly regarding water use information. Informal communication with these conservation authorities also occurs, specifically in relation to the PA planning committee. The conservation authorities do participate at the meetings and relay pertinent information and decisions made to their contacts within the MDDEFP.

Communication with the LMNP occurs haphazardly, mostly during FSC certification processes. One MDDEFP staff noted that there could be more communication between them and the park about hydrological processes, especially considering that the land and water systems within the park are still under provincial ownership. However, no such communication channels exist as the MDDEFP trusts the scientific capacities and monitoring expertise of Parks Canada.

The only recent contact that I have had, which was by accident, was during the forestry certification process that was occurring within the region for the forestry industry...So when we decided that since the park has biologists, and the biologists are well trained, we can trust them for making that decision. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)¹²³

MDDEFP did note that there was no formal system for communicating with the LMNP and that they have never been contacted by the park for information or to develop such system. An MDDEFP participant stated that it could be useful to have proper communication channels

¹²² Ca ce n'est pas une tâche officielle des directions régionales de mon ministère à moi. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

¹²³ Le seul contact récent que j'ai eu, c'était par accident, c'était dans le cadre de la certification forestière, qui se passaient pour les forestières en Mauricie... Enfin quand on a décidé que puisque le parc a des biologistes et les biologistes sont bien formés, on va se fier à eux pour prendre cette décision là. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

between them and the park, especially between biologists and wildlife specialists in order to share information and expertise between agencies and to prevent the duplication of data.

No, I have never received any demand from them. There is no system or systematic way to share information. For example, when they do their scientific studies, there is currently no actual system whereby we are automatically informed of their results or of the studies that they conduct. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)¹²⁴

Conférence Régional des Élus (CRE)

As an organization, the CRE acts as the main regional contact for the provincial government and is responsible for all programs, activities and land use planning related to the region's development (see section 4.1.3). Within the CRE, there is a commission solely responsible for managing and overseeing the development of the natural resource sectors. Due to this commission's strong and positive relations with all natural resource sectors, and thorough understanding of the regional dynamics due to its direct link with the provincial government, it was given the mandate by the MDDEFP to oversee the PA planning process.

There is a very good relationship with the CRE, but from one CRE to another, the contexts are so different from one region to another, the actors are so different between regions; everyone accepts to participate, but I will not hide the fact that there are regions that are not very interested in progress, but will participate but will never really align their process to government objectives. (MDDEFP Central Office Staff 1)¹²⁵

Participants identified the role of the CRE as very important in the planning process for PAs as it represents the region's voice and is able to fully understand regional issues. Participants felt that having the CRE organize the meetings and liaison directly with the provincial government ensures that opinions and decisions are accounted for and clearly communicated to the proper government staff.

¹²⁴ Non moi je n'ai jamais eu aucune demande de lien de leur part. Il n'y a pas de système ou de façon systématique pour faire leur partage d'informations, par exemple qu'ils font leur étude scientifique il n'y a pas de système auquel nous on est automatiquement est formé de leurs résultats ou des études Qu'ils font. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

¹²⁵ Il y a une bonne relation avec la CRE mais d'une CRE à l'autre les contextes sont tellement différents d'une région à l'autre, les intervenants c'est vraiment particulier à chaque région; tout le monde accepte de participer mais je ne cacherai pas qu'il y a des régions qui ne sont pas tellement intéressées à progresser mais qui embarquent et vont nous accompagner mais ne seront pas nécessairement parfaitement ralliés à l'objectif gouvernemental. (MDDEFP Central Office Staff 1)

One CRE participant noted that although the relationship between her and the government staff at the MDDEFP central office is amicable and functions well, she felt the government could be more accountable and transparent regarding their decisions in terms of type and location of PAs they propose to the region. As it is, the government simply identifies potential PAs on a map but does not justify why they are important or whether there are similar areas elsewhere that could be considered. This lack of information creates problems during the regional planning and decision-making process due to inherent uncertainties and questioning of the true value of the proposed areas by the MDDEFP.

It is very difficult to know exactly, often, what we would really like to know would allow us to speed up the process. If we knew exactly why and if they looked elsewhere in the region, because you know, they are looking at a large region, they could not have identified an equivalent area to protect? This said, it is all about knowledge. If we knew their reasoning, it would be much easier for us to make a decision or to accept that this PA be create, but right now, it is very difficult. (CRE Staff)¹²⁶

A CRE participant noted that the lack of information provided by the government, and previous government actions and reasoning regarding PA creation, have some regional actors questioning the true motives (ecological vs. political) for the proposal of certain PAs by the government.

... we do not really know if this PA was created for true conservation reasons or if it was created for political reasons or to protect specific cottages from development. This really leaves a sour taste for regional actors and demonstrates that when you have money and political power with your contacts, you can do what you want. The real problem is that this took away the credibility of the decision-making process. We have to undertake the PA planning process with regional actors, but afterwards, PAs always seem to be created by some politic in Québec. I think that the government would have much to gain by telling us exactly what is important to conserve. (CRE Staff)¹²⁷

¹²⁶C'est difficile de savoir exactement, souvent c'est ce qu'on veut vraiment savoir ce nous aiderait à acheminer le projet. Si on savait exactement pourquoi et est-ce que vous avez regardé dans les environs, parce que vous savez, son ou ils examinent un grand territoire et nous dans cette région la qui fait un grand triangle, dans tout ça qui est une province naturelle, non vraiment pas pu trouver un milieu équivalent à cette rivière de. Ceci dit c'est la savoir. Si on savait cela ça serait plus facile à prendre une décision ou à accepter de la créer, mais c'est vraiment difficile. (CRE Staff)

¹²⁷...on ne sait vraiment pas si c'est vraiment une aire protégée nécessaires qui remplit les carences ou si cela a vraiment été fait pour des raisons politiques et pour protéger leurs chalets du développement. Ça te donnait un peu un genre de goût amer et ça démontre que quand tu as de l'argent et du pouvoir politique et d'avec tes contacts, tu peux faire ce que tu veux. Le vrai problème c'est que cela a enlevé de la crédibilité aussi à la démarche, avec les intervenants nous on doit embarquant dans la démarche d'aires protégées, mais nous on se dit que par la suite, les aires protégées ça finit toujours à se faire régler par une politique à Québec. Je pense que le gouvernement gagnerait à nous dire exactement c'est quoi qui est important. (CRE Staff)

There is no formal communication between the CRE and the LMNP. Staff from either agency will sometimes get together haphazardly through their participation in committees, most often regarding FSC certification audits. Although very little communication exists, the relationship between the LMNP and the CRE was described as very positive, open and helpful.

But you know, if I were to organize a colloquium tomorrow, it is certain that the park would be invited. (CRE Staff)¹²⁸

6.2.8 ZECs

The ZECs have very little involvement in the regional PA planning process; none of the ZECs actively participate at the regional PA planning table (See section 4.1.1.1 for a definition of a ZEC). The ZECs are mandated by the province to manage specific land areas for the purposes of maintaining fish and wildlife stocks and making these products available to the public for harvesting. Much like the forestry industry, ZECs have the right to operate and are mandated to serve as land managers by the MNR for designated land areas. Although the forestry industry participates at the regional PA planning table, the various ZECs within the region do not. Participants indicated that they should be included at these tables as they have the same rights as the forestry industry. However, participants noted that the MNR and the CRE do not value the services they provide and often fail to view ZECs as a form of resource industry.

Participating in the regional tables is not critical or complicated, but what counts is that as a land manager we be respected, and this, they do not do. So, it is not always easy. (ZEC Staff)¹²⁹

ZEC participants did acknowledge that they do participate in formal regional planning committees organized by the MNR and the CRE that address issues related to wildlife within the region. However, participants questioned the usefulness of these committees due to the fact that

¹²⁸ Mais tu sais si demain matin j'organiserai un colloque, c'est certain que le parc serait un inviter. (CRE Staff)

¹²⁹ Participé aux tables n'est pas critique et ce n'est pas compliqué mais qu'est-ce qui compte c'est que l'on soit respecté comme gestionnaire d'un territoire et ça ils ne le font pas. Fait que c'est pas toujours facile. (ZEC Staff)

any project or conservation effort proposed that has the potential to negatively affect harvesting practices for the forestry industry is usually ignored or not accepted. Due to this, participants questioned the purpose of these committees.

It will certainly have an impact, but they responded and indicated that because it may affect forestry development, it will affect employment, factories will close, so I asked them, what is the actual purpose of this committee? (ZEC Staff)¹³⁰

One ZEC participant felt ignored by the government in regard to PA planning and creation on his ZEC's territory. Due to his in-depth knowledge of the land and ecological processes occurring within his ZEC, he felt that government should have contacted him during the planning process as he could have contributed valuable information. The fact that he was only informed during the final stages of the planning process has created tensions and confrontations between him and the MNR during interactions at formal committee meetings such as FSC certification audits or at the wildlife committees.

It is always very political. What has presently happened during this first stage is that we have had four meetings, and at the fourth meeting, the minister proposed something, but typically the minister tells us what he wants to do and does not give us the ability to participate or respond. Or sometimes, there are people that come but they have no authority to tell us what to do. (ZEC Staff)¹³¹

Informal collaboration between the ZECs and forestry operations was described positively and occurs on a regular basis. Most discussions focus on sharing information regarding forest harvest areas and ensuring that the location and timing of the harvest does not overlap with hunting seasons. ZEC participants indicated that good communication channels between them and forestry representatives are attributable to the CSA and FSC certification processes that the forestry companies abide by, and which require them to communicate and collaborate with other actors.

¹³⁰ C'est sûr que ça va avoir un effet, mais ils m'ont répondu non parce qu'alors, ça va affecter la possibilité forestière, ça va affecter les emplois, les usines vont fermer, alors moi je leur ai demandé à quoi sert le comité faunes. (ZEC Staff)

¹³¹ C'est toujours politique, qu'est-ce qui est arrivé présentement c'est que la première étape c'est qu'on a faite quatre réunions et à la quatrième, le ministère nous a proposé quelque chose, mais souvent sais plus qui nous dit que ce qu'ils aimeraient faire et nous donne pas la possibilité de participer ou sinon aussi des gens qui viennent mais qui n'ont aucune autorité à nous dire quoi faire. (ZEC Staff)

Informal communication occurs between the ZECs and various wildlife reserves, mostly to discuss and share information regarding fishing, hunting, visitor numbers and forestry practices. These relationships were positive and attributed to trust building through many years of working side by side.

Although many ZECs and wildlife reserves are adjacent to each other, no formal collaborations exist due to political reasons, namely, they are in direct competition with one another. The wildlife reserves are operated by the SEPAQ and take their orders from the central office in Québec. If wildlife reserves were to collaborate, either formally or informally, it could be perceived as the provincial government siding with the ZECs.

Even if the director wanted to support me, he could not because the central Québec office would not give him permissions. He was not in the position to publicly voice his opinion regarding certain developments within the region, and for us, since he represents a governmental agency; he is not allowed to take sides. It was too political. (ZEC Staff)¹³²

6.3 Overall Factors Influencing Regional Integration

This case demonstrates that there are many factors, both formal and informal, that influence regional integration of actors for PA planning and management. This section provides a summary of these factors.

6.3.1 Formal Processes for Regional Integration

Formal communication between regional actors occurs for multiple reasons and through various mediums. First, participants identified that developing formal communications and collaborations only occurs when there is a common, easily identifiable problem. For example, MNR staff stated that it was very easy to develop strong collaborations with regional actors when developing a protection plan for the wood turtle because it was easy to identify the

¹³² Même si le directeur voulait m'appuyer ils ne pouvaient pas parce que le bureau chef à Québec ne lui donnait pas la permission. Il n'avait pas le droit de contester publiquement les affaires qui se passent sur notre territoire et nous comme il était une agence gouvernementale, ils n'avaient pas le droit de prendre position. C'était trop politique. (ZEC Staff)

problem; multiple regional actors share the same conservation goals; there is a willingness by regional actors to protect the species; and the species is socially accepted by the region as being ecologically important. LMNP staff noted that trying to create partnerships for concepts such as ecological integrity is extremely challenging because it lacks concreteness making it challenging for regional actors to understand what such concept actually means.

Many participants recognized that one of the main reasons for creating or formalizing a partnership is money. Partnerships developed to fund projects, purchase land, or maintain infrastructure, require formal, signed agreements between parties in order to ensure accountability, rule of law and efficiencies.

Although all participants recognized the LMNP as an important regional actor, there are little or no formal communication channels or integrated management projects with regional actors¹³³. Formal integrated management projects are issue specific and only last until the problem has been resolved. The fact that the park is a federal entity negatively affects its ability to participate in regional issues outside the park boundaries. Although LMNP staff lack formal authority and power to conduct management activities outside park boundaries, such as for the wood turtle, they have been able to develop strong partnerships with the TNC due to common goals and objectives.

The institutional history regarding the abolition of private clubs and the resulting public access to crown land was favorable to the creation of the LMNP and in maintaining public acceptance of the park within the region. The large amount of crown land surrounding the LMNP provides ample space for the resource sector to operate, and access to prime fishing and hunting grounds for hunters and fishers.

¹³³ Park staff may communicate with certain partners such as those listed on its website but only for very specific reasons,

The national park is not seen as a land use restriction for various outdoor recreational activities or by the natural resource industry sectors due to the amount of crown land adjacent to its boundaries (See section 4.1.1.1 and 6.1.3 for a different perspective). Conjointly, the presence of great extents of crown land ensures there is very little impact on the park's ecological integrity from adjacent land activities. Therefore, the lack of problems between the park and adjacent land users does not necessitate formal communication channels or the development of collaborative management initiatives.

Finally, the PA planning process is one of the more advanced in the province as a result of adequate capacity in terms of CRE staff expertise, time, and financial resources coupled with the willingness of regional actors to participate in a meaningful and effective way. Although this process is designed to give equal amounts of decision-making power to all actors and actor groups (e.g. forestry, ENGO), the dominance of the forestry sector in these meetings appears to sway the process so that it benefits the industry, likely due to their dominance in terms of number of participants and that sector's economic importance in the region. FN participants in this process also have tremendous decision-making power, but only exercise this power when proposed PAs may affect FN community projects or plans.

6.3.2 Informal Processes for Regional Integration

Most interactions between actors occur through informal processes. Most forms of communication take place through telephone and email conversations, and through participation in various regional committees. Many participants noted that participating in regional committees allows them to meet new regional actors and to obtain a better understanding of each other's work responsibilities and organizational mandates. Power relations regarding these interactions depend upon the topic and jurisdictions. For example, ENGOs recognized that any project they proposed which could impact the forestry sector will almost always face strong

opposition not only from the forestry industrials, but also from the general population who relies on that industry as a source of income.

The concept of trust and trust building through various forms of informal institutions was presented by many participants as very important and required in order to effectively build enduring formal collaborative projects. For many, building trust and relationships between actors allow ‘setting the stage’ for formal agreements or project developments. Informal institutions allow actors to understand each other, to develop rapport, which over time builds trust and respect. Furthermore, trust and understanding between actors is important when addressing conflicts for decision-making due to potential power imbalances. Although power imbalances’ can often exist, understanding each actor’s goals and constraints allows them to compromise and work together. The FSC certification process with the LMNP and the issue of timber harvest along the park look-outs are examples of this.

6.4 Chapter Summary

There is very little integration between the LMNP and regional actors, yet the relationship between the park and many actors is quite strong. The history of clubs and the abolition of these in the 1970s have been and continue to be favorable to the regional perception of the park. A disconnect appears to exist between LMNP park staff and regional actors in terms of who should be asking the park to participate in regional issues or, if the park has the authority to participate. On the one hand, park staff members feel they need to be invited into regional processes since they are a federal authority, while regional actors feel that LMNP staff must be forthcoming and ask to participate. This disconnect is attributed to issues of jurisdictional powers due to the different government levels in which they operate and the politics of federal/Québec relations.

The PA planning process currently taking place within the region is perceived by participants to be working relatively well, and is well accepted due to power re-distribution from central government to regional actors. However, the lack of MDDEFP staff presence and the poor accountability regarding their justification for proposed PAs is slowing the decision-making process and has led some regional actors to question the usefulness of the processes. Although more power has been given to regional actors for decision-making by the provincial government, MDDEFP staff should remain a constant fixture in the decision-making process. Finally, the FSC certification process adopted by all forestry industries within the region is viewed positively by all participants as the forestry sector must now actively work and communicate with other regional actors. The certification process has also had secondary benefits as it has allowed regional actors to meet, share and learn from other regional actors, something that would likely not have occurred otherwise. However, the economic value and importance of the forestry sector within the region and the resulting power and voice that forestry actors have superseded that of other regional actors.

7.0 Gaspésie Region

This chapter is organized in four sections. The first section provides context within which the Gaspésie region is situated. Five contextual elements are presented which have the potential to influence or are related to the integration of PAs within this case study. The second section presents the relationships between PA jurisdiction staff and regional actors. Within each of the sections, I present aspects of the relationship from the standpoint of regional actors (e.g. causes in changes to relationships over time, the types of interactions, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the relationships) and PA staff. The third section of the chapter presents overall perspectives regarding formal and informal arrangements for communication and collaboration for decision-making between PA jurisdictions and regional actors. The final section provides some concluding remarks.

7.1 Case Study Context

7.1.1 Regional Overview and Demographics

The region is located in the extreme south-east portion of the province and is encircled by the St. Lawrence River and the Baie-des-Chaleurs (see Figure 1, and 5). The region's total area is 78,172km² of which 57,652 km² comprise salt water. The region's land area is 20,272 km² of which 16,190 km² or 79% is crown land. All crown land is located within the centre of the peninsula and highlights the region's vast natural resources including forestry, mining, gas, and recreational potential.

The total population for 2012 was approximately 92,500 persons, a 4.7% decline since 2006. The average age of the population in 2012 was 49.5, the oldest of all regions within the province (Institut de la Statistique, 2014a). In 2012, 18.1% of the population was 19 years of age or younger, 60.7 % was between 20-64 years of age and, 21.2% was over the age of 65 (Institut

de la Statistique, 2014a). The majority of the population (46,000) resides within the municipalities of Gaspé, Chandler, Sainte-Anne-des-Monts, Carleton-Sur-Mer and Les Iles-de-la-Madelaine while the rest of the population is distributed across the region in small villages. Of these, the City of Gaspé is the largest with 15,000 residents and is the main city in terms of essential services within the region (Institut de la Statistique, 2014a).

There are six RMCs within the Gaspé Peninsula: Le Rocher-Perce, La Cote-de-Gaspé, La Haute-Gaspésie, Bonaventure, and Avignon. These six RMCs regroup fifty-four municipalities. The majority of municipalities are located around the coast, as the interior is crown land and uninhabited. There are three Micmac Nations within the region. The two Micmac reserves are the Listuguj (1879 residents) and Gespapegiag (534 residents) and are located in the RMC of Avignon; the third community, Micmac of Gespeg (485 residents)¹³⁴, is located between FNP and the City of Gaspé. All three communities are represented by the regional council of Mi'gmawei Mawiomi which has the mission of promoting the Micmac nation within the region (MRNF, 2006).

Cities and villages are distributed along the shores of the peninsula according to the geophysical environment and the first types of natural resource industries that served as catalysts for colonization, specifically in-shore fisheries which were the dominant industries until the mid to late 1800s. The distribution of the population based on geophysical attributes is especially true along the north shore of the peninsula where each bay that had the capacity to serve as a natural harbor for the purposes of fishing was colonized. In fact, the geology and physical environment of the region has historically prevented communities from communicating with each other using terrestrial travel routes. Rather, the only modes of communication were through the use of fishing boats in the summer and ice paths in the winter. The south shore area along the Bais-des-

¹³⁴ However, these numbers may not actually represent the total number of individuals actually residing on the reserve or in the community. Many live elsewhere in the province or country but continue to be part of their ancestral community.

Chaleurs offers an environment that is less hostile, relatively flat, sheltered, and quite suitable for farming (Hetu, 1999).

The mining industry, which began in the mid-1950s, created the first and only inland city, Murdochville. This city remains the only inland community within the region today. The inland portion of the region is used for the development of natural resource industries, most predominantly forestry, but other sectors such as wind development and gas exploration have also emerged as new resource potentials are identified. Through the development of natural resource industry infrastructure, the land area has become increasingly available to the public who use it for recreational activities, most notably fishing and hunting in the summer and snowmobiling in the winter (Hetu, 1999).

7.1.2 Economy

The average income per individual before taxes is \$37,495, the lowest in the entire province (Québec, 2014b). The goods producing sector provides 30.4% of all employment while the service sector provides 69.6%. Major industries in the production sector include forestry, agriculture, construction and fabrication. Major industries in the service sector include retail stores, insurance, administrative services, healthcare, and tourism services.

The total workforce for this region in 2012 was 41,800 compared to 43,400 the previous year. The total number of jobs in the region for 2012 had decreased to 36,500 (- 3.9%) from 38,000 in 2011. The unemployment rate in the region is 12.9% and is attributed to a lack of employment opportunities and job loss (Institut de la Statistic, 2014a). Like many regions in the province dependent on natural resources, the Gaspésie region has faced a large exodus of its population to urban centers within the province. The low number of employment opportunities and the high unemployment rates have been some of the poorest in the province since 1987. Much of this decline in employment opportunities and unemployment rates is attributed to the

collapse of the cod fisheries in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the forestry crisis of the late 1990s and early 2000s, the closing of the Murdochville mine, and the closing of the Gaspésia Paper Company and associated sub-contractors (e.g. timber harvesters) (Institut de la Statistic, 2014a).

Although the forestry industry has begun to recover, it remains precarious. The region is also working to diversify its economy by investing in aquaculture, wind power and shale gas development; developing and promoting tourism within the region; and growing the service sector (Institut de la Statistic, 2014a).

7.1.3 Biophysical Environment

The overall climate of the region can be classified as boreal. Yet, the vertical nature of the terrain (a stepped plateau landscape) and the maritime influence along the coast create drastic climate variations. The region receives an annual precipitation of 900mm/year but this varies tremendously based on altitude; sea level precipitation amounts in the town of Cap-Chat near the GNP are of 1000mm/year while at the top of Mount Logan (1128m of altitude) it can exceed 1650mm/year. Annual temperatures between the north coast and south coast also differ due to ocean currents; the north coast has an annual July average temperature of 17°C vs. 19°C for the south coast. Temperature throughout the Gaspésie region decreases by approximately 0.6C for every 100 meters of elevation. The north shore is subject to constant strong winds which make it an ideal location for wind development (MRNF, 2006).

The omnipresence of calcium deposits throughout the region plays a major role in ecological processes and impacts economic activities. Its permeability and ability to neutralize acid rain have ensured that fresh water systems are extremely limpid which has allowed the populations of brook trout and Atlantic salmon to thrive. This particularity has lead to the region's reputation for being a prime fly fishing destination. Also, natural gas deposits have been

found in various underground limestone shelves, some of which have recently begun to be exploited.

Of the total landmass of the region, 95% or 19,530 km² is forested. Forest cover and vegetation differ tremendously across the region due to landscape and climate while ecosystems within these are classified based on elevation. Forest cover at the 750-1000m altitude represents fir and black spruce forests. Fir and white/yellow birch forests are the dominant forest cover between the 300-600m of altitude. Along the coast and in the valley bottoms, sugar maple and yellow birch forests, or fir and white spruce forests are present (Hetu, 1999).

The geology of this region is unique in Québec. There are three distinct land formations within the peninsula: 1) the lowlands (0-300m above sea level), 2) a large plateau with deep valleys and flat mountain tops (300-600m above sea level), and 3) a mountainous area comprised of valleys and flat mountain tops (600-1200m above sea level). This mountainous landscape is formed by the Appalachian chain of which the highest peaks within Québec are found in the Gaspésie region. The high plateaus (over 1000m elevation) of the McGerrigold Mountains and Mount Albert found within the Appalachian mountain range represent a tundra environment and are home to a population of woodland caribou (MRNF, 2006).

The two prominent National Parks of Québec, GNP, Ile Bonaventure and Rocher Perce National Park (IBRPNP) and the single National Park, FNP, within this region represent distinct biophysical environments.

7.1.3.1 Gaspésie National Park of Québec

GNP represents the Gaspésie Massif which is composed of the McGerrigold and Chic-Choc mountain range and is home to the highest peaks of the Appalachian Mountains in Québec. The park protects the only herd of woodland caribou in Canada south of the St. Lawrence River. Forestry practices in adjacent wildlife reserves (see Figure 5) have created habitat which is

favorable to moose, black bear and wolf species, and as a result, these three species are thriving in the region and are having a spillover effect into the park.

Stressors to GNP's ecological integrity include forestry and landscape fragmentation in the area around the park, invasive species, long-range transportation of pollutants, climate change, fresh water pollution, visitor activities within the park, and road development (UQCN, 2005).

7.1.3.2 Forillon National Park

PNP is located at the easternmost tip of the Gaspé Peninsula. The park is surrounded by the sea on three sides and a major highway runs along the western boundary of the park. The park protects multiple marine and terrestrial species found within four major ecosystems types: forest, aquatic, coastal and marine. Important species include beaver, moose, black bear, double-crested cormorant, black guillemot, black-legged kittiwake and, razorbills; while over 225 land birds have been recorded nesting or using the park as a resting ground (Parks Canada, 2013).

The geology of the park is especially significant as the rock formations form a sort of geological calendar. Within the park, along the ocean facing cliffs, ten separate and clearly visible geological formations can be observed and depict the geological history of the region. These sea cliffs can be characterized by their relatively rugged surface features and extend 300m above sea level in some areas. These cliffs accommodate large sea bird populations during nesting season including thousands of black-legged kittiwakes (Parks Canada, 2013).

The main highway located on the western side of the park acts as a barrier to the movement of wildlife between the park and the rest of the Gaspé Peninsula. This is problematic for species vulnerable to forest fragmentation such as marten. Park research on this species has observed that marten are four times more abundant outside the park than inside, even if heavily harvested for their furs on crown land (Parks Canada, 2013).

7.1.3.3 Ile Bonaventure and Rocher Percé National Park of Québec

IBRPNP of Québec is located on the eastern tip of the peninsula at the mouth of Chaleur Bay. The park is best known for its geological feature, Perce Rock, which is 475 meters long, 90 meters wide and 20 meters high.

Bonaventure Island is the largest migratory bird sanctuary in the province. Over 200 000 breeding birds from 11 different species will nest on the island over the summer. The park is known for having the largest nesting colonies of northern gannets in the province (Sabourin and Rail, 2010).

7.1.4 Institutional History

Significant histories related to the regional integration of PAs and regional actors within Gaspésie are the creation and development of FNP, and the boom and bust of resource industries. These two histories have and continue to impact the relationship between individual parks and regional actors.

7.1.4.1 History of the Creation of Forillon National Park

Before 1977, five villages existed in the land area that is now FNP. Most villagers earned a living as fishermen, catching and salting cod for the European markets during the summer and worked in logging camps during the winters. Some villagers operated grain or dairy farms on the inland portions of the peninsula (Desjardins et al., 1999). In 1965, the provincial government in collaboration with the federal government developed a regional management plan to address the poor economic state of the region. The cod fishery was beginning to show signs of decline while the forestry industry, through decades of mismanagement, was no longer economically viable (Desjardins et al., 1999). One of the solutions put forward by the government was the creation of a national park at the easternmost tip of the peninsula so that it could serve as the main tourism attraction, forcing visitors to travel along the entirety of the peninsula, and therefore, would

generate positive economic impacts in the immediate region of the park (personal communication with Park Expropriate, July 20th, 2013). In fact, the federal government and Parks Canada promised the region that the park would create over 1000 jobs for the local population and was expected to have 1 million visitor days per year. The promise of increased employment opportunities and positive economic impacts swayed the general public's opinion in favor of the creation of the park. The resulting cascading effect of all these visitors would lead to the development of other tourism attractions and services along the coasts. However, the creation of the park was not a smooth process.

During that era of national park creation, having human habitations within a national park boundary was not permitted under the National Parks Act. Therefore, before a national park could be officially recognized, all individuals residing within the proposed boundaries had to be removed. For Forillon, it was decided through negotiations between the provincial government and Parks Canada that the province would expropriate the residents of the area, approximately 1500 individuals, and once complete, Parks Canada could formally recognize and begin to develop the park (Babin, 2013).

When the creation of the park was announced in 1969, the residents within the proposed park boundaries did not believe it was true that they would be expropriated, rather, they were under the impression that they would be allowed to continue to live in their houses all located along a narrow strip of land immediately adjacent to the coast. However, this was not the case. The provincial government had given itself one year to complete the expropriation process so that it could transfer property rights to Parks Canada in June of 1970. Through the expropriation process, the government offered to purchase each land parcel for what they deemed market value, typically in the \$5-7 thousand range. Yet, the market value for these properties was unknown as houses or farms were almost never sold since most were passed down from one

generation to the next (Gravel and Bernard, 2006). Secondly, there were few houses available for sale outside of the proposed park boundaries for families to move into and there was even less available land for them to build a new house on. The increased demand for housing also resulted in a significant increases in relocation costs as available properties were being offered in the \$25-35 000 price range, well above the sum paid by the government for the properties within the park's boundary. Compounding the housing problem, the provincial government was also closing all inland towns and villages within the region which further increased the demand for housing along the coast. As a result, many families were not only expropriated from their homes, but due to the lack of housing within the Gaspésie region, were forced to relocate elsewhere within the province (Babin, 2013).

The staff members, with the exception of the superintendent, at FNP were all individuals expropriated during the park creation process. As per Parks Canada's vision and objectives of the time, all signs of human habitation had to be eliminated within the park. As such, the superintendent gave the directive to his staff to burn all buildings within each of the five communities. As a result, many staff members were forced to burn their ancestral homes (Gravel and Bernard, 2006). The manner in which the park was created continues to have a lasting, often negative, influence regarding the role and purpose of the Park within the region. This is further explored in the Hot Topics section 8.1.6.3.

7.1.4.2 Resource Industry

The resource sector within the Gaspésie region, like many other parts of the province, is one of the main economic drivers. Participants identified mining and forestry as the main and better employers within the region. The copper mine of Mine Gaspé in Murdochville created in 1960 was the largest employer in the region for almost three decades. The mine was located in the McGerigolds mountain chain not far from the GNP eastern boundary. Various prospecting

projects throughout the 1970s and 1980s located copper deposits within the McGerigold mountain chain and led to the creation of other small mines such as Les Mines Madelaine, further increasing regional employment levels. However, a decline in copper filaments would lead to the closure of all mines in the early part of the 2000s (Belanger, 1999). Yet, there exists a regional sentiment that copper filaments exist in the McGerigolds mountain chain located within the National Park boundary, the only area not yet prospected. This has led to some very strong feeling of opposition regarding the existence of the GNP and this is further discussed in section 7.1.6.1.

The forestry industry has long been a staple of the Gaspésie resource sector providing both pulp and hardwood timbers. Years of poor timber allocations and poor harvesting methods led to unsustainable harvesting practices and a shortage of viable timber for the mills. Furthermore, the forestry crisis that occurred in the province during the mid-1990s forced the closure of multiple mills and created high levels of unemployment within the region. Many participants noted poor support for the National Park from some adjacent communities. Reasons given revolve around the fact that the park retains the last large tracts of old growth forests in the region and that these could be used to supply the mills for a period of time, thus creating long needed employment opportunities.

7.1.5 Governance Arrangements

This section presents a list of key regional actors for the Gaspésie case study. A short overview of their decision-making powers, responsibilities in regards to PA creation, planning or management and their relevance to specific PAs is provided in Table 15. As described in Chapter 3, key regional actors for this study were identified through snowball sampling practices. The following list may not be a comprehensive list of all actors (agencies, groups or individuals) within this region but, rather, represents important actors as identified by study participants. Due

to the relatively small size of the region, there is often some overlap between these groups. For example, in some instances, park staff may sit on a watershed or tourism organization's board as either a local citizen or park staff.

Table 15. Regional Actors and Responsibilities

Key Regional Actors for PAs	Overview of their responsibilities
Forillon National Park Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year round permanent Staff at the park¹³⁵ • Operate multiple visitor service activities • Conduct park wide ecological integrity programs such as prescribed burns • Organize and host consultation table with regional actors • Collaborate with ENGOs for the protection of species such as marten
SEPAQ National Parks Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year Round Permanent staff • Hold quarterly harmonization tables with regional actors • Collaborate with Parks Canada in developing marketing strategies • Conduct park wide ecological integrity programs • Communicate and collaborate with MDDEFP and MNR • Collaborate with Wildlife Reserves and MNR for developing species management plans (GNP) • Participate in multiple regional committees (e.g. Tourism Boards) • Communicate and collaborate with multiple regional ENGOs for specific projects
CRE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for regional development • Mandated by the province to conduct the PA planning process with regional actors • Act as middle-man between the region and provincial government • Represent the RMC's
Micmac of Gespeg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in the FNP consultation committee • Have attempted to develop a co-management agreement with FNP • Hold their own meetings with the Federal and Provincial government regarding land claim settlements
Forestry advocates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operate independently • Work with forestry companies, parks, municipalities and private individuals to develop better forestry practices • Are part of the FSC certification program
SEPAQ Wildlife Reserves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have year round permanent staff within the reserves • Communicate and collaborate with Hydro-Québec and forestry industries operating within the reserves • Provide visitor services and products for fishing and hunting • Collaborate with outside actors or agencies on a case-by-case basis • Rehabilitate the natural environment to protect native species • Communicate with central office regarding land use planning activities occurring within the region • Reliant on central office to make decisions on their behalf

¹³⁵ At the time of the interviews, it was impossible to know the exact number of full or part-time staff at Parks Canada due to the restructuring process.

Table 15 continued. Regional Actors and Responsibilities	
Key Regional Actors for PAs	Overview of their responsibilities
ZEC's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in multiple regional communities regarding various land use planning exercises • Provide visitor services and products such as hunting and fishing • Rehabilitate the natural environment to protect native species • Communicate with various forestry companies operating within their management zone • Communicate with the MNR regarding land use decisions affecting them
MEDDFP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central Québec office takes the lead and makes all decisions regarding the PA planning project • Regional office has no decision-making powers regarding the PA planning and implementation in the region • Do not participate in regional meetings regarding PAs, and often does not even know these meetings are taking place.
MNR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional office heavily involved in decision-making regarding PA creation • Posses power to affect decision-making regarding size and location of proposed PAs • Ensure that PA creation will not hamper the forestry industry • Heavy communication and collaboration with the forestry industry • Collaborate closely with GNP regarding predator management for the Caribou population
RMC's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some participate in the PA creation process • Many are reluctant to participate or communicate with FNP due to broken promises • Some are actively involved in the creation of PAs in order to increase tourism within their RMC (e.g. RMC Rocher Perce)
Private Land Owners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were informed of the creation of some PAs but no longer have contact with the MDDEFP staff that created them. • Do not participate in the PA planning process • Some feel that many PAs are not actually managed as there is no government staff presence
ENGOS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in the PA planning process with the CRE • Hold less decision-making power than the forestry industry in the meetings with the CRE • Actively involved in promoting wise natural resource use within the region • Produce communication and outreach documents and information sessions to promote conservation and wise resource use within the region • View the SEPAQ Parks as beneficial to their cause and SEPAQ Park Staff as allies • Very little to no communication with FNP

7.1.6 Important Regional Topics/Interests

As with the previous chapter, this section presents recurring topics or subjects from the interviews that have influenced the relationship between various regional actors and affect how

different PAs are perceived within the region. This section discusses the following topics identified during the interviews: land use restrictions and GNP; woodland caribou and GNP; and, the expropriation process for creating FNP.

7.1.6.1 Land Use Restrictions and Gaspésie National Park

GNP is very much an important regional topic as there is strong opposition to and poor acceptance of the park by some residents located along the north side of the park, specifically within and around the town of Saint-Anne-des-Monts. Many regional participants noted that these negative feelings towards the park can be attributed to two factors: 1) landscape geology of the region; and 2) the park is viewed as a hindrance to economic development.

The town of Saint-Anne-des-Monts is located on the north shore of the Gaspé Peninsula and acts as a gateway community to the park. The park border is located approximately 20 km inland from the town. The land area in between the town and the park is relatively inaccessible for hunting and fishing due to steep hills, cliffs and rivers. Furthermore, unlike the south side of the park, the land area adjacent to the park on the north side is not suitable for farming and agriculture due to the rocky terrain. Therefore, the park's close location to the town provides little space for people to recreate and practice a subsistence lifestyle as there are few areas where they can go hunting or fishing (see Lemieux, 1986).

Although much of the region has been prospected, the land area within park boundaries has not; therefore, the mining potential within that area is unknown. Considering the Murdochville mine was part of the same mountain chain comprising the park, many believe that mining potential exists within the park. For many in the region, the existence of the park prevents mining exploration, and thus hampers economic development. One park staff member fails to understand why people continue demanding mining exploration, especially considering mining is a boom and bust industry, something the region has already experienced with the Murdochville

mine. Furthermore, this participant points out that the park is the longest-lived industry in the entire region with a significant economic impact, especially on the town of Saint-Anne-des-Monts.

For example, a study commissioned by the SEPAQ in 2006 examined the economic impact of the park on the surrounding region and observed that between June and October 2006, visitors to the park spent \$39 million during their trip to the park and of this amount, \$31 million remained within communities adjacent to the park, namely Saint-Anne-des-Monts. Furthermore, 80 people from the region are directly employed by the park and 854 people had employment related to the existence of the park (Lemieux, 2006).

7.1.6.2 Woodland Caribou and Gaspésie National Park

The GNP protects the last remaining population of woodland caribou south of the St. Lawrence River. However, this population has experienced rapid decline in numbers since the 1970s due to land use processes occurring outside park boundaries, namely intensive forestry practices. Forestry practices have the largest impact on the caribou population as it removes old growth forest and arboreal lichens, changes forest composition and creates access routes for predators such as the wolf and black bear (MDDEFP, 2013). In 2009, the Gaspésie caribou was declared threatened by the Province of Québec. During the last park census in 2011, the park's population of caribou was estimated at between 85 and 120 individuals, a significant decrease from the 2009 census of 175 individuals. Multiple scientific studies have reported that for the caribou population to survive, logging practices in the areas around the park must change or be stopped, and additional land area needs to be added to the park in order to better protect the caribou's breeding grounds (MRN, 2013; MDDEFP, 2013).

Although initiatives to expand the park have been proposed by provincial ENGOs, these have been poorly accepted by the region. For example, NQ (see section 5.4.4) undertook a

feasibility study in 2009 to determine the distribution of the caribou within and outside of the park. In 2010, NQ proposed a PA project that would expand the park, outlining three proposed areas of expansion located on the east, west and south side of the park that would increase protection for the caribou. This project was presented to the MDDEFP and residents and regional actors near GNP (Nature Québec, 2010a). Although the proposal was appealing to park and certain regional actors, it was poorly received by a number of municipal organizations and members of the public within the town of Saint-Anne-des-Monts, especially members of the hunting community. One SEPAQ park staff member noted that hunting is very important to the region and that any land use change that affects an individual's ability to harvest food for his/her families is typically not well received:

But for NQ in their offices here in Québec, it is easy to say this, but for the hunters or fishers who love and constantly think of these activities; when they hear that the park will expand and that they may lose the ability to hunt and fish, they simply don't want this to happen. They don't give a shit about the caribou because due to the caribou, they can't go hunting anymore, and you know, they probably have never seen a caribou because they have never bothered to go into the park to see one. (SEPAQ Staff 2)¹³⁶

This statement also demonstrates that the park faces issues related to visitation from local citizens and lack of valuation of the park from these local citizens.

Furthermore, park staff recognized that a major part of the problem is due to disconnects in decision-making and communication between NQ and local actors. One SEPAQ staff member stated, in regards to the local opposition of this project:

They [NQ] proposed to expand the park in three land areas, and once that was done, they would also create a buffer zone around the park. They held a small press conference to announce this without too much fanfare, but after that, there might have been a couple of people with a bit of information who may have shared this info with their friends at the Tim Hortons, and after this happened a few times, they were talking about all kinds of things but everyone was against this proposed project. There was even a petition with lots of

¹³⁶ Mais pour Nature Québec dans leurs bureaux ici à Québec c'est facile à dire mais pour le chasseur qui trip sur la chasse et qui ne pense qu'à ça ; de savoir que le parc va agrandir, et qu'il va perd du territoire, qui n'aura plus le droit d'aller à la chasse, lui ne veut rien savoir de ça. Il s'en fout du caribou il n'aime pas le caribou car il se dit à cause du caribou je ne peux plus aller à la chasse et du caribou et n'en a peut-être jamais vu car il n'a pas pris le temps d'aller dans le parc voir le caribou. (SEPAQ park Staff 2)

names showing opposition to making the park larger because they thought that creating a buffer zone was going to be a way for the government to secretly expand the Chic-Choc Wildlife Reserve and to take away public lands from people to prevent hunting and fishing. (SEPAQ Staff 1)¹³⁷

Another SEPAQ Staff member added:

The people who see these restrictions adding up, the propositions to expand the park, NQ in their office said look, we will double the size of the park and the people in Québec and Montréal said yes, good idea. But for the guy who loses his cottage, his access to the land for hunting, at a certain point, these people who are also often on welfare, who have seasonal work, a moose in the freezer represents a whole lot of money saved for them, so it is obvious that they have a different perspective. (SEPAQ Staff 2)¹³⁸

Interestingly, there are other proposals to expand the GNP that have been well received by regional actors. However, these projects have been developed and proposed by municipalities, such as that of Mont-Saint-Pierre, for the purpose of both ecological preservation and tourism development, would not create hunting or fishing restrictions, and were developed through transparent participatory decision-making processes. The individual responsible for the project within Mont-Saint-Pierre acknowledged that the project proposal has thus far been successful because it has been done inclusively, representing the opinions and vision of members of the municipality. This demonstrates that projects that follow a bottom-up approach and that have little impact on certain way-of-life activities, such as hunting, can be much better accepted than projects that follow a top-down approach.

7.1.6.3 Expropriation and Forillon National Park

The manner in which FNP was established and the promises made as a means to justify the park's creation continue to negatively affect park-actor relationships and are a contentious

¹³⁷ Ils [Nature Québec] proposaient d'agrandir le parc sur trois portions et après ça, il parlait de faire une zone tampon, en périphérie. Une petite conférence de presse sans tambour ni trompette et après ça il y avait peut-être deux personnes avec un peu d'informations et ils ont fait connaître ça à leurs chums au Tim Horton et après une couple de déjeuners, ça parlait de tout autre chose mais tout le monde était contre. Contre le projet décrit tout autrement, il y a même eu une pétition avec plein de noms qui disait nous nous opposons au projet d'agrandissement du parc parce que nous croyons, non nous nous opposons au projet de faire une zone tampon parce que nous croyons que c'est une façon détournée d'agrandir la réserve faunique chics chocs et de prendre nos secteurs de chasse en terrain public pour la réserve faunique. (SEPAQ Staff 1)

¹³⁸ Les gens qui voient ces restrictions qui s'accumulent, les propositions d'agrandissement du parc, nature Québec dans son bureau ici dit oui regarde on va doubler le parc et les gens à Montréal sur le plateau à Montréal disent ah oui la bonne idée. Mais le gars qui perd son chalet, son accès un territoire de chasse, et à un certain point, ce sont des gens qui sont souvent sur le chômage, ce sont des emplois saisonniers, un orignal dans le congélateur ça vaut beaucoup d'argent alors c'est sûr qu'ils ont une vision différente. (SEPAQ Staff 2)

topic of discussion. Two main themes affecting park-actor relationships were identified during the research: 1) the park's promise to be a regional economic driver when it was created has never been met and, 2) the issue of expropriation and process of expropriation continues to be contentious.

During the park's creation, the province and Parks Canada promised that FNP would employ at least 1000 individuals from the region and would record over 1 million visitor days per year, thus serving as the main economic driver within the region (Gravel and Bernard, 2006). Although the first decade of the parks establishment saw high levels of employment, this only lasted until the completion of infrastructure projects. Currently, the park has approximately 100 employees and in the best year to date, the park only recorded 175,000 visitor days, and has observed a steady decrease in visitor numbers since the mid-2000's (personal communication, Park Director, August, 2013). The lack of economic impact within the region has been frustrating for municipalities and has lead to political confrontations between them and the park regarding decision-making processes and in the advancement of certain tourism projects. Furthermore, local and regional government participants noted that until the early to mid 2000s, the park largely excluded regional actors from park planning and decision-making, leading to regional actors feeling largely ignored by the park, creating sentiments of mistrust regarding the true motives of park staff. This perception began to change when a new park director, originating from the region, was put in place in 2004 and took a proactive approach to acknowledging the history of the park's creation by recognizing and willingly working with expropriates.

Them, [Parks Canada], they realized that if they do not do something about this, and related to the general regional atmosphere of mistrust towards them, they realized that they needed to do something in order to properly recognize the expropriates and to get rid of this negative atmosphere. (Forillon Expropriate)¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Ils [Parc Canada] se sont dits que s'ils ne font pas quelque chose de ce côté-là, et aussi le fameux climat de méfiance et le climat de colère qui existait et qui était tout le temps là, ils ont réalisés qu'il fallait faire quelque chose pour reconnaître les expropriées et essaie de calmer cette problématique. (Forillon Expropriate)

In 2009, a small group of the expropriates¹⁴⁰ came together and approached the park requesting that there be a commemorative ceremony to acknowledge the history of the park's creation and the expropriation process, which park authorities willfully granted. To this point, there continued to be a great deal of animosity from the expropriates towards the park and its staff.

*The park, after the meeting in 2006, they saw that there were still a lot of issues related to the expropriation and the procedure used to do that. They realized that they needed to do something to recognize the expropriates and the expropriation committee was established in 2007. It was really through the public consultations that it was made evident that the expropriates from Forillon were still here, that they were let down, and were furious towards the park. (Forillon Expropriate).*¹⁴¹

The commemorative ceremony was the first time that many participants felt the park was actively trying to acknowledge the history of its creation and the pain and suffering that its creation caused for hundreds of families. Indeed, it was the first time that many of the 400 expropriated in attendance had entered the park since its creation. From this gathering, a formal body representing all expropriates was organized with the main purpose of advocating that the families from each of the five villages be commemorated and that the expropriated families and their descendents be granted park passes. Recognizing a need to improve relationships, Parks Canada agreed to the requests, creating commemorative plaques for all five villages and granting park passes for the first three generations of expropriates. For many expropriates, this gesture by Parks Canada is significant as it demonstrates that the park finally recognizes the harm done to them and their families during the expropriation process.

¹⁴⁰ Persons or descendents of person's expropriated from the area that is now FNP refer to themselves as an 'expropriate'.

¹⁴¹ Le parc, disait et il sentait suite à la rencontre en 2006 où ils ont vu qu'il y avait encore beaucoup de réticence de la part des expropriées et les procédures dans le parc. Ils ont réalisé qu'il fallait faire quelque chose et sortir du silence pour reconnaître les expropriées et d'ailleurs le comité d'expropriation a été établi en 2007. C'est vraiment la consultation publique qui a démontré que les expropriées de Forillon étaient encore là, qu'ils étaient déçus, et qu'ils étaient en colère envers le parc. (Forillon Expropriate)

One participant noted that the main reason why expropriates were finally recognized by the park and why relationships between expropriates and the park now functions well is attributed to the park director. Without this director, it is doubtful that certain demands or acknowledgements would have been made.

Well, I think that the park director that they selected, he is really the best person for the job. However, I do worry that when the current people in charge of the park will no longer be there, what will we do? (Forillon Expropriate)¹⁴²

The history of the creation of FNP has and continues to exert a strong influence on the relationships and perceptions between the park and regional actors. Through the adoption of new mechanism related to park planning and management that increase the inclusion of regional actors in decision-making and the transparency of the decision-making process, such as the harmonization committee, can have positive effects on changing park-actor relationships. Furthermore, having park staff members that originate from the region can further contributes to positive relationship building since these staff members have a better understanding, either real or perceived, of the region.

7.2 PA and Regional Actor Relationships

This section presents the perceptions of relationships between different PA systems and between PA systems and regional actor groups as listed in Table 15 in section 7.1.5 from the viewpoint of participants within each actor group

7.2.1 Parks Canada

The relationship between FNP and other region actors is complex, is described in different terms depending on the actor group, and is strongly influenced by the history of the

¹⁴² D'après moi le directeur du parc qu'ils ont choisi maintenant, c'est vraiment la bonne personne. Par contre, la question que je me pose c'est qu'est-ce qui nous dit que quand les gens qui sont présentement au parc, quant ils ne vont plus être là, qu'est-ce qu'on va faire. (Forillon Expropriate)

park's creation (see section 7.1.4 and 7.1.6). All FNP staff participants indicated that the history of FNP's establishment within the region has had a significant impact regarding the park's relationship with regional actors, specifically expropriates and the Municipality of Gaspé. From the onset of the park's creation to the mid-2000s, communication between the park and regional actors was almost none existent. The park operated, as stated by the director, 'in a bell jar' with no regard or perceived need to communicate with regional actors. Although common practice at the time, lack of regional actor inclusion in decision-making or participatory decision making processes created a disconnect between the park and the region. Furthermore, the fact that the park was a federal entity created a barrier to developing working relationships with regional actors. This often caused much frustration and deceit on behalf of regional actors and the effects of these past practices continue to be felt.

All FNP staff interviewed identified that relationships and general perceptions of the park within the region shifted for the better with the arrival of the new park director in 2004 and the process adopted for drafting a new park management plan which began in 2005 (see section 7.1.6.3). The park director recognized that one of the main tasks he was given when he entered in this role was to reconcile differences between the park and regional actors, and to develop working relationships with them. The drafting of the park management plan was used as a tool to bring together regional perspectives regarding the park and to begin the process of connecting regional actors with the park. Although this was the third time that an official management plan was drafted for the park, the previous two plans never incorporated the views or opinions of regional actors, but rather, were done in-house by park staff. This is one of the reasons given by participants for the poor relationship between the park and regional actors up until 2005.

In order to incorporate the views and opinions of regional actors in the drafting process for the management plan, the park director created an advisory committee in order to improve

the mutual understanding of important issues for the park and region area and to also create a permanent tool for exchange between actors. There are between 15-20 regional actors, including representatives from the Municipality of Gaspé, the Micmac of Gespeg, expropriates of the park, environmental ENGOs and regional tourism providers that sit at this table. The park director recognized that creating this committee demonstrated to regional actors that the park is now open to collaborating with them and that it will do its best to incorporate their recommendations into the management plan. The park director felt it was very important to not only obtain recommendations, but also to communicate how those recommendations were taken into consideration and, when the park could not accommodate specific recommendations, it was very important to explain to the committee why those could not be accommodated. Such processes create greater accountability and transparency on behalf of park staff and lead to increased trust from regional actors towards the park, demonstrating the importance of open decision-making processes. Although the advisory committee resulted in increased knowledge sharing between actors, certain non-park actors such as municipal representatives noted that the committee only served as a communication tool and not for developing long-term relationships or collaborative programs.

A local resident identified that one of the reasons why the park director was successful in communicating with and developing working relationships with regional actors is directly attributed to the fact that he is originally from the Gaspésie region, therefore is not perceived as an outsider, and has a better understanding of the history and regional perspectives regarding the park.

Promises regarding high levels of employment and visitor-derived revenue made to justify and sell the park's creation and to offset the expropriation process have never been met. Although the region has evolved since the creation of the park, this issue continues to hamper

relationships between the park and the Municipality of Gaspé. Further contributing to the problem is the perceived purpose of the park from the viewpoint of the municipality which sees the park not as a tool for protection and preservation but rather, as a tourism attraction and economic generator.

Since the creation of the park, there have been many political promises made associated with the park and the creation of jobs, economic wealth for the region and an increased tourism destination status for the region, which have all promoted the park as something more than what it currently is able to achieve. (FNP Staff 1)¹⁴³

These past promises have placed FNP staff in a precarious position since increasing visitation to meet numbers presented during the park's creation is viewed as impossible and would negatively impact the park's ecology. This demonstrates the relevance and importance of past decisions and declarations in building or maintaining relationships between parks and regional actors.

Two park staff noted that for the last three years, they have participated in the regional land use integration table organized by the CRE and this has been positive for the park. Park staff noted that their participation is very important as it allows them to present and explain their agency's position regarding regional land use planning activities and to share their concerns or opinions regarding land use activities occurring outside the park that may have negative effects within the park. Attending this table also allows park staff to understand the position and constraints that other regional actors face. This mutual exchange of information allows all actors to better understand each other which leads to effective negotiations and mutually agreed upon land use development projects, thus reducing or mitigating negative impacts on the park.

For external relations relevant to the park, for three years now, the park participates in the integrated natural resource management table which is where we meet all regional actors

¹⁴³ D'autant que lors de la création du parc, il y a beaucoup d'engagements politiques qui ont été pris à l'égard du Parc et de la création d'emplois, et la création de richesse économique dans le milieu régional, et, en fait, un statut touristique premier plus important peut-être que celui qu'on a présentement. (FNP Staff 1)

*and communicate to them some of the challenges or preoccupations that we have for things that are not necessarily in the park but that can have an impact on the park. (FNP Staff 2)*¹⁴⁴

One FNP staff person noted that although information can be shared, all participants must be open to collaborating with others and willing to make compromises, something that does not always occur, especially if it concerns the park. However, this respondent noted that because he used to work in the forestry industry, he understands how the industry functions and therefore, is able to present issues related to the park in a manner than can be understood and accepted by that industry.

*It's clear that being able to communicate and collaborate and create projects with others demands that we must be very clear and that everyone participating must be willing to collaborate, and with the integrated natural resource management table, which I also participated in when I worked for the consortium, I know how the forestry industry works in this region, so when I arrived at the table I know how Parks Canada must present it's ideas and concerns in order to be heard. For example, when we talk about connectivity, it is well understood by the members of this table, because we participate on this table and are able to effectively communicate with them. (FNP Staff 2)*¹⁴⁵

Park staff at FNP characterized their relationship with staff in the SEPAQ parks within the region as open and positive, even if it occurs infrequently. All FNP staff described their reasons for communication as being issue specific. For example, all park staff mentioned how they communicated with the SEPAQ parks in Gaspésie to discuss how they have dealt with portable propane bottles used by campers and to see if their approach could be adopted for FNP.

Although acknowledged as important, two park staff noted that they have never been able to get together with their peers within the SEPAQ parks to share and discuss management challenges they face. Such meetings would be beneficial as they could increase the effectiveness

¹⁴⁴ Sinon, pour les enjeux externes, depuis trois ans au siège sur la table de gestion intégrée des ressources naturelles et c'est là qu'on va rencontrer tous les intervenants pour faire part de nos esprits et occupation qui ne sont pas nécessairement dans le parc mais qui en un impact pour ce qui peut avoir ou ce qui peut affecter le parc. (FNP Staff 2)

¹⁴⁵ C'est clair que pouvoir communiquer et collaborer et créer des projets avec d'autre demande vraiment que l'esprit soit clair, qu'on a un vouloir de collaboration de la part de tout le monde, mais aussi avec la table de gestion intégrée des ressources sur qu'elle, étant donné que moi j'étais au consortium en foresterie avant, je sais comment le milieu forestier régional fonctionne, alors quand moi j'arrive à la table de gestion intégrée, je sais comment Parc Canada doit amener les problématiques pour qu'elle soit entendue ou perçue ou reçu, par exemple je pense que quand on parle de connectivité, c'est bien entendue et compris par la communauté régionale, du au fait que l'on siège sur cette table est qu'on puisse communiquer cela avec eux. (FNP Staff 2)

of devised solutions and management adaptations through information sharing. A FNP staff member noted that such meetings may not have occurred because each national park (provincial or national) has different management priorities. Another FNP member argued that such meetings have not occurred due to the differences in terms of administration and bureaucratic size and management priorities between Parks Canada and SEPAQ.

Us, Parks Canada, it's a very big machine, much bigger than the provincial equivalent, when I think in terms of organization; it is not the same things. Parks Québec, they are much smaller so it is easier to manipulate that machine, while for Parks Canada, we work across Canada, so it is much bigger. With the SEPAQ, they work like a state corporation, and their primary goal is to make money, and also, they have much less staff than Parks Canada and they have a completely different mandate. They can have programs like ecological monitoring, but it won't be at the same level of quality as Parks Canada, due to less staff. (FNP Staff 3)¹⁴⁶

In terms of integrating management plans and approaches between parks, the same participant noted that this would be useful and important as it would enhance the ecological integrity of the parks; yet, he was of the opinion that this should occur at the provincial level and not the regional level. However, he doubts that this actually occurs because the provincial Parks Canada office functioned separately from the provincial MDDEFP and SEPAQ office and no longer formally exists.

The link is maybe a bit easier to do within a same government as opposed to between two different governments. I am not even sure if there is someone within our agency that is able to make the link between what is going on at the federal vs. provincial level in order to link similar issues with each other. (FNP Staff 3)¹⁴⁷

Such sentiments are also supported in chapter 5 section 5.2.

¹⁴⁶ Nous a Parcs Canada, c'est une grosse machine, beaucoup plus grosse que l'équivalent de Parc Québec, quand je pense en termes d'organisation, c'est pas la même chose. Parc Québec, ils sont beaucoup moins nombreux alors c'est une machine plus facile à manipuler, tandis qu'à Parc Canada c'est à l'échelle du Canada, et alors c'est beaucoup plus gros. Avec la SEPAQ, sa fonctionne comme une Société d'État et leur but principal c'est de faire de l'argent, apporté de l'argent, par contre, ils ont beaucoup moins d'employé que Parc Canada et ils ont un mandat complètement différent. Ils peuvent avoir des programmes comme le suivi d'intégrité écologique mais ça ne va pas se faire au même niveau que qu'est-ce que Parc Canada est capable de faire, du au manque de personnel. (FNP Staff 3)

¹⁴⁷ Le lien peut-être facile de faire à l'intérieur du même gouvernement qu'entre deux gouvernements. Je ne suis même pas certain s'il y a quelqu'un à l'intérieur de notre agence nous de Parc Canada qui est capable de faire le lien entre le fédéral et provincial pour communiquer des enjeux pareille. (FNP Staff 3)

The director for FNP did mention that he and the other SEPAQ park directors get together informally once or twice a year to provide park updates and to discuss management challenges and strategies that they have developed in response to management challenges. Although perceived as useful, these meetings no longer take place due to political reasons.

There are no formal agreements, everything happens at the field level. I do have some occasional meetings with my SEPAQ colleagues, for example, to try and develop this type of collaboration, but the context, but the context once again, especially at the provincial level, provincial federal relations, means that sometimes it is a bit easier to simply collaborate at the field level instead of creating formal agreements between two agencies. (FNP Staff 1)¹⁴⁸

Formal agreements between FNP and the SEPAQ parks, in conjunction with head offices in Québec city in the region do exist for promotional purposes.

We do have some collaboration with GNP, and a few with IBRPNP. But these are really collaborations, I would say, at a professional level, mostly about tourism. (FNP Staff 1)¹⁴⁹

These collaborations are described as amicable and beneficial since neither of the parks is competing with each other in terms of product and services offered.

Finally, certain factors such as physical distance and past work history appear to affect why national park staff communicate with different SEPAQ staff. For instance, the FNP director will communicate more often with the IBRPNP because it is physically closer than GNP. Meanwhile, staff from different parks are more likely to communicate informally with each other due to previous work connections or because they face similar work challenges.

7.2.2 SEPAQ

The relationship between the SEPAQ parks and FNP was described as professional and amicable. Communication between the two SEPAQ parks and FNP tends to occur infrequently

¹⁴⁸ Il n'y a rien de formels qui se passent, tout se fait vraiment au niveau du terrain. J'ai des rencontres occasionnelles avec mes collègues de la SEPAQ pour justement essayer de faire mousser ce genre de collaboration-là, mais le contexte, le contexte encore une fois surtout politique du Québec, relations fédérales provinciales fait des fois que cet des fois un peu plus simples avoir simplement des collaborations au niveau du terrain que d'avoir des collaborations formelles entre les deux agences. (FNP Staff 1)

¹⁴⁹ On a des collaborations avec le Parc de la Gaspésie, et quelque collaboration avec le Parc du Rocher Percé et de l'île Bonaventure. Donc, mais ce sont vraiment des collaborations je dirais de nature promotionnelle, surtout pour le tourisme. (FNP Staff 1)

and on a per issue basis. The SEPAQ directors discussed how they and the FNP director would get together informally once a year to discuss various management problems and strategies but this did not last as no one took the initiative to organize future meetings. One SEPAQ staff member questioned the usefulness of these meetings since none of the parks are similar to each other and, therefore, do not share the same management problems.

The parks are very different; Miguasha is a fossil based park, so when I meet with my colleague from that park to see what we have in common, there isn't really much. But it wasn't because we lacked interest in doing this, it's just we have nothing in common. (SEPAQ Staff 1)¹⁵⁰

Another SEPAQ staff explains one of the main reasons why formal communications and collaborations with FNP rarely occur:

The federal is a very big machine, but us [SEPAQ] we are a small organization and this is a big advantage that we have because we can change and adapt quickly when something does not work. As director, I also have lots of flexibility because there is less bureaucracy within the SEPAQ, if I have a problem or change direction; I simply have to send a communiqué to the central office in Québec. But for most things, I do not need to ask for permission, and the information I send out to actors here in the region do not need to be approved by the government, while for Parks Canada, it does, so it takes more time. It is in part due to the system and organization which makes us so flexible; we are much more open than large organizations like Parks Canada. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)¹⁵¹

The large bureaucracy of Parks Canada, as mentioned by both SEPAQ participants and FNP employees (see section 7.2.1) appears to create problems for FNP in terms of building and maintaining relationships with provincial PA organizations.

Communication and collaboration between the SEPAQ parks in the Gaspésie region occurs frequently through both formal annual meetings and informally through the sharing of resources.

¹⁵⁰ Les parcs sont très différents, Miguasha est un site fossilifère, me rencontrer avec mon collègue de Miguasha pour se demander ce qu'on a en commun il n'y a pas des tonnes d'affaires. Mais ce n'était pas dépourvu d'intérêt et cela a été limité à ça. (SEPAQ Staff 1)

¹⁵¹ Le fédéral c'est une très grosse machine, nous [SEPAQ] on est une petite organisation et ça c'est un grand avantage que nous on a parce qu'on peut se revirer et se modifier beaucoup plus rapidement quand il y a quelque chose qui marche pas. Aussi comme directeur j'ai beaucoup plus de flexibilité parce qu'il y a beaucoup moins de bureaucratie à l'intérieur de la SEPAQ, si j'ai des problématiques ou je change de direction, j'ai simplement envoyé un communiqué au bureau à Québec. Par contre, pour la plupart des choses, moi je n'ai pas besoin de demander la permission pour les types de communiquer, aussi les communiqués que j'envoie dans la région ici ne doivent pas être approuvés par le gouvernement, tandis que Parcs Canada, sont obligés de le faire alors ça fait que tout prend beaucoup plus de temps. C'est en fait du au système d'organisation ou types d'organisation qui fait qu'on est beaucoup plus flexible, on est beaucoup plus ouvert que les structures plus lourdes comme Parc Canada. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)

We do communicate with the other directors within Parks Québec and we all get together once a year. Also, when I need something, I can easily call the GNP. For example, I can depend on them for information or staffing help. So, in this sense, we collaborate a lot with each other as soon as we face a problem and we also work with senior staff below the director within the other parks in Gaspésie. So if we need to discuss things, it is certain that we can and will do it. (SEPAQ Staff 3)¹⁵²

Communication between GNP and the two wildlife reserves does occur, typically informally through telephone and email conversations. GNP staff will communicate more often with the director of the Chic-Choc Wildlife Reserve for very specific reasons. Little communication exists with the director of the Matane Wildlife Reserve due to distance between their respective offices and lessened management issues, such as the woodland caribou.

With the wildlife reserves that border the park, I have regular contacts with the director from the Chi-Chic Reserve. There are many reasons for this, both our land areas touch each other and we share roads and other things which means we have to talk to each other, while with the Matane Reserve, this is not the case. We have common problems or projects, so we call each other or we meet for specific projects. The Matane reserve is at the far end of the park and for us, that is really the back country. I know the director, I know who he is, and we talk occasionally but not often. (SEPAQ Staff 3)¹⁵³

Another park staff participant added:

But the Matane Reserve only touches the park here, while the Chi-Choc reserve touches the park all along this border, very near the McGerrigle Mountains, and since most park activities occur here, this is why we talk. (SEPAQ Staff 2)¹⁵⁴

The dual management mandate within the SEPAQ organization (parks and wildlife reserves) caused conflicting management strategies between the GNP and the two wildlife reserves regarding protecting caribou habitat from forestry development in adjacent park areas

¹⁵² Les directeurs à l'intérieur du réseau Parc Québec, ont communiqué avec eux, ont se rencontre ensemble une fois par année. Aussi quand moi j'ai besoin de quelque chose, je peux facilement appeler le Parc de la Gaspésie. Par exemple je peux dépendre sur eux pour de l'information et même de l'aide avec du personnel. Alors de cette manière on collabore beaucoup ensemble dès qu'on a un problème et on collabore aussi avec les responsables aussi sous les directeurs à l'intérieur des autres parcs ici en Gaspésie. Donc si on a besoin d'échanger des affaires, c'est certain qu'on va le faire et qu'on peut le faire. (SEPAQ Park Staff 3)

¹⁵³ Avec les réserves fauniques qui avoisinent, j'ai des contacts assez réguliers avec le directeur de la réserve faunique des chics chocs. Parce qu'il y a plusieurs choses, les deux territoires sont continus, il y a des voies de circulation, des équipements et différents trucs qui font qu'on est porté à se parler plus que du côté de la réserve faunique de Matane. On a un dossier en commun. On s'appelle, on communique ensemble ou on se rencontre, sur des dossiers bien spécifiques... Elle est à [La Réserve de Matane] l'extrémité ouest du parc, pour nous c'est vraiment l'arrière-pays et ça va s'accoter à la réserve faunique de Matane du côté ouest, je le connais je sais c'est qui, on a des contacts à l'occasion, mais pas fréquemment. (SEPAQ Park Staff 1)

¹⁵⁴ Mais plus la réserve faunique des chics chocs, la réserve faunique de Matane borne le parc sur cette zone-là ici, alors que la réserve chics chocs est présente sur presque tout le tour ici près des monts McGerrigle et comme le cœur des activités du parc se passe principalement ici et que l'accès notamment en haut du secteur du Mont Jacques Cartier est là. (SEPAQ Parks Staff 2)

within the wildlife reserves. Although attempts to reconcile these were made at the operational level, these proved futile, requiring decision-making and negotiations from head office in Québec City in conjunction with the MNR as they manage forest industries.

Us, what we would have liked was problematic for the wildlife reserves. We had to set up meetings and discuss what was the most beneficial for the SEPAQ. This happened above me, at another level, I was simply given the directive. I informed my bosses of this situation and told them that it was important that they reach a common position so that we would all be on the same page before the decision was announced; especially regarding protecting the caribou. (SEPAQ Park staff 2)¹⁵⁵

Although both the GNP and Chic-Choc Wildlife Reserve directors are actively communicating with each other regarding the woodland caribou population in their region, they have very little impact on forestry management and harvest practices as this falls under the responsibility of the MNR. Therefore, the MNR at the regional level and provincial level must be involved since they are responsible for managing timber allocations in the wildlife reserves. This highlights potential issues related to the management structure of the Wildlife Reserves whereby the Director has little to no power regarding forestry harvest management within the reserve he is tasked to manage.

SEPAQ park participants had differing opinion regarding the usefulness of the harmonization table for communicating information and influencing regional actor attitudes regarding the parks. Participants from GNP noted that the committee was important for sharing information regarding the park and some of the management challenges it faces. However, these meetings were not viewed as being very influential regarding changing land use activities occurring outside park boundaries which have a direct negative effect on the park. Rather, regional land use planning committees organized by the CRE and the MNR for resource

¹⁵⁵ Nous, ce qu'on souhaitait pouvait être conflictuel avec ce que les gestionnaires des réserves fauniques souhaitaient. Il a fallu qu'on s'assoit ensemble et qu'on parle de ce qui était plus bénéfique notamment pour la société, pour la SEPAQ. Ça s'est passé pas nécessairement à mon niveau-là moi, ça c'est parlé davantage au niveau de la vice-présidence; moi, j'ai pitché le pavé dans la mare. J'ai informé mes patrons de cette situation-là, de l'importance qu'il ait une position commune, en amont pour qu'on accorde nos violons; notamment pour la protection du caribou de la Gaspésie et après ça a redescendu. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)

development were a much better venue for communicating with regional resource users the challenges the park faces and for influencing resource management practices in order to mitigate their influence on the park. The director of GNP feels that this table is more useful because it incorporates all resource industries, therefore, the park's message can be better presented and heard. One participant noted that the discussion occurring at the table is much more precise:

It has now been 15 years that we have had harmonization tables. But I think that it is at these tables that the majority of major decisions are made. For example, at the integrated management tables, the topics discussed are more focused, discussions are more heated and precise. At these tables, it's mostly focused on how to use resources, and there is some work needed to determine which years will see extensive harvesting or use, and if there will be any provisions to mitigate impacts on caribou. It is much more precise and there is more room for groups that do not see eye to eye to present their opinions. It can be a bit rough, while at the harmonization table, it is about information exchange. (SEPAQ Staff 1)¹⁵⁶

Through this discussion table, park staff along with other actors can develop long-term plans for resource development while mitigating impacts on the park and the caribou population.

The idea is to do most preliminary work and decision-making together so that people, the users, be involved early on regarding how forestry cuts will be made, as opposed to the old way, when forestry just said this is what we are doing, it did not work, it made no sense. (SEPAQ Park staff 1)¹⁵⁷

However, a challenge to this form of decision-making is the uncertainty regarding the proper course of action to take:

An important challenge is the ability to work in teams and to have an open attitude. For example if we talk about reducing the level of forestry harvests around the park, within the park, there are things that are protected and we would like to protect them outside the park. We look outside the park, if we ask to protect everything, we might lose some friends,

¹⁵⁶ Ça va faire 15 ans qu'il y a des rencontres de la table d'harmonisation. Mais je ne pense pas que ce soit là que le choc des idées est le plus fort. Par exemple sur les tables GIRT, les sujets abordés sont plus restreints, ça discute plus fort et de façon plus précise. Au niveau des tables GIRT, c'est centré autour de l'utilisation des ressources et il y a du travail à faire pour dire quels secteurs vont être des secteurs d'exploitation intensive, s'il y aurait des modalités spéciales en fonction du caribou, ou en fonction d'une autre espèce. Ça va de façon beaucoup plus précise et il y a plus d'occasions pour que des groupes qui ne soient pas vraiment d'accord puissent s'exprimer. Ça brasse un peu plus. À la table d'harmonisation c'est une place d'échange d'informations. (SEPAQ Staff 1)

¹⁵⁷ L'idée est de travailler en amont pour que les gens, les utilisateurs de la forêt expriment leur souhaits en amont des décisions de comment est-ce que les coupes forestières vont se faire au lieu que ce soit comme avant, quand l'industriel déposait son plan de coupe au gouvernement, il y avait des périodes de consultation pour essayer de voir ce que ça donnait et après ça d'intervenir là-dessus, ça n'avait pas d'allure! (SEPAQ Park Staff 1)

and we need friends. So how much do we ask for and when do we stop. This is not easy, because the right answer, no one has it! (SEPAQ Staff 1)¹⁵⁸

Another park staff participant added that although they are participants, they have no jurisdictional power outside of park boundaries:

It is a consultation table, so we must try and work together, but certain groups have ideas or opinions that are different. We must try to find some kind of common ground so that we are all able to meet our objectives. We are a little bit, we are not really trying to firmly stand on our ground when we suggest or propose certain solutions or avenues to take outside of the park because all our activities are within the park. Yes, some species will move outside of park boundaries, but when they leave the park, we have no control. We can only put forward recommendations and try to explain and justify our recommendations and the impacts that these can have, mostly to educate and influence the other people at the table about our concerns, but that is where it stops. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)¹⁵⁹

Staff at IBRPN had a much different perspective regarding the harmonization table. For the park director, this table is the main and most effective tool for communicating with regional actors, noting that this may be attributable to the fact the park is located within the town of Perce and most actors sitting at the table are from the town, directly related to the town or, are economically dependent on the park's tourism products (e.g. RMC, Regional Tourism Office, Cruise Operators, Mayors).

The differing opinions regarding the importance and outcomes from interactions occurring at the harmonization table appear to be a result of the geographical location, size, resource industries surrounding the parks, and the overall park context. For example, IBRPN is the main tourism attraction within the southern Gaspésie region, is located within the centre of a

¹⁵⁸ Un défi important, c'est d'être capable de trouver l'équilibre, un équilibre raisonnable. Par exemple, si on parle de réduire le niveau de l'exploitation forestière en périphérie du parc, ce n'est pas de dire je veux que ce soit pur; à l'intérieur du parc il y a des choses qui sont protégées et on peut souhaiter que ça va se faire. Quand on déborde autour du parc, oui on peut demander des choses mais si on demande tout comme si c'était dans le parc, à un moment donné on va peut-être perdre des amis et on a besoin des amis. Jusqu'où est-ce que c'est souhaitable qu'on pousse et où on devrait s'arrêter ? Ce n'est pas évident parce que dans bien des cas la bonne réponse, personne ne l'a! (SEPAQ Park Staff 1)

¹⁵⁹ 23. C'est une table de concertation donc il faut essayer de travailler en concertation et certains groupes ont des préoccupations qui sont différentes. Il faut essayer de trouver une espèce de juste-milieu là-dedans, pour tenter qu'eux arrivent aussi à leurs objectifs. On est un petit peu, on n'a pas nécessairement les coudées franches quand on vient pour revendiquer pour proposer certaines solutions ou certaines avenues à l'extérieur du parc, par ce que toutes nos activités sont à l'intérieur du parc. Oui, notamment certaines espèces fauniques sortent du parc, mais un coup quels sont à l'extérieur du parc on n'a plus de poignées finalement. On ne peut qu'émettre des recommandations et tenter de bien expliquer les raisons qui peuvent justifier nos recommandations et les impacts que ça peut avoir et essayer d'influencer, de sensibiliser, d'éduquer les gens à nos préoccupations, mais ça arrête là. (FNP Park Staff 2)

small village and park management mandates have a direct impact on regional actors.

Conversely, GNP is surrounded by crown land and is very much impacted by land use activities occurring in areas adjacent to the park such as forestry.

All SEPAQ park directors and senior staff participate in other regional tables such as those organized by ENGO organizations, either representing the park or another organization they are a member of. Although participating in these regional tables is not a job requirement, park staff views this form of participation in regional committees as an important part of their duties because it allows them, and by association the park, to have a regional presence, to develop and maintain contacts and relationships with other regional actors, and to promote the park within the region.

I participate in many committees in the region, and it is really to support or sell the idea of the park, and to promote the benefits of having a national park in the region, especially in terms of economic development. I want to ensure that the mayors see the parks as the main tourism attraction, and to do this, I must be present and visible within the region and I need to speak with other regional actors to prove to them that the park is the main attraction. So I think that all these communications are very important to do at different levels, such as political, tourism and socially. (SEPAQ Park Staff 3)¹⁶⁰

Another park staff participant also indicated that participating in these tables is beneficial because it builds trust between the park and other regional actors.

It is important for us to participate in those meetings, and to have contacts with those people so that we mutually get to know each other, and an organization like that could one day be an important ally for the park. It's all about developing good relationships with your neighbors. (SEPAQ Park staff 1)¹⁶¹

Certain SEPAQ staff noted that their participation in the development of certain municipal PA projects could create a conflict of interest, and therefore make the decision to not actively

¹⁶⁰ Je siége sur plusieurs tables ici dans la région, c'est vraiment pour vendre le produit du parc et faire valoir et promouvoir les intérêts qui est un parc national dans la région surtout en termes de développement économique. Nous on veut être certain que les maires voient que les parcs nationaux ici sont leurs produits d'appel. Et pour la faire moi je dois être présent dans la région je dois parler avec les autres acteurs régionaux pour leur dire et leur prouver que le parc et l'attrait majeur ici pour eux. Alors moi je pense que toutes ces communications sont très importantes affaires à différents niveaux, comme le niveau politique, au niveau touristique, au niveau social aussi. (SEPAQ Park Staff 3)

¹⁶¹ C'est important pour nous d'aller à ces rencontres-là, avoir des contacts avec ces gens-là, qu'on se connaisse mutuellement, et un organisme comme ça pourrait être un allié important pour le parc. Ça s'appelle tout simplement des relations de bon voisinage. (SEPAQ Park Staff 1)

participate. Yet, through the relationship they have built with other actors through various regional decision-making tables, they are able to indirectly participate in the process. Regarding the proposed development of a municipal park by the town of Perce, one park participant states:

I gave that project to the city, because as I was telling you, there has already been an expropriation associated with a park, and for some, we stole their natural area, and I saw it as having potential negative attributes if we directly associate ourselves in the development of the mountain. However, indirectly, and through partners and other actors, I do not see a problem in doing so. (SEPAQ Park Staff 3)¹⁶²

This demonstrates the importance of both understanding historical contexts and developing and maintaining relationships with various regional actors.

Regarding the PA planning process organized by the CRE, a SEPAQ participant noted that they are not included in this process, and view their lack of participation as a problematic oversight since they could be active contributors to the discussions.

However, in terms of the PA planning process for the 12%, we have not been included. The process is very separate from us, probably due to the fact that we are park managers. However, when I was invited to participate in their sustainable development planning project, I was not invited as a park representative; I was invited as the director of the tourism office. I argued that this was a little weird because if we are trying to develop a sustainable management plan and we do not involve the parks, GNP or FNP were not present either, I thought that was odd. (SEPAQ Staff 1)¹⁶³

Finally, GNP Staff indicated that there was a good working relationship with individual officials and the heads of local organizations from or near the city of Saint-Anne-Des-Monts but indicated that there is little support for the park by the residents of the city or organization members, indicating a disconnect is present.

¹⁶² Moi ce projet-là je l'ai laissé aussi à la ville, parce que comme moi je te dis, il y a déjà une expropriation d'un parc, pour certains détracteurs on leur a volé leur milieu naturel et moi je voyais très mal que l'on puisse associer cela avec le développement de la montagne directement. Pourtant indirectement à travers des partenariats avec d'autres interlocuteurs, je ne vois pas de problème. (SEPAQ Park Staff 3)

¹⁶³ Pourtant, en terme du processus de création d'aire protégée pour le 12 % nous ont est pas inclus dans ça du tout. Ça fonctionne vraiment de manière séparée. Pourtant, ça se peut que c'est dû au fait que nous on est gestionnaire de parc. Pourtant, quand on m'a invité à participer pour leur plan de développement durable on ne m'a pas invité en tant que directeur de parc, j'étais invité en tant que directeur de l'office du tourisme. Pourtant moi j'avais rouspété parce que je trouvais ça un peu particulier pis ont est en train de monter un plan de développement durable et qui n'appelle pas le parc, que le parc de la Gaspésie non plus n'était pas là, que le parc Florian n'était pas là non plus, moi j'ai trouvé ça très très très particulier. (SEPAQ Park Staff 1)

The hunting and fishing association, we meet with the president and we are able to agree on certain things, but the association's members do not always follow suit. They do whatever they want as individuals. (SEPAQ Staff 2)¹⁶⁴

One exception to this was the International Appalachian Trail where many organization members had strong support for the park since the trail crosses the park and, is therefore, not impacted by forestry cuts.

GNP staff did note that although individuals may support the park, this can rapidly change when in a group setting. Furthermore, support for the park can be easily influenced by rumors, creating difficult situations for park staff and other actors regarding park related projects.

It is not that simple, and they can at any point all come together at the Tim Horton's, where one individual can decide to write in the news paper or internet and kybosh everything. There is a recurrent argument from those people, your take away our hunting spots, but you find all kinds of ways to try and not have to tell us. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)¹⁶⁵

This demonstrates a lack of trust by residents towards the GNP park administration or, that the GNP could improve its manner of communicating the regional economic and ecological importance of the park to individuals.

7.2.3 Provincial PAs

Although there are many types of PA categories other than national parks in the Gaspésie region, only PAs such as ecological reserves and aquatic reserves were mentioned or discussed by participants. The following provides an account regarding various participants' experiences, understanding or problems associated with these PAs.

Ecological Reserves

There are five ecological reserves within the Gaspésie region (see section 3.3.1.3 and 3.3.1.4). These reserves are designed and managed to protect a land area so that ecological

¹⁶⁴ L'association de chasses et pêche, on s'assoie avec le président et on arrive à s'entendre sur quelque chose mais les membres ne suivent pas nécessairement. Ils vont tous faire à leur tête individuellement. (SEPAQPark Staff 2)

¹⁶⁵ Ce n'est pas simple et ça peut à un moment donné se monter en gang chez Tim Horton, un individu peut écrire dans les journaux et sur l'internet et faire déraiper les affaires. Il y a un argument qui apparaît souvent avec ces gens-là, vous nous enlevez nos trous de chasse mais vous trouvez des moyens détournés pour ne pas nous le dire. (SEPAQPark Staff 2)

processes can occur with minimal impact from human activities or land use changes associated with human development. These areas are not developed for visitor use and are typically not advertised (e.g. signs, maps, regional guides) in order to prevent human presence within the PA. Human presence within these PAs is permitted for the purposes of scientific studies.

Many resident participants noted that they did not fully understand the purpose of these types of PAs within the region and indicated that they had little to no involvement in their planning or creation process. Other participants such as ENGOs, SEPAQ, RMCs and industry also indicated that they had little involvement in the creation of these PAs. This is likely attributed to these PAs being established on crown lands by government with little immediate perceived impact on municipalities.

Contrasting views regarding the protection effectiveness of this type of PA were observed between participants. Many resident participants did not feel that these reserves were under any type of active management, rather, they simply existed on a map and in government documents. One participant who manages a large land area around most of the Grande-Riviere ecological reserve noted that since its creation, no one has seen a government employee set foot in or near the reserve for management purposes.

The lack of gates or signage was also perceived as problematic because it is very easy for hunters, fishers and firewood collectors to unknowingly enter and harvest from within the reserve. Furthermore, one participant indicated that there were over 11 decommissioned logging roads that allowed easy access for recreation activities, such as hunting and fishing, by residents of Grand Riviere, and Perce, all of which border the reserve. These activities are not permitted as per the reserves management plan (Québec, 2009b) rendering the purpose and management of these types of PAs questionable.

Another participant from the village of Mont-Saint-Pierre noted that the only type of management or enforcement for the Mont-Saint-Pierre ecological reserve was when staff came and placed a sign at the entrance of the reserve. Many villagers enter the ecological reserve to hike, collect mushrooms and to have picnics at the top of the mountain, noting there has never been any enforcement of any kind. Yet, MDDEFP regional participants viewed the reserves differently indicating that they were far removed from population centers and were monitored by staff on a yearly basis.

The ministry, within their monitoring framework does go every year to inspect the sites and to deal with various issues. (MDDEFP Regional Participant)¹⁶⁶

This observed dualistic view suggests that the MDDEFP, which is responsible for the management of these PAs, has a different definition of management than residents and is not in-tune with the reality of the activities occurring within these PAs. This can likely be attributed to the MDDEFP not wanting to admit they lack resources to properly staff, monitor and enforce the regulations for these ecological reserves.

Bonaventure Estuary Aquatic Reserve

The Bonaventure Estuary Aquatic Reserve (BEAR), created in 2006, was the first to be created in the province. It was created through the joint collaboration between the MDDEFP and the Town of Bonaventure, and is located in the centre of the town at the mouth of the Bonaventure River. An aquatic reserve (AR) is a type of PA created in order to protect a representative portion of a particular ecosystem. These ecosystems are primarily water-based but often also include an adjacent land base portion. Under this type of PA, industry activities are not permitted but nature-based activities that are not deemed to negatively affect the ecosystem in

¹⁶⁶ Le ministère dans le cadre d'un programme de suivi au centre de contrôle se déplace à toutes les années pour aller visiter et répondre à des problématiques. (MDDEFP Regional Participant)

terms of biodiversity are permitted. This can include activities such as hunting, fishing and wildlife observations but vary for each AR (MDDEFP, 2012).

Although the BEAR is a provincial PA, it is managed by a regional committee composed entirely of volunteers. This committee oversees the development of the reserve, develops management plans and keeps the government informed of management issues regarding the reserve. The relationships between the committee and MDDEFP staff occur frequently and were described by BEAR participants as '*assez positif*' (BEAR Participant 1), because the government is reliant on them for the management of the BEAR.

They really consulted with us since the beginning. The types of uses that existed, what would be allowed or be illegal, it was always done with the idea of proper consultation and discussions. When it was time to elaborate the conservation plan and the plan for the reserve which was done by the ministry, through a legal decree, it was all discussed with us. (BEAR Participant 2)¹⁶⁷

Yet, one BEAR participant noted that collaboration and communication between the committee and MDDEFP in recent years had become more difficult and challenging primarily due to government personnel change.

The first person was from Gaspésie, he understood it and the region, and we had a very good working relationship with him. He knew the region, he had previously done botany inventories, he was the first person on the land area and he wanted us to do site visits with him. When it changed, I am not sure if some of the responsibilities also changed, maybe, but his replacement also came and met us and we also had good relationships with him. Now, with the new person, it is much more distant. (BEAR Participant 1)¹⁶⁸

This highlights how individual personalities can affect working relationships for conservation projects.

¹⁶⁷ Ils nous ont consultés vraiment depuis le début. Les usages qui se faisaient, qu'est-ce qui pourrait être permis encore ou interdit, ça a toujours été fait dans cet esprit de concertation, de discussions et de consultation. Quand ça a été le temps d'élaborer le plan de conservation et le plan de la réserve qui a été fait par le ministère, suite au décret sur le statut légal, tout avait été discuté. (BEAR Participant 2)

¹⁶⁸ La première personne, c'était un gaspésien, il avait à cœur; on avait une très bonne collaboration avec lui. Il connaissait le milieu c'est un Monsieur qui avait fait les inventaires ici, un botaniste je pense, c'était le premier sur le territoire, il était prêt à ce qu'on fasse des visites terrain avec lui. Quand ça a changé, je ne sais pas si les fonctions ont un peu changé, peut-être, mais il est venu quand même cette personne-là, il est venu nous rencontrer et on avait de très bons liens avec lui. Là, avec la nouvelle personne c'est beaucoup plus distant. (BEAR Participant 1)

In terms of facilitating and maintaining contacts and communication channels between the BEAR committee and the MDDEFP, BEAR participants noted the importance of maintaining relationships and collaborations over time.

Yes, I do have particular ties, I have been here a long time working on this project, they know me and I have even gone to their office in Québec City to meet them. Trust has developed over the years between us. It allows us to develop the ability to trust each other, but I do not know how this will change in the next few years. (BEAR Participant 1)¹⁶⁹

However, another participant noted that the reserve was created with little input and consideration from local residents and that after six years, many residents from the town are not aware that the reserve exists, or do not fully understand the meaning and status of the reserve.

The entire population is not aware that there is a reserve. In the beginning, when the reserve was created, the education and information procedures had not really been established, there were a few information pieces that were put in the paper, but that's it. (BEAR Participant 2)¹⁷⁰

BEAR participants also indicated that although many activities such as campfires, ATV riding and duck hunting are not permitted in the reserve, these activities frequently take place because people do not respect the reserve and the land use restrictions it imposes. Furthermore, because there is no staff to monitor the reserve, it is very difficult to enforce the rules.

That is what it takes because there is no government presence. There are some conservation officers that focus on the natural aspect of things, there are few officers, and there are three in the region, one in New Richmond not far from here. Yes, if we call them to complain about something, I am sure they will come, but otherwise! We were their eyes and ears, and we are still their eyes. (BEAR Participant 1)¹⁷¹

Participants feel the MDDEFP is not actually managing the BEAR because there is no regular government presence. It was felt by BEAR participants that the regional MDDEFP office

¹⁶⁹ C'est ça, c'est sûr que j'ai eu des liens privilégiés, ça fait plusieurs années que je suis dans le dossier, il me connaissait, je suis même allée dans leur bureau à Québec les voir, c'est ça. Il y a un lien de confiance qui s'est établi au fil des années. Ça permet justement d'avoir un lien de confiance, mais je ne sais pas comment ça va être dans les prochaines années. (BEAR Participant 1)

¹⁷⁰ Ce n'est pas l'ensemble de la population qui est consciente qu'il y a une réserve. Au début quand la création a été faite, les approches de sensibilisation n'avaient pas vraiment encore été amorcées; il y a quelques textes que Julie avait faits passés dans le journal local. (BEAR Participant 2)

¹⁷¹ Ça leur prend ça parce qu'il n'y a pas de présence du ministère. Il y a des agents, des agents qui appliquent la loi sur le patrimoine naturel, les agents de conservation. Il y a le bureau, il y a plusieurs petits bureaux un peu partout sur le territoire gaspésien, il y a trois bureaux il y en a un à New Richmond qui n'est pas très loin d'ici; c'est sûr que si on les appelle et on fait une plainte sur quelque chose, ils vont sûrement venir mais à part de ça ! On était leurs yeux et on est encore leurs yeux. (BEAR Participant 1)

should have the ability to monitor and manage the reserve for its intended purpose, something they feel they are not currently doing.

Management to me means that there is some kind of surveillance, monitoring and management of the area. Currently, I do not think that the reserve is actually being managed. The regional MDDEFP should be responsible for ensuring that the conservation goals and objectives for the reserve are being met. There is no one there to monitor or manage. (BEAR Participant 1)¹⁷²

Another participant noted that even if a PA is created due to the demand of a local community, the community needs to be given the financial means to manage it:

The Minister has given the decree, gave the status [BEAR], but they have never provided the means to manage it. (CDL Participant)¹⁷³

However, the regional MDDEFP have a different opinion:

The aquatic reserve is managed according to an action plan, which is pretty official. If we need to do some work in that area, if they need some kind of authorization, it will go through the regional office here and will be analyzed in conjunction with the central office. If there are things they realized were occurring on the reserve, then we will send conservation officers. If we are talking about signage or information, it requires a bit of cooperation from the three partners to determine where the resources are coming from. (Regional MDDEFP Staff)¹⁷⁴

Again, this difference in perspective demonstrates that there is a potential disconnect between the regional and central MDDEFP and the BEAR committee participants, likely due to a lack of active MDDEFP presence within the BEAR.

¹⁷² La gestion, c'est selon moi à ce qu'il y ait une mise en valeur, une surveillance du territoire, un suivi du milieu naturel. Actuellement non je ne pense pas qu'elle est gérée ou très faiblement. La direction régionale [MDDEFP] devrait avoir la responsabilité de s'assurer d'atteindre les objectifs de conservation de la réserve. Il n'y a personne qui est là pour surveiller ou pour faire de la sensibilisation sur le terrain. (BEAR Participant 1)

¹⁷³ Le ministère a décrété, a donné le statut [BEAR] mais il ne donne pas les moyens pour le gérer. (CDL Participant)

¹⁷⁴ La Réserve Aquatique la Rivière Bonaventure est encadrée par un règlement, par un plan d'action par des choses qui sont quand même assez officielles. S'ils ont besoin de faire des travaux dans ce secteur, s'ils ont besoin d'une autorisation, ça va passer souvent par la direction régionale ici. Et l'analyse va se faire en collaboration avec les unités centrales. Si ce sont des choses qu'ils se sont aperçus qui se passaient et qui ne devaient pas se passer, on parle de plaintes, on parle de déplacement par les gens du contrôle, pour aller vérifier qu'est-ce qui se passe. Si on parle d'informations, de signalisation, c'est un peu une concertation entre les trois partenaires pour fournir les ressources pour que les gens soient capables d'atteindre cet objectif-là. (Regional MDDEFP Staff)

7.2.3 ENGOS

7.2.3.1 Consortium en Foresterie

The Consortium en Foresterie (CEF) was created in 2003 by the CEGEP of Gaspésie des Îles in order to promote and develop sustainable forestry practices within the Gaspésie region. Its mission is to be the main source of information regarding sustainable forestry practices while also working with industry and government partners to develop and promote new forestry techniques. As an ENGO, any individual within the Gaspésie region interested in sustainable forestry practices can become a member of the CEF, allowing them to contribute to forestry planning exercise or simply receive information through newsletters detailing current projects within the region (CEF, 2013).

Participants from the CEF indicated they have little to no contact with SEPAQ park staff in the region with the exception of one staff participant from GNP who is a member of the consortium. The GNP has a vested interest in the development of new sustainable forestry practices and in having the forestry industry adopt these so as to limit the impacts certain forestry activities can have on the GNP caribou population.

Interactions between the CEF and FNP occur much more often both formally and informally and their relationship was described by all participants as very positive. Formal interactions typically occur between the FNP and CEF through the development and undertaking of joint projects that include a forestry component. This type of collaboration is seen as a win-win situation by both the FNP and CEF. The sharing of resources, time, equipment and staff, reduces the research costs for each agency while allowing them to both gain knowledge that may otherwise not have been possible. Many studies have been conducted through partnerships between the CEF and FNP where each actor participated in a different capacity (e.g. Caron and Pinna, 2012; Fortin, Cote and Brodeur, 2009)

Participants from the CEF reported that they had a ‘great working relationship’ with FNP, which resulted in regular informal interactions between the two agencies through email, telephone calls and personal meetings. Many of the staff at the CEF know staff at FNP and are personal friends. One factor that also increases the level of informal collaboration is that the past director of the CEF is now a FNP employee. This history has allowed informal communications to endure between the two agencies. Participants from both agencies noted that these informal communications were important, especially for FNP as they provide the means for each agency to inform each other regarding various land use planning activities occurring within the region, information they might not otherwise receive due to the political levels in which they operate.

In terms of the provincial process for identifying PAs in order to meet the 2015 goal of 12%, the CEF stated it supported the project but was not heavily involved. One CEF participant argued that although this process was taking place, 20% of the forest was already fully protected but simply not formally recognized by the provincial government. According to him, these forests are protected because they are located in areas inaccessible to modern forestry equipment.

Both CEF and other participants noted that FSC certification can have an important positive influence regarding the social acceptance of PAs and species protection, such as the woodland caribou population because it forces the forestry companies to develop and adopt conservation plans. Yet, one CEF participant noted that in Gaspésie few forest industries are currently certified.

It is the forestry's' poor economic situation that is currently difficult; we understand that we are currently working our way out of a crisis, the people are very attached to their land in terms of fauna; it always requires us to develop new approaches to defend ecological considerations. Yes, if you speak with a forester, he will be preoccupied with his costs. All these people are hunters, trappers and fishers, so if you say you are going to do a cut on that side of the mountain; it will affect the salmon fishers. So far, constraints regarding water quality, hunting and fishing have been well addressed, but when I look at biological

considerations, there are some problems, the biggest one being the caribou and making the park larger. There are many prejudices. (Consortium Participant)¹⁷⁵

This lack of certification, and the associated changes regarding how forestry industries communicate and participate in conservation efforts, is detrimental towards changing the social acceptance and perceived value of PAs within the region.

7.2.3.2 The Nature Conservancy of Canada

TNC (see section 5.4.1) has had a regional office in the City of Gaspé since 2003. Their conservation work is concentrated in the area around the City of Gaspé and toward the town of Perce. This area was identified as important by TNC because it represents important coastal habitats, estuaries and lagoons and there is a local interest and willingness to conserve and protect these habitats.

The TNC has purchased multiple private properties to protect the Malbaie Lagoon in conjunction with the Malbaie Lagoon Committee. This committee comprises a group of local citizens dedicated to the protection of this lagoon. Communications and collaborations between the TNC and committee occur often, through formal mechanisms such as committee meetings and through formalized work contracts for student summer projects. The relationship between the TNC and the committee was described positively by most participants. TNC participants view themselves as serving a support role to the committee by providing certain knowledge or expertise regarding specific conservation tools, but not as decision makers.

The committee is really in charge of the Lagoon and us, we participate, we have a good collaboration, and it is really the local people that support the lagoon and the lagoon represents the local people. (TNC Staff)¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ C'est la situation économique du secteur forestier qui est difficile; on s'entend qu'on est en train de sortir de peine et de misère d'une crise; les gens sont très attachés à leur terre pour ce qui est de la faune; c'est toujours un peu stratégique de prendre des chemins détournés pour défendre des considérations plus écologiques. C'est sûr que si tu parles à un industriel, ses préoccupations ça va être ses coûts. Tous ces gens-là vont être chasseurs, trappeurs, pêcheurs, si tu vas leur dire cette coupe-là, tu vas la faire sur ce flanc-là de la montagne ça ne va pas être terrible pour le pêcheur au saumon avec le paysage, donc il y a des considérations. A date, la situation faunique et les autres ressources, l'eau, le paysage, sont toujours bien accueilli. Quand je parle de biodiversité, ça passe moins bien et le gros débat actuel qui est tendu, c'est la question du caribou et l'agrandissement du parc. Il y a beaucoup de considération, il y a beaucoup de préjugés là-dedans. (Consortium Participant)

However, one committee participant felt differently, indicating the TNC took advantage of the Malbaie Lagoon committee by imposing themselves into the work of the committee and changing the focus of the committee to one that better aligned with the mission and goals of the TNC.

There is a strong and positive collaboration between the TNC and FNP, primarily in regards to the development of a corridor between the park and crown land located on the other side of highway 197 (see Figure 5). As previously presented, the FNP has a connectivity problem on its western border (see section 7.1.3.2). The park and the TNC have formally collaborated on projects to determine the effects of the road and private land on species movement, specifically marten. FNP staff and TNC are currently in the process of identifying important corridor locations for marten and TNC is purchasing these land areas to allow for species movement.

There is an issue that is a bit different in the Forillon sector, which revolves around the expropriation process, so we must always be careful regarding how we present projects to the public. We must explain our mission to demonstrate that we do voluntary conservation and that we are an NGO and that we want the best for everything, and that is what we do. (TNC Staff)¹⁷⁷

However, due to the history of the park's creation, these collaborations between FNP and TNC for this project occur informally. Although the park is a collaborator, it relies on the TNC to contact and develop rapport with local landowners and for land purchases. FNP staff members are of the opinion that if local residents near the park and in the Municipality of Gaspé got wind that the park was involved in purchasing lands, there would be serious negative repercussions due to the history of FNP. Yet, purchasing these lands is required in order to preserve the ecological integrity of the park associated with the marten population.

¹⁷⁶ Le comité a vraiment la charge du Barachois et nous ont participé, on a une meilleure collaboration et c'est vraiment les gens du milieu qui supporte le Barachois et il représente les gens du milieu, (TNC Staff)

¹⁷⁷ Il y a un enjeu un peu différent dans le secteur de Forillon où là, la problématique et la sensibilité de l'expropriation alors il faut toujours faire attention à la manière dont on présente ça au public, il faut bien expliquer notre mission, pour démontrer que nous on fait de la conservation volontaire et qu'on est un organisme à but non lucratif et qu'on veut juste bien mettre les choses en place et c'est ce qu'on fait. (TNC Staff)

They work [TNC] in Gaspésie because they know that we are very open to working with them and that we have an interest in further increasing the ecological diversity of the national park here. One problem the park faces is the Hwy 197 which cuts the west side of the park and creates a barrier to species movement. In terms of creating a corridor in that area, we have an extraordinary collaboration with the folks from TNC. (FNP Staff 1)¹⁷⁸

FNP and TNC staff members also collaborate informally on a regular basis for other reasons. These informal collaboration processes typically involve sharing personnel and tools in order to conduct small projects or studies that are mutually beneficial to both parties as they have similar goals and objectives. One park staff participant noted that this is the main reason why there were no formalized agreements with the TNC.

I think we share some similar goals, I manage conservation and they are interested in precise topics such as landscape conservation so it is easy for us to develop common objectives from which we will both benefit. So it is easy for us to work well together...we do not have formal partnerships because we have not yet seen the need for them. We both want to go in the same direction so we do not need to formalize this. (FNP Staff 2)¹⁷⁹

The types of arrangements between the TNC and FNP demonstrate that it is possible to collaborate when management challenges and agency goals and objectives are similar.

7.2.3.3 Conseil de l'eau, Gaspésie Sud

The Conseil de L'eau Gaspésie Sud (CDLGS) is one of 40 not-for-profit organization recognized by the MDDEFP and is responsible for the consultation, planning and conciliation of water usage using principles of participatory governance to ensure integrated management for all watersheds within the southern region of Gaspésie. The CDLGS, as with all 39 others, was created in 2009 as a result of provincial government directives to regionalize fresh water

¹⁷⁸ Il travail (TNC) en Gaspésie parce qu'ils savent que nous on est très ouvert à travailler avec eux et que nous on a un intérêt à créer un tel lien pour promouvoir l'intégrité écologique du parc national ici. Un des enjeux avec le parc c'est l'autoroute 197 qui coupe la cote ouest du parc et qui crée une barrière aux mouvements d'animaux. En ce qui concerne créer un corridor à cet endroit là, on a une collaboration extraordinaire avec les gens de conservation de la nature. (FNP Staff 1)

¹⁷⁹ Je pensais un peu qu'on a les mêmes enjeux, moi je gère la conservation et eux s'intéressent à des enjeux précis en termes de vouloir conserver des territoires alors facilement on est capable d'établir des objectifs communs de travail qui sont bons pour le parc et qui sont aussi bons pour leur organisation. Alors avec ce fait là on arrive facilement à des objectifs communs et on a des visées communes et cela fait que ça travail bien ensemble...on ne le fait pas [entente formelle] parce qu'on n'a pas ressenti le besoin de le faire. Peut-être justement qu'on n'en a pas faite parce que présentement c'est clair conservation de la nature veut s'en aller dans la direction qu'ils veulent prendre, et les besoins de Parc Canada sont aussi très clair, alors tous les deux ont travaillé dans le même sens alors on a aucun besoin de formaliser une entente. (FNP Staff 2)

management. The mandate of this organization is to develop and maintain a watershed management plan through active collaboration with regional actors (CLDGS, 2015). Some of its objectives are to protect and develop water resources; incorporate all relevant actors through participatory governance approaches in decision-making; and to acquire and share information related to water management with relevant actors.

In the beginning, the watershed organizations came from a provincial water policy, which was pretty ambitious, but which sought that the users should also become the managers. There was a certain governance that was established to this regard in terms of watershed management across the province. (CDLGS Participant)¹⁸⁰

The CDLGS has strong working relationships with the CRE as it responsible for ensuring and promoting sustainable land use development within the region. The CDLGS is a member of multiple harmonization tables organized by the CRE. Participating in these tables was viewed as essential by CDLGS participants because it provides a formal venue for them to present their management mandate, to develop rapport and relationships with other regional actors, and to ensure that regional land use planning activities incorporate measures to protect or prevent these activities from affecting the quality of the water within the watersheds.

Because around the table, there are the municipalities, ZECs, fishing and hunting organizations, groups such as ours, etc. We discuss together and we arrive at a consensus. (CDLGS Participant)¹⁸¹

The CDLGS also works with municipalities in order to protect and conserve wetlands and other important water features to preserve various ecological processes or specific species. The processes, either formal or informal, for conducting these projects are dependent upon the nature of the project.

¹⁸⁰ Au départ, les organismes de bassin versant étaient issus de la politique nationale de l'eau du Québec qui est assez ambitieuse mais qui vise à faire en sorte que les utilisateurs deviennent un peu les gestionnaires, il y a une certaine gouvernance qui s'établit par rapport à ça au niveau de la gestion de l'eau sur les territoires. (CDLGS Participant)

¹⁸¹ Parce qu'autour de la table il y a les municipalités, dans cette démarche là il y a les ZEC donc les gestionnaires des rivières à saumon, l'association des pêcheurs chasseurs, les groupes comme le nôtre, conseil de l'eau, et tout ça. On discute ensemble et on arrive à des consensus. (CDLGS Participant)

For example, a rehabilitation project or small conservation project, it's really a project developed by interested people, but also people that are indirectly impacted. But a project developed by our watershed organization, it's a structure that is very much structured and is very official. (CDLGS Participant)¹⁸²

When asked what allows for decisions to be made and accepted with regards to planning and developing PAs, one participant stated

The main element is trust. You must establish an atmosphere of trust; you must be able to address different opinions using positive approaches. The forester will not become an ecologist or vice versa, municipalities will always have taxes, but we live with this. People really appreciate this. (RMC Participant)¹⁸³

This demonstrates that building and maintaining trust between different actors is paramount to effective participation processes and decision-making.

The CDLGS does not communicate with staff from the SEPAQ parks or FNP as these parks fall outside of its jurisdictional mandate.

7.2.4 First Nation Communities

Although there are three FN Micmac communities within the Gaspésie region, only the Micmac of Gespeg were identified through the snowball sampling process as actors due to their close proximity to FNP. The two other communities, the Micmac of Listuguj and Gespeapegiag, are located on the southwestern part of the Gaspé Peninsula and are well removed from the SEPAQ Parks¹⁸⁴.

It should be noted that all FN participants made a clear distinction between the land that is now FNP and Parks Canada staff. All FN participants spoke of their ancestral connection with the land and wanting to be able to reconnect with it and share their history with park visitors, but had a challenging relationship with Parks Canada staff, park regulations and park budgets.

¹⁸² Par exemple, un projet de réhabilitation, un projet de protection, c'est véritablement un appel qui est fait aux gens qui sont intéressés, mais les gens qui sont le plus directement interpellés. Alors qu'une démarche qu'on fait au niveau du conseil de l'eau ou du comité ZIP, c'est une démarche très structurée, c'est des invitations qui sont faites officielles aux RMC, ou de différentes organisations pour désigner un représentant pour participer à une démarche de concertation autour de l'eau et des usages de l'eau. (CDLGS Participant)

¹⁸³ L'élément principal c'est la confiance. Il faut que tu établisses un climat de confiance; que tu sois capable de surmonter les différences de façon positive. L'industriel ne deviendra pas écologiste et vice versa, le cas de la municipalité va toujours vouloir avoir des taxes etc., mais on vit avec. Les gens ont grandement apprécié ça. (RMC Participant)

¹⁸⁴ This is not to say that these two communities do not have interests in these parks, simply, they were never identified as potential participants.

There are several Gespeg employees working for the park, but they form a minority of total park employees. Few if any of the Gespeg staff are involved in planning any events related to their Nation's history within the park. All participants noted that there was no dedicated interpretative centre or information made available to park visitors that explained the history of Micmac presence within the region and in the park.

Some of the more formal collaborative agreement that have been developed recently include the signing of a preliminary contract between Parks Canada and the Gespeg FN in 2009 to develop a dedicated interpretation centre to describe the history of Micmac Nation and present information regarding Micmac inhabitation and land/sea use of the area that is now the park. Under the agreement, the Gespeg community would be responsible for operating and maintaining the interpretation centre while Parks Canada would provide the funding for building the visitor center. However, the project has not yet been developed because a feasibility study conducted by Parks Canada demonstrated that the interpretation centre would not be cost efficient. The lack of funding for this project was further emphasized in 2012 with the associated budget cuts to the park from The Government of Canada.

We did a study in collaboration with the park, and us, what we were hoping for was to relocate our offices into anew interpretive building there, but we were not allowed to do this due to park rules. And if we wanted to build a facility for our office and interpretation centre of about 4000sq² we would not be profitable. So the project just fell apart. (Micmac Participant 1)¹⁸⁵

Another Gespeg participant felt that staff in the park did not fulfill their mandate and ignored his community's willingness to develop a joint management program with them. Although the feasibility study demonstrate that the interpretation centre would not be economically viable, he felt that parks staff should have explored other avenues that would allow

¹⁸⁵ On a fait une étude de collaboration avec le parc puis nous ce qu'on visait c'était d'installer nos bureaux la avec le signe d'interprétation et de faire une partie de location que redonna Parc Canada, sauf qu'on n'avait pas le droit d'installer nos bureaux la parce que c'était contre les règlements du parc. Et en bâtissant une installation d'interprétation d'à peu près 4000 pieds carrés, on ne serait pas rentable. Donc le projet de se fait à tomber à l'eau. (Micmac Participant 1)

his community to showcase their history within the region, something he felt was not done. Furthermore, although the park has developed outreach programs such as the harmonization committee, this participant was of the opinion that park staff members do not truly want to develop partnerships with other regional actors based on his experience regarding the visitor centre.

Another form of formal communication occurs through the overall advisory committee organized by the FNP director. The ability to formally communicate and contribute to the development of the park by submitting project proposals and voicing concerns regarding certain directions the park is taking, especially regarding economic impacts to the region, was viewed as positive. One Gespeg participant appreciated that when certain propositions made by regional actors were rejected by park officials, explanations and justification for the rejection are provided, thus ensuring accountability and transparency. The difference of opinions regarding the advisory committee and the visitor centre proposal demonstrates differences in terms of expectations and issues related to past promises made regarding partnership development.

Gespeg participants indicated that there are no communications between them and the two provincial national parks within the region as these either fall outside their ancestral territory (National Park), because the park is very small, or they have not historically inhabited or used the land that now comprises the parks. Therefore, there is no need to communicate or collaborate with the park staff (e.g. IBRPNP).

The Micmac of Gespeg are primarily located in Point-Navarre, a small village located between FNP and the City of Gaspé, although many community members reside throughout Canada. The Gespeg community is one of the few nations that do not have reserve status. One participant hinted that the relationship between their community and the park could be different if they had reserve status as this would give them greater political powers for negotiation with

the park. Furthermore, the community is currently in the process of negotiating land treaties and this could also affect their status and relationship with the park. One FNP staff supports this argument by indicating that although the Gespeg community has a political structure, it is less organized because they do not have reserve status and this makes developing relationships with the park more challenging.

We have good relations with them, but what you need to know is that they are currently not on a structured reserve or land agreement. So the Micmac's in Gaspésie are a bit all over the place, they have a political structure but it is not as evolved as certain reserves. (FNP staff 1)¹⁸⁶

Another FNP staff member noted that although relationships between the Gespeg community and the park have improved in recent years, recent federal budget cuts and associated park service changes were poorly received by the Gespeg community due to reduced regional economic returns derived from visitors. A Gespeg participant thought the federal government should have consulted with them and other regional actors before these decisions were made. Furthermore, the budget cuts reinforce the region's perception that the park is being abandoned by Parks Canada.

You should note that when they announced their cuts to services during the winter, they did not consult with us at all about that. And for us, what we see with all these cuts is that the park is not being maintained. It's been 40 years and the infrastructure is deteriorating. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)¹⁸⁷

Finally, it should be noted that there are few informal interactions between FNP staff and Gespeg community members regarding the park for political reasons.

People here do not want to have a conventional type of park, people here are integrated within the community and the harmony right now is perfect. (Micmac Participant1)¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ On a de bonnes relations avec eux, mais ce qu'il faut savoir c'est que les micmacs ne sont pas sur un territoire organisé, et non pas de réserve. Donc les micmacs en Gaspésie sont un peu partout sur le territoire, leur structure politique existe mais est moins évoluée que sur certaines réserves. (FNP Park Staff 1)

¹⁸⁷ Remarque bien que quand ils ont annoncé leur coupure de l'hiver il n nous ont pas consulté du tout sur ce fait là. Et d'après, nous maintenant ce qu'on peut voir avec ces coupures c'est que le parc s'envole vers l'abandon. Ça fait 40 ans que la part excise pis l'infrastructure est vieille. (SEPAQ Park Staff 2)

¹⁸⁸ Nous ici les gens ne veulent pas avoir des réserves de type conventionnel parce que les gens sont intégrés dans la municipalité. Et l'harmonie est parfaite. (Gespeg Participant 1)

However, because the Gespeg community is not on reserve, Gespeg members are integrated within the regional community and interact with park staff outside of a park context. Due to this, personal friendships between the two groups have developed over time through various social events and may explain why the relationship between them and park staff within a park context functions well.

7.2.5 Local Residents

Different views, attitudes and perceptions regarding existing PAs and the need to create additional PAs for either promoting PA connectivity or for economic development were observed throughout the region. For FNP and SEPAQ Parks, negative attitudes were often observed in the gateway communities. One village does view PAs as a tourism draw and as a tool for economic development. Finally, south of GNP, a citizen movement has emerged advocating for the creation of a new PA which would increase the size of GNP and protection for the woodland caribou population. These views and perceptions are presented in greater detail below.

Forillon National Park

The history of the park's establishment has significantly influenced the relationship between the park and the municipality and residents of Gaspé. The municipal staff and residents near FNP interviewed for this research all felt that the park has not been able to meet promises regarding economic revenue generation made during its creation.

The release of the 2012 federal budget and the announcement of severe funding cuts to the park resulted in the closure of park visitor services, changes to the park's operating season and a loss of employment for many park staff. These changes reanimated previous sentiments that the federal government does not care about the park and has no intention of meeting

promises made during its creation in 1970. Although beyond the control of the FNP director, decisions made in Ottawa are having a direct impact, often negative, with regional actors.

Furthermore, the park staff member from FNP has noted that in general, the region is not satisfied with the park in terms of its management priorities and the level of services it provides to visitors. Many participants from towns and cities adjacent to the park noted that there is a general dissatisfaction regarding the state of the infrastructure within the park, which has not been updated since the park's creation. The release of the 2012 budget reinforced the fact that the park is not a government priority as no funding has been provided to update park infrastructure in order to make it more appealing to visitors. Furthermore, these perceptions were observed through participant observations where visitors complained about the poor state of park infrastructure and services and compared these to, in their opinion, the much better SEPAQ parks in the region. This opinion in the region was formally expressed by the region's MPP, Gaetan Lelievre, who has demanded that FNP be repatriated back to the province and managed under the SEPAQ as this organization is more efficient and capable than Parks Canada. Document analysis revealed that this MPP and other members of the community are of the opinion that Parks Canada is deliberately leaving the park in a state of disrepair, ignoring promises made decades ago, which is further contributing to difficulties regarding communication between the park and adjacent municipalities. One community participant stated that if Parks Canada managed its parks through an organization such as the SEPAQ, the park would not be in the current state it is now.

If there was a network like the SEPAQ within Parks Canada, parks like Forillon would not exist, all dilapidated and reliant on funding from other parks in Canada. And the big problem with federal parks is that they are managed that way, they have sexy parks and then there are parks like Forillon that receive no money. The issue with federal parks is

that the quality from one park to the next is not the same, but within the SEPAQ, the quality is the same across all parks. (Local resident Perce)¹⁸⁹

A FNP staff participant was of the opinion that one of the main reasons why certain regional actors had high economic expectations from the park is due to unrealistic promises made by the provincial and federal governments during the park's creation, which have never really subsided.

But also, we should ask ourselves not only if there was a lot of attention and promises made to regional actors, but also if those were really realistic. (FNP Staff 2)¹⁹⁰

This demonstrates how poor park creation processes can create lasting negative attitudes towards a PA.

The relationship between the park and the Municipality of Gaspé was described as problematic by both park staff and municipal representatives due to contrasting understandings regarding the perceived purpose and role of the park. During its creation, the idea and concept of the park was sold to the municipality under the premise of increased economic development and is arguably one of the reasons why the mass expropriation of five communities was accepted (Babin, 2013). Although serving as a tourism draw for the region, the main purpose of the park is to ensure that the ecological integrity of the park is maintained. Yet, the Municipality of Gaspé wants the park to further develop its tourism products in order to increase tourism development for the region.

Yes, there is lots of regional pressure to further develop Forillon, but this is not really in the optic of conservation but rather for recreation or tourism. There is lots of regional

¹⁸⁹ S'il y avait réseau comme la SEPAQ à l'intérieur de Parc Canada, on n'aurait pas des parcs comme celui de Forillon à moitié détériorés au détriment de parc ailleurs au Canada. Et le gros problème avec les parcs fédéraux c'est qu'ils sont gérés comme ça il y a les parcs qui sont vus comme étant des gros parcs sexy et ensuite il y a des parcs comme Forillon qui ne reçoivent aucun argent. Le problème avec les parcs fédéraux c'est que la qualité d'un parc à l'autre n'est pas pareille, tandis qu'avec les parcs à l'intérieur de la SEPAQ, la qualité est pareille d'un parc à l'autre. (Local resident Perce)

¹⁹⁰ Mais aussi, il faut se demander si il y avait quand même beaucoup d'attention et de promesse qui était attendu du milieu mais faut aussi se demander si ces attentes là c'était vraiment réaliste. (FNP Staff 2)

pressure to have Forillon become the main tourism destination, even if it already is, but they want the park to be even more. (FNP Staff 2)¹⁹¹

These different opinions coupled with the history of the park's establishment have created challenging conditions for park staff.

Québec National Parks

The history of the region's resource sector (7.1.2) and topics such as the woodland caribou and land use restrictions (7.1.6) have significantly influenced the relationship between certain residents and SEPAQ park staff.

Many regional governments, ENGO and SEPAQ park staff participants noted that there were strong negative feelings and attitudes by local residents towards the IBRPNP and GNP of Québec. Specifically, negative attitudes were most often associated with residents from the towns of Saint-Anne-des-Monts and from Perce, which serve as the main access points to the parks. Furthermore, during field work, I had many short unplanned discussions with local residents in coffee shops, gas stations and restaurants regarding my research on PAs in the region¹⁹². In almost every discussion, individuals revealed their displeasure regarding the existence of the parks and how it negatively affected the regional economy or infringed on their business or ability to partake in various recreational activities. Although there were negative feelings towards each park by local residents, the details differed based on the park.

For example, the GNP and the existence of the woodland caribou prevent economic development in terms of mining. One individual felt very strongly that the region would be better off if the caribou in the park went extinct, as then there would be no reason for the park to exist, thus allowing for the development of mining and forestry activities. Such sentiments would

¹⁹¹ C'est certain qu'il y a beaucoup de pression du milieu régional pour que Forillon se développe, mais pas nécessairement dans l'aspect de conservation, plus un aspect de récréaux-tourisme. Il y a beaucoup de pression des milieux régionaux pour que Forillon soit un gros moteur de développement touristique, même si on l'est déjà, ils veulent quand le sont encore plus. (FNP Park Staff 2)

¹⁹² Due to the small size of these towns and the various social networks within, word quickly got out that I was a researcher doing work on the parks and was frequently approached by individuals that wanted to tell me how they felt about the parks and what they felt I should know.

suggest that the park does a poor job of communicating the important economic impact it generates to regional actors (Lemieux, 2006).

The need to expand the park in order to properly protect the caribou population in the region is a contentious topic (see section 7.1.6.2). Local community participants noted that expanding the park will infringe on their ability to partake in recreation activities (e.g. hunting, ATV riding). GNP staff participants noted that the community of Saint-Anne-des-Monts has not accepted the proposal to expand the park because they feel that outsiders from Montreal and Québec City are imposing their will and dictating what should be done with little understanding or concern for their wellbeing. Although it is ENGOs advocating independently for park expansion, local residents have not made this distinction and associate all discussions and propositions regarding the park as directly related to the work of park staff and the SEPAQ. This lack of differentiation has led to strained relationships between local community members and park staff.

One of my largest challenges in terms of education is working at the local and regional level to gain the support of the people in terms of caribou conservation. It is a major issue for me. Yes, visitors like and many more think the caribou is super nice and important, but at the local and regional level, they don't care about the caribou. The caribou prevents development, prevents tree cutting, it prevents skiing, but they do not realize that the caribou is so important. (SEPAQ Staff 2)¹⁹³

This demonstrates that although ENGOs can have the best intentions, poor execution and a lack of understanding of regional issues can have very serious and unintentional consequences not only for them, but for other regional actors.

The IBRPNP is located in the town of Perce and is one of the main tourism draw within the Gaspésie region. Yet, relationships between park staff and store owners within the town are

¹⁹³ Un de mes défis au niveau de l'éducation ici c'est de travailler au niveau local et régional pour tenter je dirais de s'allier la population locale et régionale à la cause du caribou. C'est un enjeu majeur pour nous, oui, les visiteurs comme toi et plein d'autres il trouve tout ça super beau, le caribou c'est super important, mais au niveau local et régional le caribou ça ne passe pas. Ça empêche le développement, ça empêche de couper du bois, ça empêche de faire du ski alors qu'ils ne réalisent pas que c'est une richesse incroyable. (SEPAQ Staff 2)

often problematic as many store owners view the park as a competitor because it sells merchandise and other tourism-related products in its gift store. Many store owners and other residents would in fact like to have the park managed by the Town of Perce rather than the SEPAQ because they believe that the SEPAQ is using tourism generated revenue to fund other SEPAQ Parks instead of redistributing revenue within the region.

Yet few store owners or residents know that the park has a yearly deficit of approximately \$500,000, and provides employment to over 80 individuals from the region. The financial impact and funding structure of the park is shared annually with members of the harmonization table. Yet, this lack of understanding by town residents and business owners suggests that although park staff willingly share information and discuss management challenges through the harmonization table, this information is not being properly conveyed by members of this table to their constituents.

For example, the shop owners that really complain about eh SEPAQ, damn SEPAQ let's get rid of it, they have no idea that the park operates with half a million dollar deficit per year which is paid for by the people in Montreal who visit the OKA park. They don't know this, they think the park makes money and that we send all this money away, but if they get rid of the SEPAQ, who will pay this half million? (Regional Government Participant)¹⁹⁴

This demonstrates that although the harmonization tables can serve as a tool for information sharing, the extent of this sharing is entirely dependent on the willingness and ability of the members to convey this information to their constituents. This would also suggest that the harmonization table model should not be the only tool used for disseminating park information to regional actors.

Projet Chic-choc

¹⁹⁴ Par exemple les commerçants de percer qui hurlent contre la SEPAQ, maudite SEPAQ on veut les mettre dehors, eux ne savent pas que le parc fait un déficit de un demi-million et que tout cela est payé par les gens de Montréal qui vont à la plage de OKA. Eux ils ne savent pas ça, il pense que le parc lui fait de l'argent, mais si nous on vient pour mettre la SEPAQ dehors, qui va payer ce demi-million. (Regional Government Participants)

Projet Chic-Choc was initialized in 2007 by a citizen committee on the north shore of Gaspésie within the Matane region in order to propose a PA to the MDDEFP for inclusion in the 2009 PA target. This project is very much a citizen movement, primarily organized by individuals that have a strong attachment with the outdoors and want to protect the Chic-Choc mountain range within the Matane Wildlife Reserve. Committee members for this project come from diverse areas of expertise such as outfitters, university and college professors and environmental ENGOs¹⁹⁵ who provide greater insight and understanding regarding the important ecological attributes of this area. The ultimate goal of the proposed PA is to protect and conserve ecological processes in order to preserve old growth forest, maintain forest cover and more importantly, maintain the connectivity between the Chic-Choc Mountains in GNP and those in the Matane Wildlife Reserve.

The GNP is really centered on some of the highest peaks, and us, we are focusing on the west side and the Matapédia valley, and we think this could create a corridor this way. We think this is important. (Project Chic-Choc Member)¹⁹⁶

The committee has no direct formal communication with any provincial or national park agency, rather, it communicates with the MDDEFP and MNR through the CRE as they are the entity responsible for collecting regional comments and propositions regarding proposed PAs. Although there have been multiple consultation processes organized by the CRE, MNR and MDDEFP, this committee has not had the opportunity to have their project proposal reviewed as it does not fall within the stipulated guidelines for community project proposals or falls on deaf ears within government ministries. One participant stated:

What I feel is that the manner in which it is happening, I have realized that the completion of a project can depend just as much on timing as it does on personalities, I should not say this but this is important. It means that a same project, with the same quality submitted one

¹⁹⁵ All of these individuals are also citizens residing in the area around the Matane Wildlife Reserve.

¹⁹⁶ Le parc de la Gaspésie est vraiment centré sur les sommets les plus hauts et nous on s'en va vers l'ouest, continuité comme ça et le bout à l'ouest de notre territoire est dans la continuité de la vallée de la Matapédia, ça ne se rend pas jusque-là mais si la Ristigouche est plus protégée, on peut penser qu'il y aurait de la connexion un transfert de biodiversité qui pourrait se faire. On trouve ça important. (Projet Chic-Choc Member)

or five years later will not be received the same way because the elected officials or committee members won't be the same. I have been disappointed in this because we have been working on this project for some time and we really believe in it. (Projet Chic-Choc Member)¹⁹⁷

This demonstrates that timing, informal institutions and the individuals in a decision-making role as stipulated under formal institutions at any given time can have an important and direct effect in shaping conservation projects.

Informal communication between the committee and the SEPAQ does occur. The primary reason is to inform the director of GNP and officials at the SEPAQ central office of the proposal process and to obtain their verbal approval. By informing the SEPAQ of the proposal for this new PA, SEPAQ staff are able to accurately answer questions regarding the project and prevent general public opinion from being distorted due to a lack of information. Finally, the committee has conducted its due diligence by informing the SEPAQ which then can assist in having the project be better received by other regional actors. One participant explains this stating:

It creates a really solid link between members on the administrative council, and there, they can explain why and if people have some questions, we can answer them. I think this helps a lot and because there are communications between people in the central office in Québec who are also able to answer questions. If we go see the mayor, he knows that we have done our research, our proposal is serious, and they trust you because of this. It has also helped to develop the project using obtaining support from different people or organizations. (Projet Chic-Choc Member)¹⁹⁸

This sharing of information is seen as being very important not only for the committee but also for the SEPAQ as it builds trust and creates stronger bonds between decision makers.

¹⁹⁷ Ce que je sens c'est que la manière dont ça se déroule, je réalise que parfois l'aboutissement du travail de cheminement peut dépendre autant de timing et de personnalités en place, je ne devrais pas dire autant mais c'est des facteurs qui jouent aussi. Ça fait qu'un même projet de même qualité soumis un an ou cinq ans plus tard ne sera pas reçu de la même façon parce que les élus en place ou les gens sur le comité ne seraient pas les mêmes, avec les mêmes valeurs, les mêmes façons de voir, ça, ça m'a déçu un peu parce que ça fait un moment qu'on travaille là-dessus qu'on y croit vraiment. (Projet Chic-Choc Member)

¹⁹⁸ Ça fait un lien très solide entre les gens du conseil d'administration et là, il peut expliquer le pourquoi et si quelqu'un a des craintes comme comment l'aire protégée peut avoir un impact sur la chasse à l'original par exemple, il peut répondre à ça, il connaît le projet. Je pense que ça aidait beaucoup et aussi parce qu'il a des relations avec les gens de la centrale à Québec et qu'ils sont capable de répondre à leurs questions. Si on va voir le maire, il sait qu'on a fait de la recherche que nos démarches sont sérieuses, ils vous font confiance. Ça aussi ça a aidé à faire cheminer le projet avait différents appuis. (Projet Chic-Choc Member)

Mont-Saint-Pierre Village Parc-Sur-Mers

The village of Mont-Saint-Pierre is located on the north Shore of Gaspésie at the foot of Mont-Saint-Pierre and serves as a gateway community to both the Chic-Choc Wildlife Reserve (CCWR) and GNP. The residents of the village have very little available crown land for public use, yet there is a strong community attachment to the GNP and CCWR.

It should be noted that historically, the town of Mont-Saint-Pierre has always had some kind of attachment to the GNP. Although currently the Town of Mon-Saint-Anne has an interest, this is very recent. But with us, it dates from the creation of the park. So Mont-Saint-Pierre has always been attached to the park and always wants to protect the landscape around the park and town. (Mont Saint-Pierre Staff 1)¹⁹⁹

Much of this community attachment to the GNP is directly tied to the perceived economic impacts associated with the park through tourism. The village is currently developing a proposal that would lead to the creation of a PA that would link the GNP to the St. Lawrence. The idea of a park came through a visioning exercise organized by village officials that began in 2003 to plan the future economic development of the village.

We had a town meeting where we asked ourselves what we can do with our municipality in order to develop something. Already, in 2003, we realized we had a problem. The population was getting older, people no longer want to invest, it's a problem, and unfortunately, it is still present today. We had a meeting to brainstorm some ideas and we came up with a few. We invited the population and asked them what they had in mind to develop the town. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff2)²⁰⁰

The acceptance of this PA proposal is directly linked to the manner in which the community was involved. Through various village planning exercises, the proposal was developed by the community for the community. One participant states:

¹⁹⁹ Il faut dire aussi en préambule à tout ça, que le Mont Saint-Pierre a toujours eu un attachement particulier au parc de la Gaspésie. Historiquement, c'est sûr que maintenant la ville de Sainte-Anne-des-Monts s'y intéresse, mais c'est très récent, en termes de peut-être une dizaine d'années. Alors que nous c'est depuis la création du parc que Mont Saint-Pierre s'intéresse au parc. Donc mont Saint-Pierre a toujours eu un attachement à ça, mont Saint-Pierre a toujours été sensible aussi à la qualité de son paysage. (Mont Saint-Pierre Staff 1)

²⁰⁰ Un moment donné on a fait une rencontre et on s'est dit qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec notre municipalité pour développer quelque chose pour qu'il se passe quelque chose. Déjà en 2003, on disait ça ne va pas bien. Il y a certaines réalités desquels on est conscient, la population commence à être vieillissante, les propriétaires ne veulent plus investir, c'est un problème, il est encore là aujourd'hui malheureusement. On a conféré entre nous à la corporation et on a sorti certains éléments. Et on a invité la population déjà en 2003 vous allez nous dire et on va prendre en note c'est quoi que vous verriez qu'on pourrait développer à mont Saint-Pierre. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff2)

In 2005, 2007 and 2008, we invited all members of the public to come to a public presentation and we had 75-80% of the population show up. Yes, Mont-Saint Pierre is small, but the majority of the population participated. There are about 200 people that live here throughout the year. We explained in detailed what we were trying to do and the people had lots of opportunities to ask questions and voice their opinions or concerns. And, to better work with the community, we organize work days, and people were OK with this. We were told that we met their expectations. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)²⁰¹

Mont-Saint-Pierre participants were of the opinion that the project has thus far been successful because all community members have been given the possibility to contribute to the project and shape the direction it has taken. Because of their ability to participate in the planning process since the project's onset, the vast majority of the village supports the project.

When developing a type of project like this, you need the support of the population; if it's not there, forgot about it, you need consensus. Not all 100% of the population is OK with the project, but everyone understands why we are doing it. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)²⁰²

Dialogue regarding the future expansion of the park through this PA proposal has occurred between community project leaders, GNP and the MDDEFP. All communication has thus far occurred informally through various in-person and telephone meetings and the relationship between actors is described as being positive and receptive by all participants. All communications have remained informal as the project must continue to be seen as being developed by the community with no or little input from government. Furthermore, the SEPAQ cannot make any formal statements since they are not a decision-making body.

They [SEPAQ] work with us, but it is our responsibility to do the work; in the beginning, we asked for their opinion which they gave, and with the last process, they are also OK with it, in Québec just as much as in the park here. I work directly with the Vice president of SEPAQ. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)²⁰³

²⁰¹ Une présentation publique; on a invité tous les gens à venir, en 2005, en 2007, et en 2008, on a eu pas loin de 75 à 80 % de la population. Il faut dire que Mont-Saint-Pierre est petit, mais la majorité de la population qui a assisté aux présentations. Il y avait à peu près 200 habitants qui demeurent à l'année. On a expliqué tranquillement ce que c'était et les gens avaient la chance de s'exprimer. Puis, quand on collabore avec la communauté, ça se fait avec des journées de travail. Ils étaient tous d'accord. Ce qu'ils nous avaient dit dans le passé ils considéraient qu'on avait répondu à leurs attentes. Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)

²⁰² Il faut que la population dans un projet comme ça, soit en arrière de toi. Si elle n'est pas là, oublie ça. Ça prend un consensus. Je ne te dis pas 100 % de la population est parfaitement d'accord mais tous le monde comprends. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)

²⁰³ Ils [SEPAQ] travaillent avec nous mais c'est sûr que c'est à nous à faire le travail; au début on leur a demandé leur opinion, ils nous l'ont donné, et avec les derniers éléments, ils sont d'accord avec ça. Autant à Québec qu'ici dans le parc. Je travaille avec Martin Soucy vice-président au parc. (Mont-Saint-Pierre Staff 1)

Yet, the village communicates with these provincial agencies in order to keep them updated on project proceedings and to obtain specific information and opinions regarding their proposal. The high level of acceptance from the residents of Mont-Saint-Pierre also demonstrates the benefits of developing public participation protocols from the onset of an idea.

7.2.6 Provincial and Regional Governments

RMCs and Municipalities

RMC and municipal participants that have a SEPAQ park within the boundaries of their administrative zone described their relationship with the parks as being open and positive since the SEPAQ was given the mandate to manage all the province's national parks in 1999. All regional government participants noted that before 1999, relationships were much more strained and often confrontational as they felt the government was not open to working with them.

When the park came to us with the idea of creating a harmonization table, all of us in the region were very happy that they were doing this, because we had no other way before this of communicating with the park. Before this, the only way to communicate with the park was to hold protests, mostly about having the park leave the region. We also met with people from Québec and we also had some arguments with them, it made no sense. (RMC Participant)²⁰⁴

All regional government and SEPAQ participants stated that one of the main tools that facilitated communication and allowed for collaborations to develop was the creation of harmonization committees. Each SEPAQ park has a harmonization committee which is comprised of regional actors. This committee allows the park director to share information and obtain feedback from regional actors. Although actors in the harmonization committee do not have decision-making powers, regional participants all noted that the park has a strong interest in

²⁰⁴ Quand le parc est arrivé avec l'idée de créer une table d'harmonisation on était tous contents dans le milieu que ça se fasse parce qu'on n'avait pas d'autres façons avant cela de pouvoir parler avec les gens du parc. La seule manière qu'on avait avant la table c'était de brasser un peu les gens de sortir les quartiers, faire du piquetage, surtout pour demander que le parc sorte de notre région. Ou bien on peut aussi se rencontrer avec des fonctionnaires de Québec et on avait des petits traquant et là ça brassait et on leur disait que ça ne faisait pas de bon sens. (RMC Participant)

listening to the comments and concerns of the region if they want to have or maintain their support.

It is in the best interest of the park to listen to us, they do not have to, but it's in their best interest. For example, their park plan on the last ten years is promoted through the slogan that they are partners in the region, so the harmonization table is a voluntary way for them to obtain a regional understanding, and it's in their best interest to obtain this. According to me, they do this very well. I think the manner in which they do this is quite impressive. (RMC Participant 1)²⁰⁵

This was confirmed by park staff indicating it would be counterproductive to not listen and take the comments made by the harmonization committee into consideration when planning.

However, participants noted that information presented in the harmonization committee does not always trickle down.

An important part of the harmonization table is that we get to know what is occurring within the SEPAQ. They are very open with this. For example, the shop owners of Perce complain about the SEPAQ, dam SEPAQ, and want them to leave, they have no idea that the park runs a deficit and that deficit is paid for by the people of Montreal. If we get rid of the SEPAQ, who will pay? They don't know this. (RMC Participant 1)²⁰⁶

The RMC of Cote de Gaspé noted that there is little to no communication with FNP because they operate at different government level.

So far, I have not dealt with the national park (FNP), because you know, they are federal, so municipalities are not subject to talking to them. In terms of the harmonization table that they have, I had no idea that it existed, maybe my boss knows about it? (RMC Participant 2)²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Le parc lui a tout intérêt à nous écouter, il n'est pas obligé de nous écouter mais a intérêt à nous écouter. Par exemple, tout leur plan directeur sur les dernières années est axé sur le slogan nous on est partenaire en région, alors la table d'harmonisation ces volontaires pour aller chercher le pouls des organisations du milieu, ils ont vraiment intérêt à le faire. Et d'après moi, ils le font très bien. Sérieusement, moi je trouve que c'est assez impressionnant la manière dont ils le font. (RMC Participant 1)

²⁰⁶ Qu'est-ce qui est très important avec les tables d'harmonisation c'est que nous on sache ce qui se passe à l'intérieur de la SEPAQ. Ils sont très ouverts à ce sujet-là. Par exemple les commerçants de Percer le hurlent contre la SEPAQ, maudite SEPAQ on veut mettre les mètres dehors, eux ne savent pas que le parc fait un déficit d'un demi-million et que tout cela est payé par les gens de Montréal qui vont à la plage de Oka. Eux ils ne savent pas ça, il pense que le parc lui fait de l'argent, mais si nous on vient pour mettre le parc dehors, qui va payer ce demi-million. (RMC Participant 1)

²⁰⁷ Jusque là, moi je n'ai pas encore eu affaire avec le parc national [FNP], parce que tu sais eu son fédéral et alors ce qui est municipal et non-assujettit. En termes du comité consultatif moi je n'étais pas au courant que ça existe mais peut-être que mon directeur ici lui en sait un peu plus. (RMC Participant 2)

Many municipalities and RMCs stated that national parks should serve as economic drivers for the region, noting that the SEPAQ parks did a good job of this, but that FNP was lacking, regarding both the current products and services offered,

There are lots of people fighting for increased economic investment and associated returns for FNP. There are lots of people within the RMC asking for this. We really want to try and promote the tourism potential and attraction that the park could be. The camping sites in the park and the electrical systems are really under-developed and dated, especially when you compare that with GNP. (RMC Participant 2)²⁰⁸

or, the way in which it is managed.

If we had a network of parks equivalent to the SEPAQ within Parks Canada, parks like Forillon, which is dilapidated, would not exist. The problem with federal parks is that the quality from one park to the next is not the same, whereas within Québec parks, the quality from one park to the next is the same. (RMC Participant 1)²⁰⁹

This is in accord with previous statements and perceptions noted above.

MNR Regional Office

As per the other case studies (see section 6.2.7), staff members at the MNR regional office in Gaspésie are heavily involved in all matters that affect regional land use planning and decision-making activities occurring on crown land. One of the main priorities related to conservation for the regional MNR office is administering the woodland caribou recovery plan. Associated with this recovery plan are the creation of forestry management plans that protect caribou habitat and the administration of the Legal Designated Caribou Protection Zone (LDCPZ) which covers the entirety of the GNP and the Chic-Choc wildlife reserve.

One MNR participant noted that there are some serious shortcomings to the legal framework under which the LDCPZ operates. Although no human development that destroys

²⁰⁸ Il y a beaucoup de gens qui militent pour l'investissement économique et des retombées économiques plus substantielles dans le parc [FNP]. Il y a beaucoup de gens à l'intérieur de la RMC qui demande cela. On veut vraiment revendre l'offre touristique du parc. Les campings dans le parc et les systèmes électrique sont vraiment sous-développé et daté surtout quand on compare ça avec le parc national de la Gaspésie. (RMC Participant 2)

²⁰⁹ S'il y avait réseau comme la SEPAQ à l'intérieur de parcs Canada, on n'aurait pas des parcs comme celui de Forillon à moitié détériorés au détriment de parcs ailleurs au Canada. Le problème avec les parcs fédéraux c'est que la qualité d'un parc à l'autre n'est pas pareille, tandis qu'avec les parcs à l'intérieur du Québec provincial la qualité est pareille d'un parc à l'autre. (RMC Participant 1)

damages or alters a biological element of the caribou habitat, such as forestry activities, is permitted, the LDCPZ does not take into account indirect impacts of recreation or tourism activities occurring at the landscape level. According to this participant, this obvious gap severely affects the management effectiveness of the LCDPZ.

The scientific literature documents quite well the negative impacts that outdoor recreation activities can have on caribou, but the law and regulations that preserve caribou habitat in the region do not address these types of activities because it does not have an effect on biological or physical attributes of the habitat. The law is really about protecting the physical and biological attributes, but not necessarily the actual species within the landscape. It can often omit certain components related to the biology of the specie. (MNR Staff)²¹⁰

There is a strong relationship between the MNR and GNP, typically regarding woodland caribou population status and threats. This relationship was described by both MNR and GNP staff participants as positive, open and functioning well, primarily because both actors have the same goals and objectives regarding the need to preserve the Gaspésie woodland caribou population.

The GNP staff are one of the most important partners that the MNR has because they not only support the MNR in the recommendations it makes to the government regarding the caribou, but the park also willingly adopts management strategies to protect the caribou. The fact that the park is responsible for managing the woodland caribou population within park borders facilitates this relationship.

It is a partnership that we think will be better for the conservation and re-establishment of the caribou and we work in teams to find the solution. It's a real partnership. We work together and decisions are taken together. (MNR Staff)²¹¹

²¹⁰ Dans les activités récréotouristiques, qui est assez bien documenté dans la littérature scientifique que ça peut avoir un impact négatif sur les caribous, la loi et règlements qui encadrent l'habitat légal du caribou de la Gaspésie n'incluent pas ces activités-là parce que ça n'a pas d'incidence sur un élément biologique ou physique de l'habitat. C'est clair, mais ce n'est pas une loi ou un règlement qui vise à encadrer l'ensemble des activités qui peuvent avoir lieu sur le territoire. C'est vraiment protégé physiquement et biologiquement le territoire mais pas nécessairement la bestiole qui s'y promène. Ça peut engendrer parfois certaines lacunes au niveau de la biologie de l'espèce. (MNR Staff)

²¹¹ C'est un partenariat de ce qu'on croit qui va être meilleur pour la conservation et le rétablissement du caribou et en travail en équipe sur les solutions. C'est un partenariat. C'est réellement un partenariat. On travaille ensemble, on se consulte, les décisions sont prises ensemble. (MNR Staff)

Communication between the MNR and the GNP occurs both formally and informally. Informal communications typically revolve around daily monitoring activities, the release of new scientific data regarding the state of the population and updates on the success of various management tools, such as the predator control program. All formal communications occur through the Recovery Team Meetings which also includes regional actors from the forestry sector, CRE, MNR central office and university professors. The diversity of actors present at this table ensures that decisions made will have a better chance of being socially accepted and regionally integrated into various land use activities as they reflect the opinions of multiple regional actors.

Having many different actors participate in the decision-making process allows us to obtain a consensus, and ensures that decisions are integrated and socially just. This partnership, with regional actors, researchers etc. ensure that there are nice dynamics and good solutions. (MNR Staff)²¹²

Formal meetings with the Recovery Team typically occur twice per year, but can be more frequent if site visits are required. Communication will also occur throughout the year with the Recovery Team through email and telephone conversations, specifically when the MNR has new information or is looking for feedback regarding the development of a new government proposal that may affect the caribou. This team essentially acts as advisors, or a ‘group conseil’ (MNR Staff), to the MNR.

The relationship between the MNR and the Recovery Team was described positively by multiple participants as everyone shares similar goals. Although participants have very different backgrounds and work orientations, their positive, open attitude and willingness to compromise permit them to work effectively together. One MNR participant noted that the success of these

²¹² Pour qu’ autour de la table, les décisions qui faisaient consensus, des décisions le plus possible intégré et plus socialement acceptable en bout de ligne en ayant eu des gens de différents groupes. Ce partenariat-là, faune régionale et pouvoirs régionaux avec la recherche, ça fait en sorte qu’il y a de belles dynamiques et de belles solutions. (MNR Staff)

decision-making processes is entirely dependent on the individuals present and not the institutional framework in which they operate.

Let's say that we have two people, who are really negative, it is certain that the atmosphere for decision-making will not be very good. But our way of making decisions, we like to achieve consensus, so for this, we need to foster positive attitudes. (MNR Staff)²¹³

Finally, the MNR recognizes that conservation efforts for the caribou in the region often face strong opposition from regional organizations such as hunters and fishers and from some members of the general population. The existence of this opposition is attributed to poor understanding of the ecological and biological benefits and resulting economic value associated with the caribou and its habitat. One MNR participant felt that these attitudes could be changed if a tool to better communicate and educate these population segments regarding the benefits associated with the existence of the caribou in the region existed. This participant felt very strongly that the school system in the region should have a program that talks about ecological systems and conservation in order to get the message out that conservation is important.

I think that teaching about biodiversity, conservation and ecosystems, they could do that in school. The caribou could be part of that. So when you talk to someone about biodiversity and concerns, such as the caribou, they will automatically make the link with what they learned in school. (MNR Staff)²¹⁴

However, some education and outreach activities do occur within the park, '*Le parc en fait beaucoup dans ses activités, dans les causeries et les guides naturalistes (MNR Staff)*'. These are seldom received by the regional community as few actually visit the park.

²¹³ Disons qu'on aurait une ou deux personnes qui seraient là de mauvaise foi c'est sûr que l'atmosphère dans l'équipe ne serait pas très bonne. Il y a un mode de fonctionnement aussi qui est consultatif, on aime travailler par consensus, dans cet esprit-là ça aide à avoir de belles dynamiques. (MNR Staff)

²¹⁴ Mais l'importance de la biodiversité, de la conservation des écosystèmes ça peut se faire de la maternelle jusqu'en secondaire cinq. Le caribou c'est une partie de ça. C'est inclus là-dedans et après ça quand tu dis à quelqu'un nous notre élément de biodiversité particulier sont entre autres le caribou de la Gaspésie, ça va tout de suite aller faire un lien avec ce qui a été appris à l'école. (MNR Staff)

MDDEFP Regional Office

As with the Mauricie region (see section 6.2.7), the MDDEFP regional office has very little to do with the PA planning process currently taking place. MDDEFP staff members are only mandated to analyze development projects that affect any part of the natural environment on private land as indicated by the Law on the Quality of the Environment. They also have an enforcement role where they are required to monitor the effects of projects on the environment which involves field inspections and monitoring, some of which occur within PAs, especially within ecological reserves, due to their extreme sensitivity to natural and human disturbances.

We mostly work on landscape scale analysis within the region, in which we also take into consideration the proposed PAs. In this context, we especially focus on the ecological reserve because that is what is most interesting for us here. When there are projects on public lands, these reserves are the most fragile; this is why we focus on them. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)²¹⁵

However, the MDDEFP has no legal enforcement powers regarding activities occurring on crown land and is, therefore, reliant on the MNR for conducting enforcement activities, a process that can sometimes be lengthy.

One MDDEFP participant noted that the topic of PA creation is rather contentious for many citizens because most of the central portion and southern tip of the region is already under either protection status, or land use activities are controlled by a provincial agency (e.g. Wildlife Reserves) or ZECs. These types of controls restrict the average citizen's ability to use public lands for traditional purposes of hunting and fishing.

People in the region use crown land for traditional uses such as hunting, fishing and trapping, its major here, its part of the culture. They play rough, the region is not very big, and the region between the Chaleurs Bay and the wildlife reserve, there is maybe 100km of land to play in. On the north side, there is maybe 15km between the ocean and the park. So the land area is small; so when we start to talk about PAs, people so no, because it is

²¹⁵ On va travailler au niveau de l'analyse en tenant compte des statuts des territoires protégés qui sont là. La partie qu'on va soutenir beaucoup, c'est vraiment la partie réserve écologique. C'est vraiment la partie qui nous intéresse beaucoup ici. Quand il se développe des projets en territoires publics, ce sont souvent les secteurs qui sont le plus fragile, le plus sensible. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

public land that we use. They want less restriction, there are already enough of these.
(MDDEFP Regional Staff)²¹⁶

The MDDEFP regional office is not participating in the PA planning process organized by the CRE and central office MDDEFP staff as this process falls under the responsibility of the central MDDEFP office. However, they think that making the CRE responsible for this public consultation process with regional actors is a wise move since the CRE is a respected organization within the region. Regional MDDEFP participants were also of the opinion that the delegation of decision-making powers from the central office to a regional organization and actors is important, valuable and a requirement if project deadlines and social acceptance are to be achieved.

I must say that I think it is good, the responsibility for decision-making is now given to regional actors who actually know the region. It's no longer the responsibility of the ministry to do this. Now, we can work with people from the region. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)²¹⁷

One participant noted that the government has realized it can no longer operate in a top-down approach if it wants to ensure that landscape planning exercises are accepted and respected by the average citizen. One of the reasons for regionalizing the current decision-making process for the PA planning exercise is a direct result of the 2009 exercise where most decisions were made by central government and whereby regional actors viewed these decisions as impositions. The new approach was devised to address previous shortcomings. Although the new process is much more time consuming, the expectation is that the final proposal will be much better accepted by regional actors.

²¹⁶ L'occupation du territoire par les gens ici se fait de façon traditionnelle. Donc la chasse la pêche, plus la chasse encore, et une préoccupation majeure. C'est majeur. C'est la culture, impressionnante. Ça joue serrer, le territoire n'est pas très grand, du secteur de la baie des chaleurs à la limite des réserves fauniques, calcule qu'il y a près de 100 km de territoires à jouer là. Quand tu tombes du côté Nord de la Gaspésie calcule qu'entre le bord de mer et le début des réserves et des affaires, Maximum 15 km. Donc le territoire n'est pas grand; quand on commence à parler d'aires protégées aux gens, ils disent non c'est un territoire libre qu'on utilise, on va à la chasse, on va à la pêche; les restrictions et les contraintes on en veut moins. Il y en a déjà assez. Ça joue sur différents tableaux. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

²¹⁷ Il faut dire que de plus en plus dans les régions, je trouve ça bien, la responsabilité de la concertation régionale est dévolue à des acteurs qui sont sur le terrain. Ce n'est plus nécessairement au ministère à faire ça. Maintenant on travaille avec les gens du milieu. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

Eventually, you can no longer work alone and make decisions for everyone. It is worth it sometimes to consult people so that you can effectively work towards actually presenting something. This often means longer processes than just making decisions in your silo. In my opinion, this new approach, even if it takes longer, it is more robust and enduring. The people get a sense of attachment and will more likely champion the project. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)²¹⁸

Finally, the concept of connectivity in the PA planning process is recognized but does not appear to be a regional priority. An MDDEFP participant noted that it would be possible to have such discussions during the CRE meetings but the ultimate decision to link PAs will be done through the central Québec MDDEFP office.

Conférence Régional des Élus (CRE)

As presented in the previous chapter (section 7.3.7), the CRE for the administrative region has been given the mandate by the MDDEFP to oversee the planning process for identifying potential PA sites with the assistance and input of regional actors. Unlike the Mauricie case study, the CRE for the region is in the preliminary planning process and has only held one meeting to introduce the project to regional actors. A CRE participant explains:

The CRE always works through consultative processes. The development of the region must be done through discussions with regional actors in order to find the best way to develop specific projects. For natural resources, we have a specific group that includes all actors related to this. Because of this, the MDDEFP approached us to conduct the PA planning process because we already have all the regional contacts. (CRE Staff)²¹⁹

Many participants within the region identified the CRE as an important actor regarding the planning process for PAs. These participants felt that the CRE was a respected organization within the region since it represents the voice of elected officials. Giving the CRE the

²¹⁸ À un moment donné tu ne peux plus avancer tout seul dans ta bulle en décidant pour tout le monde qu'est-ce qui est bien, qu'est-ce qui n'est pas bien. Ça vaut la peine des fois de consulter les gens pour arriver à une étape où tu peux mettre quelque chose de concret sur la table. Ce sont souvent des processus qui sont plus longs, que de décider en silos ce qui est bon et on le plante là et ça finit là. Sauf qu'à mon avis ce processus là, même s'il est long, il est plus durable. Les gens se sentent plus concernés donc ont plus tendance à bonifier le produit et aussi à en faire des vecteurs de diffusion. Ils vont en parler autour d'eux autres, quand l'information circule plus facilement les gens se sentent concernés. (MDDEFP Regional Staff)

²¹⁹ La CRE travaille toujours dans un mode de concertation. Le développement de la région se discute avec les intervenants naturellement pour trouver la meilleure façon pour atteindre les objectifs souhaitables du projet. Dans le cadre des ressources naturelles, on est un organigramme de concertation pour toucher aux gens du secteur de la faune, de la forêt, etc. Devant cette situation-là, le ministère du développement durable de l'environnement et des parcs du Québec qui a le mandat de bonifier et de consolider le réseau d'aires protégées québécois, a approché notre conférence régionale des élus pour notre CRE en évidence ici viennent en appui à leur démarche par rapport aux aires protégées. (CRE Staff)

responsibility for administering the PA identification process instead of a provincial government official would better resonate with regional actors and citizens.

One CEF participant discussed the importance of the forest to the people of Gaspésie in terms of providing household income and regional economic stability, as a food sources, and as a place to recreate. Therefore, when large-scale land use planning activities are instigated by outsiders²²⁰, it is very important to select how the message will be communicated to regional actors and by whom the message will be communicated. According to this participant, the CRE represents the voice of the region and is the best suited to undertake the PA planning exercise project because it has the respect of regional actors. Therefore, the likelihood of the project succeeding is higher.

If the CRE creates pressures to better conserve the caribou, they will really influence things. (Forestry Representative)²²¹

Another participant added that the CRE is the best organization to undertake the PA identification process with regional actors because these regional actors have a much better understanding and will bring local expertise to the decision-making process.

They [MDDEFP] know that we have developed a certain expertise in terms of public engagement, especially towards land use actors concerned with PAs. These actors really know the region and the region's reality. So we assume that they will come to the table with some knowledge and expertise which could be different than what the government staff would provide. (CRE Staff)²²²

However, certain RMC members feel that resource users have more influence in this decision-making process, which plays against the creation of PAs.

During our first meeting in June, there were also other actors from mining and oil and gas that had many arguments related to shale gas development within the region and spoke against the creation of PAs. So we noticed right away from the first meeting that when a

²²⁰ Many residents within the region continue to have a parochial mentality and are often prone to rejecting ideas that are not home grown.

²²¹ Si la CRE pousse pour avoir du poids et conserver le caribou, ça va influencer beaucoup les choses. (Forestry Representative)

²²² Ils [MDDEFP] savent que depuis qu'on a développé une certaine expertise en concertation notamment auprès des acteurs qui sont touchés par des aires protégées. Donc les acteurs régionaux en principe sont des gens de terrain, ils connaissent bien la réalité. On présume qu'ils vont apporter une connaissance et une expertise différentes que celles que pourraient apporter des gens au sein du ministère par exemple situés à Québec et qui seraient loin des réalités régionales. (CRE Staff)

land area could negatively influence resource development, the MNR would not allow this to happen, they are in favor of resource development. (RMC Participant)²²³

Collaboration between the CRE and central MDDEFP is described as positive. The MDDEFP process for creating PAs allows the CRE to be flexible in their approach for identifying PAs as they can receive input from the general population regarding important areas to protect through public consultation exercises. For example, the community of Mont-Saint-Pierre has long been working on creating a PA that would act as a corridor between the sea and the GNP.

The town of Mont-Saint-Pierre, it's been a while that they want to create a corridor that would link multiple PAs to GNP. That is the type of propositions we can obtain from the region. (CRE Staff)²²⁴

Although such activity was not mandated by the MDDEFP, the CRE felt it was an important exercise to conduct as it provides the province and the PA planners with a better understanding of regional demands and contexts which they can then incorporate in their planning analysis, something that would have otherwise been omitted.

When they [MDDEFP] did the first PA proposal for the June meeting, they knew that there was some demand in the region for PAs. These may not meet their ecological requirements, but it does meet social or economic needs of regional actors. This allows them to analyze our region that includes regional perspectives; this is why they have regionalized the decision-making process. (CRE staff)²²⁵

Further complicating the PA planning process is the juxtapositions of the natural ecological zones (see Figure 9) used to conduct the PA planning exercise and the delimitation of the administrative regions. Therefore, PAs proposed for one administrative region could very

²²³ Durant notre première rencontre au mois de juin il y avait d'autres intervenant donc une du secteur minier pétrolier et elle avait beaucoup d'argument en termes de développement due gaze dans la région et elle parlait très fortement contre les aires protégées. Alors, on a remarque dès la première rencontre que quand il y avait un territoire qui était pour empêcher les droits miniers que le ministère des ressources naturelles n'était pas pour permettre cela de se faire, c'est en faveur du secteur minier. (RMC Participant)

²²⁴ Le village de Mont-Saint-Pierre justement, ça fait longtemps qu'ils ont dans la tête de faire le corridor d'aires protégées qui rejoint le parc de la Gaspésie. C'est le genre d'initiative du milieu qui dans un appel de propositions on peut recueillir. (CRE Staff)

²²⁵ Quand ils [MDDEFP] échafaudent un premier scénario, ils savent déjà que dans la région il y aurait une volonté pour tel ou tel endroit, est-ce que ça comble nos besoins en termes de carence écologique oui ou non, mais ça comble des besoins sociaux économiques si les gens en ont manifesté le désir. Ça leur permet une analyse de notre situation qui inclut un intrant régional si on veut. C'est la raison pourquoi on a décidé de procéder à cet appel de propositions. (CRE Staff)

well be located in the neighboring administrative region if they share the same natural ecological zone, greatly complicating the analysis process for adjoining CREs.

We do share some biophysical characteristics with the lower St. Lawrence administrative region, and some PAs could be just as easily created in our region or theirs. Since they are farther ahead of us, it is important for us to catch up so that we can better determine where some PAs will be created. (CRE Staff)²²⁶

The lack of current mechanisms for collaborating between CREs coupled with the lack of uniformity across CREs in terms of differing planning progress further adds to this problem.

Neither FNP nor any of the SEPAQ parks are included in any of the discussions or planning exercises regarding increasing the total percentage of PA in the region since they are land managers for a specific land area. However, the CRE may approach them occasionally to request information regarding certain management challenges concerning PAs.

No, we did not include them in the committee on the premise that they are managers of a specific PA. It is probably not their place to participate in discussions concerning the creation of new PAs. Their mandate is to manage their PA; it is not about thinking where new PAs should be created. (CRE Staff)²²⁷

Finally, the concept of connectivity in the PA planning process for the CRE is not an important factor as they believe that this is the responsibility of the MDDEFP, even if the CRE is responsible for finalizing the location of PAs within the region.

But the need for connectivity, the MDDEFP already knows about this. I would think that they would incorporate this in their analysis. (CRE Staff)²²⁸

This opinion is interesting considering that the CRE plays an important role in identifying potential PA sites.

²²⁶ Les ensembles physiographiques qu'on partage avec la région du bas Saint-Laurent, il y a des carences écologiques qui peuvent être comblées par des aires protégées d'un côté ou de l'autre. D'une région ou d'une autre pour le même ensemble physiographique. Et comme la réflexion est déjà avancée c'est important pour nous d'essayer de rattraper l'écart qu'on a dans notre démarche par rapport à la leur pour plus facilement arrimer cette réalité. (CRE Staff)

²²⁷ Non on ne les a pas inclus dans le comité pour la raison qu'ils sont des gestionnaires d'une aire protégée spécifique. Ça n'appartient peut-être pas à eux de faire une réflexion régionale où il serait plus à propos d'avoir de nouvelles aires protégées. Leur mandat c'est de gérer leurs aires protégées. Ce n'est nécessairement pas un mandat de réfléchir. (CRE Staff)

²²⁸ Mais ce besoin de connectivité-là, le MDDEFP est déjà très sensible à ça. J'imagine qu'au sein de leur analyse ça fait déjà partie de leurs préoccupations. (CRE Staff)

7.2.7 ZECs

The ZECs have very little involvement in the regional PA planning process occurring with the MDDEFP and the CRE. However, some ZECs have participated in the creation of PAs in order to ensure the protection of migratory fish species, namely salmon, downstream from their ZECs.

For example, the ZEC de la Riviere Bonaventure was an active participant in the planning and creation process of the BEAR as this PA would increase the protection of salmon entering the Bonaventure River ensuring the presence of Salmon for the ZEC's clients.

So from the sea and inland for the first 8km, it is not under our jurisdiction, but the fish still swim through that area in order to get into the area that is under our jurisdiction. So, our work with the reserve began through the creation of a planning committee because there was a problem of silting at the mouth of the river along with dredging and drainage which impacted the fish. We were a participant at that table which was the starting point for the creation of the reserve. (ZEC Staff)²²⁹

One ZEC participant explained that the entire decision-making process for the creation of the BEAR functioned well as all decisions were made by consensus through the regional working group. The working group allowed the actors to come together, share their opinions and goals for the reserve, and to adopt management strategies that suite everyone participating.

That committee worked very well together. I think that we are able to speak and understand the viewpoints of other actors who may not agree with my position. We try to understand the elements of these different viewpoints so that we can develop compromises and come to agreement. (ZEC Staff)²³⁰

However, these meetings occur less frequently due largely to reduced funding and the associated inability to host participants in a set location.

²²⁹ Donc la partie de la mer au premier 8 km n'est pas sous notre juridiction par contre les poissons passent tous là pour accéder au territoire qui est sous notre juridiction. Donc, notre relation avec la réserve va débiter avec la mise en place d'une table de concertation du littoral parce qu'il y avait des problématiques dans l'ensablement de l'embouchure, de drainage, de dragage aussi fréquent dans les périodes de montaison de poissons et hors période et ainsi de suite. On était un participant important dans la table de concertation du littoral qui est l'élément embryonnaire de la création de la réserve. (ZEC Staff)

²³⁰ Ce comité-là travaillait très bien. Je crois qu'on est capable je parle pour moi je suis capable de me mettre dans la peau d'un intervenant qui n'est pas d'accord avec mes propos. Et d'essayer de comprendre les éléments qui l'amènent dans la discussion et d'essayer de trouver un compromis entre nous. (ZEC Staff)

Yes, the table was comprised of actors, and it was financed in large part by DFO, but Harper took out his axe and since then, meetings have been much less frequent. (ZEC Staff)²³¹

Yet, because the majority of actors reside within the relatively small town of Bonaventure (population ~2000), they often meet and discuss the new management directions or problems associated with the aquatic reserve in informal settings

It's that the frequency of meetings has diminished. We have much less formal ties with each other, we all know each other, we meet, we all live in the community, we see each other at the grocery store, we speak to each other, so no problems there [re: BEAR]. (ZEC Staff)²³²

Finally, the lack of provincial government presence in these meetings was identified as problematic by a ZEC participant.

We have never met anyone directly, maybe once a government staff came. All information was always presented to us through the committee. I don't think they are allowed to leave their office anymore. (ZEC Staff)²³³

7.3 Overall Factors Influencing Regional Integration

As in the previous chapter, this case study demonstrates that there are many factors, both formal and informal, that influence regional integration of actors for PA planning, management and related decision-making processes. The following two sections provide a summary of these factors.

7.3.1 Formal Processes for Regional Integration

Formal communication between regional actors occurs for multiple reasons and through various mediums. Many park staff participants (both Parks Canada and SEPAQ) stated that one of the main causes that led to formalized agreements is access to money. For example, the TNC

²³¹ C'est sûr que cette table de concertation c'était les intervenants; c'était financé en grande partie, je parle de la grande table de concertation par la MPO, pêche et océans, là-dessus aussi Monsieur Harper a sorti sa hache, c'est pour ça un peu que la fréquence des rencontres a énormément diminué. (ZEC Staff)

²³² C'est que la fréquence d'entrevue qui a pratiquement tombé. Là, les liens formels on n'en a beaucoup moins, mais, on se connaît tous, on se rencontre, on vit tous dans la communauté, on se croise l'épicerie ou on se croise à la tabagie ou on se croise chez Jean Coutu, on se parle, pas de problème de ce côté-là [re: aquatic reserve]. (ZEC Staff)

²³³ On n'a jamais rencontré directement peut-être d'abord une fois de mémoire, un représentant de fonctionnaires. Ça nous était toujours rapporté via la table de concertation du littoral. Il c'est peut-être présenté une fois mais c'est rare. Je pense qu'ils n'ont plus le droit de sortir des bureaux. (ZEC Staff)

and Parks Canada will develop collaborative projects but only when money becomes involved as it automatically creates obligations between actors and these must be formalized through written agreements. This formalization of obligations identifies responsibilities for each actor and provides greater accountability by ensuring that each actor understands exactly what they are required to do and how they will perform their duties.

It is money that forces us to formalize agreements. Because at a given point in time, we put money into a project, and automatically, this creates some kind of agreement. There are now obligations for each stakeholder in the project. (FNP Staff)²³⁴

TNC and FNP participants also noted that there are benefits to having formal arrangements with other actors for joint projects. Formal arrangements provide greater stability and ensure that goals are met as per an agreed upon timeline. Formal arrangements are often conducted when one actor does not fully trust another or when they have not previously worked with each other. Therefore, formal contracts can ensure that the work will be completed.

TNC, those are people that we know well and that we have good relationships built on trust with. This trust means it is much easier to work with them, when we don't know the person, or when we know there have been previous issues, this is when it is more important to formalize agreements. (FNP Staff 2)²³⁵

Many non-FNP participants discussed challenges regarding developing collaborative agreements or even communication channels with FNP. Non-FNP participants noted that the main issue preventing such developments was the high amount of bureaucratic red tape that staff at FNP had to go through in order to make decisions. These participants acknowledged that FNP was an important regional actor, but did not want to develop formal partnerships with the park due to differences regarding the speed at which decisions can be taken. The often long decision process for FNP hampers decision-making processes for other regional actors.

²³⁴ C'est l'argent qui leur formalises ou qui nous force de formaliser le projet. Parce qu'un moment donné, nous on met de l'argent dans le projet, pi alors automatiquement sa crée une entente et la, il y a des obligations pour chacune des parties prenantes dans le projet. (FNP Staff 2)

²³⁵ Conservation de la nature, ce sont des gens que l'on connaît bien avec qui on a des relations de confiance, quand on a une confiance qui criait c'est beaucoup plus facile de travailler avec eux, quand on connaît moins les gens ou quand on sait qu'il y eut des conflits antérieurs c'est peut-être plus important d'avoir des ententes formelles. (FNP Staff 2)

Many participants stated that formal collaborations are most often developed for specific projects and to address specific problems. Developing clear project goals, objectives or management strategies for issue-specific projects or problems is relatively easy to do. Furthermore, with issue specific projects, it is much easier to view or obtain results within a relatively short time period. For example, developing a management plan for an individual species, such as the woodland caribou population within GNP, was a straight-forward process because impacts from regional resource development and mitigation strategies are well known and can be easily communicated to and understood by regional actors.

All participants noted that most, if not all regional decision-making processes regarding regional land use development occurs through formal processes, notably, regional harmonization committees or consultation committees. Many participants did indicate that this decision-making process is arduous and time consuming, but well worth the effort because the delegation of power for decision-making from provincial government to regional actors ensures that decisions made better represent the regional opinions and values and are therefore better accepted.

Although there are numerous actors representing multiple organizations with different mandates, the structure that guides the decision-making process within these committees can ensure that final decisions are made through consensus.

We provide explanations that guide people to arrive at a consensus-based decision. Sometimes, we have to defer a decision to a later meeting because we need additional information in order to address specific concerns by people who oppose that decision. (Conseille de l'eau Participant)²³⁶

Certain participants commented that there was a lack of provincial government staff presence, either from the central or regional office, regarding the management of non-SEPAQ

²³⁶ Il y a des explications qui sont données de façon à amener la personne vers un consensus. C'est arrivé que la décision soit reportée; on a fait deux réunions et on a reporté un certain nombre de décisions à une prochaine rencontre parce qu'on devait documenter davantage certains éléments par exemple des mesures de mitigation, qui pourrait être acceptable pour la personne qui est contre. (Conseille de l'eau Participant)

PAs. For these participants, this is problematic because there is no government support for the management of these PAs. Regarding the BEAR, one participant notes:

There is one person from the regional office that participated in the creation of this, but we no longer hear from the regional office. At the provincial level, we have had email and telephone conversations, but I am not sure what is really going on. (Bonaventure Resident)²³⁷

Another participant noted that these PAs are not actually managed, other than the fact that they exist on paper.

We have had meetings with biologists, but after those, we have never had meetings with them. They came, they created, they left. It's too bad, because we really need to actually protect the reserve. One way or another, it needs to be protected, there needs to be people that come to the reserve to at least do some research to show that the reserve is being managed. We know of these facts because no one comes to do research. (Local Landowner Participant)²³⁸

Finally, certain ENGO and municipal participants who were proposing to develop a PA stated there are problems regarding the formal structure put in place by the MDDEFP for identifying and creating PAs. These participants felt that their PA proposals were not being taken into consideration because they fall outside of the parameters used by the MDDEFP to determine territorial PA deficiencies. Participants were perplexed that their proposals were not accepted since these would act as corridors for existing PAs.

Yes, they [MDDEFP] talk about it, in their document about connectivity. But I think it is a criterion that is overlooked due to the emphasis placed on having specific numbers of PAs in the various ecological zones. But we need a better balance of this. I think they will just deal with this later as they currently need to meet their target. But if we wait another 10 years, and that forest gets cut, sure, there might be connectivity, but there won't be biodiversity. (Project Chic-Choc)²³⁹

²³⁷ Il y a une personne de la direction régionale qui a assisté à l'élaboration de ça, mais depuis ce temps-là on n'entend pas parler de la direction régionale. Au niveau provincial on a eu des contacts par e-mail et téléphone, mais je ne sais pas ce qui se passe. (Bonaventure Resident)

²³⁸ On a eu la rencontre avec les biologistes, mais après ça on a jamais eu de contact avec eux. Ils sont venus, ils ont créé et ensuite ils sont partis. C'est dommage. C'est dommage parce qu'il faut vraiment que la réserve soit protégée. D'une manière ou d'une autre il faut que ce soit protégée, il doit y avoir du monde qui arrive avec des biologistes des écologistes doit dire qu'ils font de la recherche pour montrer que c'est important de protéger. On sait de se fait parce que il n'y a personne qui viendra à la réserve pour faire des suivis ou de la recherche. (Local Landowner Participant)

²³⁹ Oui ils [MDDEFP] en parlent; dans le document, c'est là. La connectivité, je pense que c'est un critère qui a été négligé pendant un moment à cause de l'importance mise sur la représentativité. Mais il faudrait qu'il y ait un équilibre qui revienne. Moi aussi j'ai l'impression qu'ils remettent ça à plus tard. Il faut qu'on remplisse la représentativité et après ça on verra. Nous, on s'est dit si on attend 10 ans cette forêt-là se faire couper, elle se fait couper il y en a toujours pas. Si on attend cinq ou 10 ans c'est bien beau la connectivité mais en va avoir moins de biodiversité. (Project Chic-Choc)

7.3.2 Informal Processes for Regional Integration

Most processes for communicating and collaborating amongst actors for the purposes of PA planning or management occur through informal mechanisms. These processes are shaped by the region's history of PA development, resource development activities and, cultural and social activities such as hunting and fishing. Most forms of communication take place through telephone and email conversations and, through participation in various regional committees.

Participants from FNP and TNC both noted that informal collaborative arrangements are the preferred method for conducting business. Such arrangements provide greater flexibility in the type of work that can be done and the manner in which it is conducted. For FNP, informal collaborative arrangements allow park managers to operate outside the confines of Parks Canada's bureaucracy and to participate in projects that would otherwise likely garner negative public attention if formalized.

Many participants also indicated that informal arrangements often tend to have little associated cost and projects can be developed very quickly. For example, informal collaborations between FNP and the TNC are perceived as very beneficial due to the history of the national park's creation and the work it is doing in collaboration with the TNC. Furthermore, the relationship between the TNC and FNP has been developed over many years of working with each other and, therefore, a high level of trust and understanding has developed between the two negating the need to formalize agreements.

Many participants stated that they are involved in multiple committees within the region and viewed this positively. Participants noted that through their participation in these committees, they frequently interact with the same regional actors and, therefore, develop

working relationships with them. Being able to observe and understand the positions that these other actors have regarding various land use activities builds trust and facilitates the decision-making process. One participant clearly explains this stating:

I think the community is the most important in terms of creating dialogue, and on other committees, you see the same people, these people continually interact with each other. They meet each other multiple times a year on different committees for entirely different subjects, so they develop relationships with each other. You know the person, you know if they are a friend or enemy, you know which strategy to adopt when you speak with them. There is not a lot of mistrust or animosity present. (ZEC Participant)²⁴⁰

Although most regional land use decision-making occurs through formalized committee tables, numerous participants indicated that the success or failure of these tables is not due to their formalized structure, but rather is dependent upon the individuals participating in these committees. One participant notes:

You know, I think that it is really all about who is there, it's really about the individual, there needs to be a certainly openness to share and to want to work in collaboration with each other. At the professional level, we see this all the time, people need to be willing to collaborate. In my case, history has played a role, for example, with staff at IBRPNP, I went to school with them so communication is easy because we know each other. So this link facilitates communication. (FNP Staff 2)²⁴¹

Multiple participants indicated that understanding the limits of each actor, gained through participation at these tables and elsewhere, greatly facilitate the process for developing collaborations because they understand each other. Furthermore, the notion of trust and willingness to listen and accept the ideas and concerns of others is also very important in developing effective partnerships:

²⁴⁰ C'est vraiment la communauté, d'après moi c'est ça qui facilite beaucoup les échanges, on est sur d'autres comités et c'est les mêmes visages les mêmes personnes qui se recroisent sur d'autres comités. Donc on se côtoie dans d'autres comités, veut, veut pas, ça tisse des liens. Si tu as trois rencontres de la table de concertation dans l'année, et tu en as eu trois autres pour un autre comité mais c'est les mêmes représentants, ils se côtoient sur des comités différents pour des sujets complètement différents mais ce sont les mêmes individus qui se côtoient, donc il se développe un lien. Tu connais l'individu, tu peux cibler si c'est un ami ou un ennemi, un ami; telle stratégie à adopter quand tu discutes avec lui. Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'animosité, de méfiance. (ZEC participant)

²⁴¹ En partant, je pense que c'est vraiment une question de qui est en place, c'est vraiment relié à l'individu comme tel, il faut qu'ils aient une certaine ouverture à partager et à travailler en collaboration, au niveau professionnel en le voit tout le temps, il faut que les gens soient ouverts à participer et à collaborer. C'est certain que dans mon cas, l'historique joue un rôle, par exemple avec Mélanie j'ai travaillé avec elle qui est avec elle ça facilite la communication parce qu'on a un point d'attache qui date du pas assez, mais comme avec Claude, j'ai travaillé avec lui au passé. Alors il existait encore déjà des liens allant d'un manque ça facilite la communication ou l'approche. (FNP Staff 2)

Yes, it is always more flexible when we know the limits of everyone and know what everyone is able to do. There always needs to be openness to new ideas. In my mind, a public participation process is when people come with new ideas and we need to be able and willing to receive these. (FNP Staff 2)²⁴²

Certain participants noted that a proper understanding of the culture and history of the region is important when asking for input from regional actors, noting that the MDDEFP has difficulties with this:

We are really talking about the relationship between people and the region, which is a very powerful concept. That's why that when you go to work in a community, to convince them, you must touch on key elements that are important to them to justify your project. And this, this is a language that the ministry does not have. We are able to complete projects because we speak the same language as the people here and they trust us in a certain way. (Conseille de l'Eau Staff)²⁴³

7.4 Chapter Summary

The creation of FNP continues to have a negative effect on the manner in which the park can incorporate and collaborate with regional actors in management and decision-making processes. Furthermore, the heavy bureaucracy associated with decision-making process for Parks Canada appears to be hampering FNP staff's ability to develop formal and informal integrated projects with other PAs and regional actors. The recent budget cuts by Parks Canada further reduced the ability of the park to deliver services and to cooperate with other actors.

Communication between FNP and SEPAQ parks in the region occurs on a semi-regular basis for issue-specific reasons. However, formal integrated management between the three parks does not occur due to differences in each park's management mandates. Many participants identified the lack of involvement of MDDEFP, either from the central or regional office, as

²⁴² C'est certain que c'est toujours plus flexible quand on connaît les limites de chacun et ce que chacun capable de faire. Il faut qu'il faut qu'il y est une volonté de recevoir des nouvelles idées. Moi dans ma tête, un processus de participation c'est quand les gens amènent des nouvelles idées et que nous on doit être prêt à les recevoir. (FNP Staff 2)

²⁴³ On parle vraiment de la relation des gens avec leur territoire, c'est très puissant cette chose-là. C'est pour ça que quand tu vas travailler avec les communautés, les convaincre, il faut que tu ailles toucher ces éléments-là pour dire pourquoi on fait ça. Et ça, c'est un langage que les ministères ne sont pas capables d'avoir. Nous, on a pu mener à bien des initiatives en collaboration, mais pas les ministères, parce que nous on parlait le même langage que les gens et les gens nous faisaient confiance d'une certaine façon. (Conseille de l'Eau Staff)

problematic regarding the management and enforcement of specific PAs such as ecological reserves, or as decision makers such as with the BEAR.

Finally, the new regionalization for decision-making through various harmonization tables and other similar committees is viewed positively by participants. Although this process significantly increases the duration of the decision-making process, participants recognized that the final decisions will actually reflect regional expectations and will be better understood and respected by regional actors.

This case study highlights the finding that large-scale PA creation targets often produce paper parks, with insufficient funding and management capacity. The provincial maps of PAs look good on paper, but produce an unrealistic picture of management capacity and effectiveness.

8.0 Saguenay-Lake St. Jean Park Region

This chapter is organized in four sections. The first section provides context for the Saguenay-Lake St. Jean region. Within this first section, five contextual elements are presented which have the potential to influence, or are related to the integration of PAs within this case study. The second section of this chapter presents the relationships between PA jurisdiction staff and regional actors. Various aspects of the relationship (e.g. types of communications, power, mechanism that foster interactions, changes in interactions over time) are presented from the viewpoint of each PA jurisdiction and actor. The third section of the chapter presents the overall perspectives regarding formal and informal arrangements for communication, decision making and collaboration between PA jurisdictions and regional actors. The final section provides some concluding remarks.

8.1 Case study context

8.1.1 Regional Overview, Demographics and Economy

The region is located approximately three hours north of Québec City along the north shore of the St. Lawrence and has a total land area of 106,508 km² (See Figure 6). It is the third largest administrative region in the province in terms of land area, after the Nord-du-Québec and Cote-Nord regions. The majority of the region is classified as crown land (94%) while the remainder (6%) is private, mostly located along the Saguenay River and Lake St. Jean.

The total population of the region for 2013 was 278,069 persons, a 7% decline since 2006. The average age of the population in 2013 was 43.2. In 2013, 26.04 % of the population was 24 years of age or younger, 55.35 % is between 25-64 years of age and, 18.61 % is over the age of 65 (Institut de la Statistique, 2014b). The majority of the population resides within the municipalities of Saguenay (143,953), Alma (30 098), Dolbeau- Mistassini (14,158), Saint-

Felicien (10,355) and Roberval (10,221), all of which are located in the area around Lake St. Jean and the Saguenay River. The rest of the population is distributed across the region in small villages. Of the five listed municipalities above, the City of Saguenay and Alma are the most important centres in terms of essential services and regional government offices (Institut de la Statistique, 2014b).

There are five RMCs within the Saguenay region: le Fjord-du-Saguenay, Lac Saint-Jean-Est, Domaine-du-Roy, Maria-Chapdelaine and Saguenay. These five RMCs regroup forty-nine municipalities. The majority of the municipalities are located in the southern portions of the region as the interior is crown land and largely uninhabited (Québec, 2014c). There is one FN reserve (Innu of Mashteuiatsh) within the region located on the western side of Lake St. Jean within the RMC of Domaine-du-Roy (Québec, 2014c). Two other FN communities are located immediately outside of this administrative region but have historical ties to the area. The Innu of Issipit community is located along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, north of the Saguenay River in the town of Les Escoumins. The second community, the Wendake Hurons, is located north of Québec City. All three of these aboriginal communities use the lands within this region for hunting, fishing, trapping and spiritual purposes. Members of these communities are also involved in various land use planning committees such as the PA planning process organized by the CRE.

Road infrastructure in the southern portion of the region allows for easy movement between municipalities. Major highways (175 and 155) connect the region to the large urban centres of Québec City and Montreal while smaller highways (169 and 170) connect communities along the Saguenay and Lake St. Jean. Access to the northern portion of the region is limited but it can be reached using logging roads.

8.1.2 Economy

The average income per household before taxes is \$66,120 (Institut de la Statistique Québec, 2014b). The goods producing sector provides 24.77% of all employment while the service sector provides 75.22% (Institut de la Statistique, 2014b). Yet, the economy of the region is predominantly based on natural resources such as forestry, agriculture and hydroelectric development and primary product transformation of wood and aluminum smelting (CRRNT, 2011). The largest non-government employers (500 employees +) in the region are Abitibi-Bowater, Bleuets Sauvages du Québec, Rio Tinto Alcan, and Usine de Congelation Saint-Bruno. Major industries in the service sector include retail stores, insurance, administrative services, healthcare, and tourism services (Québec, 2010b).

The total workforce for this region in 2013 was 123,500 compared to 126,000 the previous year. The unemployment rate in the region is 12.4% and is attributed to a lack of employment opportunities and job losses as a result of struggling natural resource sectors (Institut de la Statistic, 2014b). The low number of employment opportunities and the high unemployment rates have been some of the poorest in the province since 1987. Much of this decline in employment opportunities and unemployment rates is attributed to the collapse of forestry industry in the 1990s, and the early to mid-2000s. Like many areas in the province dependent on natural resources, this region has faced an important exodus of its population to large urban centers within the province (Institut de la Statistic, 2014b).

The region has faced important challenges regarding various economic sectors and population changes dating to the 1990's. Since then, the region's population has undergone demographic changes including decreasing birth rates, an ageing population, and outmigration of youth and young adults to large urban centres within the province. One of the major constraints is the lack of economic diversification of manufacturing which makes the region's economic

stability vulnerable to changes within the Canadian and larger North American markets. For example, the forestry crisis that impacted this region in 2003 has had a major negative effect due to reduced market demand which has resulted in the closure or slowdown of multiple pulp and paper factories (CRRNT, 2011).

8.1.3 Biophysical Environment

The region's climate is characterized as humid continental with a warm summer (average July temperature of 24-25°C) and a cold winter (January average temperature of -22-20°C) with an annual temperature variance of -1.8°C (highlands) and 2.3 °C (lowlands). The region has snow cover for approximately 6 consecutive months of the year (November-April). Annual precipitation varies between 886.9 mm and 964.4 mm which is less than the provincial average of 1230 mm. Predominant winds vary depending on the season, coming from the south in the summer and north during the winter (CRRNT, 2011).

There are two distinct land formations within the region: 1) the low-lands of the Lake St. Jean and Saguenay River (0-200m above sea level), and 2) the highlands (200-500m above sea level) (CRRNT, 2011). The low-lands span from east to west across the region and are bordered on the North and South by the Saguenay escarpment. The majority of the region's population and agro-industry is present within this area. The highlands formation forms part of the Canadian Shield and is characterized by its rugged topography and irregular hydrological systems. The delineation between the low-lands and highlands is represented by the Saguenay escarpment. The majority of the region's forest resources, wildlife, hydroelectric potential and recreational attractions are present within the highlands formation (CRRNT, 2011).

There is one main watershed basin, the Saguenay River, and due to the geography of the area, streams and rivers follow a dense hierarchical order. The Saguenay River watershed is approximately 88,000 km² and is the second largest watershed of the St-Lawrence River and the

fourth largest in the province. An important feature of this watershed is Lake St-Jean which has a total area of 1,053 km², a depth of 68m, and 210 km of shoreline (CRRNT, 2011). Many large rivers and the Lake St-Jean within this watershed are controlled by dams for hydroelectricity. The Saguenay River transects the region through its center and empties into the St-Lawrence River between the Municipality of Tadoussac and Baie-Saint-Catherine. The river has a total length of 175km, an average width of 2km, and depths in some areas of 275m. The majority of the region's population is located in areas immediately adjacent to the river or one of its main tributaries, causing important water quality issues (CRRNT, 2011).

Over 88% of the region's land mass is forested and approximately 95% of this forest cover is located on crown lands. The dominant tree species is black spruce. There are three dominant vegetation zones: the boreal forest (94%), mixed forest (5%) and, taiga (1%). Within these three zones, four bioclimatic regions impact tree species distribution. The main bioclimatic region is characterized by a black spruce dominated forest. Fir and white birch forests are located in the southern portions of the region. Along the Lake St-Jean and Saguenay River, fir and yellow birch forest are the dominant forest covers. In the northern part of the region, the forest is comprised of spruce and lichen (1%), representing some of the last virgin forests within the province.

The region's dynamic ecosystems are home to many species. Large species such as moose, black bear, white-tailed deer and caribou are present in varying numbers and distributions. Moose and black bear are found throughout the region and are the main animals sought after by hunters. The white-tail deer population is very small and is limited to the southern portion. Woodland caribou are present within the northern limits but their population is in steep decline due to habitat change. The St. Lawrence and Lake St-Jean serve as the main resting and summering grounds for waterfowl, songbirds and raptors. The region has a rich

diversity of aquatic species, largely attributable to presence of fresh, salt and brackish aquatic systems. Important species include the brook trout, walleye, pike, Atlantic salmon and beluga whales.

8.1.4 Institutional History

A significant event in the regional integration of PAs and regional actors within the Saguenay region is the creation and development of the SSLMP. The history of this park's creation has and continues to impact the relationship between park staff and regional actors.

8.1.4.1 History of the Creation of the Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park

Discussions regarding the establishment of a marine park in the Saguenay-St. Lawrence area were held by different actor groups and influenced by various factors well before its formal creation in 1998. The area that is now the SSLMP as well as the SFNP was first recognized as important in terms of conservation by both the federal and provincial government in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Beginning in 1970, the federal government in collaboration with the provincial Liberal government began the process of developing a tentative agreement to create a federal national park composed of both the land on either side of the Saguenay Fjord as well as the Saguenay River and part of the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the river. Unfortunately, in 1976, a provincial election was declared. The newly elected Parti Québécois government, led by Rene Levesque, had a stated goal of achieving independence for the province and as such, did not agree to cede provincial lands to Parks Canada. Furthermore, this same government would create a provincial National Park in 1983 on the land portion of the Fjord (now SFNP) essentially rendering the previous park proposal useless.

The original project was to create a National Park of Canada that would encompass all of the shores along the fjord and the fjord itself, and also a section of the mouth of the river. I think it was Lévesque that was there at the time, this is what I remember, but he did not sign whatever was needed to transfer this land to the feds, and an election was declared

and the project just ceased. Afterwards, Québec created the SFNP in 1983 on both shores. (Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁴⁴

In reference to the creation of the SFNP, another Parks Canada participant adds:

Afterwards, the province just ignored the feds, but they did manage to create the Saguenay marine park alongside the terrestrial park. (Parks Canada Staff #2)²⁴⁵

During this same time period, a young reporter named Leone K. Pippard undertook a five year behavioral study focusing on the St-Lawrence Beluga. This project, which took place between 1973 and 1978 focused on understanding the impacts of industrial developments within the Saguenay region on the health of the beluga population and the Saguenay St. Lawrence River. The results of her study demonstrated that the Beluga population was severely affected by natural resource transformation, such as pulp and paper and aluminum smelting, occurring upstream in the Saguenay River along with unregulated whale watching activities. In 1983, she wrote a report for the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) which led to the St. Lawrence beluga being added to the endangered species list. Furthermore, she published multiple reports for Parks Canada; was an active participant in the development of the St. Lawrence Action Plan (1988-1993); and was a main proponent for the creation of a national park at the mouth of the Saguenay River (Loi sur les especes en peril, 2012). Finally, she also organized the Forum for the Beluga, held in 1988, to discuss the state of the St.

Lawrence beluga. This meeting was crucial to the establishment of the SSLMP:

The beluga forum, that's where the recommendation to create a marine park at the mouth of the Saguenay River was first made. This forum is where a large coalition for creating a marine park was established. (Parks Canada Staff #2)²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Le projet d'origine était un parc national du Canada qui allait couvrir toutes les rives du fjord terrestre et le fjord comme tel. Et aussi une partie de l'embouchure. Je crois que c'était Lévesque qui était là, je te dis ce que dont je me souviens mais il n'a pas signé ce qu'il fallait pour céder les terres du Québec et une élection s'est déclenchée et le projet est tombé à l'eau. Par la suite le Québec a créé le parc national du fjord du Saguenay en 1983 sur les deux rives. (Parks Canada Staff #1)

²⁴⁵ Mais après ça, la province a fait un pied de nez au fédéral, façon de parler car maintenant ils ont fait le parc du Saguenay que maintenant il s'appelle le parc national du Saguenay la portion terrestre. (Parks Canada Staff #2)

²⁴⁶ Le forum sur le bélouga c'est là où on a eu la première recommandation à l'effet qu'un parc marin devrait être créé à l'embouchure [du Saguenay Saint-Laurent]. Le forum sur le bélouga c'est là où tu as eu une grosse coalition, une coalition créée pour la création du parc. (Parks Canada Staff #2)

Many participants interviewed for this research give credit to Leone Pippard for bringing together local and regional actors and having them see the need for the creation of a marine PA in the Saguenay area.

It's her (Léone Pippard) that obtained endangered species status for the beluga, and she really mobilized people from the region and gained their support for the creation of a park. It was really bottom up instead of top-down. She got a lot of people on board. (Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁴⁷

Another participant indicated that her [Leone Pippard] ability to bring people together, from local individuals to government officials was crucial to the creation of the SSLMP:

It's because of her, she is well spoken, she was a journalist and she was able to get into government offices at both the provincial and federal levels and she knew how to speak to politicians, and how to get them thinking about the project, and she knew how to reach local people in order to get something done. (Parks Canada Staff #2)²⁴⁸

Although Ms. Pippard was instrumental in having the St-Lawrence Beluga recognized as an endangered species, many participants related to the SSLMP acknowledged that the reason the park exists today is attributable to the work that a few select local residents and entrepreneurs (in this case, one and the same) did throughout the 1980s and early 1990s in promoting and demonstrating the need for an MPA within the Saguenay region to other regional residents and to federal authorities including the prime minister at the time, Brian Mulroney. A local resident explains her role in the creation of the SSLMP:

I provided a lot of recommendation in the 1980s, based on scientific studies and personal observations for the need to create a marine park; especially to lessen the risk and preserve the habitat of marine mammals. I also organized and managed multiple public consultations to discuss the possibility of creating a marine park. All these meetings allowed us to really understand the regional contexts, and to take these into considerations in the creation of the park. Furthermore, to promote the idea of a park, we even had the prime minister, Brian Mulroney come. Plus, he was a childhood friend, so I told him that for his north shore, he could do something nice, and that marine excursions here would

²⁴⁷ C'est elle (Léone Pippard) qui a obtenu le statut d'espèce en perdition pour le bélouga, et elle a beaucoup mobilisé les gens du milieu pour créer un parc. Cela a été 'bottom up' plutôt que 'top-down'. Elle a réussi à mobiliser beaucoup de gens. (Parks Canada Staff #1)

²⁴⁸ C'est grâce à elle, elle est très articulée, elle était journaliste et elle rentrait autant dans les bureaux du gouvernement provincial et fédéral et elle savait comment parler aux politiciens et comment mettre les politiciens sur la sellette et comment aller chercher les gens locaux pour arriver à établir quelque chose. (Parks Canada Staff #2)

become the main industry. At a political level, it is him that started the process for creating a park. (Tadoussac Resident)²⁴⁹

A local resident from Tadoussac who was a prominent actor in promoting the idea of a MPA to local residents and businesses indicated that the MPA was needed as it would control the growing whale watching industry in the region. The whale watching industry within the Saguenay St. Lawrence region was developing at a rapid rate during the 1980s but regulations for this activity were non-existent. This rapid growth and lack of guidelines for the whale watching industry were problematic as it was feared that it could lead to the demise of the beluga population, ultimately ruining the tourism product. The regional perspective was that an MPA would provide strict guidelines regarding whale watching practices while ensuring the sustainability of the product.

In the 1980s, there were also many large marine-based tourism businesses that emerged very quickly, and this created many political problems in terms of access to the docks. The creation of a marine park was seen as a tool for control. (Tadoussac Resident)²⁵⁰

Interestingly, Québec, which was the province most opposed to the transferring of lands and powers to the federal government, agreed to collaborate with Parks Canada in the creation of a National Marine Protected Area. This approach respected all provincial rights and forced Parks Canada to modify its approach to park creation, primarily in regards to land transfers, administration and management responsibilities. This issue of land transfer was resolved in 1988, and in 1990 after 18 months of negotiation, the federal and Québec governments reached an agreement regarding how the area would be managed (Gauthier, 1988).

²⁴⁹ Moi, j'avais fait plusieurs recommandation dans les années 80, baser sur des donner scientifique and des observations personnel pour demander la création du parc marin. Surtout pour amoindrir le risque et pour préserver l'habitat de mammifère et oiseaux marins. Il y aussi eu plusieurs consultation public don moi j'avais pris en charge pour discuter la possibilité de crée un parc. Toute c'est rencontre on permit de comprendre tous les contextes régionaux et des les prendre en considération dans la récréation du parc. En plus, pour promouvoir l'idée d'un parc, on a fait venir le premier Ministre, Brian Mulroney. En plus, il était un ami d'enfance alors moi, je lui est dit, pour ta Cote Nord, tu pourrais faire quelque chose de bien, et l'excursion en mer ici vas devenir l'industrie première de la région. C'est lui qui a commencé la démarche du parc marin au niveau politique. (Tadoussac Resident)

²⁵⁰ Dans le années 80, il y a aussi eu plusieurs gros développment très très rapide de l'exploitation touristique des mammifère marins, et des gros enjeux politique en termes d'accès au quai. La création d'un parc marin était vus come un outil de contrôle. (Tadoussac Resident)

Beginning in 1990, Parks Canada and the Ministry of Hunting, Fishing and Leisure (the provincial Ministry responsible for provincial parks at the time) began a joint consultation program to determine the limits of the marine park. This consultation process saw high levels of active multi-actor group involvement including municipalities, tourism organizations, resource industries, environmental groups and individual citizens (Canadian Ecology Advocates, 1991). Over 100 recommendations were made by these actors with most of them proposing park enlargement to better protect the beluga population. The incorporation of regional actors in this decision-making process is not surprising considering that many of these representatives founded the Coalition for the Saguenay St. Lawrence Park a few months before the formal agreement between the province and the federal government was signed. Members from this group saw the benefits associated with the creation of a marine park (environmentally and economically) and wanted to guarantee the better protection of this area for future generations. Furthermore, these members also expressed to both governments their strong desire to be actively involved in the planning, development and management of the park (Canadian Ecology Advocates, 1991). The decision-making process for outlining the park's boundaries and for assigning management responsibilities was a work in progress since no such park, with multiple jurisdictional actors, had been created in Canada before²⁵¹. In 1993, the boundaries of the marine park were formally announced and work began on crafting two mirrored park acts, one for each level of government.

That was done after we arrived here. It was in 1993 that we started doing public consultations to define the limits of the park. Before starting work on the regulations, we had to decide where the park was going to be located. So after the consultations in 93, the park actually doubled in size. (Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁵²

²⁵¹ Although the Fathom Five National Marine Park was created in 1987, the process for its creation could not be used as precedent due to the vastly different political and social context concerning the establishment of the Saguenay St-Lawrence Marine Park.

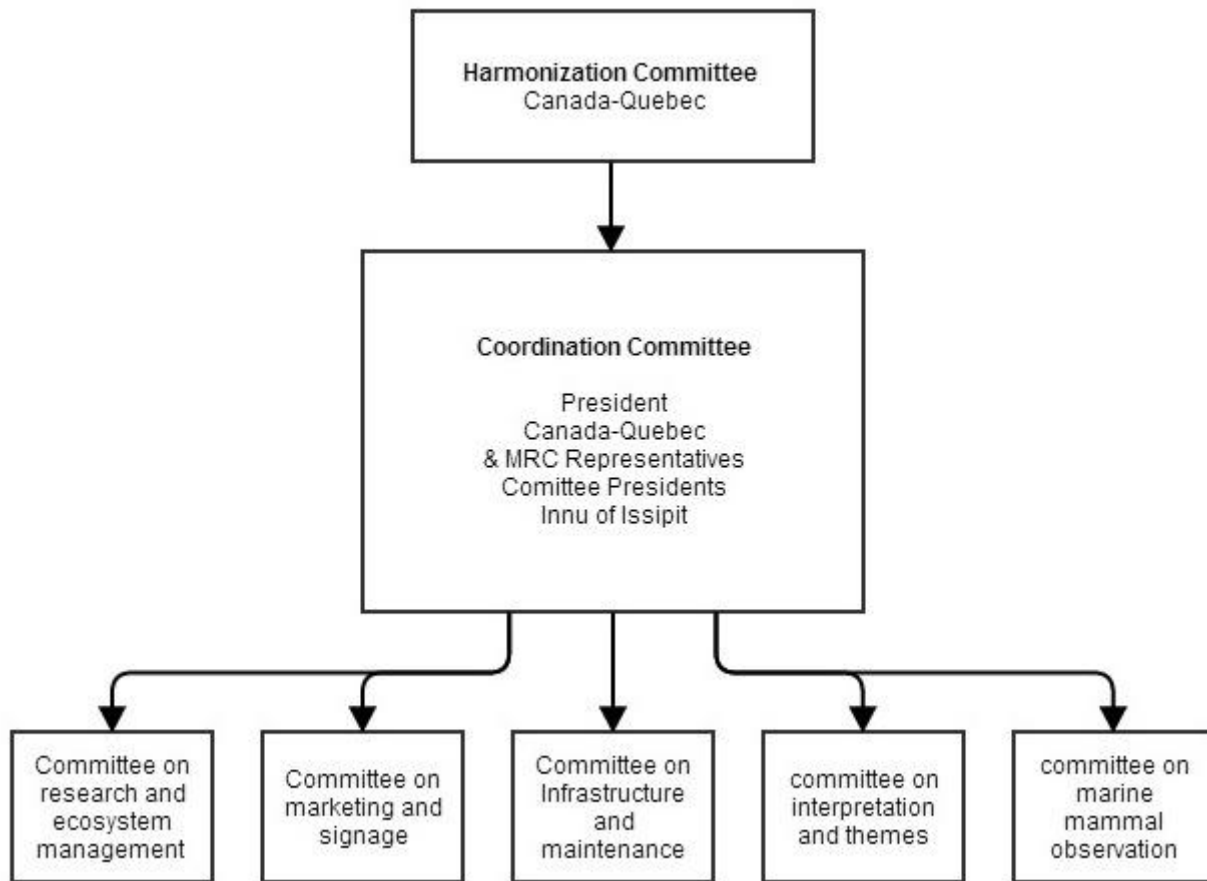
²⁵² 8. Cela s'est fait après notre arrivée, c'est en 93 qu'ils ont faits les consultations publiques sur les limites. Avant de commencer à travailler sur les règlements il faut décider où on va faire le parc et suite aux consultations publiques de 93, le parc a doublé de superficie. (Parks Canada Staff #1)

Although two different park acts were created, each one was essentially the same with slight nuances in order to fit with their respective governments' agenda and language. Since there was no precedent regarding this type of marine PA, drafting these acts was a long-term process. One Park Staff participant that was present during that time period described the process as:

It took eight years because creating laws and regulations is a lot of work. There existed no legal tools at that time for creating a marine park. I often described the process for creating the park as a science experiment. We would try something to see if it worked or not. The people working on writing the laws, there are two laws, which mean it is twice as long, Québec and Canada. (Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁵³

Due to the nature of the park and the management jurisdictions involved, a coordination committee was established through the provincial/federal agreement signed in 1990. The coordination committee was originally designed as a mechanism to establish concerted actions by the partners based on each government's natural and cultural resources and the assigned areas of intervention. The committee was composed of senior administrators from both governments and was tasked with coordinating provincial and federal interventions such as planning, research and promotion of the park. However, the process for identifying the boundaries of the park highlighted the differing opinions and needs of various regional actors impacted by the park, and demonstrated a need to incorporate these actors in decision-making process regarding the park (Maltais, n.d.). Through the development of the park management plan and the tabling of the park acts, the definition of the coordination committee was broadened to incorporate not only provincial and federal staff, but also key actors from the region (Figure 11). This structure of the coordination committee endures to this day and regulates who can participate in the committee.

²⁵³ Cela a pris huit ans parce que créer des lois et règlements c'est du sport. Il n'existait aucun outil légal à ce moment-là au Canada pour créer une aire marine protégée. J'ai souvent décrit le parc marin comme une expérience scientifique. Ils ont dit on va essayer pour voir si ça marche. Le gars qui a travaillé sur la loi, il y a deux lois, il ne faut pas oublier, c'est deux lois, on peut dire plus que deux fois plus longues; de tout arrivait ça, la loi du Québec et la loi du Canada. (Parks Canada Staff #1)



Parks Canada, (2007)

Figure 11. Coordination Committee Layout

8.1.5 Governance Arrangements

This section presents a list of key regional actors for this case study. A short overview of their decision-making powers, responsibilities in regards to PA creation, planning or management and their relevance to specific PAs is provided in Table 16. As described in chapter 3, key regional actors for this study were identified through snowball sampling practices. The following list may not be comprehensive of all actors (agencies, groups or individuals) within this region but rather, represents important actors as identified by study participants.

Table 16. Regional Actors and Responsibilities

Key Regional Actors for PAs	Overview of their responsibilities
Saguenay St. Lawrence Marine Park (SSLMP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year round permanent staff at the park²⁵⁴ • Operate multiple visitor service activities • Conduct park wide ecological integrity programs such as prescribed burns • Organize and host consultation table with regional actors • Collaborate with ENGOS for the protection of species such as marten
SEPAQ National Parks Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year round permanent staff • Hold quarterly harmonization tables with regional actors • Sharing of information with the SEPAQ staff at the SSLMP • Conduct park wide ecological integrity programs • Communicate and collaborate with MDDEFP and MNR • Some collaboration for monitoring projects with universities and researchers • Participate in multiple regional committees (e.g. Tourism Boards)
CRE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for the development of a regional plan concerning the integrated development of natural resource use within the region • Mandated by the province to conduct the PA planning process with regional actors • Act as middle-man between the region and provincial government • Represent the RMC's
Innu of Issipit First Nation community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of the harmonization committee for the SSLMP • Operate fisheries within the SSLMP • Are located on the border of the SSLMP • Some band members operate tour boats for whale watching within the SSLMP
Forestry companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several large companies operate on the majority of crown land within the region • Certain companies operate along the borders of SEPAQ parks and use park roads for access • Are part of, or working towards receiving FSC certification • Participate in the provincial PA planning process • Have strong economic interests in the outcomes of the decision-making regarding the size and location of PAs • Forestry productions is their main interest
MDDEFP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central Québec office takes the lead and makes all decisions regarding the PA planning project • Regional office have no decision-making powers regarding the PA planning and implementation in the region • Do not participate in regional meetings regarding PAs, and often do not even know these meetings are taking place.

²⁵⁴ At the time of the interviews, it was impossible to know the exact number of full or part-time staff at Parks Canada due to a restructuring process.

Table 16 continued. Regional Actors and Responsibilities

Key Regional Actors for PAs	Overview of their responsibilities
MNR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional office heavily involved in decision-making regarding PA creation • Posses power to affect decision-making regarding size and location of proposed PAs • Ensure that PA creation will not hamper the forestry industry • Heavy communication and collaboration with the forestry industry
RMC's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some participate in the PA creation process • Advocate for the resource industry • See PAs as a threat to regional economic development • Participate in the SEPAQ harmonization tables
Private PAs and Land Owners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate with the MDDEFP for the creation of Private PAs • Little to no communication after PA establishment • Manage their private PAs • Do not participate in the provincial PA planning process
Basin Versant du Saguenay-ENGO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have a mandate to develop a general management plan for fresh water within the region • Actively involved in promoting wise use of natural resource • Participate in the PA planning process with the CRE • Produce communication and outreach documents and information sessions to promote conservation and wise resource use within the region • View the SEPAQ Parks as beneficial to their cause and SEPAQ Park Staff as allies • Hold less decision-making power than the forestry industry in the meetings with the CRE
Eureko-ENGO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Works with government, industry and communities within the Saguenay region to promote environmental protection • Advocates for wise use of natural resource and conservation • Develops and participates in integrated resource management projects within the Saguenay region • Develops regional parks within the Chicoutimi region for education, conservation and recreational purposes
Group de Recherche et d'Éducation sur les Mammifères Marins (GREMM)-ENGO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor the state and health of the whale population within the St-Lawrence • Collaborates with the SSLMP for research projects regarding whales • Work with the cruise operators to develop best practices guidelines for whale watching • Operate an information and museum centre in order to educate visitors about whales and the St-Lawrence marine habitat

¹ ZEC's were contacted and asked to participate in this study but declined since they felt they had either no powers in decision-making processes concerning PA planning or management, or were simply not interested in creating or discussing PAs.

8.1.6 Important Regional Topics/Interests

As with the previous two chapters, this section presents recurring topics or subjects from the interviews that have influenced the relationships between various regional actors and affects

how different PAs are perceived within the region. This section discusses the following topics identified during the interviews: SSLMP and whale watching; fresh water protection/sewage waste treatment for small municipalities; and, forest industry.

8.1.6.1 Saguenay St-Lawrence MPA and Whale Watching

As previously discussed in section 8.1.4.1, one of the main arguments for establishing a marine park in the Saguenay St. Lawrence focused on the protection of marine species, primarily belugas. Another main argument made by regional actors when promoting the creation of the park was that the park would enable the development of strict guidelines in order to structure whale watching activities conducted by commercial boat operators.

Since the creation of the park, whale watching has been the main tourism attraction, and the revenue associated with this activity and related products and services serves as the predominant source of income for the towns and municipalities adjacent to the park. Yet SSLMP staff, related ENGOs, and municipal officials have indicated that practices associated with whale watching continue to be problematic. Participants indicate that there has been a rise in cruise operators in the last 10 or so years creating problems related to increased boat traffic impacting visitor experience and marine mammals.

Although there are strict guidelines that structure whale watching activities as stipulated in the Parks Act (e.g. cannot shut the engine off; minimum distances; maximum travel speeds), SSLMP staff have indicated that these are extremely difficult to enforce since whale watching cruises are operated by private companies. Both SSLMP staff and the Groupe de Recherche et d'Éducation sur les Mammifères Marins (GREMM) participants indicated that there is a need to standardize whale watching activities amongst tour operators as this will help increase the level of protection for the park while benefiting the park's use for education, recreation and scientific purposes.

In an effort to address this problem, SSLMP staff, the GREMM and seven tour operators have come together to develop a guide for eco-responsible practices for cruise captains and interpreters. The purpose of the guide is to ensure the responsible practices and sustainable development of whale watching activities within the SSLMP (Alliance Eco-Baleine, 2011). This guide was developed to ensure that all captains and interpreters provide similar services and information. Building on the experience of the cruise operators and the mandates of SSLMP staff and the GREMM, the guide is separated into two sections: 1) communication with the passenger, and 2) navigation in the SSLMP. The education component of the guide has been designed to increase the visitors' understanding of the benefits associated with the park and the importance of protecting such a fragile environment. The navigation section provides information that helps the captains navigate through the park in an eco-responsible manner while on tours.

We created last summer an alliance which we call Éco-Baleine. We gave ourselves the objective of continual improvement. We start from the assumption that we are not perfect, and that we want to try and improve whale watching practices, so we created a guide for this. This year, we created a bulletin and we frequently send messages to the captains each week. (Parks Canada Staff 3)²⁵⁵

Although voluntary and not adopted by all cruise operators, all participants related to the SSLMP indicated that the development and adoption of the guide by tour operators was beneficial as it positively changed the culture of the cruise industry. One SSLMP participant indicated that although voluntary, companies reluctant to participate in the development of the guide have now adopted it as they perceive it to be beneficial to the quality of service they provide to their clients.

²⁵⁵ On a créé l'été dernier une alliance, que l'on appelle Éco-Baleine. On s'est donné l'objectif d'amélioration continue. On part du principe que ce n'est pas parfait, on essaie d'améliorer nos pratiques donc on a créé un guide éco pratique responsable. Cette année on avait le bulletin de l'alliance et on envoie fréquemment des messages aux capitaines et on fait ça à toutes les semaines. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

8.1.6.2 Fresh Water Protection/Sewage Waste Treatment for Small Municipalities

The lack of water treatment plants for municipalities, villages and towns along Lake St. Jean and the Saguenay River is an important topic within this region. Raw sewage from 14 municipalities flows directly into this river system without treatment. In the Lake St. Jean area, the municipalities of Labrecque, Notre-Dame-de-Laurette, Saint-Andre-du-Lac-Saint-Jean, Saint-Emond-les-Plaines, Saint-Eugene-d'Argentenay, Saint-Ludger-de-Milot and Sainte-Monique-de-Honfleur do not have the proper installations to treat raw sewage. In Saguenay, Saint-Rose-du-Nord, Begin, L'Anse-Saint-Jean, Tadoussac, Saint-Charles-de-Bourget and Saint-Fulgence have the same problem (CRRNT, 2011).

Currently, sewage from these municipalities travels through a grinder before being pumped and released in the water system with the expectation that any biological contaminants will be killed once in contact with the salt water from the St. Lawrence (CRRNT, 2011). However, depending on the flow of the Saguenay river and the physical location of the municipality (e.g. within a bay), these effluents may not readily reach the St-Lawrence (CRRNT, 2011). Multiple participants indicated that this practice was detrimental to the region's ecosystems and was contrary to provincial law regarding water quality (Québec, 1972):

No one shall emit, put, or release nor shall they allow for the emission, release or depositing of contaminants that exceed allowable limits or concentrations into the environment as stipulated by government regulations. This same prohibition is also applicable to the emission, depositing or release of all contaminants into the environment which are prohibited according to government regulations or that could cause death to human life, that could affect health, well being and comfort of humans and that can cause harm and damage to soil quality, vegetation, fauna and other goods. (Article 20; Québec, 1972)²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶Nul ne doit émettre, déposer, dégager ou rejeter ni permettre l'émission, le dépôt, le dégagement ou le rejet dans l'environnement d'un contaminant au-delà de la quantité ou de la concentration prévue par règlement du gouvernement. La même prohibition s'applique à l'émission, au dépôt, au dégagement ou au rejet de tout contaminant, dont la présence dans l'environnement est prohibée par règlement du gouvernement ou est susceptible de porter atteinte à la vie, à la santé, à la sécurité, au bien-être ou au confort de l'être humain, de causer du dommage ou de porter autrement préjudice à la qualité du sol, à la végétation, à la faune ou aux biens. (Article 20; Québec, 1972)

Although the government is aware of this reality, there appears to be a lack of government studies focused solely on measuring water quality and impacts associated with the release of raw sewage in this environment (CRRNT, 2011).

Multiple participants were also concerned that these effluents were being carried through a national marine park and could potentially harm marine wildlife, including mammals, the main tourism draw to this part of the region. This issue was a major item of discussion during the coordination committee meetings for the SSLMP attended by the researcher. In these meetings, participants such as RMC planners, mayors and ENGOs requested that park staff and academic participants formally ask the province through written letters to address this issue.

RMC and CRE participants indicated there are two reasons why these municipalities do not have access to proper sewage treatment plants. First, building sewage treatment plants is extremely costly. Although the provincial government will fund up to 85% of the cost to build a treatment facility, none of these small municipalities have the financial means of paying for the remaining 15% due to their small tax base. For example, according to the Mayor of Saint-Rose-du-Nord, even after a government subsidy, the village would have to finance \$5 million dollars, from a tax base of only 75 individuals, leading to astronomical tax increases.

Secondly, although many of these municipalities are geographically close to one another, the region's geology does not permit them to connect to a larger, centralized treatment plant. The compounding effect of high building costs, low population density, and geological restrictions are the main reasons why these areas lack proper sewage treatment plants.

8.1.6.3 Forestry Industry

Similarly to the cases in the two previous results chapters, forestry is a major industry and is associated with the development and colonization of the region. Many towns and villages

around the Saguenay River and Lake St. Jean have been built around this resource sector and continue to depend on it.

Unlike the Mauricie region, the forestry industry crisis that began in the early 1990s and 2000s throughout Québec has had a significant negative economic impact within this region. The forest types within the region are less diverse than elsewhere in the province, reducing the types of products that can be produced. As previously presented in section 8.1.3, the main tree species in the region is black spruce which is mainly used for either pulp and paper production or, for framing materials (e.g. 2x4s). One of the main forestry companies, Produit Forestier Résolut has and continues to face important economic challenges due to low product demand and availability, FSC certification, and rolling shut-downs of its mills.

The forestry sector has undergone multiple changes regarding management practices (types and locations of harvests) along with public outreach and education programs (on-site visits, information sharing, increased communication with outside actors) since the early 2000s. Before the 2000s, the industry operated behind closed doors, largely outside of the public's eye. All forestry participants, along with other regional actors, cited the movie "L'Erreur Boreale" by Richard Desjardin (Desjardin and Monderie, 1999), a prominent provincial artist, as the catalyst for changing how certain forestry harvesting practices are conducted, and for increasing the industry's openness and collaboration with regional actors and general members of the public. One forestry participant states:

I was in this field for ten years when the film from Desjardins came out. I always said that as foresters, we are not open enough. We should be talking about what we do, the tools we use, what our objectives are, how we do follow-ups after harvests. The people have no understanding of what we do. They only know the first 50 meters alongside a road, which

honestly is the ugliest part of the operation, but they don't see what happens at the 100, 150, 200 or 300 meters inside. (Forestry participant #1)²⁵⁷

Since the late 2000s, many forestry companies, including those in this region have undertaken the FSC certification process whereby they are required to include various regional actors in their decision-making process. All forestry participants were of the opinion that the certification process was not only beneficial in terms of product marketing, but also allowed for relations and communication channels to be developed between them (the forestry company) and provincial and regional actors.

However, one forestry participant was of the opinion that although the FSC certification can create some benefits such as increased communication with regional actors, it does not fully address environmental problems associated with forestry practices or regional actor involvement. Citing the fact that the majority of the forest harvesting companies are owned by pulp and paper mills, these mills are mostly preoccupied with obtaining the most wood for the lowest price with little concern for the environment or local communities. In fact, they often only participate in the certification process in order to satisfy their board of directors who are preoccupied with their product's image.

When I used to work for a paper mill, the objective was to ensure the factory obtained its supply at the lowest possible cost. All my decisions were based on that. So, whatever is not really necessary for the factory, we would not do it. That means indifference. I have said it numerous times; we need to remove the factories from this. Now, the wood, I do what I want with it, it changes the dynamics. (Forestry participant #1)²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Ça faisait 10 ans que j'étais dans le milieu, quand les histoires avec le film de Desjardins ont sorti, j'ai tout le temps dit on est trop fermé sur nous autres les forestiers, c'est toujours de parler de ce qu'on fait, des outils qu'on utilise, c'est quoi notre objectif quand on entre en forêt, c'est quoi le suivi, les études, les gens connaissent rien de ce qu'on fait en forêt. Les gens connaissent juste les 50 premiers mètres au bord du chemin honnêtement le plus laid après une opération de récolte mais ce qu'il y a 100, 150, 200, 300 m ça ils ne le voient pas. (Forestry participant #1)

²⁵⁸ Moi quand je travaillais pour une papetière, l'objectif était d'approvisionner l'usine au moindre coût possible. Toutes mes décisions étaient teintées de ça. Pour y rétablir les budgets ce qui saute c'est ce qui n'est pas l'essentiel à l'approvisionnement de l'usine. Ça c'est l'indifférence. Moi je l'ai dit sur le forum sur la foresterie, sortez les compagnies forestières de là.. Le bois je fais ce que je veux avec. Ça change la dynamique. (Forester participant #1)

Finally, the forestry crisis and the region's economic dependency on this industry have created challenges in terms of changing land use activities occurring on crown land, whether it is for recreation or conservation purposes.

8.2 PA and Regional Actor Relationships

This section presents the results from interviews regarding institutional arrangements between regional actors concerning the integration of PA systems and other land use activities. Unlike the Gaspésie and Mauricie case study chapters, I also attended a coordination committee meeting for the SSLMP. Attending this meeting provided greater insight into the working relationships between federal and provincial park managers, and into how other regional actors participate in decision-making processes. These meetings also allowed me to corroborate information from interviews with that obtained during participant observations made at the meeting.

8.2.1 Parks Canada and SEPAQ-SSLMP

The relationship between SSLMP and regional actors is complex, strongly influenced by the history of the park's creation (section 8.1.4) and is described in similar terms by different regional actors. All park staff indicated that the history of the SSLMP's establishment within the region and the important role that regional actors played in various decision-making processes had a significant impact regarding the relationship between the two park management authorities (Parks Canada and SEPAQ) and regional actors, specifically those from the Municipality of Tadoussac, Grandes-Bergeronnes and Les Escoumins. Although the process that led to the creation of the park was very much a social science experiment and a new approach to park creation within Canada, SSLMP park staff all indicated that this process and the resulting unique management approach, coordination and harmonization committees, should be the way that all

new parks are created because it is able to better incorporate and link regional actors with decision makers, resulting in a park that is relished and promoted by the community.

As stipulated by the SSLMP Park Acts, Parks Canada is responsible for the management of the water column while SEPAQ and the province are responsible for the management of the sea floor and the other land portions of the park. Parks Canada has historically had the lead role in all things related to park operations including setting management goals and objectives, fostering and maintaining relationships with regional actors and tourism providers and, collaborating with other federal departments regarding the merchant marine, endangered species, and salt water fisheries. Furthermore, the importance of the role that Parks Canada plays in the management of this park is further evidenced by their large number of staff and their office being located in the centre of the Town of Tadoussac. One SEPAQ staff participant indicates why Parks Canada has been so involved in the management of the SSLMP:

With the marine park, even if it is provincial waters, it is subject to federal laws, merchant marine, fisheries and ocean, endangered species etc, so it is impossible to create a marine PA operating at only one level of government. (SEPAQ Staff #1)²⁵⁹

Furthermore, Parks Canada had previous experience in the creation and management of the first national marine protected area (Fathom Five), something the province did not; had a much larger budget; and no provincial government agency had the capacity, interest and personnel to manage this new type of PA

In 98, when the park was created, the SEPAQ or what we know as Park Québec did not exist, it was the ministry who was responsible for the management of this area. I think this is why Parks Canada has such a large team working at the park. And, they were also ready to be present in the area, they knew how to manage PAs, they had a better idea on how to go about it for a Marine PA, and they had a larger budget. (SEPAQ Staff #1)²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Sauf pour le parc marin étant donné que le parc marin c'est des eaux, pas nécessairement fédéral parce qu'on est sous juridiction québécoise mais ça reste que les lois sur la marine marchande sont fédérales, les lois sur la pêche sont fédérales, la loi sur les espèces en péril est fédérale, donc c'était impossible de juste créer une aire protégée avec un seul palier de gouvernement. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

²⁶⁰ Cela dit en 98 à la création du parc, la SEPAQ ou ce qu'on connaît de parc Québec n'existait pas vraiment, c'était le NDDEFP qui était pris avec la gestion de ces terres marines protégées là. C'est à mon avis ce qui explique pourquoi Parc Canada a une si grosse équipe. Puis, ils étaient prêts à être présents, ils savaient comment gérer des aires protégées, ils avaient une meilleure idée comment faire pour les aires marines et ils avaient un plus gros budget. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

The SEPAQ co-director of the SSLMP indicates that after the creation of the SEPAQ in 1999, the director of the SFNP would assume the role of co-director of the SSLMP. However, his role was more of a figure head, as the director did not hold much decision-making power. It is only recently (last four to five years) that the SEPAQ has begun to take on more responsibility in the administration of the SSLMP and in developing and fostering partnerships with regional actors. This is evidenced by the creation of a dedicated SEPAQ director position and a support role position for the SSLMP. However, one park staff participant indicates that the SEPAQ has a much smaller team than Parks Canada, two staff members, and their office is located within the SFNP office, approximately 1.5 hours away from Tadoussac and the Parks Canada office.

We are more focused on consultation and the development of new projects, new partnerships. I typically spend my day planning for the coming year. We really work with that goal in mind. It's more at a strategic level, but we are also involved in the management of the park, which is quite different, we are a small team here, just me and another individual. (SEPAQ Park Staff #1)²⁶¹

Staff from both Parks Canada and SEPAQ working within the SSLMP described their current relationship with each other as open, respectful and collaborative. Both co-directors will meet formally through the coordination committee but communicate with each other on a weekly basis to discuss various management and operational topics and developments. The Parks Canada staff person noted that since the creation of a permanent full time position for co-director on the SEPAQ side in 2009, the increased resources in terms of time and staff have had a positive impact on fostering a relationship and improving communication between the two agencies.

Before 2009, the director of SFNP, they also acted as co-director for the marine park. Now, there are more resources for this. But now, the co-director from Parks Québec,

²⁶¹ On est plus dans un mode consultation, concertation, développement de nouveaux projets, de nouveaux partenariats. Mon quotidien ressemble beaucoup plus justement à planifier les actions pour l'année prochaine. On travaille beaucoup en lien avec ça. C'est beaucoup plus au niveau stratégique, réflexion ou nous, on est impliqué dans la gestion du parc marin c'est assez différent. On est une toute petite équipe ici, il y a et moi et un autre individu. (SEPAQ Park Staff #1)

because they have more time, can likely be more involved in the process. When the director managed both parks, he had a lot of work to do, and to find time to do quality work, it was more difficult. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁶²

The equivalent SEPAQ staff shared this perspective:

The director and I speak often; we speak many times per week. I think we communicate well. We will also organize joint management committees in the future which will allow us to better know what each of us is doing. But we are working more and more, you see, I have a staff person with me for over a year now. We are starting to structure this team. Yes, we are learning to work together, and I think it is getting better with time, as we can use our team when needed, and delegate to Parks Canada when we can't do it. (SEPAQ Staff #1)²⁶³

All SSLMP staff indicated that although the park is co-managed by both a federal and provincial agency, there is little friction between park agencies and regional actors due to the decision-making process structured within the Park Acts such as the harmonization committee which formally includes regional actors in decision-making processes.

The harmonization committee, that is where we do the co-management. The MDDEFP and deputy minister is there, Vice president of SEPAQ and the executive director of Parks Canada for Québec is there. This is the place to harmonize decisions. There are some topics which can create issues in terms of provincial/federal jurisdiction, but that is the reason for this committee, so they can talk about it. The ability to spend a few hours every few months with those people, it does allow us to address issues that are above what can be discussed at the coordination committee. With the coordination committee, we meet four times a year to present and discuss what we have done and what we plan to do, and to discuss how to do certain things. (SEPAQ Staff #1)²⁶⁴

There are currently some formal collaborations occurring between the SSLMP and the SFNP. SSLMP staff noted that they face a problem whereby visitors to the region either do not

²⁶² Avant 2009, le directeur était directeur du parc du fjord du Saguenay et il assumait en même temps la co-direction du parc marin. De façon concrète il y a présentement plus de ressources qui sont dédiées à ça. Mais concrètement on peut dire que le co-directeur de parc Québec en ayant maintenant un peu plus de temps peut probablement s'impliquer plus et y contribuer de façon plus active. Dans les faits, quand le directeur gérait les deux parcs il en avait déjà beaucoup des responsabilités. Et pour se libérer, du temps de qualité c'était plus difficile. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁶³ Le directeur, et moi on se parle beaucoup, on se parle plusieurs fois par semaine; je pense qu'on a une bonne communication, on va aussi se faire des comités de gestion conjoints dans le futur donc ça va nous permettre d'être plus au fait de ce que chacun fait. Mais on travaille de plus en plus, tu vois, Chloé est là depuis un an aussi. On est en train de structurer aussi cette équipe-là. Oui, on apprend à travailler ensemble, et je pense qu'on réussit de mieux en mieux à mettre à profit notre équipe quand c'est nécessaire et déléguer à Parc Canada quand on ne peut pas le faire. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

²⁶⁴ Le comité d'harmonisation, c'est là où on fait de la cogestion, il y a la MDDEFP donc le sous ministre adjoint Paul Gaudreau, Martin Soucy de parc Québec et Michel Boivin qui est le directeur exécutif de parc Canada au Québec. On a cette tribune la justement où on harmonise. Il y a des enjeux au justement ça peut frôler la sensibilité fédérale ou provinciale c'est là qu'on en discute et s'assurer que ce soit bien fait. Avoir l'opportunité de passer quatre heures aux trois ou quatre mois avec ces gens-là, effectivement et ça nous permet d'adresser des enjeux qui dépassent le comité de coordination. Et puis, le comité de coordination est là et on se rend compte quatre fois par année pour justement présenter ce qu'on a fait, présenter ce qu'on va faire dans quelques mois, et on a aussi des discussions sur comment faire pour quoi faire dans certaines situations. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

know of the existence of the SSLMP, or do not know where the park boundaries are. The SSLMP has developed formal agreements with the SFNP in order to place information signs within the terrestrial park that identify the SSLMP's limits.

As I mentioned, we want the people that visit the park to be more aware that they are in a park, and according to our plan, a way of doing this is to install at the main access points more information signs indicating that they are in a park. This is not present in all areas right now. There are some signs but they are small, so this is a clear form of collaboration. (Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁶⁵

Due to the location of the SSLMP SEPAQ office within the SFNP, staff from both parks communicate and collaborate on a daily basis. Staff participants from both parks describe their relationship with each other as positive and beneficial because they are able to coordinate decisions and share expertise with each other.

Yes, we see each other every day at lunch. We work together; we try to create linkages between our two organizations. I think this works well of us; they have a larger team. It is interesting to have these linkages with naturalists, enforcement officers, lots of discussions around conservation. I often work with the director of conservation on specific topics, especially how to best meet personally together so that they are more effective. (SEPAQ Staff #1)²⁶⁶

The reason why the SEPAQ SSLMP and SFNP staff members have greater collaborations with each other is because they have been given an informal mandate from their head office to do so.

The head office has given us a clear mandate that we need to improve the synergy between our two parks. We need to optimize our resources and work together as much as possible, and we need to see how we can develop partnerships. We do not have an official structure to guide us through this, but it happens because we always see each other, and we can talk about this in our workplace. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁶⁷

This indicates recognition of the benefits of collaboration between two PA systems.

²⁶⁵ Tantôt je mentionnais on voudrait que les gens qui fréquentent le parc en soient davantage conscients et ça s'est traduit par une mesure qui est présente dans notre plan qui est d'installer aux principaux points d'accès du lac des éléments de signalisation pour dire que pour entrer dans un parc. Ce n'était pas présent à tous les endroits. Il y a énormément d'endroit maintenant où il y a un petit panneau de parc marin. Aux principaux points d'accès. Donc c'est une collaboration concrète. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁶⁶ Oui on se voit à tous les midis. Oui, on travaille ensemble; on essaie de créer des maillages entre nos deux organisations. Je trouve qu'on se complète parfaitement bien; eux autres ont eu de plus grosse équipe. C'est intéressant d'avoir des maillages avec les naturalistes, les patrouilleurs, beaucoup au niveau de la conservation. Je travaille beaucoup avec le directeur et la directrice de conservation sur certains enjeux, mariage de personnel dans la mesure du possible. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

²⁶⁷ Il y a une orientation du siège social qui nous ont donné clairement un mandat d'améliorer la synergie entre nos deux parcs. D'essayer d'optimiser nos ressources et de travailler le plus possible ensemble et de voir comment on pouvait développer des partenariats. On n'a pas de structure officielle pour dire qu'à chaque semaine on a un comité de partenariat, non, ça se fait parce qu'on se croise tout le temps et qu'on se voit tout le temps et qu'on peut jaser de ça de façon formelle dans le cadre du travail ailleurs. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

One Parks Canada staff indicated that past relationships between Parks Canada and the SFNP have sometimes been problematic noting that the type of relationship between both parks has often been influenced by individual park directors, highlighting the need for formal agreements.

When we are talking about collaboration between the parks and with the marine park, there have been some small conflicts, but we have been able to overcome these. For example, at the Sainte-Marguerite Baie, the first director stopped all development from occurring there because there was a campground and boat ramp; the second director came, and he allowed certain business to operate there; while the latest director is now questioning the boat ramp. With every director, it goes from worse to worse, we met, we talked and we agreed to move forward, but this is why we need a management plan that they also sign, so that it stays. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁶⁸

Some Parks Canada participants noted that relationships with the SFNP do occur on occasion and for specific reasons, primarily because they share a border with each other. Little to no communication occurs with the SSMLP and other SEPAQ parks within the region because they have very little in common with each other.

Park staff members describe their relationship with regional actors as being extremely open and positive, primarily due to the structure of the coordination committee which requires actors such as elected officials, educational practitioners, the scientific and academic community, and FNs, to work with the park regarding park management. Furthermore, an open and collaborative approach to management is required because the SSLMP overlaps with multiple jurisdictions. One park staff participant indicates:

There are many jurisdictions that can operate here. Fisheries and Oceans manage the fishing laws within the park; Transport Canada also has jurisdiction. The sea bed is under provincial jurisdiction, the water column is under federal jurisdiction, so we have no

²⁶⁸ Quand on parle de collaboration entre les parcs ou avec l'équipe du parc national du Saguenay, c'est vrai qu'il y a déjà eu des situations, des petits conflits qu'on a réussis à résoudre. Un exemple à la baie Sainte-Marguerite, il y avait eu, tous les directeurs, le premier avec qui on a travaillé a tout stopper le développement pour la baie parce qu'il y avait un site de camping, une bande de mise à l'eau; le deuxième qui est arrivé, lui a cédé à certaines entreprises locales, il a ouvert un peu et on a travaillé avec lui d'ailleurs pour que ce soit fait correctement; le dernier a remis en question le projet de la rampe de mise à l'eau. À chaque directeur cela va de pire en pire; on a fait un meeting, on s'est parlé et il s'est engagé pour aller de l'avant. C'est pour ça que nous on doit faire un plan de gestion dans lequel ils vont signer. Pour que ça reste. (Parks Canada Staff #1)

choice but to develop a structure that allows for participation and defines with the partners, what our vision and objectives are. We have an open working relationship. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁶⁹

However, some park staff members have indicated that the relationship between the SSLMP and members of the public, such as those located in the towns of Tadoussac and Les Escoumins, has changed dramatically over the years. Although there was a strong and positive relationship and support from residents within these towns regarding the lead-up to the creation of the park, this support dwindled after the inception of the coordination committee in 1995. Although the coordination committee needed to be put in place in order to tackle the creation of park laws, the members of this committee were elected officials, thus creating a disconnect between the park and general members of the public. One Parks Canada employee recognizes that the Parks Canada Agency has always had issues related to external communications with regional communities.

We have known this for a long time that communication, diffusing information to regional actors has been one of our weaknesses. Parks Canada talks a lot about diffusing information to visitors and other Canadians, but the word community, look for it, it's a word which I think is not present enough. First Nation community yes, but local community, no. (Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁷⁰

One SEPAQ staff further exemplifies this by stating:

There are even local residents around the park that don't even know it's a marine park. We have work to do in terms of communicating that simple fact, that's one of our objectives. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁷¹

More recently, park staff participants feel that their presence and relationship with members of the local public has increased. Some staff members have attributed this to the park's

²⁶⁹ Il y a plusieurs juridictions qui continuent de s'appliquer. Pêche et Océans continue à gérer la loi sur la pêche dans le parc ; il y a des normes aussi qui sont gérées par transports Canada. Le fond est de juridiction québécoise ; l'eau de juridiction fédérale, donc on n'a pas le choix de trouver dans la forme une structure qui permet la participation et aussi dans la façon que l'on a de dire les objectifs, les visions avec les partenaires. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁷⁰ On l'a reconnu longtemps cela a été une de nos faiblesses la question de communication, diffusions externes avec les communautés locales. Parc Canada parle beaucoup de diffusion externe avec les visiteurs ou les autres Canadiens, mais le mot communauté tu le chercheras; c'est un mot que je trouve qui n'est pas assez présent. Communautés autochtones oui mais communautés locales non. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)

²⁷¹ Il y a même des résidents autour qui ne connaissent pas l'existence du parc marin. On a un travail de communication quand même à ce niveau-là, c'est un de nos enjeux. (SEPAQ Staff #1)

management plan review process which took place between 2007 and 2009 and, to the creation of local projects such as L'Alliance Eco-Baleine, of which the SSLMP is a partner.

I think that since we revised the park plan, we have started to improve. Maybe because in the last few years, they have also create the alliance and we work extensively with the local industries and not only with the owners of these. Some owners are involved, but there are also the captains. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁷²

While maintaining relationships with regional actors is important for park staff, doing so can be difficult due to budget and personnel constraints:

It's often a question of human resources. It's about time and personnel. Currently, the position which could do this does not exist. Sometimes, it is so specialized it is not one single person that can do all of it, one person cannot know everything. This is often the main issue. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)²⁷³

SSLMP staff noticed an important and positive change regarding their relationship with cruise operators and owners over the past four to five years, describing past relationships as often confrontational and argumentative.

For example, I remember when I first arrived her four years ago, we used to be told that the park was against marine excursions. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁷⁴

However, the relationship between park staff, cruise operators and owners has changed in recent years due to a multitude of compounding factors. A common example given by all park staff was the creation of Alliance Eco-Baleine where cruise operators/owners along with the GREMM, national film makers, and park staff co-developed a best practice guide for marine mammal viewing. Through the development of this guide, each actor was able to include recommendations and practices that meet their agency/organizations needs. The result was a document that outlines a best practices approach for marine mammal viewing, incorporates

²⁷² Je sens que depuis le plan directeur on est peut-être en train de remonter. Peut-être parce que dans les dernières années il y a eu l'alliance éco baleines entre autres et on a travaillé beaucoup avec les gens qui travaillent dans l'industrie touristique directement pas juste avec les propriétaires des entreprises. Il y a des propriétaires qui sont impliqués mais aussi des capitaines. (Parks Canada Staff #1)

²⁷³ C'est souvent une question de ressources humaines. En termes de temps et de personnes. En ce moment le poste d'une personne qui pourrait faire ça n'est pas comblé. Parfois c'est tellement spécialisé ce n'est pas le représentant qui peut faire tout ça, ce n'est pas une personne qui connaît tout. C'est surtout une question de cela, de disponibilité. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)

²⁷⁴ Par exemple, je me souviens quand je suis arrivé ici en particulier il y a quatre ans, des fois on se faisait dire au parc que vous êtes contre les excursions en mer. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #3)

educational and research needs, while promoting cruises as eco-friendly. Although the decision-making process was lengthy and often complicated, all park staff agreed that the end result was worthwhile.

We target marine tourism operators. We also focused pretty specifically around marine mammals. All but two companies that have a license to operate as marine mammal tour operators signed. (Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁷⁵

One SSLMP staff employee noted that the extensive collaboration that took place during the creation of the document meant that everyone who participated accepted the recommendations and the consequences if not followed.

Most people pay attention, but we still need to be present at different levels. We do training and education with people at the start of every season, and we have many tools that we can incorporate when we do this such as research facts. Then, we also foster and try to maintain a positive relationship with these people. This is what creates the alliance. The application of regulations, when they do not do this, we give fines. It's this ensemble of tools that makes this a pretty structured process for the park. (Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁷⁶

Park staff noted that communication and collaboration with regional actors does occur outside of the harmonization committee but differs based on who the actors are. For example, the park has a strong relationship with the GREMM as they work with them in terms of developing research agendas and conducting research within the park. These interactions have been very positive largely because all actors are working toward a common goal.

SSLMP participants indicated that relationships and agreements made between the SSLMP and the GREMM tend to occur informally outside of the harmonization table unless money is involved. One park staff participant also noted that formal agreements or procedures

²⁷⁵ On a ciblé les compagnies d'observation des mammifères marins. On s'est donné quand même un focus assez spécifique autour des mammifères marins. L'ensemble des compagnies qui ont un permis qui leur donne droit de faire de l'observation, toutes ont signé sauf deux. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁷⁶ Il y a beaucoup de gens qui font attention mais il faut continuer d'appliquer une présence et il y a différents leviers. La formation, en fait de la formation avec les gens en début de saison, la sensibilisation, dont différents outils existants et on peut mettre ça là-dedans aussi, la recherche avec les gens avec qui on a travaillé. Ensuite une collaboration positive entre les intervenants. C'est ce qui a donné lieu à l'alliance. L'application du règlement, quand ça ne fait pas on donne des contraventions. C'est un ensemble d'outils qui font que c'est en quand même un système d'encadrement intéressant dans le parc. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

between the SSLMP and other actors can also be needed in order to provide a rigid structure for decision-making, something that can sometimes be difficult to achieve when done informally.

Sometimes, I think that having formal institutions is good because it forces us to be structured, but this can't always address everything. The marine environment is so large and complex. We need formal tools or structures, but it can't be just that. In terms of the merchant marine, it is now only formal. (Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁷⁷

Yet, this same staff member indicates that most collaboration with regional actors occurs informally for multiple reasons:

Overall, there are many things that occur informally which are not included in our management plan and we have no tools to verify for accountability. Many things happen informally because it is impossible to formalize everything due to the large number of actors and issues, and formalizing creates extra work. (Parks Canada Staff #3)²⁷⁸

8.2.2 SEPAQ

The relationship between the SFNP and the SSLMP was described as professional and amicable. Communication between the two parks tends to occur on a daily basis since each office is located within the SFNP.

It's such a part of our daily activities that I entirely forgot that we have a strong working relationship with the park wardens there; we participate on some marine park committees. We have particular problems, we call each other, and we know each other. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁷⁹

However, staff at SFNP discussed how this was not always the case.

When I started here about four years ago, I expected that both our park systems would be integrated, especially regarding conservation and protection, but this is not really the case. I think there were some problems around this. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Je pense parfois que quand c'est des éléments formels c'est bon parce que ça nous oblige à avoir une certaine structure mais ça ne peut pas tout couvrir. C'est vaste l'univers marin. C'est complexe. Dans certains cas je pense que oui il faut se donner quelque chose de formel mais ça ne peut pas être juste ça. Je pense que dans le cas de la marine marchande on est passé à un mode plus formel. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁷⁸ Dans l'ensemble et dire qu'il y a beaucoup de choses qui sont informelles et qui ne sont pas établis dans le cadre de processus pour lesquels on va avoir des indicateurs de façon à vérifier. Il y a beaucoup de choses qui sont faites de façon informelle parce que c'est impossible de tout formaliser tellement qu'il y a d'intervenants et d'enjeux, et ça implique dans certains cas une certaine lourdeur. (Parks Canada Staff #3)

²⁷⁹ C'est tellement dans notre quotidien que je l'ai oublié on travaille beaucoup avec les gardes de parc là-bas, on va siéger sur les comités du parc marin. Quand on a des problématiques particulières, on s'appelle, on se connaît. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁸⁰ Quand je suis arrivée ici il y a un peu près quatre ans, je me serais attendue à une grande intégration de tous les enjeux notamment à ce qui touche à la conservation et à la protection mais pas tant que ça. Il y avait quand même des petites lacunes que je trouvais à ce niveau-là. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

Discussions between the SFNP and the SSLMP have improved in the past few years and are now focusing on how to better integrate park management and enforcement activities between the two parks. One participant gives this example.

We talk about all kinds of topics, and I think it makes sense. We share staff, we have done patrols in the marine park, but we don't monitor the park, we use the waterway to patrol our shores. We can share common resources. In terms of conservation and protection, we are starting to think about, maybe in the future, the synergy between us will go in that direction. It makes sense. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁸¹

Although the two parks share water boundaries, there have never been formal discussions regarding how various management activities between the two parks could be integrated with each other. Both participants from the SFNP and the SSLMP indicate this is likely due to multiple reasons, two of which are most predominant. First, the SSLMP Parks Act identifies the regional actors that should sit on the coordination committee, and the SFNP is not included in this list, likely because it was not involved in the park creation process. Therefore, some of the management practices are frozen in time. Furthermore, there is no formal recommendation within the SSLMP park acts indicating that there should be formal communication channels between the two parks. Secondly, until the past two years, the SSLMP SEPAQ co-director was also the director of the SFNP, therefore, the link between the two parks was achieved through this individual. One SEPAQ participant indicates:

Up until about four years ago, the SEPAQ side for managing the marine park and the SFNP, it was the same person. The director could bring all of his park issues to the table. But now this is not the case, there is a separate director for each park. But the director for the SFNP does not sit on the coordination committee. In fact, the list of members that make up the coordination committee is stipulated in the marine park acts, and maybe it would cause a problem if we participated or not. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁸²

²⁸¹ Il y a plein de sujet qu'ont discute, et je trouve que c'est plein de bon sens. Entre autres le partage du personnel, nous on fait déjà des patrouilles sur le parc marin mais ce n'est pas le parc marin qu'on patrouille, nous on patrouillait les berges mais on y accède par l'eau. On peut partager des ressources communes. Sur la mission de conservation et protection notamment on est en train de regarder, peut-être que l'avenir de la synergie entre nous va passer beaucoup plus par là. Je trouve que cela a plein de bon sens. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

²⁸² Jusqu'à environ quatre ans la direction du parc marin, volet SEPAQ et du parc national du fjord du Saguenay volet terrestre, c'était la même personne. Le directeur pouvait amener l'ensemble des dossiers à la table; et là il y a eu la scission des deux administrations, et il y a une co-directrice parc marin et un directeur du parc national du fjord du Saguenay, terrestre. Mais le parc terrestre ne siège pas sur le comité de coordination. En fait les membres du comité de coordination sont cités dans la loi constitutive du parc, peut-être que ça poserait un problème effectivement à dire est-ce qu'on entre ou pas. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

Communication and collaboration between SEPAQ parks in the Saguenay St. Lawrence region occurs frequently through both formal annual meetings and through the sharing of resources. Formally, park managers will come together twice a year to share information, discuss management problems, and to develop relationships with their counterparts from other parks.

Well, the directors and managers meet twice a year, where we meet everyone else from the organization. We all meet and we have work days where staff in the same positions will get together to share or discuss topics relevant to them. We discuss issues directly related to our position. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁸³

All staff interviewed indicated attending these meetings was extremely valuable. Developing relationships with their peers; understanding each individual's specialty area; learning about existing park resources; and, the ability to discuss various management problems and solutions with each other were all identified as valuable outcomes of these meetings. One participant indicated these meetings showcase the wealth of information and the highly specialized staff working within the region.

However, the directors of the National Parks of Canada are not invited to these meetings. The SFNP director indicated that it could be useful to invite the directors of the federal parks located within Québec to the SEPAQ annual meeting in order to learn from their experiences.

You know, I wouldn't mind that once a year, we had a meeting between Québec and federal park directors. This would allow us to learn from them. (SEPAQ Staff #5)²⁸⁴

Some park staff recognized that the SEPAQ organization could improve by promoting the individual experts within the organization and sharing this resource with other parks within the network.

This is something we would like to work on, and we can improve, especially by sharing our expertise. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁸⁵

²⁸³ D'abord on se voit deux fois par année les gestionnaires, au printemps et à l'automne. Des rencontres tout le monde ensemble pour tout le réseau. On se voit on va avoir des journées où tous les responsables, inaudible service à la clientèle, le directeur tout le monde va être ensemble et on aura des temps consacrés juste au service. On va échanger sur des problématiques propres à notre service. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁸⁴ J'avoue que je ne n'hairais pas ça une fois par année qu'on ait des rencontres de directeur avec les directeurs de parcs fédéraux et Québec. Sa nous permettrait d'apprendre d'eux. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

However, one of the main reasons given for why such program has not yet been developed is lack of resources and prioritizing:

But we don't have enough time. It's not only this, but most of it is about not enough time, we have always done it this way, but we think, one more year, and when we will be able to, we will do it. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁸⁶

Park Staff from SFNP and Monts-Valin National Park (MVNP) indicated that there was regional opposition to the creation of these parks. Staff from both parks indicated that promises made to promote the creation of the parks (increase in tourism and related revenue) have never come to fruition and have not been forgotten by area citizens.

There are still some pretty important repercussions related to the creation of the park, and we still hear echoes of these. Promises were made at the time of some important economic impacts after the park's creation. We will celebrate the parks 30th anniversary next year, and when you look back, is what we promised really what people should have expected? I am not sure. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁸⁷

Yet, staff participants at MVNP have noticed that since the SEPAQ has managed the park, regional perceptions have shifted positively due to the associated increased tourism-generated revenue within the region.

When the park was created, it was created with all of the constraints associated with a park, no more hunting etc, but there was no investment in infrastructure or development. People saw the park as a glass bell. This context lasted until the SEPAQ arrived in 1999-2000. (SEPAQ Staff #2)²⁸⁸

People started to realize that the little park, which only represent about 2% of the Mont Valins mountains, it attracted people from outside the region like Montreal. People started

²⁸⁵ Ce qu'on voudrait travailler et là-dessus on peut s'améliorer, c'est de dire, on va s'échanger notre propre expertise. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁸⁶ Parce qu'on manque de temps c'est beaucoup ça. Ce n'est pas que ce n'est pas intéressant, c'est une question de temps, on a toujours fait comme ça et on se dit une année de plus et quand on pourra on bougera. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁸⁷ Il y a eu quand même des cicatrices assez importantes à la création du parc et on entend encore des échos effectivement de ça, aujourd'hui. Il y a eu des promesses à l'époque de retombées économiques suite à la création du parc. Quand on regarde, nous on va fêter le 30^e anniversaire l'année prochaine de la création du parc ; quand tu regardes 30 ans après, est-ce que ce qui avait été dit à l'époque à la création, est-ce que c'était à la hauteur de ce qu'on avait mis dans la tête des gens, des locaux à cette époque-là, je ne sais pas il y a peut-être un décalage. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

²⁸⁸ Quand le parc s'est créé, ils ont créé le parc avec les contraintes que cela amène, plus de chasse plus de ci, et de ça, toutes les restrictions que l'on amène mais zéro investissement et zéro aménagement d'infrastructures. Les gens ont vu ça comme une cloche de verre. Cela a été un contexte qui a duré jusqu'à l'arrivée de la SEPAQ en 1999- 2000. (SEPAQ Staff #2)

to realize that the park was no longer a glass bell, they could continue to go in the area while at the same time, the park is a tourism product and created jobs. (SEPAQ #5)²⁸⁹

Park directors all indicated that they are able to operate independently from the central office. This autonomy is viewed positively and has been beneficial to developing relationships and building trust with regional decision makers and organizations.

When people know that all decisions do not occur in Québec city, and that regionally, they can play an important role, as a director I have lots of freedom and flexibility; and this is well managed because I have friends at Parks Canada, and there, it's not that easy to get things going, it's crazy! It's a big machine. (SEPAQ Staff #5)²⁹⁰

All SEPAQ directors had very similar opinions regarding the usefulness of the harmonization table for communicating information and obtaining the support of regional actors regarding management decisions for the parks. Participants discussed how the table serves as a formal tool for communicating the daily reality that parks face, ensuring a better understanding of park management decisions.

They are regional actors that fight for us and share the good news for us. It allows them to understand what is going on with the park, its situation, problems that we face, mistakes or good things we have done, it allows them to see the reality in which we work. It allows them so see what is done elsewhere, and often, they leave impressed or sensitized regarding what we can and cannot do, we are not that rich. (SEPAQ Staff #5)²⁹¹

Because the participants at the table have a better understanding of the park and various management issues and plans, they serve as the main park supporters within their respective jurisdictions.

There are actors which can assist us in ensuring that we are able to meet our mission. For example, they can serve as a catalyst in some projects, for example, regarding the project

²⁸⁹ Les gens ont commencé à constater que le petit parc qui représente seulement 2 % du massif des monts Vallin qu'il attirait du monde de l'extérieur et que des gens de Montréal. Les gens ont constaté que ce n'est pas une cloche de verre, ils peuvent continuer d'y aller et en même temps cela amène du tourisme et des emplois payés. (SEPAQ #5)

²⁹⁰ Quand ils savent que tout ne se passe pas en haut lieu à Québec et que dans les régions on a un rôle à jouer important est que l'on a une grosse marge de manœuvre comme directeur; on a quand même pas mal de flexibilité; c'est bien dosé tout cela parce que j'ai des amis qui travaillent à parc Canada et que ça ne bouche pas facilement, c'est incroyable. De grosses machines. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

²⁹¹ Ce sont des acteurs du milieu qui militent en notre faveur, qui transmettent la bonne nouvelle comme on dit. Sa leur permet d'avoir une présentation du réseau, de l'état de la situation, des bons coups et des mauvais coups, des problèmes, cela leur fait prendre conscience de la réalité que l'on vit. Cela leur permet de voir tout ce qui se fait ailleurs et souvent ils vont sortir de là impressionnés ou d'autres fois ils vont sortir de là sensibilisés à ce que l'on ne peut pas tout faire, on n'est pas si riche que ça. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

with the snowmobiles, the harmonization table supported me in that process. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁹²

However, the majority of SEPAQ participants were of the opinion that although useful, there is a continued need to develop and maintain informal relationships with regional actors outside of the harmonization table. One participant gives this example:

I have a project for creating cottages near the ZEC border. I got together with the people from the table, the CRE and the ZEC. I provided them with information and presented the projects that are coming down the tubes. Three month later, I get a call from the president of the ZEC, I meet him and he tells me he has never heard of the cottage project, why was he not informed. I tell him that I shared this information with him, he sits on the table and his VP was there at the last meeting, but that VP did not communicate the information. For some actors, the harmonization table is not enough, we need one-on-one meetings. (SEPAQ Staff #5)²⁹³

The above quote also demonstrates sentiments expressed by all SEPAQ participants regarding issues related to increasing community awareness and support of SEPAQ parks as the harmonization tables and the respective members' ability to disseminate information is limited to their willingness to do so. One participant indicated that the park management team could do more to facilitate information sharing.

We don't really interact with our neighbors, and this is a shortcoming for us. We would like to be closer with them. We would like to do town visits eventually. We know we must be visible in the towns since they are our neighbors and we need to tell them what we are going to do this year. But we are never able to get the ball rolling on this. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁹⁴

This same participant indicated that although the parks would like to have a greater presence and relationship with local communities, they simply do not have the resources to do so.

²⁹² Il y a des acteurs là-dedans qui peuvent nous aider pour que l'on assume pleinement notre mission par exemple ils peuvent servir de catalyseur dans certains dossiers, par exemple dans le dossier de la motoneige, la table d'harmonisation m'a appuyé là-dedans. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁹³ J'ai un projet de développement de chalets à la limite près de la ZEC, je réunis les gens de la table, la CRE, la ZEC. J'informe les gens-là leur présente un tableau voici les projets qui s'en viennent. Trois mois plus tard je reçois un appel du président de la ZEC, je le rencontre et il me dit j'ai entendu parler d'un projet de chalets pourquoi ne nous en as-tu pas parlé pourquoi ne nous as-tu pas tenu au courant de cela ? Je réponds je vous ai mis au courant, vous êtes sur la table d'harmonisation votre vice-président était présent à cette rencontre mais lui il n'a pas communiqué l'information. Pour certains intervenants la table d'harmonisation ce n'est pas assez ça prend plus que cela, ça prend des rencontres one-one. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

²⁹⁴ On ne côtoie pas trop nos voisins et pour nous c'est une lacune. On aimerait ça se rapprocher d'eux. Ce qu'on aimerait faire c'est une tournée des villes et villages éventuellement. On s'est dit il faut aller se faire voir dans les villages ce sont nos voisins on va leur dire qu'est-ce qu'on a fait cette année mais on arrive jamais à le mettre en branle. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

It takes time to organize all this, you need to be prepared if you are going to do this. It's not due to a lack of will, it's because we do not have enough time or resources to do this. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁹⁵

Staff at MVNP and SFNP indicated that few regional citizens actually come to visit the park which leads to reduced or non-existent regional park support. Participants were of the opinion that this lack of regional support is in part due to the SEPAQ not demonstrating the value added it provides in terms of services and facilities, and to the large amount of crown land in the area which has similar attributes and features of the park.

Our park has a challenge in terms of meeting local communities. Most of our visitors come from outside of the region, but the locals don't really come to the park. It's not that they don't like the park, but forests in the Saguenay, they're everywhere. Lakes, they're everywhere. You can fish everywhere, hiking too. (SEPAQ Staff #3)²⁹⁶

All SEPAQ park directors and certain staff members participate in other regional table such as those organized by ENGO organizations, either representing the park or another organization they are a member of. Although participating in these tables is not part of their job requirement, all staff interviewed stated that they need to participate because it allows them, and by association the park, to have a regional presence, to promote the parks within the region and to develop or maintain relationships with regional actors.

For us, it is important that everyone wins, and this is why we also participate in other regional meetings or organizations such as the tourism or environment association. We have strong relationships with those people, because we interact with them. (SEPAQ Staff #5)²⁹⁷

Finally, SEPAQ staff indicated that there is very little communication and no collaboration with the forestry industry. Communication with the industry will occur for very

²⁹⁵ Ça prend du temps pour organiser tout ça, c'est quelque chose que tu dois arriver préparé si tu vas dans le milieu. Ce n'est pas un manque de volonté, c'est un manque de temps et de ressource qui fait que l'on ne l'a pas mis en place encore. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁹⁶ Notre parc a un défi de s'approcher des communautés voisines ; nos visiteurs viennent beaucoup de l'extérieur mais les gens du local ne viennent pas beaucoup chez nous. Ce n'est pas qu'ils n'aiment pas le parc mais du bois dans le Saguenay il y en a partout. Des lacs il y en a partout. La pêche tu peux en pratiquer partout. La randonnée aussi. (SEPAQ Staff #3)

²⁹⁷ Pour nous c'est important et tout le monde est gagnant là-dedans et c'est pour ça que les associations touristiques régionales tout comme les conseils régionaux de l'environnement on siège aussi sur les conseils d'administration et aussi sur plein de comité on est très en relation avec ces gens-là, presque quotidiennement. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

specific reasons, primarily related to FSC certification, or regarding planned cuts near park borders.

All around the park, its forest, yes, there are some houses or cottages, all kinds of things, but in general, the park is connected to the rest of the Monts-Vallins. There are access roads and yes, you can enter the region but in my opinion, the issue of connectivity is associated with fragmentation of the landscape, and although this does occur here, it's not as bad as other areas in Québec. (SEPAQ Staff #4)²⁹⁸

This highlights how SEPAQ park staff participants see very little need to communicate or collaborate with the forestry industry regarding species protection or connectivity.

8.2.3 Regional PAs

Although there are numerous RMC's within the region (section 8.1.1), only the RMC of Maria-Chapdelaine has a network of regional parks (see chapter 4). There is a total of 15 parks within the park network, all on public lands, regrouped under the name of 'Parc Regional des Grandes-Rivieres'. One of the main reasons for creating the regional park network was to develop and showcase the recreational attributes of the RMC while also ensuring integrated management of its natural resources (RMC Maria-Chapdelaine, 2013).

The project to create these parks began in early 1993 when the RMC undertook a feasibility study to determine if it was possible to create a park upstream along the shores of the Mistassini River. The results of the study demonstrated that the municipalities within the RMC already had unstructured PAs and were in favour of combining these into a larger network. In 2004, 15 sites were officially recognized as being part of the regional park network. Currently, the RMC is responsible for the overall administration of the network, and collaborates with each of the municipalities; each municipality in turn works with a small organization which manages each site.

²⁹⁸ Tout autour du parc, c'est de la forêt qu'il y a ; oui, il y a des habitations, des chalets, des quand, toutes sortes de choses mais à très grande partie du parc est en lien avec la forêt naturelle des monts Vallin. Il y a des routes d'accès, oui le territoire est pénétré de toute sorte de façon, mais à mon avis, la problématique de connectivité avec le territoire en général la problématique de fragmentation du territoire bien qu'elle soit présente et moins importante que dans bien d'autres territoires au Québec. (SEPAQ Staff #4)

The relationship between the RMC and each of the individual municipal organizations was described as positive and effective. Under the arrangement, all decisions made by the organizations must be approved by the RMC as this provides structure and uniformity across all 15 park sites.

Participants indicated there are problems regarding the relationship between the RMC staff and the municipal organizations responsible for the management of certain park sites. All participants indicated that few RMC staff actually visit the park sites and, therefore, do not fully understand management decision outcomes and associated impacts to the parks.

I do a lot of hiking; I have been in many parks, which is not always the case for people at the RMC. (Regional PA Staff #1)²⁹⁹

Although there are formal agreements between the RMC and the municipal organizations, these are not always respected.

There should be some protocols, but really, they only exist on paper. (Regional PA Staff #1)³⁰⁰

This also demonstrates the lack of perceived value for the regional PAs by the RMC.

Participants indicated that relationships between the RMC and the municipal organizations can become complicated when money is involved.

Especially in term of finance, that's always the main issue. Who pays? It's like that everywhere. The RMC wants us to pay, and we are not OK with that. There are signed protocols, there is a structure, but it is complicated. (Regional PA Staff #1)³⁰¹

Furthermore, all participants indicated that although the municipal organizations are responsible for the management of the individual sites, the organizations often act as figureheads; all

²⁹⁹ Moi je fais beaucoup de randonnées on est plus près on a vu beaucoup de parcs, ce qui n'est pas le cas parfois des gens de la RMC. (Regional PA Staff #1)

³⁰⁰ Il est supposé y avoir des protocoles d'établi mais ça reste que c'est juste du papier. (Regional PA Staff #1)

³⁰¹ Surtout au point de vue financement, c'est tout le temps là le nerf de la guerre. Qui paie? C'est ça partout. La RMC veut que c'est nous qui paye, on n'est pas d'accord avec ça. Il y a des protocoles d'entente de signer, il y a quand même une structure mais c'est compliquer. (Regional PA Staff #1)

important decisions are made through back door deals by the RMC, completely ignoring formal protocols.

Yes, there are people who have stronger voices than us, for example at the Pointe-des-Pères, we are supposed to be the organization that manages the project, but in reality, this is not the case. I am the one in charge, but sometimes decisions are made and I have no idea. (Regional PA Staff #1)³⁰²

This has led participants to negative views of long-term planning and relationship building with regional actors and the RMC as they viewed it as pointless and a waste of time.

The long-term planning of relationships, I don't believe in that. We manage Pointe des Pères but we are not necessarily informed. Here, there are many small committees and they are all made up of the same people; eventually, you ask yourself why you are there because decisions are made behind the scenes. (Regional PA staff #1)³⁰³

One participant indicated that one of the main issues related to developing better communications between the RMC and the municipal organizations is to reduce the number of decision-making committees that exist.

It's the creation of too many committees and poor communication between committees. They create committees to create committees. We have a problem, let's create a committee! (Regional PA staff #2)³⁰⁴

The park network has also faced other challenges, primarily related to forestry and harvest allocations to pulp and paper mills within the network territory. One participant indicates that although the area is considered a park by the RMC, it is not provincially recognized, and therefore, timber harvesting does occur within its boundaries. This multiple use allowed within the park network (e.g. hiking, forestry) has sometimes been problematic in terms of preventing timber harvests across hiking or snowshoeing trails, primarily due to lack of formal communication procedures between park managers and forestry operators.

³⁰² Oui des gens qui sont plus écoutés que nous, comme exemple nous à Pointe des Pères on est supposé être l'organisme qui gère la place et gère les projets mais dans la vraie vie, ce n'est pas tout à fait ça. Moi je suis chargé de projet du parc, parfois c'est pas bien défini, des décisions sont prises je ne suis au courant de rien. (Regional PA Staff #1)

³⁰³ La planification à long terme les relations je ne crois pas vraiment à ça; Nous on gère la Pointe des Pères mais on n'est pas nécessairement informé. Ici il y a des petits comités et c'est toutes les mêmes personnes, elles sont sur tous les comités; à un moment donné tu dis pourquoi je suis là, ça se décide par an arrière. (Regional PA staff #1)

³⁰⁴ C'est la multiplication des comités et la mauvaise communication entre tous ces comités-là. Faire des comités pour faire des comités. À on a un problème, on va faire un comité! (Regional PA staff #2)

So when there are forestry harvests in the park, because here it is not a true PA because there is some form of resource extraction. We have walking trails and landscapes to preserve. So conservation is challenging because there are many foresters here and for them, a tree is a tree. ((Regional PA staff #2)³⁰⁵

However, participants noted that since the adoption of FSC certification by certain forestry companies, communication has increased and there has been a drastic reduction in timber harvests within the park network.

Now here, you have a forestry managed area through Produits Forestiers Résolut, and now, with the FSC, they have to create PAs in this area. So when a park is already created, it's great for them. (Regional PA Staff #2)³⁰⁶

Although the regional park is in close proximity to Point-Taillon National Park (PTNP), all participants indicated that there is no communication between them and SEPAQ staff since they operate at different government levels.

8.2.4 Private Protected Areas and Local Communities

Local community involvement in PA planning and management does occur in the region through various mechanisms. Community leaders, cottage associations, private organizations and individuals can propose individual PAs to the government to be considered in the current PA planning process. Often, the proposals come from a group of cottagers or concerned citizens that want a very specific area of crown land, often adjacent to, or in the peripheral vision of their cottage or home, from being harvested. Other times, the proposal can be written by a club (e.g. bird watching club) or a group of individuals that want to designate a specific area as PA in order to protect specific bird, mammal or plant species. These proposals are given to the CRE for analysis, and if deemed appropriate are presented to the PA planning committee for

³⁰⁵ Donc quand il y a des coupes forestières parce que nous ce n'est pas des aires protégées en tant que telle parce qu'il y a quand même de l'exploitation des ressources qui se poursuit sur les sites. Nous on a un réseau de sentiers pédestres, des équipements des paysages aussi à préserver. Cela a été plus dur à présenter la notion de conservation et de préservation parce qu'il y a beaucoup de forestier, un arbre c'est un arbre. (Regional PA Staff #2)

³⁰⁶ Maintenant ici tu as un territoire forestier, tu as les Produits Forestiers Résolut, et maintenant avec leur norme FSC ils doivent se créer des aires de protection aussi là-dedans. Eux aussi quand ils sont arrivés dans le dossier ils devaient créer des aires protégées. C'est sûr que quand il y a un parc déjà de disponible pour eux c'est une aubaine au fond. (Regional PA Staff #2)

consideration. However, very few of these proposals are accepted by the CRE as the areas tend to be relatively small and are not deemed to be ecologically significant.

Individual citizens contribute to the creation of PAs within the region by designating private lands as a PA through a provincial government program (See Chapter 4). However, as discussed in chapter 4 this government program has received little attention from private landowners due to various land use restrictions and costs associated with the process. In this region, only one such area exists. The sole private PA was recognized in 2004 and is located within the town of Chicoutimi. It has a total land area of 3.43ha and protects part of the escarpment (both top and bottom) of the Saguenay River.

The owners of this private PA had multiple reasons for having this area formally recognized as protected: some of the main reasons include their strong desire to protect urban forests, to have an area where youth can explore the forest, to reduce property tax, and to conserve escarpment ecosystems.

We had other motivations, which were to leave that for future generations, so in perpetuity. We need to protect for us, but we need to leave a heritage, and regardless, it's still private, but it prevents for one reason or another, that if a child needs some money, they can't sell it. In a sense, I created this to prevent that from happening. (Private Landowner)³⁰⁷

Regarding the ease of creating a private PA, the participant indicated that the process for recognizing the area as protected was long and painstaking.

Well we eventually undertook the process, which was pretty long; first, the regional government must evaluate the area to determine if it has ecological worth. When they give the OK, it moves to Québec City and they do the rest. They came, but really only to put up large signs which explain what a private nature reserve is. (Private Landowner)³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Bref c'est ça, on avait d'autres motivations c'était de le laisser pour les futures générations, donc il est à perpétuité. Il faut le protéger nous-mêmes, je pense que c'est un patrimoine aussi de toute manière c'est encore privé, mais l'arrêt des chances que pour une raison ou pour une autre, un enfant ayant besoin d'argent vendre tout ça, là je me suis donné des balises juridiques dans le fond pour éviter ça. (Private Landowner)

³⁰⁸ Finalement on a fait les démarches, cela a été quand même assez long, d'abord il faut une reconnaissance de la part du bureau régional du ministère de l'environnement ici pour voir si cela a une valeur écologique. Quand on a le OK, le feu vert est donné ici au bureau, c'est transmis à Québec et eux autres ils font le nécessaire. Ils sont venus surtout pour planter de grandes affiches, on les verra, des affiches qui expliquent un peu ce que c'est qu'une réserve naturelle. (Private Landowner)

Furthermore, since the creation of the private PA, and although required by law, the MDDEFP has seldom contacted the owner and has never conducted the required yearly site visit.

Normally, they should be coming every year, but they never come. It has been seven years and they have never come, they never called to see how it was going or if there were problems. They are just never there. There must not be enough personnel. (Private Landowner)³⁰⁹

This could indicate a poor management system on behalf of government for these PAs.

The owners have had to deal with multiple problems related to the types of recreational activities occurring within the private PA and feel that a stronger government presence could potentially help in negating these problems

Lots of teens started cutting trees for bonfires. They cut branches and trees, and when they were done, they threw everything over the edge to 100 feet below. And below, there is mud so they started riding around in their ATVs and doing paint-ball. Even if this is not allowed, they do it anyways. It's discouraging to someone who does this for the benefit of the public. (Private Landowner)³¹⁰

However, since the government is not present in the area it needs to be made aware of these problems in order for it to respond. Yet, the participants felt it was futile to notify the government of these problems since they have never come for a site visit to ensure the area is actually being managed accordingly.

It's true, I could have contacted them (MDDEFP), and they might have been sympathetic, but probably not more than that. They might have given me some advice, but they can't give more since they are not present in the region. They would need to come and do a one or two day study but I don't think they would have learned much more than what I could tell them. (Private Landowner)³¹¹

To complement this participant's opinion, a regional MDDEFP staff member indicates:

³⁰⁹ Normalement il doit venir tous les ans, faire un petit survol mais ils ne viennent jamais. Ils ne sont jamais venus depuis sept ans, ils ne sont jamais venus nous voir, ils n'ont jamais appelé, me demander si ça va bien s'il n'y a pas de problème. Je ne peux pas dire qu'il y a de l'ingérence étatique, ils ne sont pas là. Ils ne doivent pas avoir suffisamment de personnel. (Private Landowner)

³¹⁰ Beaucoup de jeunes se sont mis à couper des arbres il voulait faire des feux. Quand on veut faire un feu on coupe des branches, on atteint pas les branches, on coupe l'arbre, ils en ont fait comme ça cinq ou six, quand ils avaient fini avec l'arbre, ils le garochaient en bas de la falaise, à peu près 100 pieds plus bas, et dans le bas, il y avait de la bouette et ils se promenaient avec les quad là-dedans, avec grand plaisir; d'autres faisaient du paint-ball. Malheureusement même si c'est interdit, ils le font pareilles. C'est un peu décourageant pour quelqu'un qui veut mettre ça à la disposition du public. (Private Landowner)

³¹¹ C'est vrai que j'aurais pu le faire [contacting the MDDEFP], ils auraient peut-être été compatissants, mais pas plus que ça. Peut-être qu'ils auraient eu quelques conseils à me donner, mais ils ne peuvent pas en donner plus ils ne sont pas dans le milieu, il aurait fallu qu'ils viennent faire un tour, qu'ils prennent une journée ou deux, je ne pense pas qu'ils auraient trouvé beaucoup plus que qu'est-ce que nous on a trouvé avec l'intelligence collective. (Private Landowner)

There is little implication from the ministry regarding the management of these land areas. They are really dependent on the landowners to manage those areas. (Private Landowner)³¹²

Finally, although creating and managing this private PA has been extremely costly, both in terms of time and money, the owners feel it is their duty to assume these costs, especially considering the MDDEFP provides little to no support.

I assumed the cost of the gravel and cement blocks. I put down some gravel because people should not have to walk in mud all the time. I put 10t of gravel at a cost of \$1000 or \$1200, the gate cost me \$3500, but my neighbor helped me with that. I spend the money for materials and he put it up. These are the things that we must assume. (Private Landowner)³¹³

8.2.5 Forestry Industry

The forestry industry does not currently communicate or collaborate with the SSLMP since there are no harvests occurring near the SSLMP boundaries. Communication with the SSLMP is unlikely to ever occur since the land area on either side of the marine park is under park status, and therefore there is no forest harvesting within that area.

Communication between the forestry industry and the SEPAQ parks does occur for case specific reasons. Most forestry and SEPAQ participants indicated that communication between each other will occur when the industry is planning a harvest near park boundaries, or when the industry would like to use secondary park roads to access specific woodlots adjacent to the parks.

The relationship between SEPAQ staff and industry representatives was described as sometimes poor, under developed, and confrontational. The relationship between park staff and industry representatives appears to be highly dependent upon individual personality, education, previous work background and willingness to communicate, collaborate and compromise. Many

³¹² Le ministère n'a pas beaucoup d'implication au niveau du contrôle de ces terres-là. On s'en remet vraiment aux propriétaires pour assurer la pérennité du territoire. (Private Landowner)

³¹³ Je les ai assumés évidemment, le coût des blocs et du gravier, j'ai fait mettre du gravier, ils ne pouvaient pas se promener dans la bouette régulièrement, il a fallu que je mette un 10t de gravier, cela a dû monter à quelque 1000 \$, 1200 \$, le portail va coûter 3500 saufs que le voisin des monts et merveilles, il m'a aide. Il y a une partie en bois, il était bon là-dedans, je l'ai aidé, il a assumé le bois, la construction, le savoir-faire mais c'est quand même un bon 1000 qu'il a dû déboursier. C'est ça, c'est des trucs qu'on doit assumer. (Private Landowner)

park staff indicated that having previous work experience, either based in the forestry sector or, working with the forestry industry, was one of the main reasons they were currently working in their respective park; they knew how to communicate with the forestry industry and, their education and past experience meant they were respected by the industry.

One SEPAQ participant indicated that what makes or breaks decision-making processes is often based on poor understanding of the other actor's individual personalities and poor understanding of each other's organization and mandates. Decision-making challenges can also be exacerbated by an unwillingness to actively communicate or make compromises with each other. Furthermore, forestry participants felt extremely frustrated by the frequent changes in SEPAQ and MDDEFP staff as this often leads to project negotiations having to be continually re-developed.

I would tell you that relationships with the previous director were much easier. When the current director arrived, and me being a bit frustrated with all this, I have the impression that when they change director, all long-term projects and negotiations, it all starts back at zero. We stop and start over again, we could have kept going but I was getting frustrated. It's always like this with the government. (Forestry Participant 1)³¹⁴

One prominent issue regarding potential PA identification sites was the perceived threat and negative impact that PAs would have on the forestry industry. The reduction in accessible forests for the industry associated with PA creation remains a prominent issue. One participant explains:

There was a lot of suspicion at the regional level regarding creating PAs, a suspicion partially fueled by the forestry industry who perceived lost jobs through this. This perception was also really promoted in the media; the elected officials were very worried about job loss, which could be partially founded. In this region, most jobs are related to the forestry industry. So when a company shows doubts regarding the creation of a PA, it's certain that elected officials will listen. (MNR participant)³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Je te dirais que les relations étaient plus faciles avec l'ancien directeur. Quand le présent directeur est arrivé, et moi un peu frustré là-dedans, j'ai l'impression que quand il change de direction dans le parc, les dossiers, les négociations de long terme et tout ça, ça recommence à zéro. C'est ça on a arrêté d'y retourner on aurait pu continuer mais je commençais à être tanné. C'est tout le temps à recommencer avec le gouvernement. (Forestry Participant 1)

³¹⁵ Il y avait beaucoup de crainte au niveau régional sur le fait de créer des aires protégées, crainte en partie alimentée par l'industrie forestière qui voyait des pertes d'emplois ; ce discours-là était beaucoup rapporté dans les médias, les élus craignaient aussi énormément pour les pertes

Further adding to the challenge of creating PAs and collaborating with the forestry industry are speculations regarding other land use allocations proposed by the provincial government and FN communities which would drastically reduce the amount of available forests for harvest.

What the forestry industry tells us is that there are many limitations that overlap with each other, the Innu park, the eventual effects of the new law on forests, the new requirements for the Plan Nord, that famous 50% which has created a lot of uncertainty. All this is taking place around and above them, so you can see why they are worried. (CRE Participant)³¹⁶

This perception has changed in recent years due to the adoption of FSC certification by large forestry industries within the region. However, agreeing upon which areas to protect remains challenging due to conflicting interests.

The forestry industry has understood they have no choice but to create PAs in order to maintain market value and to meet government objectives, so I do think that there is a good collaboration now with them. We have had meetings to determine which areas everyone can agree on, but it's not easy. Whether we want it or not, the areas that are of interest to the government in terms of biodiversity, those are also areas of interest for the industry. That's why it's always challenging. But we still have to move forward, we will need to come to a consensus eventually. (CRE Participant)³¹⁷

One participant further added that although the forestry industry has increased its willingness to designate PAs, the ones that are proposed tend to represent areas of little economic value.

Sometimes, I think that the position of the industry is a bit appalling; they always want to create PAs in bogs or rock formation. It's almost like a broken record for them. Sometimes, I just want to get up and tell them that creating PAs is also dependent on the

d'emplois, en réponse un peu à ces craintes-là, qu'on pouvait trouver en partie fondée. Dans la région] l'emploi c'est beaucoup relié à l'industrie forestière. On ne-ce le cachera pas donc quand une compagnie émet des réserves sur la création d'une aire protégée c'est sûr que c'est un discours qui porte beaucoup sur les élus qui ont à cœur l'emploi. (MNR Participant)

³¹⁶ Oui ce que nous dit l'industrie forestière c'est beaucoup qu'il y a beaucoup de contraintes qui se superposent, les parcs Innu, tout ce qui va découler sur la nouvelle loi des forêts, les nouvelles exigences, le plan Nord, le fameux 50 % qui était un spectre qui a amené beaucoup d'incertitudes, tout ça plane au-dessus de leur tête, on peut comprendre qu'ils ont des inquiétudes, c'est ça. (CRE Participant)

³¹⁷ Ils [forestry] ont compris au fond que c'est un incontournable de créer des aires protégées pour maintenir leur marché que pour atteindre les objectifs gouvernementaux je pense que oui depuis ce temps-là il y a une meilleure collaboration. Il y a eu des rencontres on a essayé de trouver le territoire qui pourrait faire consensus c'est pas facile, veut ou veut pas les territoires qui sont intéressants pour le ministère en biodiversité, c'est aussi les territoires qui sont intéressants pour l'industrie forestière. C'est sûr que c'est toujours difficile. Mais on sent quand même, on comprend qu'il faut aller de l'avant tout le monde, qu'il va falloir trouver un consensus un moment donné. C'est encore difficile. (CRE Participant)

quality of biodiversity, not just bogs or swamps, these are important, but there are already lots of these in the network. (EUREKO Participant)³¹⁸

FSC certification has had an important, positive impact in terms of forcing the industry to actively seek communication and develop partnerships with regional actors. With the widespread adoption of the FSC standard and market demands for certified products, the forestry industry has in fact been forced to develop communication plans with regional actors and be part of regional planning committees, specifically in regards to the PA planning process currently under way. A forestry participant states:

Ultimately, in our case it is certain, the certification process allows us to sell our lumber on the market; we do it to stay in business. The idea is not to stop harvesting; we want to maximize our harvest while minimizing the impacts. We try as best as possible to harmonize the different objectives of conservation together instead of treating them all separately, caribou, First Nations, because if we do this, we are not integrated. (Forestry Participant 2)³¹⁹

A CRE participant further adds:

At the time, we had no obligations to be certified; the businesses were not as present, they did not really know the region in terms of PAs. They [government] created that and there were some propositions, but these came mostly from the government. Some people had cottages along a lake and thought it would be nice to protect that, so the government analyzed their propositions and kept a few. (CRE Participant)³²⁰

Much of the communications and collaborations take place through formal processes such as in person and telephone meetings with key regional actors as determined by the individual forestry companies and stipulated through the FSC procedures. The formal nature of the

³¹⁸ Des fois je trouve des positions assez adhérentes de l'industrie, de toujours nous renvoyer des tourbières ou des caps de roches comme aires protégées. C'est un peu des fois un discours de sourds, dans ces situations là j'ai envie de me lever et dire là à un moment donné il faut, ça dépend aussi de la qualité en termes de biodiversité, pas juste des tourbières, les milieux humides sont aussi importants mais je pense qu'on en a pas mal dans le réseau. (EUREKO Participant)

³¹⁹ Ultimentement c'est sûr, dans notre cas pour être certifié, on certifie c'est pour être capable de vendre du bois sur le marché, c'est pour être capable de rester en business; l'idée c'est de ne pas arrêter complètement la coupe, on veut maximiser la contribution mais en minimisant les impacts. On essaie de faire en autant que possible l'harmonisation des différents objectifs de conservation au lieu de prendre les différents dossiers à part, un autochtone, un caribou, tout à part alors si on fait ça, on manque d'intégration. (Forestry Participant 2)

³²⁰ À l'époque on avait pas les obligations de certifications; les entreprises n'étaient pas tellement présentes, ne connaissaient pas autant le territoire en termes d'aires protégées. Ils avaient lancé cela et il y avait une proposition, des propositions d'aires protégées qui relevaient essentiellement du gouvernement ; tu avais un chalet au bord du lac et on disait ce serait le 'fun' d'avoir une aire protégée et le ministère faisait des analyses et il a retenu quelques-uns. (CRE Participant)

meetings between the forestry companies and regional actors allows the companies to understand regional concerns and desires, and permits them to incorporate these in their planning activities.

*With the certification, there is a lot of internal work that takes place. We provide updates to people in order to get feedback and to tell them where we are in the process. The feedback will not necessarily have a direct impact, but it allows us to know their opinions and to take these into consideration in our planning activities. (Forestry participant 1)*³²¹

Formal communication will also occur between forestry companies and the MNR for both FSC certification processes and for determining harvest areas. Forestry participants indicated that it was very important to keep a paper and electronic file for all communications and decisions made between them and the MNR for legal reasons.

*By using email, if I get sued; it can happen that I make an error in placing my harvest lines. It can occur as I follow tree growth patterns. (Forestry Participant 1)*³²²

Finally, the forestry industry is an important regional actor in the current PA planning process due to the economic impacts this exercise can have on its harvesting activities. As such, this industry has a strong, positive working relationship with the CRE and the PA planning process currently underway.

*What we were planning for was to maximize our contribution to the PA planning program, to meet requirements, to contribute to the caribou rehabilitation plan, to maintain areas of high value. The network that we are creating must be functional and promote the health of the caribou. (Forestry Participant 2)*³²³

Forestry participants indicated that developing PAs in order to increase their connectivity was important, yet propositions made to MDDEFP staff were often rejected due to conflicting interests. The MDDEFP wants to create large PAs while the forestry industry would like a

³²¹ Avec la certification, il y a beaucoup de travail qui se fait à l'interne, au niveau de la certification; se donner un compte rendu on dit aux gens c'est d'avoir un feed-back d'où on est rendu. Pas nécessairement que le feed-back va avoir un impact direct, entendre leurs commentaires et probablement modulés certaine planification en fonction des commentaires qui sont faits. (Forestry participant 1)

³²² Moi en ayant par courriel comment je me ferai poursuivre, ça peut arriver que je fasse une erreur en plaçant la ligne c'est fort possible on suit les peuplements forestiers, ça peut arriver. (Forestry Participant 1)

³²³ Ce qu'on visait nous autres c'était de maximiser la contribution au réseau d'aires protégées, répondre aux carences en aires protégées, contribuer au rétablissement du caribou, contribuer au maintien de la haute valeur. Il faut que les réseaux que l'on met en place soient fonctionnels tant qu'à mettre en jeu aménagement et caribou. (Forestry Participant 2)

combination of large, medium and small PAs as this fosters connectivity while also providing easier access to harvest areas.

The government gave itself the mandate to create 12% of PAs, but the concept of planning while promoting connectivity between PAs, that they do not do, and it's a problem. They go at it one step at a time, but sometimes, they need to combined things. If you do not take into account other objectives such as the spatial distribution of caribou, you may not address this, so then, you need to develop or re-open other plans because you did not bother to integrate them. If we look at it from this point of view, we still have another half to work on. (Forestry Participant 2)³²⁴

8.2.6 First Nation Communities

The relationship between the SSLMP and the Innu of Issipit FN community was described as extremely open, positive and inviting by both FN participants and SSLMP staff. FN participants from this community indicated that the relationship with the park works well due to the community's involvement during the park creation process and continuing participation through the harmonization table. One FN participant indicated that the key to developing and maintaining positive and effective relationships with SSLMP staff was to have open modes of conversation and communication with each other. Being able to talk freely about community or park concerns allows both actors to properly understand, respect and trust each other, thus facilitating consensus making processes.

The community has always been present and has participated; we are not talking about conflicts, but of differences. Yes, First Nations have rights, rights to fish for subsistence, in terms of different activities, hunting, and all this is occurring on the same space as the marine PA. It's when we have uses, such as egg harvesting where we have had to be accommodating to the conservation mandates of the park. We have changed parameters of some community activities so that they corroborate with those of the park in order to ensure the continued presence of species and to be harmonized with the park. (First Nation Participant 1)³²⁵

³²⁴ Le gouvernement c'est donne le mandat de crée 12% d'aires protégées, mais le concept de planifier en même temps la connectivite entre aires protégées, sa, ils ne le font pas et c'est un problème. C'est une étape à la fois au départ essayons de l'harmoniser mais des fois c'est de la plancher a priori. Si tu ne tiens pas compte des autres objectifs d'aménagement la répartition spatiale activité caribou alors là tu vas arriver une fois que tu as fait ça, il va falloir que tu réchauffes tes autres plans parce que tu n'en as pas nécessairement d'intégrer et deux, si on regarde sur un point de vue il reste une partie à faire qu'on n'a pas réglé encore. (Forestry Participant 2)

³²⁵ La communauté a toujours été présente et a siégé; on ne parle pas de situations conflictuelles mais de différences; c'est sûr que les premières nations ont des droits, droit au niveau de la pêche de subsistance, au niveau des différentes activités, de chasse de subsistance, de chasse à la sauvagine, et c'est sur le même territoire qui est une aire marine protégée. Ces quand on a des usages, come la collecte des œufs d'oiseaux, dans des activités de subsistance, ou on a dû s'accommoder avec les mandats de conservation du parc; on a modulé certaines des activités de la

All FN participants indicated that the coordination committees organized by the SEPAQ or the harmonization committee for the SSLMP were extremely beneficial to building relationships and trust with other regional actors.

Each individual that sits at the committee are obligated to listen to the other people on the committee. If not, they are not meeting the purpose of the committee, which is to educate. As soon as you want to educate a population, you need to consult them, talk to them, and listen to them. All actors are listened to, I am not sure if it alters decisions in the end, but I am sure it has a certain influence. (First Nation Participant 1)³²⁶

Most forms of communication and decision-making process between the different SEPAQ parks and FN communities occurs both formally and informally. Formally, communications occur through the harmonization committees for each park and various sub-committees designed to address specific park challenges. Informally, communications will often occur through telephone or email conversations, during lunch and dinners while attending other meetings, and after work at local pubs and coffee shops.

Certain SEPAQ participants indicated that, sometimes, conflicting challenges arise regarding traditional activities (e.g. hunting, sweat lodges) within park boundaries by members of FN communities. Often, the occurrence of these activities will only be made known to park staff after they have occurred. In most instances, park staff members have no objections to such activities, but indicated they would appreciate being informed in advance of these activities, because they are the land managers and are responsible for the well being of all individuals present within park boundaries. This can be especially problematic during the deer and moose hunting season due to safety concerns for park visitors. However, due to the long-standing

communauté de façon temporelle pour justement assurer la pérennité des espèces et l'harmonisation avec les mandats premiers du parc. (First Nation Participant 1)

³²⁶ Chacun des gens qui siègent autour du comité peu importe de quelle façon, en milieu ouvert et en milieu peuplé, ils sont dans l'obligation d'écouter les gens qui sont autour d'eux. Sinon ils ne vont pas répondre à leur vocation première. Qui est de sensibiliser. À partir du moment où tu veux sensibiliser une population il faut que tu la consultes, il faut que tu lui parles, il faut que tu l'écoutes, du fait que j'étais au comité de coordination, je te dirai, je suis un utilisateur du parc marin depuis près de 30 ans. Tous les gens du milieu sont écoutés, je ne sais pas si ça change les décisions en bout de ligne, mais je suis sûre que cela a une certaine influence. (First Nation Participant 1)

positive relationship between the park and the FN communities, in part due to the coordination committee, such issues are most often easily resolved.

8.2.7 Provincial and Regional Government

8.2.7.1 MNR

As presented in the previous two case studies, staff members at the regional MNR office in Saguenay are heavily involved in all matters that affect regional land-use planning and decision-making activities occurring on crown lands. Due to the large diversity of land uses occurring in the Saguenay region (hydro, forestry, mining, road construction, caribou protection and PAs), the regional MNR office is responsible for ensuring that all these activities are harmonized with one another in order to prevent land use conflicts.

Due to regional implications regarding the PA planning process administered by the CRE, the MNR is an active participant. The MNR office has always been heavily involved in the creation of PAs as the process drastically changes the types of activities (often resource uses) allowed on crown land. Furthermore, the regional office is accountable to varied land users.

The MNR is one of the ministries that is particularly concerned with the types of activities and rights that are given for a particular land base, because it is the main manager of resources on that land base. So in this perspective, PAs can have considerable effects on the types of uses on the land, such as mining rights, forestry and cottages. (MNR Staff #1)³²⁷

Collaborations between the MNR and the CRE occur formally and informally regarding the PA planning process and other land use activities. Informal communications typically occur through telephone or email conversations regarding project updates, information sharing and questioning.

³²⁷ Le MRNF est un des ministères plus particulièrement concernés par rapport aux activités et aux droits qui sont émis sur les territoires. Parce qu'il est le principal gestionnaire des ressources du territoire. Dans ce sens cela, les projets d'aires protégées peuvent avoir des effets considérables sur les différentes affectations qu'on a fait, on pense aux droits miniers qu'on attribue sur les territoires, les droits forestiers, les droits au niveau de la villégiature. (MNR Staff #1)

Everyone involved in this process communicates with each other informally on a regular basis in order to obtain information, discuss various particularities, and obtain clarifications. I work for the state and I am there to communicate information, to give information. It is part of my job, so I often have informal exchanges. (MNR Staff #1)³²⁸

Formal communications typically occur through planning committees, which also include regional actors such as the forestry industry, FNs, tourism boards, and environmental ENGOS. The diversity of actors at these meetings ensures that the decisions made will be better accepted and integrated by the region and various other land use activities.

Me, the mandate of the MNR while participating in this process, it is to support it. I share the information and knowledge as an MNR representative and I support the process. The table, organized through the CRE has ensured that we are able to reach more regional actors that are concerned, and the general population. (MNR Staff #1)³²⁹

One MNR participant indicated that the benefit of these committees is that it is equitable the voice of each participants is equal to one another,

The approach used by our ministry is to try and give the same type of weight to what everyone says. In general, whether it be an individual giving his opinion or a lobby group with much more resources, we give the individual as much attention as the lobby group. (MNR Staff #1)³³⁰

and that it can save time.

Obviously, having everyone sitting around the table allows this; I have witnessed multiple written exchanges that just never end because people were not there with the others. The advantage of having everyone around a table is that topics can be debated. They can clearly express their point of view and can get instant feedback. (MNR Staff #1)³³¹

However, email correspondence during field work between the MNR office and certain regional actors such as the CRE points to the contrary. It is evident through an intercepted email

³²⁸ Informels, tout le monde dans son processus individuel communique sur une base régulière pour avoir de l'information, discuter les éléments, avoir des précisions, s'assurer convivialement que ce soit entre ministère, entre groupes ; encore là, moi je travaille pour l'État, je suis là pour communiquer des éléments, donner de l'information. Ça fait partie de mon travail donc d'avoir des échanges informels c'est très régulier. (MNR Staff #1)

³²⁹ Moi, le mandat qu'on a la MRNF autour de la table c'est de supporter les attentes qui sont là. Je partage de l'information à titre, je partage mes connaissances à titre de professionnels de la MRNF mais le mandat que l'on a à la MRNF est de participer, de contribuer, de supporter l'action qu'il y a là. La table avec la CRE a permis que sa soit beaucoup plus facile de rejoindre un plus grand nombre de gens qui pouvaient être concernés, la population en général. (MNR Staff #1)

³³⁰ L'approche de notre ministère c'est qu'on essaie de donner le même poids à tout le monde. Je vous dirai que de façon générale que ce soit un individu unique qui peut initier dans le dossier, on lui fait la même réception qu'un lobby qui a beaucoup de moyens, beaucoup de ressources et qui est plus aguerri. (MNR Staff #1)

³³¹ Évidemment d'avoir tout le monde autour de la table, ça permet; moi, j'ai assisté à des échanges écrits interminables, parce que les gens n'étaient pas assis les uns devant les autres. L'avantage est d'avoir tout le monde autour de la table et de débattre des choses à chaud et à froid. De pouvoir exprimer des points de vue et d'avoir du feed-back instantané. (MNR Staff #1)

communication between the CRE and the MNR that the MNR holds tremendous power and influence regarding the creation of PAs and operate outside of the regional planning committees:

*MNR: don't worry, we will look at the propositions and will determine their impact on the forestry industry. Nothing will happen unless we have the final word.*³³²

The regional MNR office recognizes that connectivity between PAs is important, specifically in relation to maintaining and augmenting the woodland caribou population. The MNR is in direct communication with the forestry industry regarding the development of a caribou rehabilitation plan. Most discussions regarding this plan with the forestry industry revolve around maintaining suitable habitat while simultaneously negating negative impacts to planned harvests.

In terms of the PA planning process currently underway with the CRE and the MDDEFP, the MNR recognizes that multiple types and sizes of PAs are required as this facilitates the creation of linkages between these. However, one MNR participant indicated that the MDDEFP is mostly preoccupied with creating large PAs, essentially preventing linkages from occurring.

*We could have a spatial distribution which would ensure that we have better connectivity between PAs and which would give more value to the system. If we had large areas, there would be lots of space between them because you are using a concept of representativeness. When you have large PAs, you can easily assume that the larger they are, the more isolated they will be, so the notion of connectivity must be addressed through another tool. (MNR Staff #1)*³³³

Although the notion of connectivity is not actually addressed in the PA planning process, the MNR believes it is achieved through other land use planning activities such as the caribou rehabilitation plan, regional PAs, and the presence of large tracts of crown land.

³³² MNR: ne t'inquiète pas, on va regarder les propositions et d'déterminer leur impact sur le secteur forestier. Rien ne va passer sans qu'on aille le dernier mot.

³³³ On pourrait avoir une répartition spatiale qui ferait en sorte qu'on aurait une meilleure connectivité entre aires protégées qui donneraient une plus value à tout ton système est en général au territoire au complet. Si on avait des gros blocs, des grosses les aires protégées, massive, naturellement tu aurais beaucoup d'espace entre parce que si tu vas avec un concept de représentativité tu vas avec de grosses aux aires protégées tu peux facilement concevoir que plus les grandes aires protégées vont être grandes plus tu vas les distancer et les isoler et là, la notion de connectivité elle doit être assurée par une autre mécanique. (MNR Staff #1)

There are other elements related to connectivity. There are regional parks which are protected. This could be a good element for connectivity (MNR Staff #1)³³⁴

8.2.7.2 MDDEFP

As with the previous two case studies, the MDDEFP regional office has very little to do with the PA planning process currently taking place. MDDEFP staff members are only mandated to analyze projects taking place on private land whose development affects part of the natural environment as indicated by the Law on the Quality of the Environment. MDDEFP staff members also play an enforcement role where they are required to monitor the effects of these projects by conducting field inspections and monitoring, some of which will occur within PAs.

Unlike the other two case studies, one staff member from the MDDEFP also works alongside the central office in regards to the regional PA planning process.

I am an analyst within the ministry and am a biologist by training. I work on projects related to water and wetlands, pretty general stuff and everything that relates to PAs within the region. I work with the central office in Québec, I work alongside them. (MDDEFP Participant)³³⁵

Regional MDDEFP participation in this planning process stems from past involvement during the 2003-2009 process for establishing 8% of PAs within the province (see chapter 4). One participant indicated that the reason why regional staff members were present in the original planning process was due to their knowledge of regional contexts and their ability to act as a ‘middle man’ between the province and regional actors.

I was asked by the division on ecological areas to participate at the meetings, to prepare information for them and to meet with regional actors, to essentially act as the link between regional actors the central office. (MDDEFP Participant)³³⁶

³³⁴ Mais moi, pour te dire, autres que cet aspect-là, il y a différents éléments de connectivité; il y a des parcs régionaux entre des espaces qui sont protégés, c'est un bon élément de connectivité. (MNR staff #1)

³³⁵ Je suis analyste au niveau du ministère, biologiste de formation; les différents dossiers dont je m'occupe ça touche tout ce qui est cours d'eau, milieux humides, c'est quand même assez général et aussi tout ce qui touche des aires protégées qui relèvent du milieu, j'accompagne le service des aires protégées du Québec qui pilote le dossier des aires protégées, identification des aires protégées dans le cadre de la stratégie. On est beaucoup en accompagnement de leur démarche. (MDDEFP Participant)

³³⁶ J'étais appelée à accompagner la direction du patrimoine écologique pour assister aux audiences, préparer le plan d'informations, rencontrer les intervenants de la région, faire un peu le pont finalement entre la direction des aires protégées et nos intervenants ici en région. Mon rôle, c'était de faire le lien entre la province et les gens du milieu. (MDDEFP Participant)

For the current PA planning process, MDDEFP regional staff members participate as observers and in a support role, providing information or clarification when needed during the meetings. Having the CRE responsible for working with regional actors in determining the location of PAs is viewed positively, especially considering previous PA planning exercises.

Yes, there have been some complaints in the past, especially in the first phase with the 8% were elected officials felt they were not informed of the process, and felt like they were put in front of something that could not be changed. They had the impression that everything had already been decided, but in the law on urban development, they are the ones responsible to develop this land area, so they did not understand why the government had already reserved certain areas, so we tried to correct this by using the CRE. (MDDEFP Participant)³³⁷

The new process now delegates decision-making powers to regional actors in an attempt to increase regional participation and acceptance. Although extremely time consuming, the MDDEFP hopes that this new process will lead to decisions that are made by consensus and will, therefore, be widely accepted and understood.

It's obvious, we will see the advantage of this process at the end because we will achieve a regional consensus, something which was not done in the past. The elected officials will still be stakeholders through their work with the CRE which was not the case before. I also presume that it will be easier to adopt decrees for the PAs. We are still not very far in the process, but we will take the time we need. (MDDEFP Participant)³³⁸

One MDDEFP participant noted that poor communication and sharing of information between the central and regional MDDEFP office can sometimes be problematic when participating in the regional PA meetings.

I think that it is a bit frustrating sometimes because I do not have access to all of the information that the MDDEFP central office has in order to base my arguments on. (MDDEFP Participant)³³⁹

³³⁷ Oui, il y a eu des reproches dans le passé et justement dans la première tranche de 8 % comme quoi les élus se sentaient mis à l'écart du processus, ils se sentaient mis devant un fait accompli. Ils avaient l'impression que tout était décidé à l'avance alors que dans la loi sur le développement et l'urbanisme, c'est eux qui ont la responsabilité d'aménager le territoire et là il comprenait mal que le gouvernement avait déjà des territoires cannés, donc par la suite on a corrigé le tir avec les CRE. (MDDEFP Participant)

³³⁸ C'est certain, l'avantage on va la voir en bout de piste parce que consensus nécessairement, consensus régional ce qui n'était pas nécessairement le cas avant. Les élus vont être quand même partis prenante du processus avec la participation de la CRE. Ce qui n'était pas le cas du tout avant; je présume que ça va être facilitant pour adopter des décrets gouvernementaux pour les aires protégées. On n'est pas encore très, très avancé dans le processus mais on va prendre le temps qu'il faut. (MDDEFP Participant)

³³⁹ Je trouve ça un petit peu frustrant des fois parce que je n'ai pas accès à toute l'information que la MDDEFP a pour argumenter. (MDDEFP Participant)

Furthermore, since the regional MDDEFP office has an enforcement role, communication and collaboration channels with the CRE and MNR can sometimes be lacking regarding the PA planning process.

There may not be a good collaboration between the regional office and the CRE for that project. Although we operate at the same level as the MNRF, there were sometimes email communications between them and the CRE that we were not included on. The CRE, like the MNR has a tendency to skip over us on certain projects. (MDDEFP Participant)³⁴⁰

The concept of connectivity between PAs is recognized but does not appear to be a regional priority when determining new PAs under the current process. Although the MDDEFP recognizes that connectivity is an issue, such discussions do not occur during PA planning meetings. A MDDEFP participant noted that a major issue continually brought up when discussing connectivity during the meetings is the impact it will have on the forestry industry.

Yes, it is a constraint but I think it could be fixed. There is a way, it is not impossible. But I think it is still a current problem that we have. (MDDEFP Participant)³⁴¹

Yet, discussions regarding landscape connectivity with the forestry industry do take place regarding the caribou rehabilitation plan. However, this plan does not create true PAs.

It's a constant preoccupation, and in terms of constraints, the forestry industry is also preoccupied with the caribou plan. It is a vulnerable species and there is a plan which ensures that there is a rotation in harvest areas (timber) in order to preserve the species. Really, the PAs we want to create, we can argue that if we create these two for example, we will ensure connectivity for the caribou, we are thinking about this in the optic of the caribou. (MDDEFP Participant)³⁴²

³⁴⁰ Plus, il n'y a peut-être pas une bonne collaboration entre la direction régionale et la CRE sur ce dossier-là. Dans le sens qu'encore là au même titre que le MRNF, des fois il y avait des courriels, des échanges pour lesquels on n'était pas nécessairement informé, la CRE a tendance comme le faisait le MRNF à passer par-dessus notre tête pour arranger les choses. (MDDEFP Participant)

³⁴¹ Oui c'est une contrainte mais ça ce n'est peut-être pas irréconciliable, il y a moyen, ce n'est pas un problème insolvable. Je ne pense pas c'est quand même une préoccupation qui est présente. (MDDEFP Participant)

³⁴² C'est une préoccupation constante même que l'industrie forestière dans le cadre du plan caribou, je n'en ai pas parlé tantôt mais une des autres préoccupations qu'ils ont au niveau des contraintes c'est le fameux plan caribou. C'est une espèce vulnérable au niveau de la loi, il y a un plan qui fait en sorte qu'il y a une rotation de coupe sur un territoire donné, pour préserver l'espèce. Dans le fond les territoires que l'on veut créer, il y a une argumentation, si on crée ça, c'est 2 territoires-là, on assure une connectivité pour le caribou, oui cette préoccupation-là est présente. Dans l'optique du caribou. (MDDEFP Participant)

8.2.7.3 CRE

As presented in the previous two chapters (section 6.2.7 and 7.2.7) the CRE for the Saguenay administrative region has been given the mandate by the MDDEFP to oversee the PA planning process for identifying potential PA sites, with the input and assistance of various regional actors. Similarly the Gaspésie case study, the CRE in the Saguenay region is in the preliminary planning process and has only held a couple of meetings thus far to introduce the project and to obtain preliminary feedback regarding potential PA sites from regional actors.

The CRE and the actors it represents are largely in favour of creating new PAs within the region. However, conflicting issues exist between the types of PAs that the province is proposing versus the types of PAs that regional actors are asking for, or find acceptable. Regional participants would like to see PAs that incorporate multiple types of uses (e.g. IUCN categories 4, 5 and 6), but the provincial government is only interested in creating PAs that meet the requirements for the first three IUCN categories.

We are currently in a period where the public is receptive to the creation of PAs, but we would like the government to be more flexible in the types of PAs so that we can still live while also developing PAs, but the government is not open to this. (CRE Participant)³⁴³

A CRE participant was of the opinion that the MDDEFP's lack of cooperation and willingness to accommodate regional demands can largely be attributed to poor organization, lack of resources and poor understanding of regional requirements.

I simply think they have poorly organized this. I don't think that they have the proper tools, and they are used to creating PAs under certain categories so that's what they keep on doing. They just pigeonhole themselves with these, they want to reach 12% under categories 1, 2, 3 and we don't have a choice, we just accommodate this. (CRE Participant)³⁴⁴

³⁴³ C'est ça on est dans la situation où le milieu est favorable à la création d'aires protégées mais on voudrait que le gouvernement ait plus de flexibilité dans l'attribution des statuts pour qu'on puisse vivre et développer des aires protégées mais actuellement il n'y a pas d'ouverture là-dessus de la part du gouvernement. (CRE Participant)

³⁴⁴ Je pense que c'est une mauvaise organisation, de leur part tout simplement. Je pense qu'ils n'ont pas les effectifs et qu'ils sont habitués à faire certaines catégories et ils vont là-dedans. Ils se confinent là-dedans, ils veulent monter jusqu'à 12 %, c'est ce qu'ils nous disent, jusqu'à 12 % d'aires protégées de catégorie 123, on n'a pas le choix, on travaille avec ça. (CRE Participant)

Furthermore, how the MDDEFP recognizes PAs was identified as problematic.

You have a number of areas that have a PA status, whether it be municipal, regional which should in theory be counted as a PA site by the province, but they don't do this, so your land area may be at 12%, but you may in fact have 2-3% more PAs recognized by regional actors but not the provincial government. This is not fair, it's not correct. We are working on fixing this, but I don't think I will be around when it eventually happens. (CRE Participant)³⁴⁵

Yet, the current regionalization process put in place by the MDDEFP is viewed much more positively than the previous process put in place to meet the 8% target in 2009. In the current process, regional actors play an important role as decision makers.

We are currently in the public participation phase. We are working with the MDDEFP in order to identify potential PAs using their criteria and metrics along with regional economic and social concerns. We are really in a concerted work effort whereas in the past, it was more an information sharing process that they called consultation. (CRE Participant)³⁴⁶

The CRE recognizes the importance of conservation, but participants noted that PAs also create multiple impositions in terms of economic development due to a reduction of accessible natural resources. Even if certain forms of economic development are possible (e.g. outdoor recreational activities) they are of the opinion that income derived from these activities will never be equal to that generated by timber extraction or hydroelectricity production.

Creating PAs that comprised 7% of a forested land area such as ours, it's a pain. This objective creates discussions and expectations and is very complex due to social-economic impacts. For a region like ours, one of the things that are hard to accept is that when you preserve something for the good of the province, you don't get a penny for doing so, but if you use the resources, such as a river for hydroelectricity, you can make lots of money. (CRE Participant)³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Tu as une série de territoires qu'y a un statut de protection soit municipal soit régional qui théoriquement devrait être comptabilisé comme un site qui est protégé, mais il ne le font pas, ce qui fait en sorte que ton territoire est à 12 % d'aires protégées qui est reconnue mais parfois tu peux rajouter deux à 3 % d'aires protégées qui sont reconnues par les intervenants du milieu mais que le gouvernement ne reconnaît pas et ne comptabilise pas. Ça ce n'est pas juste, ça n'est pas correct. On essaie de travailler pour qu'ils arrivent à le faire mais je pense que je ne serai plus là quand ça arrive. (CRE Participant)

³⁴⁶ Actuellement on est dans un processus de consultation. On travaille avec le MDDEFP à identifier des territoires en fonction de leurs outils d'analyse et les préoccupations économiques et sociales du milieu. On est vraiment dans un processus de travail concerté alors qu'à l'époque on était dans un processus d'information qu'ils appelaient consultation. (CRE Participant)

³⁴⁷ Créer 7% d'aires protégées sur un territoire forestier comme le nôtre c'est du tracass. C'est un objectif qui n'est pas sans causer de discussions, sans créer des attentes, c'est complexe, cela a des impacts socio-économiques importants. Pour un milieu comme le nôtre, un des éléments qui est difficile à accepter c'est quand tu conserves dans un esprit de patrimoine national tu n'as pas une cent mais si tu prends la rivière et tu la harnaches, cela va être payant. (CRE Participant)

Other participants indicated that the CRE is often pressured by the RMCs to prevent PA creation.

For the RMC's, they want to have some control, they don't want to have to respect provincial norms. It works relatively well, but they don't want their areas recognized so as to not lose control, that's why they don't go through with the PA recognition process. (Regional PA Staff #1)³⁴⁸

One MDDEFP participant further adds:

What we think, is that they will not create superimposed PAs. They are afraid of losing control of their area and don't want to deal with external constraints, but we think this is not the case because there are precedents where this has happened such as a regional park and biodiversity reserve, and it worked well. (MDDEFP Participant)³⁴⁹

Regional participants have indicated that the CRE is not proactively promoting and has little support for the MDDEFP PA planning process due to internal pressures to maintain access to natural resource commodities. One SEPAQ participant indicated that regional ENGOs are more proactive than the CRE in promoting and ensuring that the planning process for PA creation continues to progress.

It's not the people from the CRE pushing for development; it's more the environmental type people from the region, like the regional council on environment, that push for the creation of PAs. They [CRE] are preoccupied with regional development, which is good, but I think they see PAs as areas that prevent development; they are not 100% comfortable with the creation of PAs. (SEPAQ Staff #5)³⁵⁰

Yet, one CRE participant indicated that a main regional challenge in determining which areas to consider for PA status is attributable to the lack of communication between the MDDEFP (both central and regional) and with the MNR regional offices.

In theory they should be doing this, but the MDDEFP and MNR do not work together [for PA identification]. I would mesh these two together for this. (CRE Participant)³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Du côté de la RMC ils veulent conserver le contrôle ils ne veulent pas avoir des normes à respecter. Ça se déroule quand même assez bien mais ils ne veulent pas avoir le statut ils ne veulent pas perdre le contrôle, c'est pour ça qu'ils ne vont pas aller chercher un statu d'aire protégées. (Regional PA Staff #1)

³⁴⁹ Ce qu'on sent ce qu'ils ne veulent pas avoir de statut qui se superpose. Ils ont peur d'avoir des contraintes ou de perdre le contrôle de la gestion du territoire alors que selon nous c'est faux, parce qu'il existe des précédents de superposition de statut parc régional versus réserve de biodiversité, ça semble bien se passer. (MDDEFP Participant)

³⁵⁰ Ce n'est pas les gens de la CRE qui pousse pour le développement; c'est plus eux les gens du milieu environnemental comme le conseil régional de l'environnement qui pousse pour identifier les aires protégées. Ils [CRE] sont préoccupés par le développement régional c'est bien sûr, mais je pense qu'ils voient les aires protégées comme étant des territoires qui empêchent le développement; ils ne sont pas 100 % à l'aise avec la création d'aires protégées comme telles. (SEPAQ Staff #5)

³⁵¹ En théorie ça devrait mais le NDEP et le ministère des ressources naturelles ne travaillent pas ensemble (for PA identification). Moi je fusionnerai ça. (CRE Participant)

8.2.8 ENGOS

8.2.8.1 Eureka

Eureka was founded in the late 1970s and is an environmental ENGO based in the City of Chicoutimi. The main purpose of this organization is to promote environmental protection within Chicoutimi and surrounding area through multiple programs such as urban agriculture, environmental education, and land-based planning activities. An important mandate of this organization is to protect specific land and aquatic areas (e.g. wetlands, woodlots) within city limits for conservation and education purposes. These areas are identified through a planning exercise conducted by Eureka and the city.

Eureka has a strong working relationship with the City of Chicoutimi as it actively promotes and develops projects and programs that benefit the city. The relationship between Eureka and elected city officials and employees was described as being open, welcoming and positive. One Eureka participants indicated that this relationship is a win-win for both parties, particularly regarding land acquisition and conservation: private land within city limits is purchased by Eureka through a fiduciary; the city provides the majority of the necessary funding for land acquisition to Eureka; the lands are purchased for the benefits of municipal residents; and, in the event that Eureka ceases to exist, all lands within the fiduciary will be gifted to the city.

Eureka participants described the formal process for land acquisition through a fiduciary as extremely beneficial in gaining the trust of potential land owners when they are first approached to discuss land acquisition for the purpose of PAs.

When we purchase a property, the fiduciary becomes the legal owner and this cannot be modified by any means other than by a court. We ensure perpetual protection of these sites. When we speak with certain people, because we still have land areas we would like to purchase, they have demonstrated an interest because they don't want to give their land to people when they are not sure what they will do with it. When I tell them about this

fiduciary, it reassures them as they know I will not be able to turn around and sell their property for millions. (Eureko Participant)³⁵²

However, lands purchased for conservation purposes through the fiduciary are not recognized by the provincial government as PAs. Although having these land areas recognized has some potential interest to Eureko since it increases the protection status, the organization is not interested in undertaking the process for various reasons, most notably due to cost, time and, lack of uniformity amongst governments recognized private PAs.

It's a process [PA recognition by province] with the government which is often long and arduous, but a fiduciary process, we go to a lawyer, we sign and it's done. The advantage of a fiduciary, is that for the other properties we want to add, people can gift these to us, but will not be able to dictate or impose any conditions. From the time it is gifted, the laws of the fiduciary are applied. All of our land areas are managed under the same laws. (Eureko Participant)³⁵³

Communication between Eureko and SEPAQ was described as extremely open, positive and cooperative. Eureko and SEPAQ communicate formally through the SEPAQ harmonization tables and informally through either impromptu telephone and email conversations or personal visits with SEPAQ employees. One EUREKO participant noted that the SEPAQ has always been very approachable.

Last week, I attended a meeting with the SEPAQ where they presented their action plan, and interestingly enough, in a section of this plan, it states that they want to work with regional actors involved in conservation. I went and talked to them and asked them if I would be able to count on their expertise to help us in conservation of a specific land parcel, and they said yes, absolutely. They even gave us a document, a characterization guide, so that we do not have to start at zero and we can learn from their expertise.

³⁵² Quand on achète une propriété, la fiducie en devient propriétaire légalement et cet acte-là ne pourra pas être modifié autrement que par un tribunal. On assure une protection à perpétuité des sites. Et quand on parle de ça avec certain gens parce qu'il nous reste encore des terrains qu'on envisage d'acquérir ici entre autres et quand on a fait ça à des propriétaires ou actionnaires d'entreprise ils se sont montrés très intéressés parce que ils ne veulent pas nous le donner parce qu'ils ne savent pas ce qu'on veut en faire. Tout à coup je lui donne ça et puis il vend ça à 1 million dans six mois ; moi je viens de me faire flouer. Donc ça leur assure une certaine sécurité d'esprit de s'assurer aussi qu'on n'ira pas spéculer. (Eureko Participant)

³⁵³ C'est une démarche [PA recognition by province] avec le gouvernement qui est souvent longue et fastidieuse alors qu'un acte de fiducie on passe chez le notaire on signe et c'est réglé. L'avantage aussi de la fiducie s'il y a d'autres propriétés qu'on veut ajouter bien les gens peuvent en faire don et ne peuvent pas imposer leurs conditions. À partir du moment où il donne la propriété pour qu'elle fasse partie de la fiducie les règles de la fiducie vont s'appliquer. Tous les terrains sont soumis aux mêmes normes. (Eureko Participant)

There is a collaboration that is starting to form with the SEPAQ which is interesting for us. (Eureko Participant)³⁵⁴

A benefit of the harmonization tables is the ability of SEPAQ staff to exchange with and receive feedback from regional actors. This checks and balances approach to doing business greatly increases social acceptance of management projects and outcomes.

It's a good venue for people to share their concerns. There are mayors that often ask the same questions, us, we share our concerns and aspirations. We have good dialogue and communications. Like I was saying, the park director really listens to what we say and is open to our demands. (Eureko Participant)³⁵⁵

Finally, participating in multiple regional committees was described as immensely beneficial to developing partnerships and identifying regional expertise. This increases the visibility of EUREKO to other regional actors, promotes partnership development, and ensures that their voice is properly represented in regional land use development projects.

We think that this is extremely important, because first of all, by participating with other organizations, we develop partnerships that we can use to obtain other expertise. We are part of the nature areas network; I am the administrator, so this further increases our expertise, our exchanges in all this. We participated for many years in the various workshops organized by NQ, so we have developed many partnerships through all this. (Eureko Participant)³⁵⁶

8.2.8.2 Groupe de Recherche sur les Mammifères Marins

The Groupe de Recherche sur les Mammifères Marins (GREMM) is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1985 that focuses on marine mammal research and education within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and more specifically within the SSLMP. Since its inception, the GREMM

³⁵⁴ La semaine dernière j'assistais à une rencontre de la SEPAQ où il nous présentait leur plan d'action et justement ce qui est intéressant c'est dans leurs éléments de plan d'action il y a un qui dit de contribuer avec les acteurs locaux et régionaux qui sont liés dans le domaine de la conservation, de contribuer avec eux. Je suis allé les voir et j'ai dit comme ça on va pouvoir contribuer en va pouvoir compter sur votre expertise pour nous aider pour la conservation du secteur et ils ont dit oui tout à fait. Ils nous ont même fourni un document guide de caractérisation des sites pour qu'on ne doive pas recommencer à zéro et tirer profit de leur expérience dans le domaine. Il y a une collaboration qui est en train de s'installer avec la SEPAQ qui est intéressante pour nous. (Eureko Participant)

³⁵⁵ C'est une bonne tribune pour que les gens puissent faire valoir leurs préoccupations. Il y a des maires qui insistent beaucoup sur certaines questions qui reviennent fréquemment, nous on fait part de nos aspirations, nos revendications aussi. Un bon dialogue, un bon échange. Comme je mentionnais, le directeur du parc est attentif et ouvert à nos demandes. (Eureko Participant)

³⁵⁶ On trouve ça extrêmement important parce que d'abord la participation avec les autres organisations, nous on développe beaucoup de partenariat pour aller chercher les expertises qu'on a mais pas aussi pointues qu'on le voudrait. On fait partie du réseau des milieux naturels protégés justement je suis administrateur alors cela va augmenter notre expertise, nos échanges dans ça. On a participé pendant de nombreuses années aux ateliers de conservation organisés par Nature Québec; ça fait qu'on développe beaucoup de partenariat comme ça avec. (Eureko Participant)

has conducted multiple longitudinal studies (population numbers, family trees, water quality, and death rates) on various whale species that summer and winter within the SSLMP. This scientific information is used by various federal agencies such as Fisheries and Oceans (e.g. in planning marine transportation routes) and Parks Canada (e.g. best practices for whale watching tour companies), and in developing various public education tools (GREMM, 2014). The GREMM conducts most education and outreach activities through a visitor center they have built in the Town of Tadoussac.

Both research and education have the same goals for conservation; to better understand in order to better protect. We need to assist science, and also the public in better understanding the situation and factors while also having an impact on decisions related to conservation. (GREMM Participant 1)³⁵⁷

GREMM participants all indicated that the relationship they have with the SSLMP is extremely positive, open, and in most instances view themselves as equal partners in ensuring the wellbeing of whales within and outside of the park. GREMM participants were of the opinion that such a positive relationship exists between them and the SSLMP because they have very similar goals, objectives and mandates.

The GREMM was present in various marine activity projects well before the marine park was given the mandate to manage these, when it was all under the management authority of Fisheries and Oceans. In terms of the mission and objectives, we work closely with the marine park. (GREMM Participant 2)³⁵⁸

One GREMM participant viewed the relationship between the SSLMP and the GREMM as a true partnership, especially regarding public education goals and activities, scientific research, and conservation mandates. This participant indicated that the SSLMP often relies on the GREMM for scientific information and when proposing research studies.

³⁵⁷ À la fois la recherche et l'éducation ont pour but ultime la conservation donc mieux comprendre pour mieux protéger, et aider la science mais aussi aider le public à mieux comprendre la situation et les enjeux et avoir un impact au niveau des décisions de conservation. (GREMM Participant 1)

³⁵⁸ Le GREMM a été présent dans le dossier des activités en mer avant que le parc marin ait le mandat de s'en occuper et quand c'était sous l'égide de pêche et océans Canada. Au niveau de la mission et des objectifs on est très proche de ce que le parc marin a comme responsabilité et mandats. (GREMM Participant 2)

It's work built on various types of partnerships in terms of education, research and conservation; see, we see ourselves as a partner with a specific expertise in these areas. We have a clear vision of the major management challenges, so we can contribute to aiding the park in addressing these and in meeting their objectives, and historically, I think that we can say that this has always been a positive experience, even if sometimes it is necessary to clarify each other's role. (GREMM Participant 1)³⁵⁹

GREMM participants collaborate informally on a regular basis for a variety of reasons. These informal collaboration processes typically involve sharing personnel and tools in order to conduct whale studies, sharing data and documents, and developing educational tools, programs and activities. These collaborations are mutually beneficial to both parties:

There are many types of informal interactions. Sometimes staff members will call the directors to say hold on! You are going in this direction, but in our experience, we think that could lead to such and such problem, we often play the role of watch dog. Generally, I think that this is for the best, but it can sometimes be a bit uncomfortable. (GREMM Participant 1)³⁶⁰

GREMM participants indicated that although they would like to develop formal partnerships with the SSLMP, especially in order to guaranty funding for long-term studies; this has been very difficult to achieve due to federal regulations related to contract allotments. One GREMM participant felt that the inability of Parks Canada to commit funding for research programs was problematic; especially when the GREMM is fulfilling the majority of the SSLMPs research mandate.

Sometimes we wish, for example, that there would be more financial support for certain projects, and that funding would be less sporadic, but they have administrative constraints on their end and we understand that. But ultimately, big picture, a marine park has the responsibility to monitor its resources. If us, as an ENGO, we are seen as a long-term partner to undertake this for the park, even if we have the expertise and we have managed

³⁵⁹ C'est un travail de partenariat qui a pris plusieurs formes autant au niveau de l'éducation, de la recherche, au niveau de la conservation donc on est considéré comme un partenaire avec une expertise particulière dans ce domaine-là. Et une vision très éclairée des enjeux aussi donc on peut contribuer à la réalisation des objectifs du parc marin et historiquement je pense qu'on peut dire que ça s'est globalement très bien passé bien que des fois les rôles de chacun il y a besoin de clarifier, il y a besoin de camper, les choses se sont toutes bien passé au fil des ans. (GREMM Participant 1)

³⁶⁰ Mais il y a aussi des interactions informelles. C'est arrivé [ils] ont d'appeler le directeur pour dire oups! Vous vous enlignez pour telle chose, nous avec notre expérience, notre vision, on pense qu'il pourrait y avoir telle ou telle répercussion, on a souvent joué un rôle de chien de garde. En général je pense que c'était pour le mieux, mais parfois c'est une position qui est un peu inconfortable. (GREMM Participant 1)

various projects for many years, it still costs money and energy which is not easy for us. (GREMM Participant 1)³⁶¹

In most instances, and although the research projects are developed in partnership with the SSLMP, the GREMM has to obtain funding from other sources in order to undertake projects.

We sometimes propose projects which are not for the park are not contracts that we obtain from the parks; they are projects where we will conjointly develop, or will jointly fund. Sometimes we will even go and find outside partners for financial contributions, because the process for federal funding is always subject to an request for proposal, so it becomes very complex because Parks Canada cannot ensure constant financial support, it's really hard. (GREMM Participant 1)³⁶²

8.2.8.3 Organisme de Bassin Versant du Saguenay

The Organisme de Bassin Versant du Saguenay (OBVS) is one of 40 not-for-profit organizations recognized by the MDDEFP and is responsible for the consultation, planning and conciliation of water usage following principles of participatory governance to ensure integrated management for all watersheds within the Saguenay Region. As presented in section 8.1.2, the main watershed for this region is the Lake St. Jean and Saguenay River along with all tributaries that flow into these. The OBVS was created in 2009 as a result of provincial government directives to regionalize fresh water management. The mandate of this organization is to develop and maintain a watershed management plan through active collaboration with regional actors. Some of its objectives are to protect water resources; promote integrated watershed management; water education; develop and promote projects that respect sustainable management principles; and work toward integrating water management with other regional land use planning activities.

³⁶¹ On pourrait souhaiter par exemple qu'il y ait plus de soutien financier pour certains projets et que la récurrence soit établie de façon plus prévisible, mais il y a des contraintes administratives de leur côté et ont comprend ça. Mais, ultimement dans la vision des choses, un parc marin à la responsabilité du monitoring de ses ressources et ses enjeux. Si nous en tant qu'OSBL on est vu à long terme comme un partenaire pour réaliser ce mandat-là, même si on a l'expertise et qu'on réalise des projets depuis longtemps et tout, ça c'est un heurt et une difficulté qui coûte en énergie et en créativité administrative même au sein de Parc Canada et qui n'est pas facile. (GREMM Participant 1)

³⁶² Alors qu'est-ce que nous on propose parfois ce ne sont pas des contrats qu'on obtient du parc, c'est des projets qu'on développe ensemble ou on a une contribution financière, on va même chercher d'autres partenaires pour contribuer financièrement mais la partie, la contribution financière du fédérale est sujette à appel d'offres, affichage, etc. donc ça devient très complexe, eux en contrôle ne peuvent pas nous assurer leur soutien, c'est vraiment difficile. (GREMM Participant 1)

The OBVS has a strong working relationship with the CRE in terms of the PA planning process as it is responsible for ensuring and promoting sustainable land use and development within the region. The OBVS participates in multiple tables organized by the CRE. Having OBVS members participate in these tables is viewed as essential because it provides a formal venue for them to present their management mandates, build relationships with multiple other regional actors, and ensure that regional land use planning activities are cognizant of, and incorporates measures that maintain or increase the quality of water within the region's watershed.

Regarding the provincial PA planning process, OBVS participants were of the opinion that the CRE is not neutral, but rather is preoccupied with the possibility of negative repercussions associated with the creation of additional PAs. This sentiment is also widely felt by other participants at this table, which is predominantly comprised of mayors and prefects. However, the forestry industry, as a result of the certification process is seen as responsive and easy to work with.

I have a strong feeling that the CRE is in charge of this, but the CRE will also have a certain opinion, it will promote economic development instead of PA recreation. What we feel I think is that there are certain people who think that it will impact the economy tied to the forestry industry due to shortages in harvests. For them, this loss of resources will never be met through the creation of PAs and associated outdoor tourism. (OBVS Participant)³⁶³

Although decisions are made through consensus during PA planning committees, individuals and organizations are not equally represented, effectively skewing the results of the decision-making process.

Those that appear to be the most prominent or important voices, during the first meetings, well there is one seat per RMC which means there are many RMC's present. These are

³⁶³ J'ai la nette impression, la CRE pilote mais la CRE semble aussi avoir une certaine opinion, c'est-à-dire des avancées, de concilier vraiment l'économie versus crée des aires protégées; ce qu'on peut sentir je pense, qu'il y a certains décideurs qui pensent que ça va réduire l'économie au niveau forestier, au niveau de la quantité de bois qu'on pourrait produire. Pour eux, cette perte de bénéfices des ressources naturelles ne sera jamais comblée par la création d'aires protégées avec d'autres utilisations comme le récréotourisme. (OBVS Participant)

elected officials. There was a certain preoccupation that was formulated. There are many RMC people but environmental groups, there is only one. (OBVS Participant)³⁶⁴

The OBVS also participates in other regional tables and works with municipalities and individual citizens regarding projects for wetland protection or regarding FSC certification processes.

Depending upon the nature of the project, the process will either occur informally or formally.

When asked what facilitates or hampers the development of PAs in the region, one participant stated that participation and inclusion in decision-making are key factors and must occur at the onset of a project. Doing so builds trust and ensures that the opinions of all can be heard and understood.

It's important for people to share their opinions with each other. One person cannot represent the entire population or the needs of the population, and there are some aspects that are very scientific and technical, so we cannot expect an elected official to know the entire system, forest regenerative processes; we don't ask them this, but there are others at the table that are able to speak to this if needed. Each person is credible in their specific area and we know that; that person is a Prof that works on regeneration and when he says that is how it works, you know that is how it works. It's important that everyone participates, and since we don't meet all that often, if you don't speak, you can't give your opinion. (OBVS Participant)³⁶⁵

However, historical attachments and resistance to change greatly affect PA creation and development in these participatory processes.

Yes, it's true that there are many areas in this region that are linked to their history of forestry, because really, these villages were created based on that industry. There is a history associated to the forest, it's a bread winner, and it's not a place to recreate. It's a place to cut wood. (OBVS Participant)³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Ceux qui semblent prendre le plus de place, lors des premières rencontres, c'est qu'il y a un siège par RMC ça veut dire qu'il y a beaucoup de RMC présentes. C'est les élus. Il y avait une certaine inquiétude en tout cas. Cela a été formulé. Il y a beaucoup de gens des RMC alors que les groupes environnementaux il n'y en a qu'un. (OBVS Participant)

³⁶⁵ C'est important que les gens partagent leurs opinions ensemble. Une personne ne peut pas être représentatif de la population, des besoins d'une population et il y a des aspects tellement techniques et scientifiques, exemples au niveau des aires protégées, on ne peut pas demander à un élu de connaître le système, le mécanisme de régénération de la forêt; on ne lui demande pas ça mais il y en a autour de la table qui sont capables de le dire, à un certain moment donné. Un moment donné tu as une crédibilité, lui on le sait, c'est un prof d'université, il travaille là-dessus la régénération et quand il dit que c'est comme ça que ça se passe, tu n'as pas besoin d'aller lire la thèse finale, on sait que c'est ça. C'est important que tout le monde participe et en plus s'il n'y a pas un mécanisme de réitération très, très serré par rapport au nombre de réunions, au nombre de fois que tu te rencontres, c'est encore plus important de participer à ce moment-là, parce que si tu ne te réunis pas souvent tu pourras pas donner ton influence, ton opinion. (OBVS Participant)

³⁶⁶ Ce qui est vrai c'est qu'il y a beaucoup de localités qui sont vraiment liés à l'histoire forestière à cause de la forêt et finalement ces villages-là ont été créés. Il y a une histoire à la forêt, c'est un gagne-pain ce n'est pas une place pour aller regarder et se baigner. C'est une place pour aller couper du bois. (OBVS Participant)

8.3 Overall Factors Influencing Regional Integration

As with the previous two chapters, this case study demonstrates that there are many factors, both formal and informal, that influence regional integration of actors concerning PA planning, management and related decision-making processes. This section provides a summary of these processes for both formal and informal factors.

8.3.1 Formal Processes for Regional Integration

Formal communication mechanisms between regional actors occur for multiple reasons through various mediums. SSLMP staff participants indicated that one of the main reasons formal communications with regional actors exist is due to the Park Act. The Park Act identifies the specific actors (e.g. organizations, municipalities, ENGOs) that the park must work with. This formalized obligation identifies responsibilities for each actor and ensures greater rule of law, accountability and transparency by ensuring that each actor participates and understands exactly how they can participate and what their role is. Similarly, the SEPAQ parks have arrangements whereby regional actors are invited, at the discretion of the park director, to participate in a harmonization table.

Similarly to the Gaspésie case study, many participants indicated that having formal arrangements in place with other actors is beneficial, especially when money is involved. Formal arrangements provide increased stability and can ensure that goals and objectives are met on time due to guaranteed financing. Certain non SSLMP participants discussed challenges regarding developing and maintaining formal collaborative agreements with the SSLMP. The main issue regarding developing or maintaining such projects was the high level of bureaucracy and time required by the federal government to allocate money for joint projects between the park and a specialized organization. For example, although the GREMM is the best placed organization for

conducting research on marine mammals within the SSLMP, Parks Canada, due to federal restrictions, is required to ask for RFPs. Furthermore, even if Parks Canada would like to, it is no longer able to provide long-term funding for research projects, further hampering the effectiveness and stability of the research conducted by the GREMM.

Many participants working or collaborating with the SSLMP noted that the formal structure outlined in the Parks Act that guides the coordination committee was both beneficial and problematic. Formalizing the process and the types of actors that participate is beneficial as it provides rigidity to the process, reducing possibilities for ambiguity. However, this rigidity is also problematic since it can impede change and future modes of collaboration between other non-listed regional actors. For example, the Parks Act does not identify the director of the SFNP as an actor that should be invited to participate on the coordination committee; therefore, the director cannot participate.

All participants noted that the majority, if not all, regional decision-making processes regarding land use development occur through formal processes, notably regional harmonization committees or consultation committees. In some instances, these committees have been created in order to address specific problems (e.g. TARAP). Participants indicated that developing issue specific committees is fairly easy to do since identifying and developing clear project goals, objectives or management strategies is relatively straight forward. For example, during the first PA planning phase in 2005, it was evident to ENGO organizations and the CRE that few industrial, citizen and elected official participants understood what a PA was and the benefits associated with them. Therefore, creating a committee to address this issue was easy since the problem [lack of PA understanding] was easily identifiable. There was a general consensus among participants that although participating in these regional consultative committees is time consuming and arduous, it is well worth the effort as the decision-making process redistributes

decision-making powers from the government to regional actors. This process allows government decision makers to sound out regional actors, leading to decisions that better represent regional opinions and values, leading to enduring and accepted outcomes.

Making decisions together has much more weight and impact than doing it as a single organization. There have been many public audiences with the BAPE since the early 2000s in the region, so each organization wrote up a list of arguments they had and shared these with other organizations, so when we all showed up the BAPE, if we had seven or eight similar proposals and arguments, it had more weight. (Eureko Participant)³⁶⁷

One MNR participant further supports this argument by indicating the benefits of these regional tables:

We do this through a regional committee. Compared to the past, decisions now really involved regional partners, it's more complicated and time consuming, but in the end, when it comes time to validate the project at the BAPE, it will be much easier because all that red tape and discussions will already have been conducted. (MNR Participant)³⁶⁸

Non-SEPAQ or Parks Canada employees indicated that information presented and obtained from the harmonization and coordination committees is seldom communicated to their respective constituents. Reasons cited for this include lack of time, information not being pertinent to constituents, and too much information due to their participation in multiple committees. One FN participant illustrates this by stating:

Internally here in terms of management, we must participate in hundreds of meetings per year, we will not begin bombarding our population with communiqués. Internally we produce an annual report which touches on various sectors in the community. All of these sectors, those related to the marine park, all the people and the families receive this. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Également à l'occasion, de prendre des décisions communes qui ont plus de poids qu'un seul organisme aussi il y a eu plusieurs BAPes au début des années 2000 dans la région alors on avait des plaques d'arguments des listes d'arguments qu'on faisait circuler alors chacun pouvait bonifier à partir de son expérience au sein de son organisation et puis quand on arrivait au BAPE si on était sept ou huit mémoires qui apportaient les mêmes arguments ça donnait davantage de poids. (Eureko Participant)

³⁶⁸ Ça se fait avec un comité régional, les décisions implique beaucoup plus de partenaires qu'avant, c'est plus compliqué comme processus et plus long, mais en bout de ligne quand vient le temps de faire valider le projet par le BAPE c'est beaucoup plus facilitant parce que le Red Tape des discussions, les négociations sont toutes faites en aval. (MNR Participant)

³⁶⁹ Ici à l'interne au niveau de la gestion on doit assister à je ne sais combien de centaines de réunions par année, on ne commencera pas à bombarder notre population avec des communiqués, il y a quelque chose qui se fait ici à l'interne qui est un rapport annuel qui touche tous les secteurs de la communauté, dans lequel tu as être traité. Tous les secteurs, dans ça il y a une section parc marin. Tous les gens reçoivent ça dans toutes les familles. (SSLMP Parks Canada Staff #1)

Within the context of information sharing, another participant indicated that most of the population does not understand what a PA is. This lack of understanding is a result of poor communication and diffusion of information by PA managers, planners and regional land use committee participants to members of the public creating misunderstandings regarding PAs.

That was due to me, a bit, this accessibility, because people in the region think that you can't get to a PA. People don't understand that a national park is a PA. They understand, by they think that the PAs we are currently creating are going to be a bell jar, we will look at it, we will take pictures. That's pretty much the perception; we could do a survey, but I would bet at least 80% of the population feels that way. (OBVS Participant)³⁷⁰

Finally, the majority of participants felt there was a lack of provincial government staff presence, both from the central and regional office regarding the PA planning process. For these participants, this is especially problematic since 1) they are not able to understand why various PAs are being proposed, and 2) a disconnect is created between regional PA demands and government expectations.

8.3.2 Informal Processes for Regional Integration

The majority of processes for communicating and collaborating between actors for the purposes of PA planning and management occur through informal mechanisms. All of the processes for doing so are shaped by the region's history of PA development, resource extraction activities and social and cultural activities such as hunting and fishing. The majority of communication processes occur through email and telephone conversations, and through other non-PA related regional planning committees.

Most participants indicated that they are involved in multiple regional committees and were of the opinion that this was beneficial to them and their organization. Through participating

³⁷⁰ Ça c'était un peu voulu de ma part c'est accessibilité parce que les gens pensent qu'en région une aire protégée tu ne peux pas y aller. Les gens ne comprennent pas qu'un parc national c'est une aire protégée. Ils comprennent mais il pense que les aires protégées que l'on est en train de mettre en place ce n'est pas du tout ça qu'on va faire, ça va être une cloche de verre, on va la regarder, en va prendre des photos, et des cartes postales. C'est à peu près la perception; ça, il faudrait faire un sondage en tout cas je suis capable de bien mettre deux piastres là-dessus que ça va être au moins 80 % de la population va penser pas mal ça. (OBVS Participant)

in multiple committees, they are frequently interacting with other regional actors and, therefore, develop relationships. Through these multiple interactions, it is possible to gain an understanding of the position and constraints that other actors may face regarding various land use activities, thus, building trust between actors and facilitating decision-making processes.

It's a small world. The people that get involved, it's a small world, we see each other often and we understand each other. I participate in six or seven committees in the region. (Eureko Participant)³⁷¹

Most SEPAQ and SSLMP staff spoke of the ease of developing and maintaining informal research programs with the academic, government and private community through trust building exercises organized through past formal arrangements. SEPAQ staff often spoke of conducting research through formal arrangements with new partners. The formalized nature of these arrangements allows park staff to develop relationships and trust with the research team. Once trust is established, and the exchange of money is not required, it is easy to allow research programs to be established within the park without the need to formalize the process. One SEPAQ staff member felt very strongly that there is no need to formalize such arrangements when trust is present:

We get together multiple times a year and there is a nice relationship in terms of the participants. Therefore, we know each other and we exchange information. I think that to have a collaboration between two organizations, they cannot be disembodied, there are moral people, so organizations that allow people to physically and intellectually meet, and if they do not do this and do not trust each other, in the long run, it will not work. (SEPAQ Staff #4)³⁷²

Although regional land use decision-making for PA creation and management is guided by formal processes, and these processes are designed so that the voice of all participants has the

³⁷¹ C'est un petit monde. Les gens qui s'impliquent en est un cercle restreint on se voit souvent, on se comprend. Je siège sur six ou sept Conseils d'administration, à la table de concertation zip du Saguenay, l'organisme bassin versant du Saguenay, conseil régional de l'environnement et du développement durable. (Eureko Participant)

³⁷² On se rencontre plusieurs fois par année et il y a une belle stabilité au niveau de l'équipe des responsables au niveau de la conservation et éducation et avec le milieu recherche. Donc, on se connaît tous, on échange. Je pense que pour avoir une collaboration entre deux organisations, les organisations sont désincarnées, des personnes morales, ce qui fait qu'une organisation du fait que les personnes physiques se rencontrent physiquement mais intellectuellement aussi et si elles ne se font pas confiance à long terme ça ne fonctionnera pas. Il faut développer une relation humaine avant de développer une relation d'affaires. Je suis persuadé que c'est le secret. (SEPAQ Staff #4)

same weight, regional contexts such as history, economy, and geography appear to give more weight to certain participants at these tables. One participant explains:

It is not said directly, but I think that the politicians from the villages that are adjacent to the park, Sainte-Rose-du-Nord, Anse-Saint-Jean; in a historical sense, when the park was established, Sainte-Rose lost some land area, so I think that this gives it some additional leverage at the table. It is certain that the SEPAQ will be more attentive to them than they would to me if I expressed my concerns for something. This would also depend on how strongly and loudly I express myself. (Eureko Participant)³⁷³

Although the majority of land use decision-making processes occur through formalized regional planning committees, numerous participants indicated that the success or failure of these tables can often be attributed to the inflexibility of the formalized structure and a poor understanding and consideration of regional contexts. One ENGO participant explains why many governments (either provincial or municipal) propose projects that fail or face strong regional opposition and contrasts this to the process that his organization uses:

You know, when decisions are made but not explained, people will think that it favors someone, such as the project to revitalize urban waterways. If we do not explain why we are doing this, people will say Oh, its people complaining and the city wants to increase our taxes to deal with this. We explain why we are doing this, why it is justifiable and we take the time to listen to the people, we try to answer their questions, but over all else, we try to develop trust, to demonstrate that we are serious. This is what takes time, it's not all going to happen at the first meeting, if we need additional meetings, we will have them, and we hold our promises. (Eureko Participant)³⁷⁴

Being present and accessible within the community allows organizations to develop relationships and build trust with actors. Once these actors understand you and your proposal, their willingness to participate and work with you will increase.

³⁷³ C'est pas dit comme tel mais je crois que les politiciens des villages qui sont contigus au parc, Sainte Rose du Nord, Anse Saint-Jean qui faisait partie du parc. D'un côté historique dans l'établissement du parc à Sainte Rose du Nord ils ont perdu certains territoires, alors je pense que ça lui donne un avantage indu par rapport aux autres à la table. C'est sûr qu'ils [SEPAQ] vont avoir une oreille plus attentive que si c'est moi qui exprime un besoin tout dépendant de quel aspect je présume, avec quelle force on veut le faire valoir ou quel importance on lui accorde. (Eureko Participant)

³⁷⁴ Vous savez quand on prend des décisions et qu'on n'explique pas le pourquoi du comment c'est là que les gens vont penser qu'il y a de l'arbitraire de ci et de ça; comme le projet de revitalisation des bandes riveraines, si on n'explique pas le pourquoi les gens vont dire ah! C'est la ville qui vient encore nous écœurés parce qu'il y a des citoyens qui quand ça vient de la ville, ah ils font ça pour nous écœurés les taxes pour ci les taxes pour ça. Nous on explique pourquoi on fait ça, pourquoi ça se justifie et on prend le temps d'écouter les gens, s'ils ont des préoccupations, on les écoute, on essaie d'y répondre, on essaie avant tout d'établir une relation de confiance, de montrer le sérieux qu'on a. C'est ça qui demande du temps parfois, ça n'est pas à la première rencontre que tout va se jouer; si on a besoin de d'autres rencontres, on va les faire et si on promet des choses on veille à tenir nos promesses. (Eureko Participant)

Finally, many SEPAQ staff and ENGO participants indicated that there are many informal regional tables or working groups. The vast majority of these groups are created to address specific issues or problems such as the creation of a new PA. The main issue with this process is that once the PA has been created, the group advocating for it dissolves and expects government to be the sole manager and decision maker.

The people get together around a table to talk about creating a park, but once it is actually done, it's like they think they brought a baby into this world and their work is done. The master, the government, he is there to work for us. (SEPAQ Staff #4)³⁷⁵

8.4 Chapter Summary

The creation and management model and governance approach for the SSLMP continues to have a positive effect regarding the manner by which the park incorporates and collaborates with regional actors regarding decision-making processes concerning the management of this park. The history of the park's creation and the role that regional actors played in that process continues to be respected and fostered through the coordination table. Although actors at this table do not hold formal decision-making power for the SSLMP, they have important influence on the park directors. However, the Park Acts which dictate which regional actors participate in the harmonization table fails to recognize other important regional actors, especially SEPAQ park employees, especially those in the SFNP. Furthermore, the bureaucracy within Parks Canada associated with contract allocations is straining relationships with valuable ENGOs.

Communication between the SEPAQ parks occurs on a semi-regular basis for issue specific reasons. However, formal integrated management approaches for information and personnel sharing between the parks do not occur due to financial and staffing restrictions.

³⁷⁵ Les gens se réunissent autour d'une table pour dire on va créer un parc, on va protéger une section de territoires, mais une fois que c'est fait on dirait qu'ils se disent bons on a mis le bébé au monde et on a fini notre travail. C'est le contremaître qui l'a, le gouvernement, il travaille pour nous. (SEPAQ Staff #4)

The FSC certification process being adopted by the forest industry in the region is viewed positively by all participants. The forestry industry is now actively communicating and working with regional actors regarding multiple regional land use planning processes, notably the PA planning process.

Finally, the PA planning process within the region is perceived as working relatively well. However, many participants were of the opinion that the CRE and RMCs are not entirely supportive of the process. Many participants also felt that there was a significant lack of MDDEFP presence, both from the provincial and regional office, which hampers this planning process due to poor accountability regarding the justification of the proposed PAs.

9.0 Discussion

The five sections of this chapter explore the main themes that have emerged regarding regional integration of PAs and link these themes to the theory of regional integration presented in chapter 2. The first section of this chapter begins by reviewing the factors that promote strong regional integration. Then, challenges to regional integration are explored. The second part of this chapter assesses regional integration from the perspective of the case studies: 1) attention is given to the various formal and informal institutional mechanisms employed by park staff and regional actors for communicating and interacting amongst each other; 2) how contextual factors such as governance affect regional integration within the case studies; and, 3) strengths and weaknesses of regional integration are presented. This is followed by the re-examination of the theory of regional integration, focusing on the definition provided in chapter 2. The chapter concludes by presenting suggestions for improving regional integration between PAs and with regional actors.

9.1 Factors Promoting or Hampering Regional Integration

9.1.1 Overall Factors Promoting Strong Regional Integration

The case study research demonstrates that institutional arrangements for regional integration of PAs vary widely amongst PA systems and within the PA planning process. As a process, regional integration changes over time and is heavily influenced by individual actors and historical contexts. The results highlight multiple factors that contribute to stronger regional integration. These characteristics are further discussed below and are highlighted in Table 17 under three main headings: 1) Structure, 2) Process, and 3) Participation. These headings were given based on the factors they represent.

First, formal and informal institutional diversity operating at different scales is required for strong regional integration. Having multiple institutions that govern how regional actors communicate with each other and the platforms used to facilitate this promotes system adaptability and resilience for planning and management exercises. The flexibility built into formal institutional mechanisms for communicating with regional actors, such as the PA planning process or the harmonization tables, and the multiplicity of informal institutions that exists with these actors allows decision makers to better understand problems and address social expectations. This ensures that project outcomes have been made by consensus and better reflect regional desires. This conforms with systems theory (Francis, 2008) and governance literature (Pollock, 2009) which indicates that social dimensions to learning are inherently complex, non-linear, and that flexible and adaptable approaches to management are required if the system is to remain viable.

Second, strong regional integration is not possible if trust between actors is not present. Many participants felt that when they trusted each other, it was much easier to develop and adopt a mutually agreed upon plan of actions for a particular problem or planning activity. Trust is built on information sharing between actors. Information sharing allows actors to understand each other, both in terms of individuals and the organizations or industries they represent. Being able to understand the goals, objectives and constraints under which each individual functions, and their individual and organizational motivations provides context, allowing actors to better understand each other. This supports similar arguments made by Diduck (2004), Diduck, Reed and George (2009) regarding decision-making processes.

Furthermore, since most decision-making occurs through compromises between actors, trust building ensures that there are no perceived ulterior hidden motivations. Authors such as Bovaird (2005) and Boyd (2003) argue that having multiple actors involved in a consensus

decision-making process will cause delays to decision-making and implementation processes, and that decisions made through consensus are never optimal as they are made through compromises. Yet, these issues were not highlighted by participants. For example, although the PA planning process is lengthy, time consuming and decisions are made by consensus, participants were of the opinion that such a process was worthwhile since regional concerns could be properly addressed.

Third, effective regional integration requires that regional actors are included at the onset of decision-making processes. Most participants involved in the PA planning process indicated that being able to participate in this process from a strategic level (see Diduck, 2004) allowed them to determine what can be done and how it will be done. This delegation of power from central government to regional actors, although time consuming, is viewed positively as it creates an open dialogue between the region and central government, increases transparency, and ensures that regional concerns and contexts are taken into consideration. The benefits of such an approach to decision-making are noted in the public participation and conservation partnership literature (Reed, 2008; Gunton and Day, 2003; Selin and Chavez, 1995)

Fourth, actors' willingness to engage with each other is required for strong regional integration. Long-term participation in various regional committees or through other outreach activities was identified as extremely important for relationship building and for promoting various interests. The harmonization tables and coordination committee for the SSLMP demonstrate that the parks actively want regional actors to be involved in park planning and management decision-making, something which is viewed positively by regional actors.

Although presented separately above, none of these factors operate independently from one another; rather they continually co-evolve. These characteristics were not present in all case study sites and by no means represent a standardized approach to measuring for effective

regional integration, but it is possible to assert that strong regional integration between parks or land use planning exercises is present when the majority of these characteristics are observed (see section 9.2.4). Similarly, it can be stipulated that poor regional integration exists when few if any of these characteristic are present.

Table 17. Important Factors Contributing to Strong Regional Integration

Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Park staff are present within the region, participating in regional committees • Regional actors participate in harmonization or coordination committees with the parks • Relationships and friendships are built through regional and park planning committees • Communication between actors occurs through regular formal institutional arrangements • Communication between actors occurs through both regular and haphazard informal institutions
Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are unified goals and objectives between actors, facilitating decision-making • The ability to shape or modify policies in order to make them relevant and appropriate to the problem and actors is possible • Trust between individual actors is present, facilitating decision-making processes • The PA planning process gives equal voice to all participants • Decision-making processes take into consideration regional histories
Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional actors understand the benefit of the park to their region • Park staff understand the impact their park has on the region • Actors understand each other in terms of organization goals and constraints • Park staff are viewed as important regional actors and are included in regional decision-making processes • There are clear and receptive communication channels between actors • The PA planning process recognizes economic impacts on the land base • Government officials recognize that regional actors must be actively involved, through power delegation, in decision-making regarding large landscape level planning activities

9.1.2 Overall Factors Hampering Regional Integration

Several common factors hampering regional integration emerged from the results. First, many participants indicated that working with and developing formal arrangements with government agencies and ministries was challenging and frustrating due to the associated lengthy and often costly process. The bureaucracy associated with decision-making creates important time delays which some other agencies or organizations cannot afford.

Second, increasing the presence of park staff (both provincial and federal) through means other than coordination committees or harmonization tables is required in order to connect the park with regional actors. In many instances, the information provided in these committees tends to not be passed along by participants to their constituents, creating disconnects between the park and the broader public. Outreach and education programs were identified as potential tools for communicating the value of the park to regional actors. Yet, developing such programs is arduous and time consuming. Furthermore, allocating staff time and money for this is often difficult to justify or simply not part of the job description. The challenge of connecting regional actors to parks and PAs is also supported in the community-based conservation and environmental partnership literature (Kothari, 2006; Wels, 2003).

Third, many participants indicated that regardless of the design of the institutions for decision-making, it is always the individual participants and their ability to interact with each other that determine if the decision-making process will be successful or not. Many participants stated that for decision-making processes to work effectively (i.e. come to a decision), all participants must be flexible, adaptable and willing to make compromises. Yet, achieving this is highly dependent on the individuals and informal institutions rather than on the formal institutions designed to guide decision-making processes. Interactions, either formal or informal may be discouraged due to political pressures, and language and education differences (e.g. ecologist vs. forester) and individual inflexibility or narrow-mindedness.

Fourth, significant historical contexts play an important part in shaping present relationships between parks and other regional actors. In many instances, controversial or challenging historical contexts can lead participants to refuse to participate in regional integration processes for a length of time, or to hamper these processes to a point of irreparability. Understanding historical context for decision-making concurs with authors such as

Leach, Mearns and Scoones (2009) and Raez-Luna (2008) who indicate that such understanding increases capacity to not only comprehend current challenges associated with decision-making, but also potential actions that can be done to rectify these.

9.2 Examining Regional Integration within the Case Studies

This section reviews how PA managers integrate regional actors in decision-making and management processes in terms of formal and informal institutional mechanisms. Attention is also given to the role of contextual factors in shaping institutional mechanism for regional integration.

9.2.1 Institutional Mechanisms for Regional Integration between PA Actors

In this section, comparisons are made between the various mechanisms used by the different PA systems to communicate with each other; mechanisms that exist between PAs and regional actors; and the PA planning processes and modes of communication and interaction between regional actors. These mechanisms, both formal and informal, are presented separately from one another.³⁷⁶

9.2.1.1 Formal Institutional Mechanisms

The preceding chapters demonstrate that there are numerous formal institutional mechanisms that guide communication and interaction processes between park systems, regional actors and government ministries. The following tables (Table 18 and 19) present a summary of all formal mechanism discussed by participants related to PAs and regional integration.

³⁷⁶ Although mechanisms are presented separately (formal vs. informal), making the distinction between a formal or informal mechanism was sometimes difficult to determine.

Table 18. Formal Institutional Mechanisms Present in Each Case Site

Formal Institutional Mechanisms	Case Studies			
	Central Government and ENGOS	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Annual prescribed burns, Mauricie National Park		X		
Appalachian trail use and maintenance			X	
Caribou rehabilitation plan/caribou protection plan			X	X
Caribou herd study in Gaspésie National Park			X	
Coordination committee for Forillon National Park			X	
Corridor creation and private land acquisition	X		X	
CRE PA planning process		X	X	X
Feasibility study for the creation of the Magdelin Island National Park	X			
First Nation community forest initiative		X		
Forest Certification Council audits		X	X	X
Forest studies		X	X	
Park management plan review		X	X	X
Joint marketing strategies			X	
'Les Defis du Parcs-Shawinigan' annual road bike race, Mauricie National Park		X		
Marine park creation	X			
La Mauricie National Park public outreach and information activities		X		
Merchant Marine water use discussions				X
PA boundary adjustments and agency direction	X			
PA planning meetings	X			
On-going email and telephone conversations regarding the PA planning process	X	X	X	X
Private PA creation initiatives		X	X	X
Research programs within SEPAQ parks			X	X
Review of PA creation mandates and proposals	X	X	X	X
Regional land use integration table		X	X	X
'Route de La Morue' tourism marketing strategy			X	
Recognition of expropriation in Forillon National Park			X	
Tourism planning association			X	X
Micmac of Gespeg information and cultural Center			X	
Saguenay St. Lawrence Marine Park shared management meetings				X
Seasonal planning meetings for forestry cuts		X		
SEPAQ coordination tables			X	X
SSLMP harmonization committee				X
SSLMP park expansion process				X
SSLMP best practice approach to marine mammal watching				X
Sharing of resources and enforcement staff between SEPAQ establishments				X
Waste treatment initiatives				X
Wetland protection planning in Québec	X		X	X
Wildlife corridor development-route 197			X	
Wood turtle nesting site protection project		X		

Table 19. Actors Involved in Formal Mechanisms for Each Case Site				
Formal Institutional Mechanisms		Case Studies		
	Central Government and ENGOs	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Annual prescribed burns, Mauricie National Park		Mauricie National Park, Société de Protection des forêts contre les feux		
Appalachian trail use and maintenance			SEPAQ Parks Canada Association Touristique Régional Gaspésie CRE Fédération Québécoise de la Marche	
Caribou rehabilitation plan/ caribou protection plan			SEPAQ National Park MNR Regional Office MDDEFP Regional Office Forestry Industry Consortium en Foresterie SEPAQ Wildlife Reserves Nature Québec	MNR regional and central office MDDEFP regional and central office SEPAQ Forestry representatives Masteuiatsh First Nation Issipit First Nation RMC Maria-Chapdelaine RMC Domaine-du-Roy RMC Fjord du Saguenay
Caribou herd study in Gaspésie National Park			National Park Laval University	
Park coordination tables		Parks Canada Expropriation Committee Representative Nation Micmac de Gespeg Ville de Gaspé Tourism operators TNC		SEPAQ ZEC RMCs Town and village mayors Tourism organizations Issipit First Nations Researchers Foresters
Corridor creation and private land acquisition				
PA planning process	MDDEFP MNR	CRE Ramebec Conseille Régional de l'Environnement Kruger Atikamek First Nations Manawan First Nation Central MDDEFP Regional MNR RMCs SAMBAA	CRE Forestry sector Mayors Micmac First Nation Forestry representatives ENGOS Central MDDEFP Regional MNR RMCs	CRE RMCs ARBEC Conseille Régional de l'Environnement Issipit and Masteuiatsh First Nations Central MDDEFP Regional MNR Basin Versan du Saguenay EUREKO ENGO Outfitters ZEC Consortium de recherche en forest boréal
Magdelin Island National Park feasibility study	Parks Canada MDDEFP			

Table 19 continue. Actors Involved in Formal Mechanisms for Each Case Site				
Formal Institutional Mechanisms		Case Studies		
	Central Government and ENGOs	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
First Nation community forest initiative		MNR MDDEFP Atikamec First Nation Forestry Companies		
Forest Certification Council process and audits		CRE Kruger Ramebec MNR regional office MDDEFP regional office RMCs ZEC Outfitters Wildlife Reserves		SEPAQ CRE RMCs MNR regional office MDDEFP regional office ZECs Outfitters
Forest studies			Consortium on Forestry Forillon National Park Forest Industry	
Park management plan review		La Mauricie National Park Adjacent municipalities	Parks Canada Forillon Expropriates Micmac de Gespeg Municipalities City of Gaspé TNC	Parks Canada SEPAQ Scientific community RMCs Issipit First Nation
Joint marketing strategies	SEPAQ Parks Canada			
'Les Defies du Parcs-Shawinigan' annual road bike race, Mauricie National Park		Mauricie National Park Cycla-Mauricie		
Marine park creation	Parks Canada MDDEFP			
Public outreach and information activities		Mauricie National Park Info-Nature Mauricie Local school board TNC Individual citizens		
Merchant Marine water use discussions				Parks Canada Transport Canada Fisheries and Ocean Issipit First Nation
PA boundary adjustments and agency direction				
On-going email and telephone conversations regarding the PA planning process		RMC MDDEFP central office MNR regional office Atikamec First Nation Individual First Nation Families Forestry companies ENGOS		
Private PA creation initiatives	MDDEFP TNC Fondation de la Faune du Québec			MDDEFP central office Private landowners
Research programs within SEPAQ Parks				Various Québec Universities SEPAQ park Staff

Table 19 continue. Actors involved in formal mechanisms for each case site				
Formal Institutional Mechanisms	Case Studies			
	Central Government and ENGOs	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Review of PA creation mandates and proposals	MDDEFP MNR TNC SNAP			
Regional land use integration Table			Forillon National Park CRE Municipalities forestry representatives	
'Route de La Morue' tourism marketing strategy			Forillon National Park SEPAQ National Parks Association Touristique Régional Gaspésie	
Recognition of expropriation in Forillon Nation Park			Forillon National Park Forillon Expropriation Committee	
Tourism planning association			RMCGaspé SEPAQ Village de Bonaventure	
Micmac of Gespeg Information and cultural center			Forillon National Park Micmac of Gespeg	
Saguenay St-Lawrence Marine Park shared management meetings	Parks Canada MDDEFP			
Seasonal planning meetings for forestry cuts		SEPAQ Ramebec		
SSLMP harmonization committee				Parks Canada SEPAQ MDDEFP RMC Issipit First Nation Scientific Community GREMM
SSLMP park expansion process				Parks Canada SEPAQ Town of Tadoussac MDDEFP
SSLMP best practice approach to marine mammal watching				Parks Canada SEPAQ Marine Park Boat operators
Sharing of resources and enforcement staff between SEPAQ establishments				SEPAQ
Waste treatment initiatives – Saguenay River				Government of Québec MNR regional and Central office MDDEFP regional and Central office RMCs Villages and towns SSLMP SEPAQ
Wetland protection planning in Québec	MNR MDDEFP Ducks Unlimited		TNC Municipalities	
Wildlife corridor development-route			Parks Canada TNC	
Wood turtle nesting site protection project		TNC Parks Canada		

The results of this study demonstrate the variety of formal institutions for communication and collaboration between different PAs and regional actors within the three case studies. These forms of communication and collaboration differ between each case study based on contextual factors such as history or economy (see section 9.2.2).

Participants from the Saguenay case study gave examples of large-scale formal institutions in place that promote information sharing and collaboration between PAs and regional actors. The coordination committee for FNP and the SSLMP, and the multiple harmonization tables for the various national parks of Québec are the most common examples given. Interestingly, the coordination committees for these two Canadian National Parks were created independently of one another, yet both serve as the dominant tool for communication with regional actors regarding the park and regional issues. In the case of FNP, the table was created in order to integrate the park within the region by connecting regional actors with the park and to address hot topic issues dating back to the park's creation, such as expropriation and promised regional economic impacts. For the SSLMP, the table was created before the park's formal establishment as a tool for connecting regional actors and government staff, for collaboration and information sharing and more generally, for promoting the park's establishment. Interestingly, both tables were created as a response to a problem concerning the park and their integration within the region. The creation of these tables and their associated benefits (see chapter 7 and 8) could be adopted by other parks facing regional challenges as these tables have been quite successful in working through various problems, gaining support and buy-in from regional actors, and in allowing park directors to obtain feedback regarding future park projects and directives. Yet, the SSLMP example demonstrates that such institutional mechanisms need to have increased flexibility built into the system in order to provide the capacity to adapt to unforeseen circumstances, such as including new and unforeseen regional

actors in decision-making processes in order to increase the integration of the park - something that the present SSLMP Parks Act does not allow.

There is no formal large-scale institution in place to promote information sharing between the LMNP and regional actors in the Mauricie case study. Many participants acknowledged the park's existence but indicated that since there are no contentious issues regarding the park and its impact on the region, there is no need for a harmonization table or for the park to be more open and transparent in its decision-making process. Interestingly, this contradicts much of the current literature regarding the PA governance models and new paradigms for PA management (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013; Locke and Dearden, 2005) and may suggest that such approaches to decision-making are only needed when a new park is being created, or when conflict, often stemming from contextual issues, revolves around the existence of a current PA (see also Niedzialkowski, Paavola and Jedrzejewska, 2012; Dressler et al., 2010; Locke and Dearden, 2005). However, omitting to develop relationships between park staff and regional actors could create blind-spots which would eventually necessitate the need for regional integration due to emerging conflict.

The harmonization tables for each of the SEPAQ parks all follow similar structures, yet their perceived effectiveness, relevance, and value in terms of communication and information sharing were viewed differently by actors in the different case studies. For SEPAQ staff, these tables serve as the main tool for communication and information sharing between regional actors and park management. Many staff highlighted that one of the main benefits of these tables is the ability of having a regional voice and sharing it with others regarding issues that may fall outside of their jurisdictions, and to understand the viewpoint and perspectives of other actors regarding specific problems or topics. Through the coordination tables, park directors are able to obtain a general regional understanding of problems, issues or concerns regarding the park, to determine

if certain park projects will be well received by the region, and how to best ensure that projects are accepted within the region. The coordination committee allows park directors to clearly demonstrate to regional actors that the park plays an important role in regional affairs. Furthermore, regional actors, through their participation on these tables, are able to voice their concerns, understand park management constraints, and develop and maintain working relationships with park staff.

Finally, the open dialogue that exists between the SEPAQ and regional actors has also often created regional support for the park since actors understand the economic benefits that the park provides; this occurs to a lesser extent in the Gaspésie region. Although structured through formal institutions, the strength of the SEPAQ harmonization tables for decision-making is the built-in flexibility regarding who can participate, how regional actors participate, and the responsibilities for the park director to listen and consider recommendations. Most participants indicated that the open nature regarding information sharing and the inherent trust building that occurs through regional actor participation can be directly attributed to the success of and increased regional support for SEPAQ parks. Authors such as Basset (2010) and Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2013) have also demonstrated that the delegation of power and inclusive approach to decision-making regarding PA management can have similar positive outcomes. Other provincial and national park systems within and outside of Canada would benefit from learning about the SEPAQ experience with these tables, as they have been very successful in gaining the trust of regional actors and communicating the management goals and responsibilities of the parks with these actors.

The design and purpose of the SEPAQ coordination committees have generally been deemed successful for both information sharing and for valuing the park to regional actors. Yet, regional disdain and lack of support for certain parks such as GNP demonstrate larger

institutional challenges and point to issues regarding information sharing and dissemination by both park staff and coordination committee members. Although more prevalent with GNP, but also present for the Saguenay case study, the lack of formal mechanisms to guide information sharing by coordination committee participants to their constituents was often identified as problematic by park staff and non-committee members. Improper dissemination of information was seen as often leading to conflict due to an associated lack of understanding. Therefore, the success of the coordination committee process for information sharing and trust building is highly dependent on the participants' ability and willingness to share the information presented with their constituents.

The current PA planning process demonstrates how central government has responded to previous issues of scale and institutional mismatch associated with the first PA planning phase completed in 2008, as central decision-making has been shifted and placed under the authority of a regional entity. The stark differences between the three case studies regarding the PA creation process demonstrates how a neoliberal approach to decentralized decision-making responsibilities and powers, coupled with loose formal institutions to guide the decision-making process can create important challenges for decision-making. A general lack of regional resources (e.g. time and staff), limited individual experience and capacity, little to no central government presence or directives, and imprecise expectations regarding timelines have led to significant delays and frustrations for both regional actors and central government officials. Furthermore, this approach is entirely dependent on the general expertise of the CRE, their ability to lead, and their capacity to bring together regional actors and foster effective decision-making protocols. Of all three case studies, only the CRE in Mauricie has been able to effectively bring together the thoughts and concerns of regional actors through regular formal meetings and effective relationship and trust building measures between distinct resource

industries, ENGOs, FNs and other regional actors. Although all participants acknowledged the usefulness of these meetings, many highlighted the importance of having all actors attend on a regular basis. Actors with a poor attendance record caused delays in decision-making processes. Formal protocols for decision-making in Saguenay study sites were lacking due to lack of capacity by the CRE, and political and social interference between mayors, citizens and industry. Participants from all three cases indicated that a consistent MDDEFP government presence would facilitate and speed up the process as MDDEFP representatives could provide increased structure and clarifications regarding the purpose and PA proposals.

Although the purpose of power delegation for the PA creation process was to improve regional buy-in and acceptance for the eventual PAs, this research demonstrates how a blanket approach to regionalizing decision-making is not successful. The results of this study support previous arguments by Barborak (1995) and Niedzialkowski, Paavola and Jedrzejewska (2012) who indicate that a central danger to new institutionalism for PA management is the abandonment or drastically lessened role of central government in decision-making processes through delegation of powers to regional or local level actors, negating their responsibility and oversight in decision-making processes and outcomes. Although such practices have been recommended on the principles that decisions will better reflect and take into consideration local or regional perspectives (e.g. Phillips, 1997, 2003; Kettl, 2000), more recent research suggests that government must continue to remain present, active and act as a willing facilitator throughout decision-making processes (Sorensen and Torfing, 2007; Sorenson and Triantafilou, 2009). Participating in meetings, providing explanations and justifications for proposals, setting management policy standards, regulating and overseeing performance are examples of this role. A lack of MDDEFP government presence, both from a provincial and regional level regarding the PA planning process and the resulting challenges associated with regional decision-making

which include lack of clear direction, missing information, poor accountability and transparency, important time delays, and regional power struggles, support the argument that government must continue to play an active role in decision-making processes.

Furthermore, although regionalisation of the PA planning process is grounded in formal institutional mechanisms for all three case studies, significant differences regarding progress in terms of decision-making between all three sites highlight the importance of crafting formal institutions that are flexible and adaptable to regional contexts and individuals so that they can be scaled and linked to institutional responses between and across levels. All three case studies demonstrate how the challenge of plurality (Cash et al., 2006) is persistent in conservation regimes, and how the role of actors in framing institutional responses is sometimes contested.

The results highlight a disconnect between central government directives for linking existing and proposed PAs and actual practices occurring within the MDDEFP offices and through the PA planning process. MDDEFP participants in both the central office and regional actors in all three case studies indicated that this was an important concept, yet due to a lack of formal processes in the PA planning initiative, this has not been made a priority in the regional areas.

Other PA creation initiatives, such as the private PA program initiated by the MDDEFP and MNR, were found to have little support within the three case studies. Regional participants in all three case studies, the MDDEFP, and the TNC central office often indicated that such programs had not been effective for multiple reasons including a general mistrust of government; inconsistent government messages; and a socialist populist attitude whereby private citizens should not be responsible for undertaking government mandates (Erk, 2010).

Participants from all three case studies gave examples of large and small scale formal modes of communication and planning regarding various resource activities and attributed these

to developing strong working relationships with other regional actors. Examples often mentioned include the FSC certification process, the woodland caribou rehabilitation plan, MNR fauna planning committees, and tourism planning committees. Furthermore, although many park staff members participate on these committees outside of park responsibilities and duties, doing so allows them to better understand regional issues and to promote and protect their park's integrity within the region.

For all three case studies no park participant, either federal (Parks Canada) or provincial (SEPAQ) ever mentioned the role of visitors in regional integration. This is especially interesting and potentially worrisome for the SEPAQ organization considering their management model is financially dependent on visitor fees. Some SEPAQ participants did indicate that most visitors are not from the park region, and therefore, contacting or involving them in decision making processes can be challenging. In some instances, park staff indicated that visitors are simply that, visitors, and have no real role in shaping park management. Such perspectives are problematic for the SEPAQ organization, and demonstrate a need for staff trained within the social sciences.

Formal mechanisms for communicating and interacting between different park systems (Parks Canada, SEPAQ, regional municipal parks) within the case studies were not observed. Many park staff participants indicated that developing such formal modes was challenging due to a lack of synergy between different levels of government and bureaucratic red tape, and was simply not a priority for them. Although formal relationships between Parks Canada and SEPAQ were expected to be present within the case studies, this did not factor as strongly as expected. The SSLMP had the strongest mechanisms for collaboration as the SSLMP acts stipulates that the park is jointly managed between Parks Canada and the SEPAQ. A recent change in senior staff has resulted in increased communication, collaboration and power sharing between the two directors. However, formal arrangements for communication or collaboration between the

SSLMP and other PAs in the region are not present. Formal arrangements that revolved around joint marketing promotions of the parks within the Gaspé region between Parks Canada and the SEPAQ have occurred, but these discussions take place at a central office level, and less at the park level. Large-scale system planning between parks tends to occur at a central government level. Developing formal modes of communication between different levels of governments requires new institutional approaches that are capable of breaking through jurisdictional barriers and are able to bring together overarching conservation goals.

All three case studies illustrate how proper scaling of institutional arrangements between local, regional and provincial administrative levels can address challenges related to institutional fit and interplay. The challenge of plurality (Cash et al., 2006) arises out of the incorrect assumption that there is one single, correct scale and level that applies for all actors. Often, such assumptions are framed as operating at one level (e.g. local) and fail to make institutional solutions visible at other levels (both vertical and horizontal). Consequences of developing a single set of solutions often manifest themselves through inefficient, ineffective and inequitable outcomes (Cash et al., 2006). The harmonization tables for all SEPAQ parks, coordination committee for the SSLMP and multiple other regional land use planning committees demonstrate how creating institutional arrangements across administrative levels can generate a more accurate problem definition and foster the development of effective solutions. Yet, such processes are extremely time-consuming and their value may only be clear after the fact.

9.2.1.2 Informal Institutional Mechanism for Communications and Interactions between PA Actors

The value and importance of informal modes of communication and interaction were mentioned by the majority of participants in this study. Tables 20 and 21 provide a summary of

the main mechanisms for communicating between park staff and regional actors as mentioned by study participants.

Table20. Informal Institutional Mechanisms Present in Each Case Site				
Informal Institutional Mechanisms	Case Studies			
	Central Government and ENGOS	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Agency updates, planning direction and boundary changes for PAs	X			
Community meetings for wetland protection		X	X	X
Corridor creation for marten protection			X	
Development of an ecological integrity plan -SEPAQ				
Development of an ecological integrity plan-Parks Canada	X			
First Nations being hired in the park			X	
Lunch and dinner meetings after regional planning committees		X		
Park directors annual meeting			X	X
PA planning and management meetings	X			X
Park staff education program about the wood turtle		X		
Private collaborations and advice gathering meetings	X			
Regional land use planning committees		X	X	X
Request for information		X	X	X
Resource sharing for caribou prevention		X	X	
Sharing of equipment and scientific expertise			X	X
School group visits to LMNP		X		
Telephone discussions regarding PA planning or government directives related to conservation	X			
Tourism operators conducting park tours			X	
Use of parks for recreational purposes		X	X	X

Table 21. Actors Involved in Informal Mechanisms for Each Case Site				
Informal Institutional Mechanisms	Case Studies			
	Central Government and ENGOs	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Agency updates, planning direction and boundary changes for PAs	MDDEFP SEPAQ			
Community meetings for wetland protection		TNC Citizen conservation group Ducks unlimited SEPAQ Citizens	TNC Citizen conservation group Ducks unlimited SEPAQ Citizens	Eureko Ducks unlimited SEPAQ Regional Citizens
Corridor creation for marten protection			TNC Forillon National Park Forestry company	
Development of an ecological integrity plan-SEPAQ	Parks Canada SEPAQ			
Development of an ecological integrity plan-Parks Canada	SEPAQ Parks Canada			
First Nations being hired in the park			FNP Gespeg First Nations	
Lunch and dinner meetings after regional planning committees		CRE Ramebec Kruger Basin Versant		
Park directors annual meeting			Forillon National Park Director SEPAQ Directors for Gaspésie and Rocher Perce National Parks.	Forillon National Park Directors SEPAQ Directors for Gaspésie and Rocher Perce National Parks.
PA planning and management meetings	MNR MDDEFP			SEPAQ Staff Environmental ENGOs RMCs City of Saguenay staff
Park staff education program about the wood turtle		LMNP staff Nearby schools		

Table 21 Continued. Actors Involved in Informal Mechanisms for Each Case Site				
Informal Institutional Mechanisms	Case Studies			
	Central Government and ENGOs	Mauricie	Gaspésie	Saguenay
Private collaborations and advice gathering meetings	PC MDDEFP MNR SNAP DU			
Regional land use planning committees		Various regional actors	Various regional actors	Various regional actors
Request for information		SEPAQ Wildlife reserves LMNP	SEPAQ Parks Canada	SEPAQ Parks Canada Regional ENGOs RMCs Outfitters
Resource sharing for caribou prevention			SEPAQ Wildlife Reserves MNR	
Sharing of equipment and scientific expertise			TNC Parks Canada First Nations	Various SEPAQ staff SSLMP Staff
School group visits to LMNP		LMNP staff Nearby public schools		
Telephone discussions regarding PA planning or government directives related to conservation	SEPAQ PC MDDEFP MNR TNC SNAP DU			
Tourism operators conducting park tours			Tourism operators FNP SEPAQ Parks	
Use of parks for recreational purposes		Recreational groups Parks Canada	Recreational groups SEPAQ Parks Canada	Recreational groups SEPAQ Parks Canada

As demonstrated in Table 20 and 21, the majority of informal institutional mechanisms for communicating and interacting between parks and with regional actors occur through social interactions and a general regional presence through community events, regional committees, and informal gatherings. This was most evident in the Gaspésie and to a lesser extent, the

Saguenay region. In these two case studies, both SEPAQ and Parks Canada staff have made a deliberate and conscious effort to be visible and accessible, and to organize and participate in social events. Although such efforts are not included as part of their formal employment requirements, this form of participation was perceived as valuable since it aids in building strong, positive relationships between the park and regional actors. Furthermore, time spent interacting with regional actors outside of park management duties and responsibilities was seen as an investment in building social capital with regional actors.

The staff at LMNP had few informal mechanisms for interacting with regional actors. LMNP staff felt that it was not their responsibility or place to develop these since they are a federal entity and should not be participating in regional affairs, either formally or informally, unless invited. Conversely, regional actors often indicated that they seldom consider inviting or working with LMNP staff due to their lack of regional presence. Interestingly, both regional actors and LMNP staff indicated that it would be useful to have developed informal modes of communication with each other. The lack of communication or interaction amongst LMNP and regional actors points to issues related to improper scaling and institutional mismatches between federal and regional level institutions.

Informal interactions were often initiated through formal institutional mechanisms (e.g. dinner or drinks after meetings) or for issue-specific topics (e.g. woodland caribou, beluga whale population). Due to the small circle in which regional actors work, they often interact with each other regarding various land-use planning or tourism development activities. In many instances, participants indicated that they have developed important friendships, and have built trust with other regional actors through these informal interactions. This has ensured that relationships between regional actors and park staff endure over time, and has resulted in important projects being developed. However, these parsimonious relationships are subject to abrupt change and

challenges when individuals retire or obtain different employment as was witnessed in the Mauricie and Gaspésie case studies. Furthermore, maintaining informal relationships is much easier to do when there is a common problem or reason to do so.

Individual actors are a determining factor for the creation and maintenance of informal mechanisms. In all case studies, participants indicated that although formal institutions guide decision-making processes, it is the individuals themselves that will ultimately determine whether or not decision-making processes succeed or fail. The individuals' ability to listen to one-another, sympathize, respect, value and make compromises with each other significantly improves actors' relationships and their ability to have an open and respectful dialogue during both informal and formal decision-making processes. The Mauricie and Saguenay case studies are good examples of this where SEPAQ park and wildlife directors obtained their current position due to their past experience and skill set in addressing specific problems or working with specific actors (e.g. forestry representatives). The background of these directors provided them with the ability to both understand the constraints and requirements of regional actors and, gain their trust and respect

The physical proximity of actors to one another and a lack of formal mechanisms that bring actors together have an important effect on building relationships. Case-study sites where few formal institutional mechanisms exist and where actors are situated far from one another have weak or non-existent informal mechanisms for communicating or interacting. The Mauricie case study is a good example of this. The formal process for PA creation is well grounded and although certain actors are situated in geographically remote areas, there is a multitude of informal mechanisms for communicating between each other. In contrast, there are few, if any formal mechanisms for communicating and interacting between LMNP and the two wildlife

reserves that it borders, and therefore, staff from LMNP and the wildlife reserves rarely interact with each other.

9.2.2 Contextual Factors Affecting Regional Integration Mechanisms for PAs

As evidenced in the results chapters, contextual factors can have an important impact on regional integration processes and greatly influence formal and informal institutional mechanisms. The following sections explore and compare important contextual factors between the case studies. A discussion of the relevance and influence of contextual factors in the case studies is also provided.

Regional Overview and Demographics

Regional demographics had an influence on the integration of PAs and regional actors of the case studies in several ways. Larger regions such as Saguenay or Mauricie tended to have fewer conflicts and a more diverse array of land use occupations, likely due to the more diverse resources of a larger region. Furthermore, for both these case studies, the majority of the population is concentrated in the southern portion, leaving the northern section available for both resource use and outdoor recreation. In contrast, the Gaspésie region which is confined by the sea on three sides, populated along the entirety of its periphery, and has a small land base experiences more challenges regarding access to crown land for resource or recreation use.

Although conflicts may be more likely to arise in smaller regions due to limited land availability, limited land availability also fosters, likely out of necessity, the creation of multiple formal and informal institutions that guide land use development. For example, the Gaspésie region had many more formal and informal institutions for land use planning and resource activities than the other two case studies.

All three case studies face economic challenges, mostly based on the fact that resource-based industries, primarily forestry, are in decline. This is a major problem for regional and

provincial government(s). Increased spending and development to increase PA based tourism could alleviate part of this economic challenge. Therefore, there is an urgency that PA based tourism and government spending in these areas occur, and been seen to occur. For example, LMNP or GNP could be working with regional tourism companies to further promote and develop activities based in or around these PAs, and should also communicate to regional actors how these PAs are contributing to the regional economy.

Economy

Regional economy had a strong influence on regional integration mechanisms regarding the PA planning process, regional expectations of tourism-derived revenue from parks, and perceptions regarding alternate land uses and economic benefits if no parks were created.

Although arguments have been presented regarding the benefits of parks in areas that have otherwise weak regional economies due to tourism and associated economic impacts, this was not observed in this research. For example in the Gaspésie case study, which is one of the poorest regions in the province and the poorest of all three case studies, economic benefits arising from either FNP or GNP are poorly documented and disseminated, and, therefore, poorly understood by regional actors. For these two parks, regional economic expectations are much higher than what the parks can provide. Furthermore, there is a general regional questioning of the economic benefits regarding the land area that is currently GNP if it was not a park, specifically for mining purposes. Several participants indicated that the region would be better off, economically speaking, if mining could occur where the park is currently located. This mentality is interesting, especially considering that mining potential within the park is unknown, and the park and its associated tourism draw is the single, longest lasting industry within the entirety of the region. This lack of community valuing of the park could be, in part, associated with park staff not properly communicating the economic importance of the park.

In case studies with stronger perceived economies (e.g. job stability, respectable wages), existing parks had either little perceived importance, or were greatly valued. For example, participants in the Mauricie region had no particular opinions regarding the economic benefit or hardship caused by the existence of the park. Rather, the park was often perceived as a benefit in terms of outdoor recreation opportunity and venue. For a contrasting example, SSLMP is the main or only tourism draw and economic generator for multiple communities located along its shore. Some participants indicated that without the existence of the park, the communities would cease to exist.

The PA planning process in all three case studies has created important perceived threats to regional economies, especially concerning the forest industry. This was particularly apparent in the Saguenay case study where the forest industry, CRE, RMC and elected officials do not see the economic benefit of PA creation, or feel the economic benefit of PA creation does not equal or exceed that of the forest industry. Creating large PAs designed to properly represent the regions ecological attributes while simultaneously preserving rights and access to forest resources has been an important challenge for the MDDEFP. However, regions that have adopted market mechanisms, such as FSC certification, have experienced fewer problems in terms of decision-making processes and regional pressures against PA creation. For example, numerous participants from the Mauricie region see the PA planning and creation process as a win-win situation since the industry must create PAs as per one of the FSC requirements and, the PA planning process allows the industry to create PAs in areas that have little economic importance to them.

Biophysical Environment

Regional biophysical environments for all case studies had an effect on regional integration, particularly regarding regional actor acceptance of the park, endangered species and connectivity concerns.

The landscape geography and the types of vegetation coupled with the location of PAs within the region have an important effect on how participants perceive the park. For example, LMNP is located in the south central region of Mauricie and is surrounded by vast and easily accessible forests and lakes located on crown land or within wildlife reserves and ZECs. There were no feelings by regional actors that the park was hampering their ability to recreate or that it could serve a better purpose (e.g. forestry). Rather, the park is viewed as a prime area for passive recreation, a great venue for sport fishing and the source of fresh drinking water for towns and villages. This is a drastic contrast to GNP where regional actors felt the park could be put to better use. The challenging landscape of the park and the land area on either side, compounded with its close location to the shore and a declining forest industry creates an atmosphere of entrapment for residents of Saint-Anne-des-Monts.

All three case studies have endangered species, but the presence of these species and the seriousness of the situation are not uniform across all case studies. In both the Mauricie and Saguenay regions, and with FNP, all park and regional actors were quite aware of the presence of endangered species. In most instances, the presence of endangered species was actually beneficial as these species enabled the parks to conduct research outside park boundaries (e.g. LMNP), develop relationships with ENGOs and nearby municipalities (e.g. LMNP, SSLMP, and FNP), and to collaborate with ENGOs regarding land acquisition adjacent to the parks to further protect important habitat (e.g. LMNP, FNP). The success of the collaborations and the ability to

collaborate with multiple regional actors was often linked directly to the specificity of the problem.

Although actors within the Gaspésie region understand that the woodland caribou is on the verge of becoming extinct, many local residents are indifferent to this problem, with some indicating that the region would be better off if the caribou disappeared completely. Such feelings can likely be attributed to perceived large-scale impacts on resource-based industries (e.g. forestry) and increased land use restrictions (e.g. hunting, snowmobiling, ATV) related to conservation measures for this species. Species protection initiatives (e.g. wood turtle in LMNP; Beluga whale in SSLMP) between parks and regional actors appear to be more successful when conservation measures create very few land use restrictions for the resource industries or recreational activities.

The concept of ecological connectivity had very little influence on the regional integration of parks and PAs within the case studies, with the exception of the Gaspésie case site. Both FNP and GNP staff recognized the importance of linking their park to the rest of the region, but institutional histories and jurisdictional limitations impede formalizing this requirement. Although participants in the other two case-study regions generally understood that PAs were part of the larger landscape and could be impacted by land use activities occurring in the peripheral zones, such impacts were often low or not present in their long-term planning activities as the PAs were located in remote areas and surrounded by large tracts of crown land. This perception is echoed at the provincial level as, in the eyes of government, the size of these new PAs is large enough to negate the need for linkages or buffers to be made between them.

Finally, differences in terms of large game and fish species within and outside of PAs were significant. In many instances the PAs serve as a repository of game and fish species, increasing game populations outside of the PA and fish density within the same watershed. In the

Saguenay region, this has had a positive effect on hunting success rates and has changed hunters' attitudes regarding the value of the parks.

Institutional History

Institutional contexts had a major impact on integration processes for all three cases. The history associated with the creation of national parks had very strong and diverse impacts on regional integration processes between the parks and regional actors, especially in regions where actors were present at the time of park creation. For example, the process and promises made before, during and after the creation of FNP had a strong negative impact on park staff and regional actor relationships, creating issues related to communication, cooperation and collaboration with municipalities, expropriated families, and FN actors. Interestingly, the history of LMNP, created during the same time period as FNP, has had almost no effect on regional integration or negative backlash, likely due to the fact that the park area is now accessible to the public (see chapter 4), no expropriation occurred during its creation, few promises were made regarding expected tourism-derived revenue and associated employment, and it conserves and provides resources such as fresh water to municipalities.

The history of the SSLMP has had an important effect on regional integration within the case study, both between SLLMP staff and provincial-federal government relationships. The manner in which the community, provincial and federal governments collaborated during its creation and the formal institutional mechanisms put in place for communicating and collaborating have ensured that regional contexts and actors have an active role and voice in decision-making.

Another important historical element for many participants was past decision-making processes employed by provincial government ministries related to land use planning and resource industries. Many participants spoke of past issues related to government decision-

making regarding PA creation where government consultation processes were more informative than consultative and followed the traditional top-down approach. This process fostered doubt and mistrust towards provincial government and feelings of oppression by regional actors. Yet, past decision-making processes and outcomes have positively influenced current processes for PA planning where decision-making is now regionalized in order to better incorporate regional actors in the process. Although decisions are now taken at the regional level with very little input or guidance from government, this shift in power for decision-making is now too far removed from central government leading to significant time delays and a lack of clear direction and voice regarding decision-making and expected outcomes.

The history concerning the colonization and development of the north shore of Gaspésie has had an important effect on current relationships between the GNP and certain regional actors. Furthermore, many past decisions regarding important land use access or restrictions, the closure of various resource industries (mines) stemming from either central government or officials from either Québec city of Montreal have made Gaspésie residents reticent regarding new proposals, namely the creation of new PAs or conservation measures to protect the woodland caribou, even if these would have no direct impact on resource development or their ability to hunt.

Finally, access and control of hunting and fishing rights throughout all three case studies has had an important influence in shaping the current regional integration and acceptance of PAs. This was especially noticed in the Mauricie and Gaspésie study sites. The removal of private clubs and making crown land accessible to the general public in the 1970s made hunting and fishing accessible to the general public. Although LMNP was created during this time period, the establishment of the park had little impact on the availability of hunting and fishing areas due to the vast amounts of land made available to the public for this purpose. In contrast, hunting and fishing in Gaspésie have always been a part of daily life. To this day, many residents in this

region depend on hunting and fishing as an important food resource. Therefore, land use changes and restrictions are often seen as a threat to food security and a way of life.

Governance Arrangements

Governance arrangements between regional actors for all three case studies dictate who regional actors communicate with and the mechanisms for communicating and interacting with each other. Factors such as actor proximity, organizational change and restructuring, and the complexity of arrangements for communicating and interacting between actors were significant.

The proximity of central or main offices of organizations or agencies is an important factor in determining how and when actors will collaborate with each other. The proximity of various actors' head offices to each other will facilitate interactions and promote collaboration and communication between actors as it provides more opportunities for interacting with each other. This was especially evident with GNP, FNP and IBRPNP. Conversely, although LMNP borders two wildlife reserves, head offices are located hours away from each other, reducing their ability to communicate.

Maintaining relationships is often difficult due to organizational change within an agency. Many participants spoke of the challenges associated with maintaining relationships with Parks Canada due to internal restructuring occurring within that agency. Constant organizational change cause issues of mistrust and frustration since projects are always in jeopardy due to shifts in personnel. Participants in all three case studies spoke of challenges in building relationships with Parks Canada staff due to the restructuring process and continual change of staff responsibilities within the agency.

The internal governance and bureaucratic structure of agencies were identified as important factors that shape communication, collaboration and decision-making between actors. Agencies or organizations with relatively small offices and streamlined staff levels are better

able to develop relationships, respond to requests, adapt to changing situations and make rapid decisions due to built-in and required institutional flexibilities. Agencies such as SEPAQ, which has a small central office and skeleton staff³⁷⁷ in each park, fit these criteria. Regional actors often spoke of the ease of working with SEPAQ staff, especially being able to speak with park decisions makers such as the director. This ability leads to quick turnaround times for decision-making, streamlined or nonexistent bureaucratic processes, and lack of formal requirements for decision-making. In contrast, the bureaucratic process for decision-making by Parks Canada and associated time delays often created frustration and impeded regional willingness to collaborate with the federal parks since all major decisions must be approved by the central office in Ottawa.

The multitude of formal and informal modes of interactions for decision-making present within the case studies (e.g. land use planning committees) plays a significant role in building trust and relationships between actors. This was especially apparent in the Gaspésie and Saguenay sites where actors interact with each other through multiple formal modes such as PA and non-PA related committees, and through informal interactions such as coffee shops or outdoor recreation venues. This was less apparent in the Mauricie site. Although regional actors participate in many regional planning tables, LMNP staff members seldom do, creating a lack of regional awareness regarding the value of the park as a regional actor. These modes of interactions are crucial for effective decision-making. Actors who interacted with each other through multiple tables better understand each other which decreases power struggle and diminishes governance concerns.

The successes of governance arrangements were often not dependent on the formal institutions that shaped them, but rather, on the informal institutions and the individual actors that participate in the process. Participants indicated that successful governance processes require

³⁷⁷ Referring to the small number of full-time senior staff for each park.

actors that are able to listen and understand each other, and most importantly, have the ability and willingness to make compromises. When this does not occur, decision-making processes are extremely lengthy and often perceived as a waste of time. Governance challenges for decision-making are often caused by singular actors who are inflexible and unwilling to make compromises.

Important Regional Topics

Important regional topics had an influence on regional integration in all three case studies. The FSC certification process has increased dialogue between forestry companies and regional actors through formal interactions, something that did not previously occur. Furthermore, the industry, through FSC stipulations, has become an important advocate for PA creation and now works in collaboration with various park agencies and is an active participant and decision maker for the PA planning process.

Important topics related to threatened or endangered species served as a catalyst for bringing people together. The wood turtle project spearheaded by the TNC and Parks Canada in the Mauricie case study has increased dialogue between the park and surrounding actors. The beluga whale population located at the mouth of the Saguenay River was the catalyst for the creation of the SSLMP and ongoing dialogue between regional actors, research groups and park staff. Interestingly, the presence of the woodland caribou in GNP has had the opposite effect, likely attributable to other regional contexts such as history and biophysical environments.

Historical events in some case studies were highly contested and had negative effects on current communication and collaboration processes for PAs. Most relevant to this study was the expropriation process that took place in order to create FNP and the general lack of recognition for the families that lost their home. The formal acknowledgement and recognition of the

families and the instigation of a park pass for expropriated families and their descendants by FNP staff have been positive first steps towards reconciling relationships.

9.2.3 Strength of Regional Integration within the Case Studies

This section examines the strength of regional integration within and between the case studies. It provides a discussion of the characteristics that make up regional integration using criteria from Table 17. Although participants were not specifically asked about these characteristics, they did talk about some or all of them.

Structure

Personal relationships between park staff and regional actors were important mechanisms for interacting in all case studies. Personal relationships were most apparent in the Saguenay case site and with FNP, where park staff members have had relationships with regional actors for many years, most frequently with regional ENGOs due to either previous work experience or schooling. Furthermore, long standing relationships were also more likely to occur between park staff and regional actors that have worked side by side for many years. This was most apparent with the SSLMP and the Innu of Issipit FN representative and between the director of the Saint-Maurice Wildlife Reserve and senior staff at LMNP.

Communications and collaborations between parks typically occur formally and informally depending on the purpose and park systems. All SEPAQ park staff spoke highly of the benefits associated with the yearly system-wide staff meetings. Such meetings allow staff from different parks to build relationships and knowledge regarding the specific expertise of each park. Interestingly, although the SSLMP is jointly managed, the Parks Canada side is not invited to participate in these meetings. Informal relationships between Parks Canada and SEPAQ staff were most notable in the Gaspésie case study. There, directors from both park systems actively collaborate with each other in order to better promote the region and the parks.

Such collaboration is able to occur since none of the parks are in direct competition regarding tourism products and services.

The results of this study demonstrate that actors communicate with one another through both formal and informal mechanisms shaped through contextual factors. In many instances, actors meet each other through formal mechanisms and, depending on the recurrence of meetings, will develop personal relations with specific actors. Such occurrences were observed in all three case studies and were especially noticeable in Mauricie and the PA planning process.

Process

All SEPAQ parks, along with the SSLMP and FNP, have specific mechanisms articulated within their respective park acts or management plans for interacting with regional actors, notably the coordination committees and harmonization tables. These committees and tables allow park staff to share and modify park management goals based on feedback obtained from regional actors. The nonexistence of formal mechanisms for interacting with regional actors by the LMNP meant that regional actors were generally not aware of park management goals and objectives.

The delegated approach adopted by the MDDEFP for the PA planning process and the seemingly unclear process for decision-making meant that regional actors in the Saguenay and Gaspésie region had a poor understanding of the actual purpose and expected outcome of the exercise. Yet, the design of this exercise was crafted in such a way that regional actors could dictate the manner for proceeding to decision-making that best fit with regional institutions. The long-term goal of government for this activity was to have regional actors appropriate and respect not only the decision-making process, but also the outcomes of the process. Yet many regional actors in all three case studies, irrespective of their progress, felt that the government of Québec had gone too far in removing itself from decision-making.

The inclusive approach to regional actor integration for decision-making such as the coordination and the harmonization table and to an extent the PA planning process follow similar principles as presented in the social license to operate literature. For example, authors such as Pike (2012), Prno and Slocombe (2012), and Yates and Horvath (2013) define this concept as the acquisition and continual maintenance of regional actor consent for a specific organization or activity. More importantly, these authors argue that although acquiring consent to develop is important, greater emphasis should be placed on the maintenance of this consent as regional values and expectations can change over time. The PA planning process occurring in the Mauricie region is a good example of the need to acquire regional actor consent while the SEPAQ coordination committee and the SSLMP harmonization table are good examples of formal tools for maintaining consent.

Finally, different park systems had a general understanding of each others' management goals and objectives, but the sharing of such information or coming together to assist one-another depended upon the type of individual personal relationships between staff members. For example, the shift in park directors with the SSLMP and SFNP had a positive effect on developing working relationships between the two parks.

Participation

Park staff at all levels of government within the three case studies understood the goals, mandates and interests of regional actors and accepted these in their day-to-day management activities irrespective of the type of communication and collaboration channels with regional actors. For example, although the LMNP had few formal institutions in place for communicating with regional actors, many senior park staff had been in the region long enough to understand the goals and mandates of multiple regional actors. Furthermore, LMNP staff also understood the impact their park had in their region. For example, staff at FNP understood how contextual

factors such as the history of the park's creation continued to influence relationships with regional actors.

The PAs in the Saguenay-St. Lawrence case study had the most apparent economic and social benefits as perceived by both park staff and regional actors. Both Parks Canada and SEPAQ staff often spoke of the social acceptance and increased support for the parks in this region due to increased economic benefits associated with park tourism, and increased options for developing or maintaining social activities within and around PAs (e.g. hunting around SFNP; hiking in MVNP). Non-park- staff participants around GNP seemingly had the lowest awareness of the value and benefits of the park to the region, with many participants indicating they were unaware of the actual social, ecological and economic contributions associated with the parks existence. LMNP park participants, although aware of the park's existence and happy to use it for recreational purposes, viewed it as a small player in the region due to the fact it operates at a different government level.

Regional actors in all three case studies spoke of changes regarding large-scale decision-making and the delegation of power from central government to the administrative regions, most notably, the PA planning process. Yet participants in both the Gaspésie and Saguenay sites expressed frustration regarding the actual structure of the decision-making process and for communicating with the MDDEFP central office staff. Certain participants, including MDDEFP regional office staff felt the regional MDDEFP office should be aware of the process and be given the capacity and ability to participate.

Although PA planning processes were occurring in all three case studies, no park staff members from either the provincial or federal level systems were included in this decision-making process. In fact, most staff were either unaware of the existence of the planning process, or had a vague understanding of the process. The majority of staff indicated that they would have

appreciated being invited to the meetings and felt they could have contributed valuable information to the decision-making process, especially regarding the development of linkages between PAs. Yet, since Parks Canada is a federal entity and the SEPAQ is perceived to only be a land manager, they are not considered as relevant to the process.

Furthermore, although the majority of park staff in all three case studies indicated that they often participate in regional land use planning committees, other than the PA planning process, the majority do so in a non-park staff capacity. Yet all indicated that the time spent participating in these meetings was a long-term investment for the park due to increased understanding of regional issues, to indirectly promote the parks, and most importantly for developing social capital such as relationships and trust with regional actors.

Although regional actors in all three case studies recognize the existence of the parks, many are unaware of the actual contributions that the park has or can make to regional initiatives. The exception to this was the SSLMP, where park staff indicated they are often invited to attend regional committees, and they attribute this to the manner in which the park was created, the harmonization committee, and the economic benefits associated with the park.

Conversely, the majority of participant in all three case studies spoke of the value of participating in multiple regional committees. Gaspésie participants spoke most often of participating in such committees and of the benefits associated with these.

Finally, the PA planning process was a contentious issue in all three case studies, most notably due to the perceived or real economic impact that such developments could have on the resource industry. Fueled by contextual issues, the planning process in the Saguenay case study was severely hampered by such fears.

9.3 Defining Regional Integration

In chapter 2, based on multiple bodies of knowledge (Table 1), regional integration was defined as:

The manner in which various protected area agencies and relevant actors engage and interact through both formal and informal institutions in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities and challenges for the integration of protected area goals and objectives.

The language used to define the concept was purposefully broad in order to prevent pigeonholing the research process. The definition allowed for the general investigation of the concept and, therefore, the research was able to capture the complex processes of regional integration for PAs. Building on the research results, the concept of regional integration and the definition previously provided are further refined in the following section in order to illustrate its inherent complexities.

9.3.1 Revisiting the Concept of Regional Integration

Interview data, participant observation and document analysis, as presented in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, provide varied perspectives and examples of regional integration. Although not all characteristics were observed in all case studies, Table 22 regroups the main characteristics of regional integration for PAs.

Table 22. Characteristics of Regional Integration.

Regional integration processes are not determined by geographical or administrative boundaries.

Regional contexts, especially history, often play a major role in building relationships between regional actors.

Regional actors can be anyone with a direct interest in PAs or, affected (either positively or negatively) by the creation of PAs or decisions related to PAs.

Regional integration is issue or topic specific. It is much easier for people to come together to address a specific issue such as the protection/management of a particular specie than larger concepts such as ecological integrity.

Regional integration occurs through both formal and informal institutional arrangements, often simultaneously.

Regional integration is a continuing process in which a true end-point can never really be identifiable (i.e. incapable of being completely accomplished).

Regional integration initiatives are built on mutual trust between actors, especially when adopting informal institutional arrangements.

Not all actors participating in regional integration processes share the same goals and objectives. Institutions must be flexible; actors must be able to effectively communicate their position and be able to make compromises for decision-making.

Institutional arrangement processes for regional integration are inherently complex. Interactions between actors are always occurring and are continuously shaped by social norms and environmental factors (e.g. work, family, money).

Regional integration is shaped by both park staff and regional actors. Although formal institutions can guide regional integration, the success of initiatives is dependent on the individual actors that shape the process.

Regional integration is a social process focusing on relationships and interactions. The purpose of regional integration is often to better conserve species or specific ecological processes.

As previously presented in Chapter 2, integrating PA planning and management between park systems and with regional actors and land use activities is required in order to ensure that the PAs and the ecological processes and biota they conserve remain sustainable. Regional integration is a process that engages park staff from different agencies, provincial ministries and regional actors to reach specific goals or objectives. As presented in chapters 5-8, the goals for many park staff were to further develop or improve upon relationship building with regional actors in order to improve the protection of a particular species, with an overarching goal of increasing the ecological integrity of their park. Provincial government officials administering the PA planning process were mostly concerned about delegating decision-making powers to regional actors in order to ensure that results of the decision-making process will be accepted. Common goals for regional actors were to develop or further build on relationships with park staff or government officials, ensure economic stability for the region, advocate for future

economic development of the parks, and have their voice heard and to influence policy and management decision-making at the park level and within the PA planning process.

Using the characteristics of regional integration presented in Table 1, and interview data regarding regional integration goals, a revised definition of regional integration is provided in order to better capture its true meaning.

Regional integration is a complex process that incorporates both PA staff and regional actors through formal and informal institutional mechanisms in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities through the sharing of individual and shared goals related to protected areas. This process is heavily influenced by contextual factors such as history, economy, governance and biophysical environments and, individual actor's ability to listen, respect others and compromise for the greater good.

Changes to the definition of regional integration were made in order to refine the definition so that it would more accurately reflect the complexity of the concept. The following two sections present factors that can promote or hamper regional integration for parks and PA planning processes.

9.4 Recommendations to Regional Integration of PAs

This section provides 11 general recommendations for improving both the integration of PA management activities between PA systems and between PAs and regional actors. These are:

1. Design flexible formal institutions for regional integration;
2. Create a Liaison Officer position;
3. Increase awareness and inclusion of PA managers in landscape planning;
4. Understand regional perceptions and attitudes when conducting participatory planning;
5. Build social capital between park staff and regional actors;
6. Consider contextual factors when developing relationships with regional actors;
7. Develop stronger working relationships with FNs;

8. Reduce bureaucratic red tape in the Parks Canada administration;
9. Increase the capacity of regional provincial ministry staff to participate in regional land use planning activities;
10. Increase local support for PAs; and,
11. Avoid lack of staff and onsite management of new PAs.

These recommendations are generalized and not directed towards a specific case study and can likely be generalized to other park systems within and outside of Canada. All recommendations are supported by the preceding discussion and are organized below in order of importance.

9.4.1 Design Flexible Formal Institutions for Regional Integration

Formal institutions that guide PA integration with regional actors, such as the one employed by the SSLMP must be designed so that they can be modified over time to include new actors and processes. Inflexible institutions prevent new actors from being incorporated in decision-making processes, creating disconnects between regional issues and the park. For example, there is currently no formal requirement to include the director of the SFNP in the coordination committee; yet, having the director of this park participate would be of benefit to both the SFNP and SSLMP managers since both parks share a border with each other. It is recommended that formal institutional mechanisms employed by Parks Canada and SEPAQ for collaborating with regional actors be immediately revised so that they are able to adapt, evolve and incorporate new regional actors.

9.4.2 Create a Liaison Officer Position

Park information, such as economic impacts related to visitor spending, number of regional employees and ecological benefits should be made available to all regional actors. For example, residents of Saint-Anne-des-Monts might have a more positive appreciation of the

value or benefit of the GNP if an economic impact study was conducted on visitor spending and made available to those residents. Parks Canada and SEPAQ should consider creating a park ‘liaison officer’ to act as park representative to regional actors. The liaison officer would be able to determine what information is requested by regional actors or should be made available to them, and would be able to diffuse that information using appropriate channels. Considering the challenges that certain National and Provincial National parks face, this position should be created as soon as possible.

Information such as economic impact studies and ecological benefits (e.g. source of fresh drinking water) should also be made available on individual park websites. For example, such information could be included under the ‘Park Management’ section for each federal national park, and under the ‘Conserve and protect’ section for the SEPAQ parks. This could easily be implemented within this coming year.

9.4.3 Increase Awareness and Inclusion of PA Managers in Landscape Planning

Institutional processes for regional integration of actors in park management and decision-making are important for building regional understanding, and managerial and political buy-in. Regional actor buy-in ensures that PAs are viewed and incorporated within the larger framework of regional activities, that PA staff members are invited to participate on regional planning committees to provide an alternative perspective; a recognition that land use activities occurring in the region can have an impact on PAs; and that the PAs provide or conserve essential services to regional actors. The LMNP case study provides an example where this is not occurring. This could be addressed by creating ‘liaison officer’ positions within each park whose role would be to represent, promote and disseminate information to regional actors about their respective PA. As with section 9.5.2, this position should be created as soon as possible considering the challenges that certain PAs face, and the time requirements to develop

relationships and trust with regional actors. Creating a liaison officer position now would ensure that informal social institutions would be in place to address an eventual PA management challenge or crisis.

Furthermore, the CRE and PA planning process should include PA staff (both national and provincial) in the decision-making process. These PA staff can provide valuable insights regarding ecological processes, species requirements and hydrological processes that could be useful to identifying new PAs. The current PA planning process is likely too far along to benefit from input by PA staff, however, these PA staff should be included in the next PA planning process.

9.4.4 Understand Regional Perceptions and Attitudes when Conducting Participatory Decision-Making

Recognizing how regional perceptions can influence community participation and communication with a PA is important if regional integration for a PA is to better communicate with and incorporate actors in participatory decision-making processes. Recognizing perceptions is important for developing open truthful relationships between actors. The Saguenay and Gaspésie case studies demonstrate how differing perceptions between SEPAQ park staff and local residents have affected institutional interplay.

The limited awareness of PAs by local residents and involvement of residents near PAs concerning PA management requires SEPAQ and Parks Canada to revise their current formal mechanisms designed to include these residents in decision-making processes (i.e. harmonization tables) through the revision and reorganization of both formal and informal institutions. These new mechanisms must go beyond the coordination committee and harmonization tables as these only reach and include a specific and limited audience. This reorganization process will be time consuming and a learning process, and therefore should be implemented over the next five or so years.

9.4.5 Build Social Capital between Park Staff and Regional Actors

Participants in all three case studies spoke, to different extents, of the benefits associated with participating in planning committees. A recurrent theme was the associated benefits of building long-term relationships, trust and understanding between actors and how beneficial these relationships were when addressing particular planning challenges. Therefore, it is encouraged that PA systems develop ongoing formal protocols for interacting and developing relationships with regional actors. Such an investment in social capital can become very useful in the face of managerial challenges or threats to PAs (both internal and external), especially those occurring outside of park boundaries.

9.4.6 Consider Contextual Factors when Developing Relationships with Regional Actors

PA managers should acknowledge, take into account and address contentious contextual factors associated with a specific PA in order to improve relationships with regional actors. Proactively acknowledging past histories regarding park creation impacts on local communities can go a long way to reconciling differences. This can be done through ongoing formal and informal mechanisms. For example, the many informal discussions between the Forillon expropriation group and the FNP staff led to the formal acknowledgement and recognition of the expropriation process. Although requiring very little time or money from Parks Canada, the act of formally recognizing these families greatly improved the relationship between the two actor groups.

9.4.7 Develop Stronger Working Relationships with First Nations

Developing and maintaining relationships between PAs and FN is required for maintaining or improving regional integration. Furthermore, FNs, as an actor group tend to have greater rights and powers than non-FN actors, increasing the necessity and complexity for improving regional integration. The types of regional integration processes were found to be at

different stages depending on the case studies, ranging from non-existent (e.g. LMNP) to well developed (e.g. SSLMP). Regardless of the types of processes in place, suggestions for starting and improving working relationships include: providing free entrance PAs for FN peoples; increasing the number of FN staff in the parks (for both entry and senior level positions); formally acknowledging the history of FNs within the parks through proper interpretation; to operationalize and have on-going processes for consulting with FNs; and sharing park and organizational constraints directly with FNs.

9.4.8 Reduce Bureaucratic Red Tape in the Parks Canada Administration

Decision-making processes within Parks Canada are laden with bureaucratic red tape and act as significant hindrances to developing or maintaining relationships with regional actors or PA systems. Increased bureaucracies create significant time delays to decision-making and can also create management outcomes which do not align with the expectations and speed of ‘doing business’ at a regional level. The Gaspésie case study, and more specifically FNP, showed that many regional actors prefer to conduct business with the park informally due to a reduction in bureaucracy, even if this has the potential to compromise accountability or transparency. Parks Canada should consider giving park directors more freedom in decision-making related to park management and partnerships with regional actors around their park. Due to the recent adoption of centralized decision-making for Parks Canada in 2012, adopting this recommendation will take time. Therefore, it is recommended that it be adopted over the next five to ten years.

9.4.9 Increase the Capacity of Regional Provincial Ministry Staff to Participate in Regional Land Use Planning Activities

Decision-making responsibility and power has been delegated to regional actors by central government. Often, regional actors are asked to carry out government mandates, but are given little guidance or resources to do so. Although there are provincial government regional offices, staff in those offices have not been given the mandate or authority to assist regional

actors. This was especially evident with the regional PA planning process and caused significant challenges and frustration for regional actors due to poor accountability and transparency regarding government proposals or decisions. To address this issue, regional government ministries need to be given the ability to participate in these tables so that the government can be represented and made accountable to regional actors. Providing regional government ministry staff with the ability to participate and contribute in the PA planning process should be given for the next PA planning process.

9.4.10 Increase Local Support for PAs

Having regional residents visit parks could increase relationships between PAs and nearby residents. Park staff in all three case studies spoke of the challenges of promoting their park and in obtaining regional visitors. Many regional citizens fail to see the value-added benefits and associated constraints of a park for recreation purposes, when they can just as easily go onto crown land adjacent to the park for free and with much fewer attached user-constraints. Yet, building regional integration and support for PAs requires regional users to visit the park(s). A solution to address this challenge is to adopt differential pricing or free access for residents based on criteria such as administrative region or proximity to the PA. This would have little impact on visitor-derived revenue due to the already low regional resident visitation rate. This recommendation could be adopted in the next two to five years.

Increasing local support for PAs could also be achieved through conducting proper economic impact studies of PA visitors in the regions and properly communicating the results of these studies to the greater population and regional actors so that they can disseminate this information to their constituents. For example, SEPAQ conducted an economic impact study of visitation to the National Parks of Québec (see Lemieux, 2006) but did not openly share the results of that study with regional actors, therefore, as in the case of GNP, regional actors and the

greater population are unaware that the park has an important positive economic impact on the region.

9.4.11 Avoid Lack of Staff and Onsite Management of New PAs

The Government of Québec is working towards having 12% of Québec categorized as protected. However, the majority of these newly created PAs have no staff or on-site management and lack budgets. As seen in the Gaspésie case study, many participants interviewed indicated that they did not fully understand the purpose of PAs such as Ecological reserves since they are not involved in their creation. In other instances, regional actors indicated challenges in terms of management since there is no assistance from the province to do so, such as with the BEAR. These newly established PAs need staff, management and budgets in order to ensure that they are effectively being managed. In their current state, there is no active management to control access and activities occurring within these PAs.

9.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter began by presenting and discussing factors that promote strong regional integration. Important factors contributing to strong regional integration were identified under three categories of 1) structure, 2) process, and 3) participation. Factors that hamper regional integration were then presented. Following this, a comparison and general discussion was provided regarding the types of formal and informal mechanisms for regional integration and how regional contextual factors can impede or foster such processes. Then, the definition of regional integration provided in chapter two was re-examined and further refined based on the results of this study. The chapter concludes by providing some general recommendations for improving regional integration.

10.0 Conclusions

This chapter concludes the dissertation. It begins by providing a summary of chapters 1 through 9 and revisits the four research questions. Following this, research contributions to both the theoretical and policy arena are presented, reflecting on the research's strength and limitations. Recommendations are made concerning future research on regional integration of PAs and a final section concludes this chapter and the thesis.

10.1 Thesis Summary

The dissertation begins by introducing the context for this study, focusing on the notion of connectivity between PAs. The concept of PA's has undergone fundamental changes, from being solely focused on tourism attractions and strict conservation, to serving as instruments of economic, social and environmental policy that conserve specific landscapes, serve educational and scientific purposes, provide extensive recreational opportunities, or demonstrate examples of sustainable development. They are continually evolving social constructs by which ecological and landscape processes are preserved and maintained. Current literature on PA management places greater emphasis on understanding the role and place of PAs within larger societal realms focusing on public participation, social equity, economic and ecological benefits and services, and larger landscape planning approaches to resource management. Furthermore, it is increasingly recognized that individual PA systems are incapable of actually fulfilling their primary conservation mandate and organizational goals due to their size and isolation from one another. Therefore, collaborative planning exercises between PA systems and with other societal actors is required, yet little attention has been given to this topic from a social science perspective.

Four research questions guided this study:

1. How has the PA system in Québec developed in the last 50 years reflecting influences such as politics, environmental policies, historical developments and involvement of non-state actors?
2. What are the current institutional arrangements and governance approaches for interactions in terms of planning and management between various types of PAs, and their surrounding regions within Québec?
3. How have interactions between PAs in Québec and with surrounding regions (i.e. regional integration) affected overall PA development?
4. What does the development and current functioning of the Québec system of PAs contribute to current academic discussions on institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the integration of PA planning and management between PA systems?

Chapter Two provided a review of the literature used to define regional integration, and develops a conceptual framework for this study. Bodies of knowledge examined included 1) ecological science, 2) conservation biology, 3) regional and bioregional planning, 4) participatory planning, 6) common property and stewardship, 7) ecosystem management, systems theory, 8) environmental and park governance, and 9) institutions literature.

The theoretical framework suggests that regional integration occurs through both formal and informal institutional arrangements between different PAs and regional actors in order to meet specific goals related to conservation. This process can be guided or influenced by contextual factors such as institutional history, demographics and economy, important regional topics and the biophysical environment.

Furthermore, the concept of regional integration was defined as:

The manner in which various protected area agencies and relevant actors engage and interact through both formal and informal institutions in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities and challenges for the integration of protected area goals and objectives.

Chapter Three provided a description of the methods adopted to complete the research and data analysis phase of this study. The chapter began by discussing the ontology, epistemology and methodology that ground the methods. An overview and justification of the case studies is provided. A description of the semi-structured interview guide and data analysis procedures employed for this research complete the chapter.

In order to obtain a deeper understanding of regional integration processes and the influences exerted by contextual factors, a multi-case study methodology was employed. Three case studies in Québec were identified for this study: the Gaspésie Region; the Saguenay Region; and the Mauricie Region. Site visits and interviews were also conducted with senior level officials in government and large ENGOs in Montreal and Québec City.

Interviews took place in the spring, summer and fall of 2012. A total of 96 semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from government, ENGOs, FNs, private businesses, wildlife reserves, ZECs, SEPAQ and Parks Canada. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using NVivo 10 and McCracken's (1988) five-stage process. Documents pertinent to regional integration were collected before and during the field site visits and analysed using the process outlined by Prior (2008). Although not originally planned for, unanticipated circumstances during site visits provided many opportunities to conduct participant observations. The information collected from these observations proved useful in the data analysis stage of the thesis. Finally, journaling was conducted throughout all stages of this thesis.

Chapter Four provided a short history of PA development, contextual information to situate this development and an overview of the current systems of PAs within the province. The first half of the chapter presented causal pathways and important processes that shaped PA development. The second half of the chapter provides a general overview and description of the 24 categories of PAs, and their general distribution, and discusses current and proposed plans for PA development within the province. The information presented in this chapter provides the reader with a clearer understanding of PA development, current arrangements and contexts, and future directions within the province in relation to the three case studies.

Chapters Five presented the results of senior level provincial and federal government and ENGO interactions occurring at a province-wide level. The types of interactions, either formal or informal, occurring between different provincial and federal government ministries regarding PA management and the PA planning process are examined. The relationship between central government ministries and large provincial ENGOs is also presented. Overall, different provincial ministries will collaborate with each other, but only for specific reasons. Challenges of authority and power regarding the PA planning process are present between the MDDEFP who are responsible for the planning process, and the MNR who hold the power to veto the creation of PAs. Provincial ministries and ENGOs have a strong and positive symbiotic working relationship. Although Parks Canada operates within the province, they have little to no formal or informal influence in the provincial PA development.

Chapters Six to Eight presented the results of the three case studies (Mauricie, Gaspésie and Saguenay). Each chapter began by presenting regional contexts. Then, the second portion of the chapter presented the relationships and modes of interactions between PA systems and between PA systems and regional actors. The chapters conclude by reviewing the arrangements for communication and collaboration between actors. The results demonstrate that there are

important formal and informal mechanisms for collaborating and interacting between actors. Furthermore, contextual issues can have an important influence in shaping those formal and informal mechanisms. Overall, the Mauricie case study shows that there is a close working relationship between regional actors regarding the PA planning process, but that the LMNP has non-existent formal mechanisms and weak informal mechanisms for interacting with regional actors. Both Gaspésie and Saguenay demonstrate strong relationships between PA systems and regional actors due to strong formal and informal institutional mechanisms. FNP and GNP demonstrate how contextual factors such as institutional histories and biophysical and geography can have an important effect on developing and maintaining relationships between park staff and regional actors.

Chapter Nine provided a discussion of the results and was organized in three sections. Overall, factors that promote and hamper regional integration, based on recurrent themes, are first presented. Important factors contributing to strong regional integration were organized under three categories: Structure, Process, and Participation.

The second section of this chapter discusses formal and informal mechanisms occurring within the three case studies pertinent to regional integration. The role of contextual factors and the strength of regional integration were also examined. Similarities and differences in the usefulness and effectiveness of formal mechanisms for integrating decision-making demonstrate the importance of horizontal and vertical linkages between institutions and ensuring that these have inherent flexibilities built into their design in order to respond and adapt to system changes. Informal institutions play a significant role in regional integration since they operate outside the confines of bureaucracy and tend to have increased flexibility and adaptability regarding system changes. Developing formal institutions for regional integration was often problem specific and based on contextual events or political directives, yet, their success was often dependent on the

informal institutions that guided the process. The importance of taking contextual factors into consideration, especially institutional histories and biophysical landscape attributes, when attempting to develop processes to integrate regional actors in decision-making was made especially clear with the Gaspésie case study.

The second section re-examined the definition of regional integration provided in Chapter Two and adjusts it based on study results:

Regional integration is a complex process that incorporates both PA staff and regional actors through formal and informal institutional mechanisms in order to synchronize and address planning and management opportunities through the sharing of individual and shared goals related to protected areas. This process is heavily influenced by contextual factors such as history, economy, governance and biophysical environments and, individual actors' ability to listen, respect and compromise for the greater good.

The final section of this chapter provides suggestions for improving regional integration within both the case study and, for other parks systems in Canada and elsewhere. Notably, recognizing contextual factors, increasing the role of FNs in decision-making and management of PAs, re-examining the touted benefits of a neo-liberal approach to governance for PAs, designing formal institutions that are flexible and adaptable, increasing regional visitation rates to PAs and, developing new institutions for disseminating PA information to regional actors are areas requiring further attention.

10.2 Summary of Research Goal and Questions

The goal of this study was to describe and analyse institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the regional integration of planning and management exercises for PAs in Québec, to understand how different types of PAs interact with each other and relevant actors to form an effective system.

This thesis fulfills this goal by first defining the concept of regional integration (Chapter 2) and providing a theoretical framework to demonstrate the components of this concept (section

2.4); providing a history of PA development in the province in order to ground research results (chapter 4); refining the definition of regional integration (Chapter 9); presenting the types of formal and informal institutions and modes of collaboration for regional integration (Chapters 5-9); outlines the influence of contextual factors on regional integration (Chapter 5-9); and provides suggestions for improving regional integration in the case study, and for other park systems (Chapter 9).

The remainder of this section reviews each of the research questions, noting areas within the thesis where they are specifically addressed and answered.

Research question 1: How has the PA system in Québec developed in the last 50 years reflecting influences such as politics, environmental policies, historical developments and involvement of non-state actors?

As presented in Chapter Four, the development of the PA areas systems in Québec has witnessed both rapid growth and long periods of stagnation. Historically, PA development within the province was not given much attention by political and larger societal actors, as evidenced by the lack of any major PA development occurring in the province from the mid-1930s until the mid-1970s. Until recently, the province essentially followed in the footsteps of PA development occurring elsewhere in the country and in the USA. In fact, the majority of PA development (e.g. the 1970s Parks Act) was often modeled after those previously developed by other PA systems. The impact of large international conventions and accords (e.g. CBD, IUCN PA categories) significantly influenced the province's political directions concerning PA system development and growth. The current PA system was shaped by policies created in the late 1990s and early 2000s as a result of international pressures and a shift in demand and social acceptance at the provincial level for increased PAs.

Research question 2: What are the current institutional arrangements and governance approaches for interactions in terms of planning and management between various types of PAs, and their surrounding regions within Québec?

As reviewed in Chapter Two and illustrated in detail in Chapters 5-8, regional integration is an inherently complex, messy, multi-directional and multi-dimensional process. All four results chapters exemplify the intricate and sometimes volatile nature of institutional arrangements and governance processes between PAs and regional actors. Furthermore, these processes are shaped by a multitude of interrelated contextual factors. There exist both formal and informal institutions that guide interactions between PAs and with regional actors. Most often, formal institutions exist in order to address conflict, lack of trust between actors or for preventative measures. Common examples include:

- SEPAQ harmonization tables
- SSLMP coordination committee
- PA planning committees
- Regional land use planning committees
- Tourism planning committees
- Expropriation committee

Informal institutions often exist between actors due to trust, which reduces the need for formal mechanisms, while also increasing efficiency. Common examples include:

- Informal meetings between park staff
- Positive historical relationships
- Informal mechanisms lacking bureaucracy, permitting faster decision-making

- Meeting regional actors outside of formal settings such as coffee shops, bars or through recreational activities

Research question 3: How have interactions between PAs in Québec and with surrounding regions (i.e. regional integration) affected overall PA development?

As presented in Chapters 5-8, institutional mechanisms for regional integration have had an important effect on the development of PAs within the province. The new approach adopted to identify potential PA sites, whereby decision-making has been delegated to regional actors, is a direct response by government to increase actor buy-in and support for increased PAs. Although many participants spoke of the challenges associated with this process, most agreed that it was worthwhile as it demonstrates the central government's willingness to listen and incorporate regional views and perspectives.

Many participants also spoke of the benefits associated with the SEPAQ, SSLMP and FNP committees designed to align park management staff and activities with those of regional actors. Furthermore, the open and accessible nature of SEPAQ staff and their participation in other regional committees and events, even if outside of a formal park staff role, has increased the presence of the parks and the accessibility of park staff to regional actors.

Research question 4: What does the development and current functioning of the Québec system of PAs contribute to current academic discussions on institutional arrangements and governance approaches for the integration of PA planning and management between PA systems?

Sections 9.2.4 and 9.3 provide an overview of the strengths and challenges of regional integration. Research contributions, both theoretical and for policy are further examined below in section 10.3.

10.3 Research Contributions

10.3.1 Theoretical Contributions

This section discusses contributions and applications of this thesis to concepts of regional integration, PA institutions and governance.

As identified in Chapters 1 and 2, the need for ecological connectivity between PAs has been extensively discussed and such discussions are often grounded in the fields of conservation biology and landscape ecology. Most often, reasons given for increasing connectivity are made based on individual species protection or for the maintenance of large ecosystem processes. Extensive work has been conducted regarding the need for increased connectivity between PAs for species protection, ecological processes, landscape representation, biological and biophysical attributes and benefits (Luque, Saura and Fortin, 2012; Slocombe and Dearden, 2009). Although valid, this literature often fails to properly recognize and address the social components, prerequisites and institutions that actually guide PA connectivity exercises (Worboys, 2010; Woodley, 2010). Developing such landscape approaches to PA planning and management is inherently a social exercise which requires having proper institutional mechanisms operating at the required scales if it is to succeed. The results of this study demonstrate how multiplicities of informal and formal institutional arrangements are required for such processes to occur, and provide insights regarding how such arrangements can function.

Crafting institutions for large-scale environmental planning exercises or for broad concepts such as ecological integrity is often challenging and sometimes impossible to truly achieve due to a lack of specificity and concrete goals or targets. Rather, it is often much easier to craft institutions when addressing a very specific problem or goal (Danby and Slocombe 2002, 2005). This study supports this latter argument by demonstrating the ability of actors to collaborate in the development of specific projects.

As discussed in chapter 2, the increasing role of non-state actors in governance and the manner in which these actors participate in governance for PAs now plays an important role in PA planning and management. Authors such as Alpert (1996), Berkes (2004), Lockwood (2010a) and Wilshusen et al., (2002) indicate that these new actors must be given decision-making powers if decisions are to be accepted and implemented. However, the manner in which these actors participate or are included in governance processes through various institutional arrangements has only recently begun to be explored in the PA governance literature (e.g. Lockwood, 2010a, b; Eagles, 2009). The exploration of institutional arrangements and governance approaches for regional integration of PAs in Québec contributes to our further understanding of how actors, both state and non-state, are involved, the role they play in governance of PAs, and the influences that these actors exert on governance approaches for the integration of PA planning and management. Furthermore, participatory challenges and benefits for regional integration of PAs are revealed in this study.

The analysis of governance for parks and PAs is a recent development within the greater environmental governance literature. Thus far, much of the park governance literature has focused on measuring perceptions of governance from the view point of different actors using various governance criteria and research instruments (compare Hannah, 2006, Eagles et al., 2010, and Lockwood, 2010a). Much of this work is fuelled by a desire to understand new institutionalism and governance processes occurring throughout parks systems in North America and elsewhere. Yet, much of the literature examining governance fails to study actual governance processes. Rather, studies have either been comparative, or focused on outcomes derived from governance, often measured using survey instruments (e.g. Buteau-Duitschaever et al., 2009; Shields, Moore and Eagles, 2013). A shortcoming of such focus is the inability to explain certain observations derived from the research results due to a poor understanding of

institutional interplay. Although relevant from an operational management perspective, such studies fail to critically address reasons why certain management decisions either fail or succeed. Studying and measuring governance outcomes is often much simpler than attempting to navigate the complex, non-linear and often messy intricacies of governance processes as these operate across multiple scales and are influenced by historical events and always changing social rules (e.g. Eagles et al., 2012; Lockwood, 2010a). Greater research focus on the institutional dimensions of fit, scale and interplay which affect park governance processes and outcomes is required in order to advance and refine emerging park regimes.

This research demonstrates that systems which address issues of scale, fit and interplay have greater capacity to define the problem and develop solutions. The emerging institutional arrangements for parks and the increased role of societal actors in park governance and management dictate that solutions must be multilevel. Top-down approaches to park management are considered to be blunt, insensitive and disconnected from local and regional constraints and opportunities (Geisler, 2003). Bottom-up approaches to park management lack capacity to operate, have a restrictive knowledge base and are insensitive to greater impacts or threats. Thus, neither a top-down approach nor a bottom-up approach is perfectly suited to defining problems and creating solutions. Rather, an approach that simultaneously operates at multiple scales will be better able of taking into consideration the interplay between actors and ensure that institutional mechanisms are able address and report issues and concerns across these scales.

10.4 Contributions to Policy and Management Approaches

Chapter Two reviews various approaches that serve as the foundation for regional integration as well as multiple management approaches to PA management including public

participation, government PA management, private and community initiatives, and co-management initiatives. This section reviews some of the foundations to regional integration and indicates the components of these management approaches that can be linked to the concept of regional integration.

Many of the foundations for regional integration are based within the fields of ecological science, conservation biology, ecosystem management, and regional planning which demonstrate the need to link and integrate resource management and planning activities in order to conserve important large-scale ecological and biological processes. Chapter 2 highlights how this literature discusses both the social and biological/ecological components. Yet, the majority of the focus is placed on the biological or ecological requirements for conservation with little attention given to the social component associated with meeting these requirements (e.g. Rayfield, Foring and Fall, 2011). This study demonstrates that greater attention should be given to the social components associated with large-scale conservation and resource management. Social components play an important role and lead to the success or failure of programs for biodiversity conservation. Chapter 7 demonstrates that although a conservation project can have the best intentions and be justified with sound data, improper understanding of the social components regarding the project can lead to its demise.

The PA planning process instigated by the provincial government and MDDEFP ministry could be considered as an approach to integrated resource management or an ecosystem-based management approach (see Slocombe and Hanna, 2007). However, the concept of regional integration is not synonymous with ecosystem management. As presented in Chapter Two and highlighted in Chapter Six, the concept of ‘ecosystem management’ can be perceived as being park centric, often defined by ecological boundaries and too abstract for regional actors to understand or accept. Regional integration provides a more flexible and inclusive approach to

defining a park region and obtaining buy-in from regional actors. Furthermore, regional integration has an increased focus on social components and informal institutions when compared with conceptualizations of ecosystem based management.

This study treats integration as a process and not an end goal, something often missing from the integrated natural resource management literature (e.g. see Slocombe and Hanna, 2007). As a process, it seeks to understand informal institutions that guide human interactions. The definition for regional integration and theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 was left broad due to the difficulties in defining the multiple meanings and approaches to integration.

The information within this thesis contributes to developing and refining approaches to regional integration and actor participation in decision-making for PA system development and management. An important aspect is recognizing and understanding how regional contextual factors influence regional perspectives, opinions, and positions concerning resource development and land allocation. The results of this study clearly demonstrate that a failure to recognize these when attempting to communicate with regional actors can create important challenges for obtaining regional support and ability to conduct public participation exercises.

This research demonstrates that inclusive, consensus-based approaches to planning exercises such as the PA planning process or the SEPAQ harmonization committee, even if time consuming and made through compromises, contribute to effective regional integration since the voices of actors are represented. Authors such as Bovaird (2005), , Diduck, Reed and George (2009) and Boyd (2003) indicate that consensus-based approaches to decision-making can lessen accountability by blurring the lines of decision-making processes and actor involvement, and cause important time delays. Yet this study demonstrates that the outcomes (real or desired) outweigh these concerns and support arguments by authors such as Daily et al., (2009), Dearden (2004), Reed (2008), and Mitchell (2002) who indicate that consensus-based approaches to

decision-making instil a sense of ownership in the decision-making process and facilitate the implementation and acceptance of those decisions by regional actors.

Chapter 7 demonstrates that park managers operating within a region where contextual factors create challenges for regional integration must develop new tools and approaches for addressing these. Although coordination committees appear effective for sharing park goals and obtaining regional perspectives, in these situations this tool is not sufficient. Park managers must find new ways to actively interact with regional actors in order to gain their support. Such activities could include omitting entrance fees for regional actors, community forums and diffusing economic impact studies.

The importance of building and maintaining regional support for PAs was made clear in Chapters 7 and 8. Institutional mechanisms that facilitate communication and collaboration between PA staff and regional actors allow for development and maintenance of trust and strong relationships between actors. Such relationships build social capital which can be used to divert future threats to PAs.

Authors such as Young et al., (2006) and Meadowcroft (2002) have argued that although there is increased promotion of collaborative and neo-liberal approaches for effective decision-making in multi-level systems, the benefits of such approaches have been poorly substantiated. Rather, these authors indicate that large, complex environmental problems should be tackled by higher levels of governance, as regional or local decision-making actors are incapable of understanding complex spatial ecological processes. Yet, Chapter 7 and specifically the GNP and woodland caribou discussion demonstrate that high-level decision-making processes are ineffective in communicating the problem to regional actors, and are heavily influenced by regional contextual factors. This thesis supports Newig and Fritsch (2009) and, Newig, Gunther

and Pahl-Wostl (2010) who state that complex, multi-scalar and open approaches to decision-making will yield higher adhesion and acceptance of decisions by local or regional actors.

This study demonstrates that provincial and federal PA systems lack institutional capacity to develop formal horizontal or vertical collaborative agreements with other park agencies (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Brown, 2003; Prato and Fegre, 2005). Sometimes, this is due to institutional culture which hinders such development, while other times the bureaucracy and cost associated with developing such agreements render the process prohibitive. Most agreements, then, tend to be co-developed informally in a voluntary manner. Although voluntary processes have been heavily criticized for lacking accountability and rule of law (Campbell and Thomas, 2002; Vasarhelyi and Thomas, 2006), the results of this study demonstrate that though there are many benefits to informal agreements, PA staff will formalize agreements if there are serious concerns or implications regarding financial efficiency, accountability transparency or rule of law. For example, FNP has developed numerous informal agreements with the TNC and has a good trustworthy relationship with them. Yet, FNP participants indicated that regardless of the relationships and past collaborations with the TNC, formalized agreements are always required when money comes into play.

This study examined several private or community initiatives that could be considered as efforts to creating PAs, such as the TNC initiative with FNP and LMNP, the PA proposal by the village of Mont-Saint-Pierre in Gaspésie, and the creation of a private PA in Saguenay. The results of this study support arguments made by Hillstrom and Hillstrom (2003) as it demonstrates that ENGOs can be great allies and make important contributions to fulfilling government-owned PA management goals and objectives through their work with private land owners for conservation adjacent to PAs.

Chapter Two presented a brief explanation as to why certain government programs and incentives for private PA initiatives may be successful or not. It was argued that the program for creating private PAs recognized by the government of Québec was unsuccessful because lands would be listed as protected in perpetuity. The results of this study did not support this proposition. Rather, the results demonstrate a general mistrust of provincial government regarding this program, with most individuals who consider creating private PAs opting to work with the TNC to create land trusts instead.

Regional integration as a concept can be linked to co-management initiatives and benefits as reviewed in Chapter 2. In fact, regional integration is a way of thinking about the broader ideas emphasised in the literature concerning how actors are involved in decision-making, and accountability, responsibility and authority for decisions made (e.g. Kothari, 2006). Yet, unlike co-management initiatives for PAs, which tend to be created reactively or focused on a single resource or task (e.g. Langdon, Prosper and Gagnon, 2010), regional integration processes attempt to incorporate PA planning and management between park systems and with regional actors, taking into consideration land use activities occurring outside of PAs. This study showed that strong regional integration does not simply mean strong government-to-government or government-to-individual actor group collaboration, but rather, the need to go beyond these collaborations to include many actors related to PA or PA planning process for regional integration.

Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the uniqueness of the Québec PA system. Although the Québec provincial PA system is quite old, it has only recently, since the early 2000's been widely developed, both in terms of number and size of PAs. The rapid growth in PA numbers and size demonstrates that political will coupled with innovative and inclusive decision

making processes, such as the regional PA planning committees, can lead to effective decision making and acceptance by the provincial populace.

Unlike other provinces or territories in Canada, all PAs within Québec must be assigned an IUCN category in order to be recognized by the province and entered into the provincial PA registry. This registry is unique to Québec and allows the government and associated provincial ministries to keep track of the percentage of land protected under the 24 categories of PAs.

The harmonization tables mandated for each of the SEPAQ parks are also unique. These tables provide a direct link between park staff and park operations, and regional actors. Although the actors that are part of these tables have no formal decision-making powers, their opinions and concerns can shape park management activities. These tables provide a formal venue for information sharing and allow park staff to understand regional concerns and to develop relationships with park neighbours.

10.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The theoretical framework designed and used to guide this study could be applied to other PA regional integration, resource management, landscape management, and watershed management exercises in order to further examine if the research results of this study are transferable.

Formal institutional mechanisms that guide regional integration are relatively easy to identify and examine and have been studied extensively (e.g. Paavola, 2007; Vatn, 2005; Young, 2002a, b, 2011). However, the same cannot be said for informal mechanisms that shape this concept. Informal mechanisms are inherently intricate and shaped by a multitude of contextual factors (e.g. Berkes, 2004). Further attention should be given to examining the types of mechanisms used to guide these interactions between actors, how they emerged, and the type of outcomes they have on regional integration processes.

This study demonstrated that contextual factors such as history, economy and biophysical attributes can have a significant impact on shaping relationships between park staff and regional actors for park management and larger landscape scale planning exercises. Yet, their impact in shaping institutions and governance processes is often overlooked. Greater attention should be given to understanding how contextual factors affect governance processes and institutional design for regional integration, and to a larger extent, natural resource management.

This study only provided a snapshot of regional integration process for PAs and was not truly able to capture how different institutional mechanisms and governance processes evolved and changed overtime. A more focused longitudinal study would provide greater insights regarding the importance of formal and informal institutions and contextual factors in shaping decision-making processes. Such a study would also be able to examine changes in power relationships between actors, the factors that contribute to this, and the effects of this on outcomes or lack thereof.

Although much attention has been placed on identifying and justifying the need for linking different PAs and PA systems in order to increase their ability to fulfill their management mandates of conservation from an ecology or conservation biologist perspective, such an undertaking is inherently a social process. Conservation biologists and landscape ecologists focusing on connectivity issues for PAs should develop research partnerships with academics grounded within the social sciences in order to overcome research silos and to develop processes for integrating PA systems and regional actors.

This thesis demonstrates the breath of PA types, management approaches, and planning processes. Yet, little research on Québec PAs has been conducted in this province using a social science lens. The uniqueness of the PA systems in this province provides panoply of avenues for research topics grounded within the social sciences.

10.6 Final Thoughts

The focus of this research was on understanding processes that guide regional integration for PA systems and regional actors in order to understand how to increase the effectiveness of conservation practices and tools. The research employed a qualitative approach grounded in a social constructivist epistemology. Three case studies were examined for this research: the Mauricie, Gaspésie and, Saguenay regions in Québec.

The results of this study demonstrate that proper PA management requires a complicated mix of flexible and adaptable institutional mechanisms operating conjointly at multiple scales. Since PA managers lack the legal ability to function outside park boundary jurisdictions, institutions designed to be flexible and adaptable will allow for regional integration to occur between PAs and with regional actors. This research also demonstrates the importance of recognizing and understanding the role of contextual factors in shaping regional integration. Historical events and biophysical factors often had a significant impact in fostering or impeding processes for regional integration.

The results demonstrate that regional integration is a process that is complex, continually evolving, and is heavily influenced by actors, contextual factors and informal institutions. Furthermore, the relationship that exists between different PA systems and with regional actors is ever-changing and highly dependent and influenced by social institutions. Although regional integration can occur through formal processes, informal mechanisms appear to play a much more important role for regional integration. With this increased understanding of key factors and institutional processes, it is hoped that this study will contribute to increased integration between different PA systems and between PAs and regional actors.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Interview Guide

Guide pour l'entrevue

Ce qui suit est un guide de base qui peut être modifié pour chaque participant en fonction de ses connaissances et antécédents. Les quatre questions de recherche en caractères gras seront utilisées pour organiser la structure de l'entrevue, mais ne seront pas posées lors de l'entrevue.

Contexte préliminaire:

Questions pour les employés du gouvernement et du secteur privé.

1. Je crois comprendre que votre titre d'emploi est «_____».
2. Environ combien de temps avez-vous travaillé pour«_____».

Questions pour les membres des communautés autochtones et les propriétaires privés.

1. Je crois comprendre que vous êtes de «_____».
2. Depuis environ combien de temps avez-vous résidé dans cet endroit« X».
3. Décrivez votre relation avec cet endroit « X» ou zone protégée «X».

Le chercheur fournira également aux participants des informations générales sur lui-même et sur le projet comme il est mentionné sur la lettre d'information.

Question de recherche 1: Quelles influences passées et présentes forment le développement des aires protégées dans la province de Québec et comment se comparent-elles à d'autres systèmes d'aires protégées au Canada?

1. Parlez-moi de la relation historique entre 'l'aire protégée X' et les autres groupes d'intervenants/communautés dans la région.
2. Qui sont, selon vous, les principaux (les plus puissants) groupes d'intervenants/communautés?
3. Actuellement, y a-t-il des influences qui ont un impact sur la création et la gestion des aires protégées au Québec? Dans l'étude de cas « X»?
[S'il y a des influences] Pouvez-vous me dire pourquoi vous pensez qu'elles ont un tel impact?
4. Quels sont les points de controverse d'origines politique, économique ou culturelle dans la région d'AP « X»?
5. Le lien entre l'AP« X» et les autrescommunautés /intervenants a-t-il changé au fil du temps?
 - a. [Si oui] Dites-moi comment a-t-il changé?
 - b. [Si oui] Quelles ont été certaines des influences de ces changements?
 - c. [Si la relation est identifiée comme pauvre] Dites-moi comment vous pensez que cette relation peut être améliorée.
 - i. Quelles mesures pourraient être prises pour améliorer la relation?
 - d. [Si la relation est identifiée comme positive] Dites-moi pourquoi vous pensez que cette relation fonctionne bien.
 - i. Y a-t-il quelque chose qui peut être amélioré?

Question de recherche 2: Actuellement au Québec, quels sont les arrangements institutionnels et les approches de gouvernance pour les différents types d'aires protégées et de leur région avoisinante?

6. Pouvez-vous décrire comment l'AP « X » interagit avec d'autres aires protégées, l'industrie et sa région?
 - a. Pouvez-vous décrire les arrangements formels et / ou informels entre l'AP « X » et d'autres aires protégées dans la région?
 - i. [S'il existe des accords] Expliquez-moi pourquoi vous pensez que de telles dispositions existent?
 - ii. [Pour chaque raison donnée] Selon vous, quels sont les défis que ces dispositions soulèvent?
 - iii. [Pour chaque défi identifié] Comment ce défi a-t-il été abordé?
 - iv. [Si aucun arrangement n'est mentionné] Pourquoi pensez-vous que c'est ainsi?
 - b. Pouvez-vous décrire les arrangements formels et / ou informels entre l'AP « X » et d'autres acteurs (communautés autochtones, le secteur privé ou les propriétaires privés)?
 - i. [S'il existe des accords] Dites-moi pourquoi vous pensez que de telles dispositions existent?
 - ii. [Pour chaque raison donnée] Selon vous, quels sont les défis que ces dispositions soulèvent?
 - iii. [Pour chaque défi identifié] Comment ce défi a-t-il été abordé?
 - iv. [S'il n'existe aucune entente] Pourquoi pensez-vous que c'est ainsi?
7. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qui facilite les interactions entre les aires protégées, l'industrie et les communautés locales?
 - a. [Si la facilité existe]. Pourquoi pensez-vous qu'il en est ainsi?
 - b. [S'il n'y a pas de facilité] Pourquoi pensez-vous qu'il en est ainsi?
8. Pouvez-vous décrire ce que la participation publique signifie pour vous?
9. Comment avez-vous été impliqué dans les processus de participation publique en ce qui concerne la zone protégée [région]?
 - a. [Si impliqué] Décrivez-moi quand (à quel stade) vous vous êtes impliqué dans les processus de participation publique.
 - b. Qui est généralement inclus dans le processus de participation publique?
 - c. Comment les décisions sont-elles généralement prises?
 - i. Quel(s) acteur(s) ont le plus de commentaires?
 - ii. Pensez-vous que cela est juste?
 - d. [Si non impliqué] Dites-moi pourquoi vous n'êtes pas impliqué dans les processus de participation publique.
10. Parlez-moi du processus par lequel les décisions sont prises à l'AP « X ».
 - a. Quel est le rôle des différents intervenants dans le processus de prise de décisions?
11. Décrivez-moi le meilleur (ou le pire) exemple de participation publique concernant les aires protégées de cette région.

Question de recherche 3: Comment les interactions entre les aires protégées au Québec et leur région ont-elles affecté la mise en place et l'efficacité des aires protégées en général?

12. Est-ce qu'il y a une relation entre le personnel de l'AP « X » et d'autres communautés /intervenants?
 - a. Décrivez le type de relation dont il s'agit (positif ou négatif?).
 - b. [Si n'existe aucune relation] Dites-moi pourquoi vous pensez qu'il n'existe aucune relation.
13. Combien de fois l'AP«X» communique-t-elle avec d'autres communautés /intervenants?
 - a. Décrire le format utilisé pour communiquer (formel ou informel, écrit ou verbal)?
 - b. Qui est en charge des communications entre l'AP «X» et d'autres intervenants?
14. Dites-moi s'il y a un partenariat spécifique ou des accords de coopération entre l'AP «X» et d'autres communautés /intervenants.
 - a. [Si des partenariats ou des accords de coopération sont en place] Quelle a été votre expérience avec ces partenariats spécifiques ou ces accords de coopération?
 - b. [Si des partenariats ou des accords de coopération sont en place] Ont-ils évolué au fil du temps? Si oui, comment?
 - c. [Si des partenariats ou des accords de coopération sont en place] Est-ce que ces partenariats peuvent être améliorés? Si oui, comment?
 - d. [Si aucun partenariat ou accord de coopération n'est en place]. Dites-moi pourquoi il n'y a aucun accord de coopération en place.
15. Parlez-moi des résultats de ces partenariats ou accords de coopération à l'AP «X».
 - a. Qui profite de ces résultats?

Question de recherche 4: Dans le contexte de la gouvernance, des institutions et de l'intégration régionale, qu'est-ce que le système des aires protégées du Québec peut apprendre des expériences venues d'ailleurs, et qu'est-ce que l'expérience québécoise de développement des aires protégées peut contribuer aux zones protégées situées ailleurs?

16. Pensez-vous que le développement des zones protégées du Québec et l'expérience acquise peuvent contribuer à des systèmes d'aires protégées situés ailleurs?
 - a. Pensez-vous que l'expérience du Québec pourrait contribuer à des systèmes d'aires protégées ailleurs?

Questions finales

17. Y a-t-il quoi que ce soit que vous aimeriez ajouter à cette discussion?

Appendix B. Information Letter

Chère Madame /Cher Monsieur

Je suis un candidat au doctorat dans le département d'études de géographie et de l'environnement à l'université Wilfrid Laurier. Dans le cadre de ma thèse, je mène des recherches examinant la manière dont la planification et la gestion des aires protégées au Québec sont intégrées entre elles ainsi qu'avec les différents acteurs au sein d'une même aire protégée. Dans le cadre de cette recherche, je dois mener des entretiens avec le personnel gouvernemental du MDDEP, MRNF, Parcs Canada, des membres d'organisations non-gouvernementales, des communautés autochtones et des résidents vivant à proximité des zones protégées.

La participation à cette étude est volontaire. Si vous choisissez de participer, il s'agira d'une entrevue d'environ une heure qui aura lieu à l'heure et à l'endroit mutuellement convenus. Lors de l'entrevue, vous pouvez refuser de répondre à certaines questions si vous le souhaitez.

Vous n'êtes pas tenus de participer à cette étude. Si vous décidez de participer, vous pouvez vous retirer de l'étude à tout moment sans peine en avertissant le chercheur. Si vous vous retirez de l'étude, le nécessaire sera fait pour supprimer vos données de l'étude et les détruire.

Pour faciliter la collecte de l'information et avec votre permission, l'entrevue sera enregistrée en mode audio et sera plus tard transcrite pour l'analyse. Toutes les informations que vous nous fournissez seront tenues confidentielles. Votre nom n'apparaîtra jamais dans aucune thèse ou rapport résultant de cette étude, sauf si vous avez donné votre autorisation pour être identifié dans les publications et les citations qui vous seraient attribuées. Mon superviseur et moi serons les seules personnes ayant accès aux transcriptions. Les données électroniques seront sauvegardées sur un disque dur sécurisé dont l'accès se limite à nous deux.

Il n'y a pas de risques connus ou anticipés pour le participant à cette étude. Si vous avez des questions concernant cette étude, ou si vous souhaitez des informations supplémentaires pour vous aider à prendre une décision sur une participation possible, veuillez me contacter personnellement au 519-760-5039 ou par courriel à bute3420@mylaurier.ca.

Ce projet a été examiné et approuvé par le Conseil d'éthique de la recherche de l'université. Si vous pensez que vous n'avez pas été traité selon les descriptions fournies dans ce formulaire, ou que vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche ont été violés au cours de ce projet, veuillez communiquer avec le Dr Robert Basso, président, Comité d'éthique de la recherche universitaire, Wilfrid Laurier University, 519-884-1970, poste 5225 ou rbasso@wlu.ca.

Les résultats de cette étude seront utilisés dans ma thèse de doctorat et peuvent également être utilisés dans un livre et des publications scientifiques. Si vous souhaitez recevoir des informations concernant les résultats de cette recherche, vous pouvez fournir vos coordonnées à la fin de l'entrevue ou vous pouvez communiquer avec le chercheur à une date ultérieure. Les résultats de cette recherche devraient être disponibles en septembre 2013.

Windekind Buteau-Duitschaever

Candidat au doctorat

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Appendix C. Participant Consent Form

J'ai lu l'information présentée dans la lettre d'information sur l'étude menée par Windekind Buteau-Duitschaever, candidat au doctorat à l'Université Wilfrid Laurier. J'ai eu l'occasion de poser toutes les questions liées à cette étude, de recevoir des réponses satisfaisantes à mes questions, et des détails supplémentaires.

Je reconnais que j'ai la possibilité de permettre que mon entrevue soit enregistrée en mode audio pour assurer une transcription précise de mes réponses. Je réalise aussi que des extraits de l'entrevue peuvent être inclus dans la thèse et/ou dans les publications provenant de cette recherche, et que je peux choisir d'être cité ou non; je peux aussi choisir d'être cité de façon anonyme ou non. J'ai été informé que je peux sans peine annuler mon consentement à tout moment en avertissant le chercheur.

Ce projet a été examiné et approuvé par le Conseil d'éthique de la recherche de l'université. Si vous pensez que vous n'avez pas été traité selon les descriptions fournies dans ce formulaire, ou que vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche ont été violés au cours de ce projet, veuillez communiquer avec le Dr Robert Basso, président, Comité d'éthique de la recherche universitaire, Wilfrid Laurier University, 519-884-1970, poste 5225 ou rbasso@wlu.ca

En toute connaissance de tout ce qui précède, j'accepte de mon plein gré de participer à cette étude.

OUI NON

J'accepte que mon entrevue soit enregistrée en mode audio.

OUI NON

J'accepte d'être identifié dans toute publication résultant de cette étude.

OUI NON

J'accepte d'être cité de façon anonyme dans toute thèse ou publications résultant de cette recherche.

OUI NON

Nom du participant: _____ (Veuillez imprimer)

Participant Signature: _____

Nom du témoin: _____ (Veuillez imprimer)

Signature du témoin: _____

Date: _____